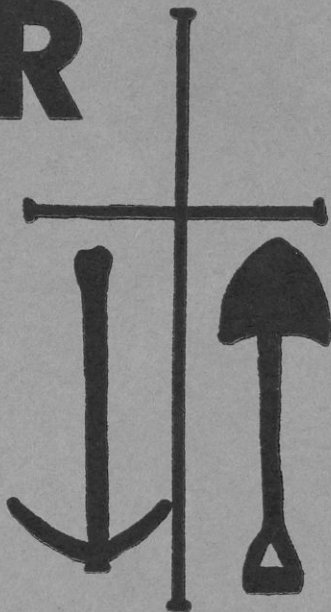


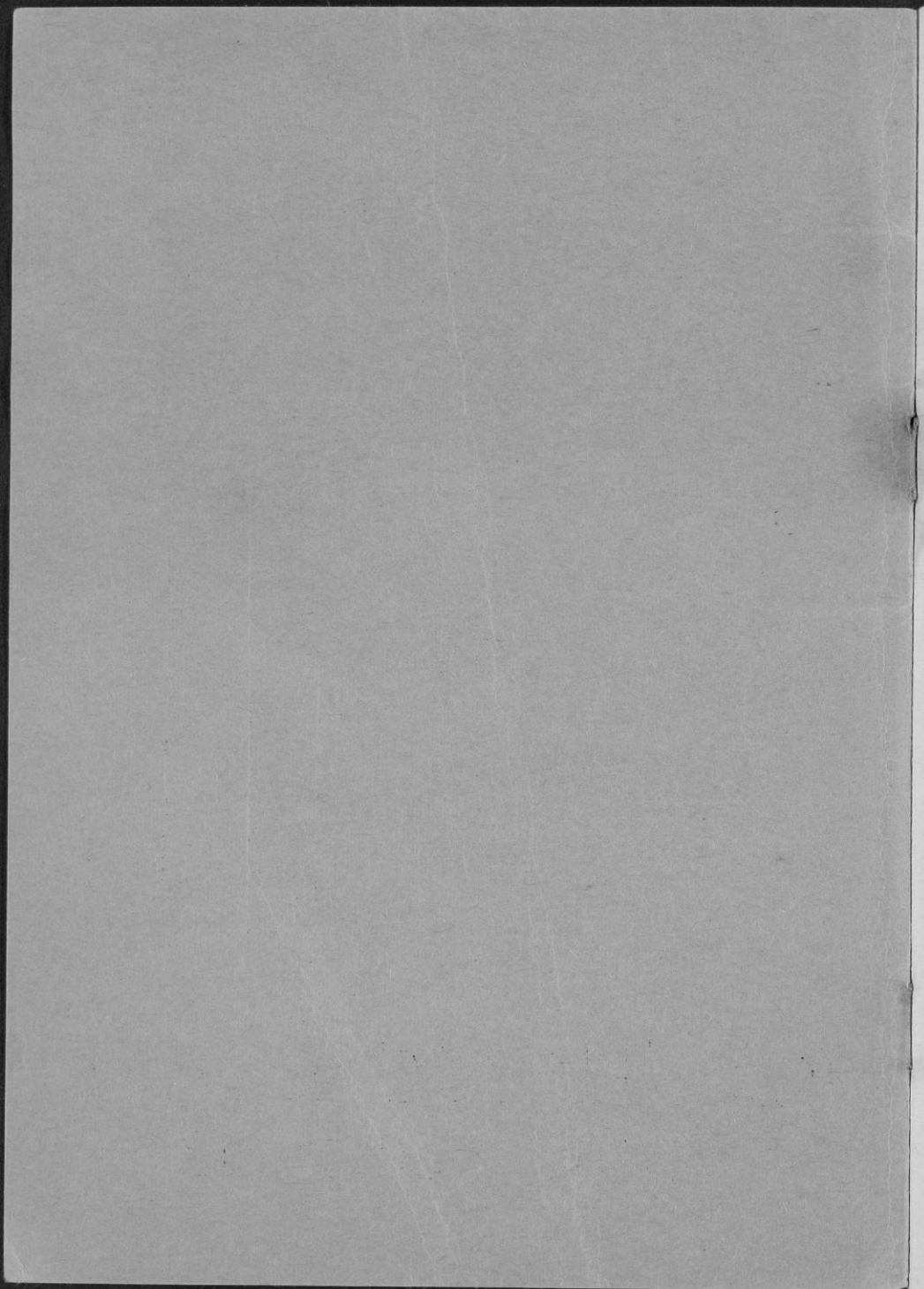
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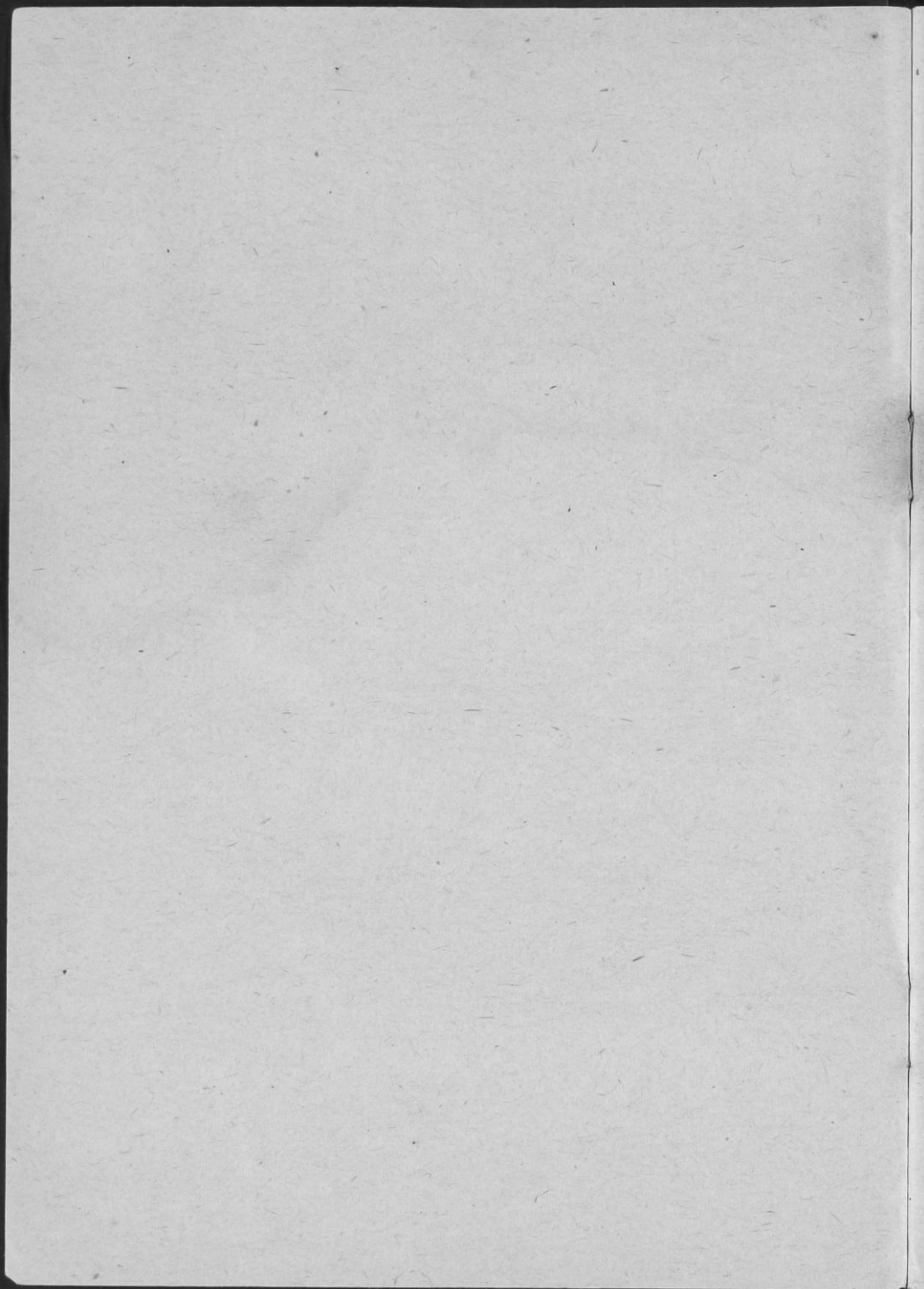
THE CHURCH AND LABOR



CATHOLIC HOUR
LOUIS F. BUDENZ



THE CHURCH AND LABOR



The Church And Labor

Four addresses delivered on the nationwide Catholic Hour, produced by
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BY

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ



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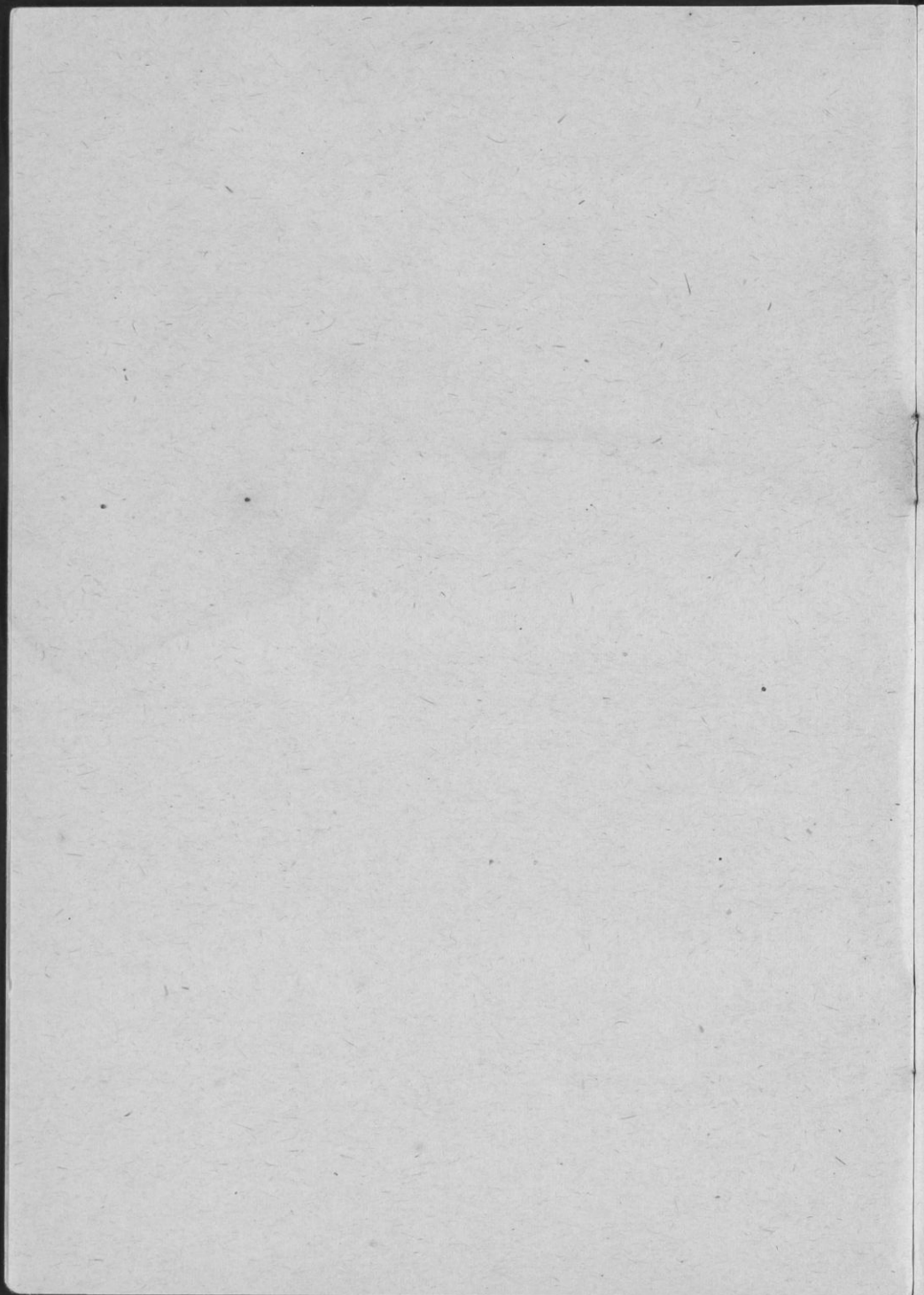
✠ JOHN FRANCIS NOLL, D.D.,

Bishop of Fort Wayne

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OUR LAST CHANCE

Address given on August 3, 1947



We live now in the shadow of world crisis. Every tick of the clock this afternoon may be leading us toward world catastrophe. Unless we who enjoy some genuine liberty can find the moral strength to stand up against totalitarian evil, the clouds will eventually break into storm.

We gain nothing and lose much by closing our eyes to the present gloomy scene. It is infinitely more cruel and chaotic than at the ending of World War I, when voices went up to heaven against the breeding places for new war that were being created in the so-called peace.

The counsels of the Church on labor must be heard in this solemn setting. Every problem that knocks at our doors must be considered against this serious background.

Ours is a world wrecked by the terrors of one dictatorship based on materialism and bent on world domination. Ours is a world whose recovery and rebuilding are now halted by another dictatorship, even more subtle and effective, based on materialism as its religion and bent on world conquest.

This world, which required a unity in rehabilitation, has now been torn asunder by the decree of this dictatorship. Every endeavor at revival has been met by a sabotage of all plans, the sabotage coming from one source; unable to rule save by terror within its boundaries and unable to solve its problems among its own people, the dictatorship has resorted to disruption and aggression abroad.

Europe, which could have been rebuilt by the cooperation of all, has been sunk into a morass of starvation, sickness and despair. Thousands of homeless human beings have been driven across the face of that continent because this served the purposes of disorder to which the dictatorship is committed.

And those who should have taken up the moral standard against such degradation—namely, we who call ourselves the Western World—were too long silent. Many of us were lost in a dream of appeasement, which has become a nightmare, and allowed crimes to be committed in our name. What pressure did we ac-

tually exercise for the protection of the Four Freedoms in Yugoslavia, as demonstrated in the outrageous imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinac? How well have we fulfilled our pledge of "free and unfettered elections" in Poland, which is the key test of the continued life of the Four Freedoms? And is it not true—a truth that we can say frankly we have not grasped speedily enough—that the betrayal of Poland has led to the crushing under foot of all liberties in Hungary?

In his allocution of June 2, His Holiness Pius XII warned the world: "Who would dare affirm that the two years since the cessation of hostilities have marked notable advances in the path of restoration and social progress? In seeing fruitless conferences succeeding one another and the series of interrupted or postponed discussions being prolonged, the peoples, bitterly deluded in their desire for order, peace and reconstruction, are coming to lose hope and patience."

How can such hope and patience be restored to the people save by a moral stand against oppression and organized disorder? Is it not by standing for

that just peace, based on religious principles, safeguarding the rights of small nations—to which the Popes have repeatedly called attention—that hope and patience will be re-established? Is it not by taking a stand on such a moral platform for the people of Poland and Hungary that the beginnings of new hope can be won?

When the nations—and specifically our own—awoke to a realization that the oppression of millions of human beings could not go on indefinitely and that some measures for recovery had to be taken—then a flood of abuse was unloosed against our nation by the offending dictatorship and its agents throughout the world. From a central agency, directed by the dictatorship, there goes forth to all corners of the globe incitations against our Republic and our people. In the current issues of a certain Communist International magazine in disguise, there is a continued assault upon the United States as the chief present enemy of mankind. Just as the brown-shirted dictators pictured America to the world in caricature, by taking advantage of certain chinks in our own armor, so does this current prop-

agenda assail our country as the center of world oppressions. The crimes of the Slave Power which is opposing all liberation for mankind are laid at our doors; the Slave Power itself is presented as the "latest triumph in democracy."

Taken up by willing and embittered agents, this message of hatred for the United States is now retailed in organized fashion in every country and in every tongue.

"Meanwhile," as Pius XII said on June 2, "the world is still waiting and pleading that justice and law create stable conditions for man and society. In the meantime, millions of human beings continue to live under oppression and despotic rule."

And the dire crisis thus created and the danger of conflicts thus brought into being cause His Holiness to give a most solemn warning to the world. "Once again," says he, "we desire to exhort and warn the nations; security, as far as it may be realized here below, cannot have any other solid foundation than the physical and moral well-being of a nation, based internally on right public order and externally on normal relations, even

after the Second World War. May the rulers of the States not let slip this opportunity; it may be; God forbid, the last opportunity."

It may be—the LAST opportunity.

Such a phrase was not spoken lightly. It is justified by the horrors that walk through the world, by "the ruins of living human beings," by the clouds of possible open conflict.

If this "may be our last opportunity," should we not bestir ourselves as never before to take a *moral* stand for international rights and international peace and order? If this "may be our last opportunity," should not that sobering thought condition all partisan battle cries and all special interest considerations in the relation of management and labor?

The Shepherds of the Catholic Church—and specifically from Leo XIII to the present Pontiff—have stressed the working-man's "right to organize" and the value of free labor. *Free Labor*—freed from the control and tyranny of the totalitarian state and from other selfish oppression. The great encyclicals on the Condition of Labor have been linked with other expres-

sions of the Popes on the social questions in cautioning on the menace to all freedom of labor that resides in all-powerful statism.

Although there were those of a selfish turn of mind who criticized the position of the Thirteenth Leo, men and women of good will have come to appreciate and accept the wisdom and justice of his words. *Free labor*, assured of its freedom through the safeguards of self-organization and *working cooperatively* with other factors in production and society, is desirable—is vital.

Over much of the world we behold such free labor being abolished in our time. The rule of the all-seeing, all-knowing, all-powerful State (upheld by an elaborate secret police system and by terror as its so-called "moral law") has spread its regime over more and more thousands of human beings. In its expansion is wrapped up the danger of world war.

We cannot plead that we have not been forewarned. The Shepherds of the Church have repeatedly foretold the calamities that untrammelled statism would bring upon us. In his Christmas broadcast of 1942 did not Pius

XII say: "He who would have the star of peace shine out and stand over society should reject every form of materialism which sees the people only a herd of individuals who, divided and without any internal cohesion, are considered as a mass to be lorded over and treated arbitrarily."

With the Slave State now reaching its logical position—of turning from terror at home to terror abroad—of threatening free labor as well as other freedoms—of endangering the peace upon which we had built such recent hopes—what grave responsibility rests upon those charged with labor and management relations!

Is it not their duty to themselves and America—and indeed to mankind—to proceed with sobriety and care in advancing their viewpoints? Is it not imperative, with freedom thus seriously menaced, that they work out their problems in that spirit of unity against slavery which the hour requires?

Good counsel for this hour and for such attitudes can be gleaned from the pages of the Papal Encyclicals on Labor, not written for this moment only but for long-run considerations. Raising aloft

the banner of social reconstruction, stressing the urgency of protecting the welfare of the worker and the right of association, these wise words of counsel have directed attention to the importance of doing these things on the basis of fostering and promoting "harmony between the various ranks of society."

There is not in any of these counsels of the Popes any suggestion that the Church seeks to dictate in the economic sphere. Economics is a science with its own laws and its own conclusions conditioned by moral and religious principles. The counsels of the Church are founded on those basic ethical considerations on which sound economics must be grounded.

Nor do these Papal declarations envisage that there shall be an end to all differences of opinion. The very relationships of management and labor imply that differences will arise. But these can and should—and if liberty is to live—*must* be discussed and decided upon the groundwork of partnership in the social order and the productive machine. More thought along that line will be profitable for peace within our country and

from that desired achievement, the obtaining of such strength to win peace throughout the world.

Some such sober view was indicated by official labor spokesmen recently, when they stated that their objections to the current Taft-Hartley law would be presented through the regular constitutional channels provided by the courts. They refused thereby to be swayed by those extremists who shouted loudly for "protest walkouts." Similar sobriety has been reflected in certain current statements by captains of industry—or at least, representatives of industrial management—who have volunteered the thought that there should be a new partnership attitude toward labor.

The thought of Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum* and of Pius XI in his review and expansion of the encyclical forty years after its enunciation went far beyond such fragmentary expressions of good will or resolutions of peaceful or constructive action. It was the vision of a lasting understanding and a permanent cooperation founded upon an orderly working out of relationships—and cemented by a moral recognition of the respective

rights and responsibilities of management and labor.

Should we not plumb the possibilities of such an understanding in our time, when it is so essential for the maintenance of freedom?

If this is "our last opportunity"—or one of our last opportunities, to win and preserve the peace—should we not go far to attain that unity in our national life which will make us more worthy of giving moral leadership to the world?

The voice of the Church—not speaking only yesterday on this

matter but through the years—urges labor and management to discover the path whereby they may safeguard free labor and maintain genuine liberty. And the beginning of wisdom in this direction is through cooperation and understanding—based on the protection of right living and justice—in which the partisan battle cry will give place to the tones of industrial statesmanship, speaking in terms of the commonwealth.

Cannot America, with all its strength and intelligence, attain such a goal?

NEITHER JUSTICE NOR HUMANITY

Address given on August 10, 1947

Were we to make up a list representing forerunners of our present age of mechanical advance, Blaise Pascal's name would stand high upon it. The great French scientist, in the midst of the 17th century, presented to mankind profound discoveries in mathematics, the invention of the counting machine and above all the barometer.

Pascal was indeed a pioneer in mechanics, but not a victim of the mechanistic view of man—which has caused such havoc in our present day. Pascal's knowledge of the possibilities of the machine did not stampede him into regarding man as merely a machine, robbed of the dignity which comes from his being an image of God. So it was that Pascal gave to us his THOUGHTS, his magnificent confession of Catholic faith. Of the Church he wrote: "The history of the Church may rightly be called the history of truth."

And of the course of the Church he said, what can be said again today with even more emphasis: "No honest man denies that she has disciplined and ennobled the individual, the fam-

ily and mankind. What arouses our admiration, what is unparalleled and altogether divine is that this Church, which has continued to endure, has ever been attacked. A thousand times she appeared as though on the verge of being completely destroyed; and each time God raised her up by some extraordinary act of His power."

The Church stands out today as the custodian of moral and religious principles as she did in Pascal's time—enunciating with the same clarity and courage the fundamentals of the labor question as she did in the Middle Ages on the just wage and just price.

With equal service to the truth did the Church caution against the extreme individualism which marked the opening of the present epoch. Long before that super-individualistic view had brought about the exploitation and starvation of the people, the Church set her face against it. Because it was false; because it denied the dignity of man as an image of God under the guise of declaring that man had emancipated himself from

God, stating ironically that the fittest would survive through the molding of their own religion and their own morality.

This extreme individualism and its sorry fruits met condemnation in the noted encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Condition of the Workers, *Rerum Novarum*. It is well known that this encyclical was issued almost sixty years ago, in the year 1891. What is not too well recognized is the challenge that this Papal declaration presented to the conditions of its time. Neither is there enough understanding of the impact it had on the events which followed. In so far as its counsels were enacted into life, we will note improvement and better conditions among the people. In so far as its advice was ignored, particularly in regard to social reconstruction on the basis of the unity of society and the working together under moral principles of the different groups in the industrial structure, to that extent mankind has continued to pile up trial and travail for itself.

There is a message for the present hour in the words of the great Pope Leo. Will we ever permit the conditions of his

time, which earned his indictment, to be revived? There are some forces, through shortsighted or selfish purposes, which harbor some such hopes or aims. They would undermine the right of association for the workingman, to the point where the longer hours and lowered wages—below human decency—which were widespread in 1891, will be restored. The Church has solemnly warned of the folly, tragedy and immorality of such ambitions. Through the voice of Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*—forty years after Leo's pronouncement—and even right down to the expression of this July 16 by His Holiness Pius XII, the Church asserts "the inalienable rights of the workingman, which derive not from any civil society but from his rights as a human personality."

The Church opposes with equal vigor the abuses of extreme individualism such as produced scandals of oppression in Leo's day and the crimes of totalitarianism—of extreme collectivism—"which would reduce the workingman to the state of complete subjection to the bureaucratic clique holding political power."

When Pope Leo spoke in the past or Pope Pius speaks today,

it is not because they believe it to be the Church's direct and primary purpose to regulate economic life. But economic and social goals and purposes cannot be set off from moral considerations and the principles of morality which bear on social and economic factors compel the Church to tell the world these truths which have been too long forgotten or observed only in half-understandings.

What were the tragic conditions and consequences to which extreme individualism had brought mankind?

Extreme individualism had rejected the natural dignity of man, as taught so eloquently by the Church. It had turned its back on the idea of a united society, in which the various groups would work together cooperatively and deal together in an organized fashion, as the Church recommended. In a word, it had exposed the worker (unprotected by organization or social legislation) to the merciless exploitation of a speculative economy. From that viewpoint the worker had become merely an instrument for making money for those who exploited his labor. Hours beyond human strength, women and child labor

injurious to human health and to the family, wages below a decent minimum of livelihood were too prominent as features of that period and philosophy.

"It is neither justice nor humanity," emphasized Pope Leo, "so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies."

"Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their workpeople are not slaves; that they must respect in every man his dignity as a man and a Christian."

From such considerations, certain recommendations stem. From these considerations there arises the right of association, for all classes in society but specifically and above all for the workers, who are weak as individuals and have no real strength as such. From these considerations comes the need for social legislation—regulating the labor of women and children, the hours of work, and establishing in certain instances the minimum wage by law.

Such constitute a brief catalogue of the reforms advocated by Pope Leo.

Most of them have now become accepted and are part of the his-

tory and experiences of mankind. Most of them are acknowledged as having been beneficial—and essential to the well-being of the people, even by many who formerly opposed such measures.

Studies are being made today—and they should be heartily welcomed—of the effect of the *Rerum Novarum* on American life. The full measure of what took place in this respect could never be better estimated, for much of what occurred in obscure little towns or sections of cities will never be unearthed. Some Catholic worker heard the words of the great pontiff in a parish lecture hall, or read them in some local Catholic publication and was made bolder in urging the formation of labor unions. Or an employer whose conscience was touched by the Papal declarations, more willingly agreed to collective bargaining.

So deeply did the words of *Rerum Novarum* penetrate the consciousness of Catholics that now there are many Catholic labor leaders in our country. The Catholic worker, in instance after instance, became the center of organizing activities because he felt deeply the justice in his cause. He understood that he was enacting the drama of social

justice in advancing the workingman's natural right to association.

The thoughts expressed by Pope Leo penetrated, too, beyond the ranks of Catholics and beyond the realm of labor. A number of employers were affected, directly or indirectly, by the plea for the re-establishment of the dignity of the human personality. Only recently we note one of these men, who was vitally affected by Pope Leo's words, Brigadier General Robert Wood Johnson, speaking publicly of "dignity in employment." Of the wage-earner he says: "As a man, his dignity must be established." And one road to such re-establishment of dignity, in General Johnson's opinion, is through the creation of honest and well-conducted labor organizations. It is in that spirit that his concern deals with the Textile Workers Union of America, openly expressing corporation approval of collective bargaining.

American labor—and the American commonwealth as a whole—owes much to the influence of Pope Leo's Encyclical.

We could call a roll of union after union, in community after community, which had received its initial impetus or added drive from *Rerum Novarum*.

We could refer to industry after industry where better labor-management relations are due to the influence of the Papal pronouncement.

We could list legislative act after legislative act in the way of social regulation—on working hours, health laws, the work of women and children—which bear the earmark of Pope Leo's advice.

Today we can consider to much more effect two leading thoughts in this connection: What has become of the heated battle cries around some of this activity and this legislation? And then: What chief features of Pope Leo's declarations have not been adopted and to what effect?

Embittered claims and battle cries could be heard indeed around the activities and social legislation recommended by Pope Leo. There were those who said—although Pope Leo's proposals upheld the rights of private property—that his reforms would injure industry and property. Dire predictions were made of the outcome of such measures.

There were those, with equally bitter and sweeping claims, who asserted that this legislation

should be only the beginning of a general upheaval in the social scene. Wily agitators, as the Pope declared in the very beginning of his encyclical, would take up some of the proposals made by His Holiness, and distort them in order to wreck the whole social structure.

Those battle cries in themselves have long ago passed away. They have proved to be caricatures of the measures as put forward by the Pope and other men and women of good will.

The fact that we can record this now is itself an admonition to us all that we exercise restraint in our present crisis, that we speak constructively and without rancor—that we base our contentions on this friendship between the classes in industrial society for which Pope Leo pleaded.

Most unfortunately, some of Pope Leo's proposals were not adopted—and these center around the most profound and basic consideration of all: the *reconstruction of society on morally healthy grounds.*

A Christian renewal of society is urgently required, unless society and social bonds are to perish.

The central idea of this reversal has to do with the unity of society—the understanding that moral renovation and social reconstruction march hand in hand; that management and labor have an obligation to function through their own self-organizations in organic cooperation with each other. Because that view has not been adopted in general, clash and class conflict still tend to tear our society asunder and prepare the way for future calamities.

Because that view has not been followed in particular (and immediately), we have on our

hands some unions led by those who are fifth columnists for a foreign power aiming at our destruction, although 90 percent of the membership of those unions are not thus subversive. We have other unions led by racketeers. And in the camp of management, we see hope for progress thwarted by the presence in part of monopoly and by some who hold that things should be thrown back to the evil days before Pope Leo spoke.

Can we, overcoming these immediate abuses, turn to the general reconstruction of our society? God grant it!

OVER SIXTY YEARS

Address given on August 17, 1947

1890, 1891; these are magic years in American history. It was then that the last free public lands were offered for use. The dream of the frontier in the old sense for America was ended. It was then that the United States advanced to first place in industrial production in the world. It was then that the corporation as a device for producing goods came fully into its own, piling up things for the satisfaction of human wants in such volume as the world had never before seen.

The world, including our own land, was enchanted with the possibilities of creating and amassing wealth.

The zeal for creating wealth, which was good, was matched by the frenzy for amassing wealth, which was not always so good. Materialism, already abroad in the land, became more and more triumphant. Self-enrichment, even at the expense of others, grew to be the great goal for mankind.

It was then, as we recall, that Pope Leo XIII chose to enunciate his Encyclical on the Condition of Labor, a challenge to the times.

We would be blind indeed were we to think that this challenge of Leo's pronouncement consisted merely in the detailed social reforms he advocated, the social legislation he urged. Its major challenge lay in these words: "If society is to be healed now . . . in no way can it be healed save by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions."

The moral renovation of the individual—"the return to Christian life"—must be interlinked with social reconstruction—"the return to Christian institutions." Men, absorbed in the things of the world, are forgetting those virtues which bring forward the dignity of man—and thereby bless the world.

That is the crowning thought—the return of the individual to Christ, accompanied by the return of society to Christian principles—which lighted up the subsequent statements of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of America on the labor question. It stood high in the declaration of His Holiness Pius XI in his profound Encyclical on Labor, given forty years after Pope Leo

had spoken. It remains with us today.

We cannot promise ourselves any great measure of peace on the labor or other social problems unless men learn once more the peace which comes from the altar—unless they cease to turn their backs upon the Divinity.

Inherent in Catholic Christian thought is the recognition of the dignity of man—arising from the fact that he is a rational being—and from the further fact that he is an image of God. That is the Alpha of our consideration of all social problems—and the Omega is the correlated truth that the social system must be shot through with this Christian spirit and understanding. It must mark the relations between the classes; it must put its stamp on social legislation.

Is it not true, when we look about us today, that in too many cases we behold the family shattered? The beauty of the unbroken home is being replaced too frequently by the scourge of divorce. It is surprising that such moral unconcern for the sanctity of the family and of responsibilities is accompanied by a callous disregard for the housing requirements of the people. And this atomization of the fam-

ily, this fleeing from responsibility in the married relationship, comes from one dominant fact—that for too many marriage is no longer a Sacrament; it is no longer something that has a moral and religious foundation.

Is it not true that many men and women grasp and grope blindly for interior peace? They turn in some despair and disquietude from one materialistic milestone to another, seeking even a substitute for the Sacrament of Penance, which would give them true peace. Is it any wonder that this unrest of souls is accompanied by a difficulty in raising a moral standard for the winning of world peace? The turmoil within watches the turmoil in the international scene.

So it is with the labor question. Do not greed and envy enter too largely into this picture and into the attempted solutions for it? Movements arising from class hatred and measures dictated by class hatred end only in chaos, slavery and defeat. The spirit which leads men to think of their eternal salvation, permeating our civil and social relationships, will lead to fraternal bonds between the classes rather than the raising of the

standard of hate. The dignity of the human being, whether laborer or manager, can be won and maintained in a society in which the brotherhood of man, based upon Christian charity, is recognized under the fatherhood of God. With that viewpoint, relations between unions and management are increasingly based on human solidarity, on cooperation within the social framework, such as exists within the family when it assumes a healthy and normal life.

Have we not witnessed enough of the tragedy which has followed, when hatred has been made the foundation stone for solving this question? The promise of the dictatorship of the proletariat has led to a dictatorship over the proletariat. The prophesied emancipation of the workingman has brought about the enslavement of the workers. Over a great part of the globe the right of association, the right to free elections, or to any genuinely free expression has been wiped out in blood—and through the all-seeing eyes of the dictatorship's secret police. Free trade unions have no more rights than any other free association of men; and that is—precisely none. The bleak, deadly stretches

tens of millions of prisoners denied the light of hope, symbolize the general slavery which becomes the lot of whole peoples. A philosophy based on class hatred, destroying all spiritual values, has done that work. It has, by the wiping out of spiritual considerations, abolished all moral standards. There remains, as the sole standard of morals, if you can dare call it that, the personal will of the dictators and the law of terror.

To sustain such a regime, all definitions must be destroyed. Dictatorship is hailed as "democracy." Democracy is often abused as "fascism." A persistent propaganda seeks to place at the door of our American regime that very "imperialist" aggression which marks the career of the Slave State. The abuses which linger on in our social system—hangovers of the extreme individualism which the Popes condemned—are stressed and stretched until they appear to be the chief evils in the world. This is tragic nonsense. It is a criminal misinforming of the people. The horrors of the Slave State, based on class hatred, and requiring intellectual, spiritual and physical slavery, are grim realities which our people should know in order to avoid and op-

pose. The correction of our own abuses can be done in proper proportions, though certainly with no less zeal. Those indeed who oppose the correction of our abuses, as the Papal Encyclicals have emphasized, constitute allies, in effect, of those proposing the Slave State.

How considerable, then, is the responsibility of those who claim the name of "Christian" to participate in the reconstruction of society along the lines of Christian principles and in accordance with human solidarity.

His Holiness Pius XI in particular, in his explanation and expansion of Pope Leo's *Rerum Novarum* (written forty years after that encyclical), outlines the urgency of permanent and organized cooperation between the classes if the labor question is to be solved on the grounds of Christian brotherhood, human solidarity.

It is a sweeping vista of social re-organization which the Popes thus present. What is the keystone of this cooperation? Associations of employers, on a permanent basis and represented from out of their own group, are to deal continuously with associations of workers, represented from out of the workers'

ranks. The state is to encourage this development by appropriate legislation, such as will stir the initiative of such groups. The employers' association, or the workers' organization is not to be concerned alone with the presentation of its own demands and viewpoints, one to the other. Each is to be concerned with self-discipline within its own sphere and among its own membership. Thus did the guilds maintain the just price and forbid monopolistic and unfair practices in the Middle Ages.

In the public emphasis, rights were thus to be interlinked with responsibilities and responsibilities were always to accompany the assertion of rights.

Immediately, of course, the workingmen's unions were to be built, as Pope Leo had urged. With them, in countries like our own where the Catholics are not the major part of the population, there were to go associations of Catholic workers. These were to keep alive the light of Christian principles, were to strengthen their members' religious convictions and where possible that of their fellows. During the sixty years since Pope Leo's declaration, associations of this character have grown up, such as the

Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in our United States.

Immediately, too, there was to be social education of all classes and among all groups in society. There is scarcely anything which Pope Leo states more definitely and Pope Pius XII reiterates more frequently than that. Within these sixty years there have sprung up Catholic labor schools in many centers, and with widespread attendance. The words of the pontiffs spur on a larger and larger turnout to such educational centers on the social and labor problems.

Nor is social education to lie fallow. There is an obligation for the workingman and workingwoman of good will to attend their union meetings regularly, to make the right of association live by making their unions democratic. Complaints in some volume have been heard that subversive elements, fifth columns of a foreign dictatorship, have got control in certain unions by deceit. To their deceit and unscrupulous maneuvering they also added the fanaticism which brought them to union meetings whenever these were held.

To every workingman who hears this program this evening, this question could well be put:

“Are you attending your union meetings as you should? Are you fulfilling your duties to your country and yourself by participating as fully as possible in union life?”

In recent years there has been a decidedly better understanding of this matter. Nonetheless there is still much to be desired in this respect.

Immediately, according to the Popes' directions, there were likewise to be formed associations of Christian employers, dedicated to a curbing of monopolistic practices and to forwarding self-discipline in their respective industries. It is this development which Pope Pius XI says in particular has been too slow in coming into life. In the midst of his Encyclical on Atheistic Communism—*Divini Redemptoris*—he appeals to Catholic employers to be mindful of their responsibility. He appreciates their difficulties, “saddled with the heritage of an unjust economic regime”—by which His Holiness referred to Extreme Individualism, the theory of exclusive self-enrichment and their monopolistic developments — “whose ruinous influence has been felt through many generations.” But he solemnly calls up-

on them to do their part in preventing the misuse of private property. And His Holiness reiterates the urgency of professional and interprofessional bodies as a guarantee of genuine social reconstruction.

Sixty years is not long in the life of the Church, which charts its course by centuries. The Donatist heresy battered at the Rock of Peter for many long years; yet who ever hears of it today? So it was too with Arianism's attempt to destroy Catholicism; few people of today could even name its teachings.

But sixty years is large in the life of the individual; it is about two generations. And the Church, in the Papal Encyclicals, reminds us that the modern er-

ror of materialism has lasted too long and has wrought too much injury to mankind. Long lines of box cars, crowded with dying people, attest to its gross brutality—as they move toward the Eastern slave labor camps. Long lists of Catholic martyrs—369 priests and twelve nuns executed by the Nero-like persecution in Yugoslavia, alone—tell of its war upon God and religious ideals.

Can we not catch the inspiration to begin a new apostolate against such degradation of the dignity of man? Can we not make our contribution, humble though in many cases it may be, seeing that the encyclicals of the Popes on labor begin to live—in our community, among the people with whom we labor?

TWO CAMPS AND TWO WAYS

Address given on August 24, 1947

In the city of Pittsburgh, twenty years ago, I ran into a steel worker who was particularly zealous in looking forward to union organization. It did not exist in the steel mills then. We can call this worker Jim—and his last name Goode, though that is not what it was. For the previous twenty years, up to that time, he had been expecting stable unions to come—stimulated in this hope always by the things with which we have dealt in this series, the Papal declarations on the conditions of the working people.

Jim Goode is one of a number of men of like type that come to mind out of the now-dimming past. One in Eastern Pennsylvania, another in Indiana, a third in Chicago—all expecting permanent and extensive unions from the inspiration received from the statements of the Popes.

What was it that Jim Goode wanted, above all, in this respect? (And these other men, too?) That aim was summed up in Goode's own words two

decades ago: "Security and freedom."

When we turn to the average employer he will say likewise on his part, that what he wants is precisely: "freedom and security."

It is in Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno*—his discussion of the labor question in 1931—that we are told in an outstanding way how these aims and ambitions of worker and employer may be joined. Only by thus merging them can genuine security and liberty be assured at all.

"Freedom" and "security" are, of course, terms which can be badly abused—and have been so abused. In the false name of "freedom," extreme individualism brought about a condition among the common people which Pope Leo designated as "little better than slavery itself." In the name of "security," equally falsely spoken, Communist totalitarianism has established "the terrorism that reigns today in Russia," as Pope Pius XI has declared, and which has wiped

out all true security, in life or livelihood.

What will win "security" and "freedom," in-so-far as that can be attained, for both workingman and employer? That lies, as Pope Pius stressed, in that chief of "decisive remedies"—the readjustment of society; the setting up of "a bond of union" between the classes based on production of goods that mankind needs, based likewise on the promotion of the common good.

But in the moment that is upon us—until that "bond of union" can be forged—what can assure some measure of this "security" and some measure of this "freedom"?

These are to be won through these "speedy remedies" of which His Holiness speaks, but to which he does not direct detailed attention. They arise, undoubtedly, out of the whole consideration of the right to association and the need for social legislation which he so eloquently stresses. They come out of the responsibilities and also rights of private property which he underlines. They are to be grasped from the note which he strikes in regard to the powers of "economic domination," based

on the control of credit, to which he points.

The "security" which a workingman should have can be given only generally by way of illustration, in the time before us. Can it be better exemplified than in the idea of such a wage as will protect the family—not merely in its sustenance and education but in times of family emergencies? The foundation of our immediate outlook on the "security" for the worker has to rest on such working conditions as assures these economic safeguards to the family—affording protection when sickness knocks at the door or other difficulties arise in life. Knowing that every temporal thing has its limitations, we understand that this can scarcely be the security of utopia—but it can be substantial, and such as will throw a mantle around family life and development.

As to the "freedom" of the worker: his right to speak out economically and politically, as a part of the democratic state, is certainly to be desired and to be assured. Any intimidation of him as a worker, any threat real or implied to his livelihood because he did not conform to the

dictates of the ruling group in the state, is not to be condoned.

The declaration of the Catholic Bishops and Archbishops on the labor question in America have given us added enlightenment on both these aims of the workingman.

As to the "security" of the employer: is he not hampered and seriously handicapped too often by the monopolistic developments, which have come out of originally unrestrained competition? Does he not find monopoly control of credit frequently a stumbling block in his path? No sharper words are uttered by His Holiness, Pius XII, than on this subject—which entails controls even beyond the industrial employer; for the farmer, too, suffers from such credit concentration.

It is not a condemnation of individuals that is so important in this respect as legislation which will loosen the grip of monopoly capital on the credit markets.

As to "freedom" of the employer: are there not restrictions by labor, unwisely continued for years, that interfere with production and that could best be met in some other way? We can have an understanding of the

problem confronting the organized workers when new inventions come into any industry; but is it not the better and more moral manner to solve this difficulty as the garment unions have done, for instance? They have not gone on forever setting down artificial and damaging restrictions, blocking the full use of the machines; but have, through dismissal pay projects and provision for transfers, worked out with the employing interests a human and humane way to solve the dilemma.

Unless real beginnings are made to bring what is called "security" and "freedom" to both workers and the average employers along such lines, no beginnings can be thought of in ending the warring frictions which becloud the labor scene. "The two camps" of combative and conflicting class forces, to which Pius XI points with concern cannot continue in eternal battle together; that will lead to rising uncertainty, upheaval and general insecurity.

For the good of mankind, the two camps—drawn up in battle array—will have to yield eventually to that "bond of union" which the Popes proclaim as the

earmark of a healthy (because united) society.

The "bond of union!" Can we make any headway in that direction—and toward that goal—even now? Why can we not? Perhaps we can not go far as yet toward that all-out cooperation recommended by the Popes—bringing self-organized workers and self-organized employers together in each industry, a working arrangement to be sanctioned and confirmed by the state. But if we can't reach the end of the road at once, we can at least set out upon the journey. It is His Holiness, Pius XII, I believe, who when Papal Secretary of State well put it, when he said—we must "grow up" with the developing cooperative society which this "bond of union" envisages.

After all, we have two fundamental ways alone that can be pursued in handling the labor question and the re-arrangement of the social order. That is, there are *two ways of life* alone which can be the foundations for the course which is to be followed. One of these ways is that of materialism; it is represented both by extreme individualism and Communist super-statism. Each of these materialis-

tic philosophies and products—one raising up the Super-Exploiter, the other the Super-Dictator—rests upon the disruption of society, the warfare within society, the pitting of one section of society against the other. In one case, men are looked upon as tools to be bartered about for gain: in the other as slaves to be driven under a yoke for the benefit of the dictatorship and the omnipotent state. Rising from one cornerstone—materialism—they build up a funeral pyre of the hopes of humanity, here and hereafter.

The other way of life looks upon the human being not as tool or slave, but as a rational being and in relation to the Divinity, his Creator. It regards society as organically one—as that unit which should not be split asunder by hates but brought together by the bonds of fraternity.

Is it not possible for us to advance this united society within our own day—even now—by forwarding the creation of these industrial legislatures, as may be called, these permanent cooperating agencies between labor and capital recommended by Pope Pius XI, with the state

giving them added standing and status. Is that not possible?

There are no good reasons why we cannot begin in certain fields, every good reason why the attempt should be made. There is the railroad industry, as a possibility. For a considerable number of years—and more particularly for the past two decades, with the Railway Labor Act of 1926 onward—the organized workers and the carriers have had orderly methods of procedure in industrial discussions. These methods have received the direct sanction of federal legislation. Beyond all that, the relations between the railroad industry and the government have progressively assumed an aspect of constructive cooperation with the passage of time and the accumulation of regulative experiences. The attitude which marks their relationships is no longer one of continuous belligerency but of joint attempts to place the industry on the best possible running basis. Such at least has been the goal, whether always realized or not.

The printing trades, with their pioneering and matured methods of conciliation and arbitration, are in a like category. With them go other trades and

industries, in which experience in collective bargaining has prepared the way for the further and final step forward, into a permanent industrial legislature—which will be the nucleus for the general Industrial Congress, as it might be called, which eventually could be the democratic instrument for long-time relations between management and labor. That would be only the first of its aims; out of that consideration would arise the service to the common good. Ever must it be shot through with this consideration, the common good.

We have talked of “freedom” and “security”—words heard so frequently in our time—and within this arrangement we have the highest guarantees of security and freedom. There will be no utopia created—may I again caution of that—for man is still human in his relationships and original sin does exist. But in this plan there are brought into being the beginnings of that healing of society's wounds, that making it whole again, which will serve the well-being of mankind and the welfare of the commonwealth. May sufficient wisdom be granted the leading representatives of management in

this country and the most constructive leaders of labor, that they may understand the urgency of such an establishment of unity.

Have we not industrial statesmanship within both management and the unions to give serious consideration to this plan? Have we not enough leadership in both groups to take the initial steps in these industries which lend themselves to such measures?

The price of refusing to look into the Papal proposals—for such a stabilizing of labor and social relations—is continued chaotic conditions in that field. The final fruit of such refusal will be expensive and disastrous.

We have reached a new stage in the history of labor relations. The corporation came upon the scene, originally, as the most efficient instrument in producing and distributing goods in our modern age. As it grew, its impersonal character made for division between labor and management. Strenuously, the corporation strove to halt this tendency. Under the pressure of the compensation laws and like measures, it began safety campaigns and health activities. It sought some form of education

of the workers within the plant. It turned to many other devices to increase what was called "interest in the company and its problems."

At every step of the way, the corporation discovered that a firmer link had to be established with the workers—a better channel for communication set up.

Thus it was that we saw the entry of workers' committees and then larger employee representation plans into industry. Each did something along its line, but all failed eventually because of the need for self-organization. As Pope Pius XI says: "The apostles of the workers must be of the workers themselves."

In our time, the union has come largely upon the scene, in reply to this demand for self-organization. Has the hour not therefore arrived for a serious study of the future measures required for industrial stability and peace and production—the firm establishment of labor-management councils, considering not merely their narrower interests but the general good.

Pope Pius XI puts it eloquently and well: "The public institutions of the nations must be

such as to make the whole of human society conform to the common good, that is the standard of social justice."

Armed with such a concept, we can go forward, can we not,

from this day hence, toward the opening chapter in permanent labor-management relations—serving the welfare of the nation, aiding the good health of the world?

SHADOW OF SLAVERY

Address given on August 31, 1947

For a moment this afternoon, we can turn back one hundred years — to the France of 1848. There were barricades in Paris. Workingmen, who had erected those barricades, were about to be blown to bits by the French artillery. Then it was that Monsignor Affre, Archbishop of Paris, filled with concern for the lives of the people, advanced toward the chief barricade with a flag of truce—to offer means of peace. He won agreement to the peace—but his life was the price of this achievement. The bullet of an embittered man struck him down.

There is a heroic symbolism in this event. The representative of the Church was the messenger of peace, of reconciliation, of some permanent understanding between the classes—then, as now.

But this reconciliation and understanding cannot be won—either then or now—except through the constant correction of social abuses. Nowhere is that more stressed than in that crowning encyclical on social questions, His Holiness, Pius XI's pronouncement on Atheistic Communism. Again, as in *Quad-*

ragesimo Anno, does the Pope outline the urgency of social justice, founded on religious principles. Again does he present the vital necessity for mutual cooperation by associations of employers and workers, backed up by state support and appropriate legislation.

It is not merely enough to cry out against the horrors that we see about us—and well we may cry since the world is moving into a crisis as great as that of World War II itself. We must know, too, the sources of these horrors—and proceed to act against these sources, and against the evils they have created.

A voice, rising from beside the stricken Archbishop on the Parisian streets one hundred years ago, reminds us of these truths. Accompanying Monsignor Affre to the barricades was the notable professor of the Sorbonne, the founder of the St. Vincent de Paul Society—one of the authorities on the birth of European civilization—Frederick Ozanam. In 1848 he wrote: "The questions which will occupy the minds of men are questions of

labor, of wages, of industry, of economics."

In strong tones he states: "Never has Christianity consented to that enforced Communism" which seizes upon the "human person" and makes of him "a wheel without intelligence in the machine of the State."

And almost in prophetic words, he continues: ". . . Between the individualism of the last century and the Socialism of the present, Christianity alone has foreseen the only possible solution of the formidable question we are now facing, and alone has arrived at the point to which the more intelligent minds return today, after a wide circuit, when they insist upon association, but voluntary association."

At this time of year we celebrate Labor Day, and so it is in order to recall these expressions of Ozanam. They remind us that the stand for the right of association is not merely the position of the Church yesterday or the day before. The profound declarations of the thirteenth Leo and the eleventh Pius on behalf of this right—by workmen and management—are confirmations (or codifications, if you wish to put it that way), of

the fundamental understandings long ago in Catholic thought.

In Ozanam's day they were also stated with vigor and clarity by Bishop von Ketteler, of Mainz. (Would that the German nation had listened more attentively to his voice, and, in particular, to his indictment of the totalitarian regime, the Slave State—one of the most powerful ever uttered.) Such considerations—of the fundamental character of free association—arise from the natural law, that concept which has always been embedded in the philosophy connected with Catholic thought. America can do no better than turn to a serious study of the idea of the natural law—so urgently required in our day to govern our social legislation, to guide our social policies.

The test of our achievements can be put thus: Is our legislation aiding or retarding the strengthening of association on the part of both labor and management? Is it aiding or retarding permanent cooperation between associations? Are the actions of certain captains of industry, in their attitude toward labor unionism, advancing or blocking this desirable end? Is the conduct of certain repre-

sentatives of labor marring or helping the strength of free association and of the understanding which will make it of permanent service to our nation and mankind?

In the celebration of Labor Day, we can witness, here and there, encouraging signs that something is being done in the direction of aiding free association. There is the statesmanship now shown by the leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in regard to the Taft-Hartley law; while opposing that measure, they will not defy it. There is the beginning of opposition in certain unions to the subversive elements which have sought to use the unions for the purpose of foreign dictatorship. We note, too, the successful attempts by certain corporations to install the guaranteed or annual wage—thus making to a degree for a greater sense of security. We observe the beginnings of endeavors to instill a moral spirit into industrial management, in the formation by certain employers in the food industry of an institute to further Christian understanding of management's responsibilities. Let us hope and pray that these ideas may be extended.

We would be false to ourselves and to our beloved country were we to become lost in self-deceptive optimism or complacency. In the world scene the gloom has thickened since the Atlantic Charter was announced, and since the United Nations opened its sessions at San Francisco. Nor has this shadow abated during the past few weeks—the shadow of the Slave State, falling athwart the world.

One of our most distinguished and well-informed columnists has just stated that the only alternative to a divided world and war is the strengthening of Western Europe. And yet our entire Western World—and specifically our own United States—moves so slowly to relief and rehabilitation that new crises arise while the old ones are being considered. In contrast, the Slave state—paying no heed to the wishes of the people—“hurriedly tightens the strings that bind her satellites to her” with the machine gun squads busily engaged in killing off every friend of democracy.

Perhaps this slowness of the Western World arises in part from the inherent deliberations of democracies. Does it not fundamentally come, however, from the lack of emphasis on our *mor-*

al position—the lack of taking a moral stand? Let me remind you: Not yet has a strong voice spoken out against the horror that walks over Poland—although our own country has guaranteed the freedom of that nation: Does all this not arise from our lack of *understanding* of the nature of the Slave State, with which we are now confronted?

Ten years ago His Holiness, Pius XI, warned us that Communism has spread to all parts of the world precisely because too few have grasped its true meaning. That was one of the chief contributions of his encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*—on Atheistic Communism. Many, he pointed out, succumb to Communism's deceptions, "skillfully concealed by the most extravagant promises."

What is this slavery which we are beholding today—extending itself by brutality and ruthlessness over more and more peoples—as we stand open-eyed in horror and amazement? It is "a barbarism," says His Holiness, "worse than that which oppressed the greater part of the world at the coming of the Redeemer." This barbaric conspiracy "aims at upsetting the social order and at undermining the very founda-

tions of Christian civilization," the Papal warning tells us. These are words written a decade ago—let us recall—when much of the world was lost in a vague belief that the tenets of the Slave State might be some new form of "democracy." And now, the wisdom and foresight of the Papacy on this matter is even more sorely needed than at that day. For appeasement has succeeded the vague sentimentality which caused such wrong judgments by leaders and nations of the intents of the Slave State.

Never has there been a more overwhelming or clear-cut indictment of the Slave State and its agencies of subversion throughout the world than in the pages of Pius' Encyclical. It is to be hoped that in time an entire commentary on this valuable document—valuable for America and Americans—will be presented in book form, taking each sentence of the Papal indictment and showing how it is confirmed by the ruthless acts of the Slave State wherever it operates.

That monstrosity claims to be the triumph of labor—and that is one of the chief falsehoods by which it thrives. But Pius, even in 1937, could tell us the truth, namely, that the Slave

State's ideology provides for "the unlimited discretion (in the State) to draft individuals for the labor of the State with no regard for their personal welfare; so that even violence could be legitimately exercised to dragoon the recalcitrant against their wills."

Has not subsequent history born out too painfully and horribly this description by His Holiness, of the manner in which the Communistic Slave State operates?

Has not history and our own experience confirmed the charge by Pope Pius—repeated in many forms—that this Slave State and its emissaries resort to "insidious deceits," to "trickery in various forms," to perfidy in working their way into governmental posts and all sorts of institutions, in order to destroy from within these organs of the good life.

Have not history and our own bitter experiences testified to the "diabolical propaganda"—of the Slave State—which is directed from a common center against the rest of the world? Have we not seen that propaganda appealing to the discontented in various countries, and when it gains a foothold it abuses and abases them? Today, it is en-

gaged in a campaign of deceit and falsehoods against America—and against the Catholic Church!

What Pope Pius exposed so lucidly ten years ago comes into full existence before our very eyes today—threatening the peace of our homes and the existence of our hearthstones. Our very cities may be laid waste and our country made desolate—through its persistent treachery and enmity.

There is one chief reason why this is so: The building of this Slave State on materialism, on the rejection of God. Materialism can have no morals, let us recall, save those which grow up from terror. And terror breeds more terror, within a land and without.

What shall we do, to ward off the tremendous evil represented in this shadow of slavery, enforced by the cloud of war? Read the pages of Pope Pius and the reply comes out clear and strong. On the foundation stone of religious and moral principles, we must walk along a two-way street. First, correct those abuses upon which Communism feeds—doing it in the name of social justice and because of social justice. Secondly, we must be aware

of the urgency of opposing this evil of slavery on all fronts, of acquainting our fellows with its real character and its poisonous results.

From out of the pages of His Holiness, there emerges the thrilling quotation from St. James: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves."

"Be ye doers"—participating in democratic life, letting your representatives know what you want done, not permitting the subversive-minded or their friends to be the only ones to be heard in the legislative halls or by our executive offices. As members of a democracy, we may have differences of opinion in part. But out of our constant vigilance will come a common denominator of democratic thought—and action.

"Be ye doers"—if in the unions, then opposing any manner or form of control by subversive elements in the organization while advancing measures of social justice.

"Be ye doers"—if employers, by beginning a just and ethical

conduct of industry, particularly in reference to the encouragement of free association and family life among the working people.

Pope Pius has called us to a crusade of prayers, penance and practice. While doing these essential things, dictated by our moral obligations, we can pray—for the success of our work, for the conversion of those misled by Slave-State ideology, for the victory of morality over the Slave Power.

Under the patronage of St. Joseph, the workingman, Pope Pius has asked us to proceed in this apostolate. To St. Joseph, the humble—whose words are never recorded in the Sacred Scriptures—we can pray for the gift of eloquence in word and act—against Communism and for justice.

To Our Lady of Fatima—who has promised with our cooperation to convert the Russian people and save the world—we can send up our petitions. And each "Ave Maria" can say for us: "Make us doers of the word!"

THE PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC HOUR

(Extract from the address of the late Patrick Cardinal Hayes at the inaugural program of the Catholic Hour in the studio of the National Broadcasting Company, New York City, March 2, 1930.)

Our congratulations and our gratitude are extended to the National Council of Catholic Men and its officials, and to all who, by their financial support, have made it possible to use this offer of the National Broadcasting Company. The heavy expense of managing and financing a weekly program, its musical numbers, its speakers, the subsequent answering of inquiries, must be met. . . .

This radio hour is for all the people of the United States. To our fellow-citizens, in this word of dedication, we wish to express a cordial greeting and, indeed, congratulations. For this radio hour is one of service to America, which certainly will listen in interestedly, and even sympathetically; I am sure, to the voice of the ancient Church with its historic background of all the centuries of the Christian era, and with its own notable contribution to the discovery, exploration, foundation and growth of our glorious country. . . .

Thus to voice before a vast public the Catholic Church is no light task. Our prayers will be with those who have that task in hand. We feel certain that it will have both the good will and the good wishes of the great majority of our countrymen. Surely, there is no true lover of our Country who does not eagerly hope for a less worldly, a less material, and a more spiritual standard among our people.

With good will, with kindness and with Christ-like sympathy for all, this work is inaugurated. So may it continue. So may it be fulfilled. This word of dedication voices, therefore, the hope that this radio hour may serve to make known, to explain with the charity of Christ, our faith, which we love even as we love Christ Himself. May it serve to make better understood that faith as it really is—a light revealing the pathway to heaven: a strength, and a power divine through Christ; pardoning our sins, elevating, consecrating our common every-day duties and joys, bringing not only justice but gladness and peace to our searching and questioning hearts.

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| District of Columbia | Washington | WRC | 980 kc |
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113 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

In 41 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii

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| New Hampshire | Manchester | WFEA | 1240 kc |
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(Revised as of October, 1947)

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