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SOCIETY AND THE SOCIAL ENCYCLICALS-- AMERICA'S ROAD OUT

By
R. A. McGowan



Society and The Social Encyclicals--America's Road Out

by

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of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

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COLLECTIVE BARGAINING— A FIRST STEP

Address delivered on May 9, 1937.

In Catholic social teaching, labor unions and employers' associations dealing together form a first and necessary means to the establishment of justice and industrial peace. Whether unions should be industrial unions or craft unions is a detail. On the right and necessity of labor unions that meet the needs, the voice of Catholic social teaching is insistent.

The labor union exists by natural right. Pope Pius XI's great Encyclical, *Reconstructing the Social Order*, the anniversary of which we celebrate Saturday next, speaks of "the innate right" of labor "of forming associations", and castigates those governments which encouraged owners and employers to organize but denied labor the same right. Fortunately our Federal Government, in the recent Wagner-Connery and Railroad Labor Acts, and State Governments in increasing number, not only affirm the right but protect it from employers who discharge employees for organizing.

The right to organize is fundamental. The need today is no less fundamental. And the need goes back to an idea of man's life which is still deeper. It goes back to the belief that work and ownership are bound by moral laws of immediate and direct obligation, for the observance of which we are responsible before God. This seems a truism! Yet it is a revolutionary doctrine in the modern world.

The old Individualism which we long deified did not believe that. It held that if each person tried to get the best of everyone else in competition, charge the most and pay the least, hire for the least and

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get the most—in other words, if everyone paid no attention to immediate morality—in the long run the laws of competition and supply and demand would make everything perfect on earth. As to Heaven, if there were a Heaven, economic morality made no difference. Even some religions made wealth a kind of title to salvation. The basic opposition of the Catholic Church to Individualism is that Individualism is ignorant or forgetful of the moral law and is therefore pagan. And the basic reason why it wants the union and the employers' association to work together is because this method, helped by Government, is a just means of living up to the laws of God.

Nor does Catholic social teaching hesitate to state the moral principles, themselves, of wages and salaries, interest, profits and prices. As we go over these moral laws one by one we see the expanding life of the unions and the employers' associations in the very establishment of justice. A vision lies before us of a new society unlike the fighting world of unjust, broken, and profiteering industry of today. We see the union and the employers' association move towards a great future, step by step, as one by one they meet and solve the problems which God's law places before them.

Pius XI's *Reconstructing the Social Order* states these moral laws which organized employers and organized employees are to enforce. They are to decide the amount of a wage or salary big enough to support a man and his family, and to enforce its payment. "Intolerable", the Encyclical says, "and to be opposed with all our strength is the abuse whereby mothers of families, because of insufficiency of the father's salary, are forced to engage

in gainful occupations outside the domestic walls, to the neglect of their own proper cares and duties, particularly the education of their children.”

For the Church holds to the transcendent importance of the family and the primal necessity that a man's work give him enough for his family. Not half the American wage-workers get it now or have ever got it. We have not organized our economic life so they can get it. We deliberately disorganized under the regime of Individualism. Now we are changing. And the first moral law to put into the pay-check is the family living.

But immediately upon stating this moral law the Encyclical takes up a realistic question that applies to many companies, to some whole industries, and to some whole countries. It is that of an industry's inability to pay fair wages. The soft coal industry in its present chaos is such an industry. The textile industry is another. The Encyclical first declares that “social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee” the ability to pay. And then it says that employers and labor, helped by Government, should meet and if possible remove whatever is the reason for inability to pay. It specifies that they are to cure “bad management, want of enterprise, and out-of-date methods”. It specifies “the unjustly low price” and refers to other unnamed “burdens”.

Here we see the expanding field of the unions. The union is not merely to stand and demand when a company or industry cannot pay. It is to help the company and industry so it can pay; and Government is to assist.

This principle leads us into a world unlike the older America of competition, and the present

America which a few companies and banks dominate. The employees in their union are neither to sit back in despair nor to battle foolishly and bitterly. They are to become a kind of partner in the very conduct of industry to make industry just.

Here we stand at the true parting of the ways in modern life. The decision we make upon what labor shall do when industries or companies cannot pay the fair wage is one that decides no less a thing than the course of our whole civilization. If nothing shall be done, then we decay. If labor merely fights and strikes and refuses to do anything constructive and stands aloof in a disgruntled subjection, then the result will be the heightening of that terrible thing, class conflict, and a primrose path to revolution and communism. But if employers accept the union, and if the union not only bargains but cooperates, becomes responsible jointly with employers to put decency and order into industry, then we are on the road to a new day, on the way out of our present injustice and violence.

America is fortunate to have a labor movement that wants to cooperate with the employers. No other country has a major labor movement so grounded. The American Federation of Labor's sole long-time program, "Industry's Manifest Duty", wants not only collective bargaining but cooperation with employers in the general conduct of industry to make America just. The United Mine Workers, spearhead of the Committee for Industrial Organization, is the force back of the various Guffey laws and bills under which the union goes into a kind of partnership in the soft-coal industry to overcome the "unjustly low price" which, in part, forbids mine-workers a living wage.

America is fortunate too in having some employers willing to walk with this program. It is miserably served by its many employers who fight the union, accept it grudgingly, make it stand an arm's length away, and do not realize that a man has the right to work and support his family even though the fetishes of "business is business" and "an employer is king in his own castle" are destroyed. Theirs is the perfect way to get Communism and Fascism. A fighting and non-cooperating labor movement lets injustice go on until unemployment and poverty are chronic. The result can be foreseen. With fighting, non-cooperating employers, the result can also be foreseen. Communism and its expropriation and repression, or Fascism and repression. God grant we avoid either path.

The union as a bargaining and a cooperating organization appears clearer yet when we see still other moral obligations. There is the moral obligation that wages and salaries shall be at such points, in relation to each other and in relation to interest and profits, that employment will be steady for everybody. Involved in this is a right balance of prices among all products, too. When the Encyclical of Pius XI on *Reconstructing the Social Order* states these moral laws, it adds that when we shall have lived up to them, we shall have full production from our resources and a high standard of living for all.

Upwards of eight millions are unemployed now. In 1929 we underproduced by a fifth, and three millions were workless. Twenty per cent fewer workers are needed now to turn out even the same volume of goods as in 1929. All the community lives ultimately upon those who produce in farming, manufacturing, or mining, or who transport these

goods or distribute them. As we go now, unemployment and poverty seem permanent. The fate of the country rests then upon a right distribution of the income and work in industry and agriculture and upon right prices there. In no other way can the unemployed get back to work. Certainly the Government, representing us all, has a place in all major decisions. But certainly, too, the chief owners, corporation executives, and bankers cannot decide it all. And unless the Government is to rule everything—for the issues are so far-reaching that if it acts alone, it will engulf everything—then the union of the employees must decide with employers what are right wages and salaries, what are right prices, what, too, are right interest-rates and profits, in industrial life. Far-reaching? Yes. But unless it is that far-reaching there will be a still farther-reaching cataclysmic revolution or dead suppression, or accepted unemployment, rusting decay, doles for good men, beggars on the streets, decaying families, and a degenerate country.

See, too, those other moral laws laid down in the Encyclical of Pius XI. One is that labor shall share fairly in the increasing production. Is there any way to decide what a fair share is, or after deciding it to enforce it, without the unions and whole employers' associations working together? Another moral law is that the working people shall get enough to save and become owners of property. Can you see any way to have that done without the union, and without the union both bargaining and closely collaborating in economic life?

May I say, therefore, a word to American employers and officials of employers' associations: Accept the union! Be patient with labor—you, your-

selves, trained labor to fight. Cooperate with the union. Show that you want to. And start out on the new road of trying with its help to make industry just. It is no easy road; stock-holders and bankers, to say nothing of your own high-handed brothers, will stand often in your way; the unions will do wrong. But God's law and the creation of a Christian civilization demand your part.

And may I say a word to American labor: Join the union! The union is necessary to get justice for yourselves and all the people. And when you are in the union, stand for both justice and peace. Insist not only on bargaining. Insist on cooperating. Strikes are necessary at times. Make them few. The aim is always justice, always peace. Keep to your contracts when you make them. Reject violence. You are a kind of partner in your whole industry along with your employers, whether they recognize it or not; soon they must recognize it.

And to the rest who are neither employers nor employees may I say a word: The fate of ourselves, of justice and brotherhood, of civilization, depends on what happens in industry these next few years. The issue is decided on whether labor will organize both to bargain and cooperate, whether employers will agree, and whether Government will help. Stand on the side of the bargaining and cooperating union! Let us, too, go and do likewise—organize to put our own houses of farming or the professions in order. Anything else means chaos, means injustice, means ruin. God help us to take the first steps into a new and Christian order of justice and industrial peace.

We are living in a time not only of crisis but of opportunity—let us not fail to seize the opportunity, and the crisis will take care of itself.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Address delivered on May 16, 1937.

Last week in the first of this series of three talks, I laid special emphasis on labor unions and employers' organizations working together voluntarily to decide and enforce the living wage, put companies and industries in a position to pay it, end unemployment, make production full, and make that right division of the product and profits for all to share fairly and for labor to save and rise to ownership. All these I took from Pius XI's great Encyclical, *Reconstructing the Social Order*, issued six years ago yesterday. And I said if these things are not done, revolution will come, terror and a life unlivable, under either Communism or Fascism, or else slow and degrading decay. God's law cannot be invaded by a people and they stand.

Occasionally it was mentioned that Government should help. Today we concentrate on Government's part in establishing justice and peace. The old Individualism which has been America's suicidal theory, held that Government should do just about nothing save force competition, arrest thieves, execute murderers, and protect the country against aggressors. We broke the theory by distributing land free as long as we had it and by establishing governmental schools and, though these measures were contested, by keeping out foreign-made goods through high tariffs and annexing territory. We broke through the whole system in this last generation by trustifying industry and the banks.

The idea of a government doing next to nothing

is rooted in the belief that people live best by discarding justice and fighting one another to see which comes out on the economic top. Government is therefore to stand aloof in remote isolation. We have at last abandoned that theory in the Minimum Wage Law and in the Wagner-Connery Labor and the Railroad Labor Acts. The Supreme Court has confirmed our determination. Now we can get Government to enforce just minimum wage laws, now we can get Government to protect the rights of labor to organize, now we can do much besides.

These are a tremendous advance. Only a short time ago we felt hopeless.

Three principles in Catholic social teaching are involved here, none of which can be disregarded. It is of the greatest importance for all three to be applied. One is the principle of general laws and institutions to help establish justice and the common good. A second is the principle of special laws to protect the poor. The third is the crucial principle of today, that of Government supporting and strengthening the democratic organizations of the industries and the professions in their deciding, themselves, and enforcing, social justice in work and ownership.

The first principle is stated in Pius XI's *Reconstructing the Social Order* as follows: "The civil power is more than the mere guardian of law and order, and it must strive with all zeal 'to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, should be such as of themselves to realize public well-being and private prosperity.' It is true, indeed, that a just freedom of action should be left to individual citizens and families; but this principle is only valid

as long as the common good is secure and no injustice is entailed.”

The second principle is stated in the Encyclical as follows: “The richer class have many ways of shielding themselves and stand less in need of help from the State, whereas the mass of the poor have no resources of their own to fall back upon and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State. And for this reason wage-earners, since they mostly belong to that class, should be especially cared for and protected by the government.”

The third principle is likewise stated in the same Encyclical: “The State should leave to smaller groups the settlement of business of lesser importance. It will thus carry out with greater freedom, power, and success, the tasks belonging to it, because it alone can effectively accomplish these, directing, watching, stimulating, and restraining, as circumstances suggest or necessity demands”.

Here is a clear-cut, three-fold attitude towards laws on economic life. It proclaims the necessity of legislation both of a general character and to protect persecuted classes. But it also declares that normally Government should do much of its work through democratically organized industries and professions.

Here are not alone principles on the obligations of governments. Here is a philosophy, a religion of life. It goes back to the high belief that we are here on earth to do justice to one another day by day and help obtain the general good on our common road to Heaven. It holds that we cannot do so by deliberately trying, in the name of competition, to do injustice. It holds that we have to try directly to do justice. Because doing so is complicated, it holds

that we have to organize. It holds finally that Government must act, both on its own to enforce justice and the general good and to protect the poor and the weak, and to help us build institutions and organizations through which we can be just ourselves, can ourselves promote the general welfare. Finally Government should supervise our organization decisions and help them be right and prevent their being wrong.

Let us try to set these principles against the present-day America, in the light of some of the demands of the moral law. Let us take the principle that employers are morally obligated to pay the men who work for them a family living wage. Something is wrong with a country's general laws and institutions when about half of the working people do not get the living wage and when eight to nine millions have no work at all. Or if the general laws and institutions are right, then they have broken down in practice. In either case to ensure justice to the people who lack it, we should pass minimum wage laws. Some would limit such laws to women. It is a terrible wrong to pay a woman less than enough for her rightly to live on. But the wife and growing children of an underpaid husband and father are none the less sacred. The husband and father is no less sacred. There are special reasons for minimum wage laws for women. There are equally valid reasons for family living wage laws for men.

But what of the principle of organization in relation to such laws? Should the Government out of hand, through a commission, establish such wages for all industries? Should the Federal Government do so under its new powers over interstate commerce

and over manufacturies that enter interstate commerce? Should the States pass minimum wage laws for men as well as women in the remaining industries under their control?

Let us try this as an answer. The Federal and State Governments should themselves decide the minimum in industries where union labor is almost completely lacking, but even then should try to introduce the element of organization by bringing in the employers and whatever organized labor exists. In the industries in which there is appreciable organization of labor—for there nearly always is an organization of the employers—but in which no representative contracts on wages exist, the Federal and State Governments should try to get understanding and agreement from both sides on the amount of the living wage. And when there is a representative agreement of the employers and united labor, then they should take the decision and apply it to the whole industry.

In other words: Minimum wage laws federally and in the states, but the labor union having a wide place. This it lacked, propaganda to the contrary, in the N. R. A.—and that is the chief reason it failed.

But the bare minimum wage is not enough. We have to establish those exact wages and salaries, interest, profits, and prices, which will put people back to work; and that, too, is a part of the moral law. Governments setting in motion living wage laws based on real agreements in the industries help the organizations in the industries to move still farther and establish the wages and prices that will end unemployment. By Government so doing the organizations can also decide and enforce with governmental backing these other moral laws: Wages

that will let the people share fairly in the increasing product of the country and save and rise to ownership.

Moreover in industries so backward and disorganized that they cannot pay fair wages and move with the rest of the country, the union can this way cooperate with the employers to bring those industries up to standard.

In brief: A new kind of law, federally and in the States, in which the union is brought in on the ground floor in deciding the living wage, and where with governmental help the unions and the employers' organizations can rise to the upper floors to decide the maximum employment wage and price, the sharing-in-product wage and the property-wage.

Look for a moment at the alternative. The first is to try to go along as we are. We cannot. For a social system and a legal system built on allowing injustice to go on is a great sin and like all great sins spells the suicide of a civilization.

A second method is to try to have Government do next to everything. God help us. The result is that Government becomes a stumbling dictator cruelly denying the rights of a man throughout all of life. The solution is for Government indeed to act but for democratic organizations in industry and the professions to stand between the lone individual and Government and for Government to back them wholeheartedly and supervise them, when necessary.

I have given most of the time to legislation upon industry. But the same principle applies to farming and the professions.

However, beyond what we have already said as to the duty of Government to pass special legislation on its own, listen to these words from Pius XI's

Encyclical on *Atheistic Communism*, issued no longer ago than March 19th, St. Joseph's day:

"It must. . . be the special care of the State to create those material conditions of life without which an orderly society cannot exist. The State must take every measure necessary to supply employment, particularly for the heads of families and for the young. To achieve this end demanded by the pressing needs of the common welfare, the wealthy classes must be induced to assume those burdens without which human society cannot be saved nor they themselves remain secure. However, measures taken by the State with this end in view ought to be of such a nature that they will really affect those who actually possess more than their share of capital resources, and who continue to accumulate them to the grievous detriment of others."

I need not tell you we are living in a time of crisis. I need say nothing of the millions out of work, of the millions more who, though working, get far too little. Nor need I tell you of the avarice and pride that still stand in the way. You see it all day by day; and if I speak of legislation both to enforce justice and to help every effort that we ourselves make to organize and establish justice, it is because laws are necessary, are right, and are denied, and not because I do not put first and foremost a change of mind, a revolution of spirit of the American people themselves. Something of that we have already. But it must grow. For everything else fails unless we love the Lord our God with all our hearts and all our souls and, for love of God, love our neighbor. And we must do so in our work and our ownership because these are crucial to each of us, to others, to the safeguarding of civilization, to

the creation of a great America, and to the march of man to eternal salvation.

A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER

Address delivered on May 23, 1937.

Two weeks ago I stated that if we are to establish justice in the United States, pay the living wage, get the people back to work, let the people share fairly, all of them, in our increasing product, fill the deep chasm between the propertied few and the propertyless multitude, and do so peacefully, then the working people must organize into free unions, the employers must accept the unions, and the two must not only bargain but move forward to collaborate increasingly in the whole conduct of industry in a new and Christian social-economic order.

Last Sunday it was said that laws, too, are needed for justice' sake—general laws that go far themselves to make a prosperous country, special laws that protect the weak and the poor, and laws that help the democratically organized members of the industries and professions to direct themselves for the common good.

In both talks it was said that this medicine, bitter to many, is nowhere near so bitter as that day, that day of wrath, will be if we do not begin inside Government and out of Government, through laws and through organizing, to live up to God's law in economic life. It was even said that the alternatives to the reign of justice are bloody, dictatorial, and atheistic Communism, a strangling Fascism, or a slow, lethargic decay of this great country. For God cannot long be despised even on this earth.

It was said that to enter rightly upon this road to a new and Christian social order we shall have to go through a revolution of the spirit to take on the

social charity of brotherhood in Christ. Then we shall dedicate ourselves to the high resolve to do justice and obtain the general welfare, and do so for love of God, love of man, and the salvation of souls.

This is no academic matter. Our social order has been an unjust and fighting system. Here it is proposed that we grow gradually, but not hesitatingly, into a cooperating life, cooperating around our vocations in life—our occupations, our work, our industries and professions—through unions and employers' associations, through farmers' organizations, and through professional bodies, to make them unitedly serve their membership and the whole public. It is the social order described in Pius XI's great Encyclical, *Reconstructing the Social Order*, and reaffirmed in his *Atheistic Communism* of March last. It is a necessary means of justice.

The new and Christian order of economic life is not a Utopia to be created overnight. It is something to grow into. It is the union and its collective bargaining with employers, and then the union and its collective cooperation with them. It is the farmers' organization doing one thing and then another and then another. It is a doctors' guild or a bar association doing something, and then more, to put order and justice into these vocations. It is moving from the cure of simpler evils to the cure of more complex evils on to the establishment of great good. It is their working together. It is Government helping at every stage. It is life. It is growth. It is doing, but in a growing measure, many things we are trying to do today. It is using Government, but throwing the emphasis on people organizing to do for themselves.

The key to it in industry is the acceptance of

collective bargaining and its growth into collective cooperation. The key to it in Government is legislation which increasingly relies on organizations. The key to it in spiritual life is our growth in the love of God and man and the knowledge of God's law.

The Church writes no blue-print. It teaches the moral law, inspires men with its motives, serves as a channel for the grace of God. The economic and governmental technique is not however for the Church to teach. The growth and the flowering, therefore, is the joint result of morality and religion, of economics, and of governmental principles and practices. It is the joint product of a religiously instructed and motivated people who merge with their religion and morals all their skill and science in economic and social life.

Do not think that the magnified production which science allows is an argument to keep the present scheme of things. In the lifetime of men and women who have barely moved into their majority we have suffered an awful world war and stand now in the shadow of another; we have walked in the valley of the Great Depression and are threatened with another, and another; and one vast country has gone Communist and still others have gone Fascist. Gaudy houses we built the world over are crumbling. God did not build them. We built them. We built them on our greed and our pride. We built them on the immorality and struggle of Individualism. We rejected Christ as the ruler or economic life. Religion was told to stand aside. Christ was not the corner-stone.

The new and Christian social order which we shall create, or else rush to ruin, is one of brother-

hood throughout. Not a vague brotherhood, nor a sentimental aspiration of uprooted souls, but a down-to-earth thing in our very work, our very ownership, and our very citizenship. For under it we shall be willing to follow a certain moral principle to the point of insisting on it, both with others and with ourselves, in a growing measure year by year. The principle is given in a startling sentence in Pius XI's great Encyclical on Communism of March last. The sentence is this: "It is of the essence of social justice to demand of each all that is necessary for the common good". Think that over and see where it leads. It leads—as Pius XI immediately said—to full economic production pursued in peace and in order and to everyone's possession of all that he needs to fulfill his duties in life. And the means to ensure that we do this is organizing ourselves in our industries and in our professions, into an order and system dedicated to social justice, bound together in social charity, and helped by Government to obtain its objective.

So far we have spoken chiefly of industry. What applies to industry applies to farming. It applies also to the many service occupations, which, incidentally, are growing, now that science lets fewer persons produce our food, clothing, and shelter, and releases the others either to serve other developing needs of the people or else, as now, to go unemployed, so many of them.

The first attack has to be, however, in industry and in farming, because we all live from them. We have spoken of industry. In farming the same rule of organization stands.

Farmers' cooperative organizations have grown greatly in the last twenty-five years. They have

grown in marketing, in buying, and in credit. Farmers will not do right or live right or take their place right in the country's life until they organize. The lone farmer on the lone farm is rightly the brother of all other farmers and he cannot receive just prices for his products or be charged just prices for his supplies or his credit without organization.

And so to farmers I would say: Join your cooperatives. When they do not exist, help to organize them. Insist too that the very limit of the capacities of your own organizations shall be used in all laws that concern you, whether in obtaining living prices, price parities, conservation or low interest rates, or that great need of farmers and the country, the abolition of tenantry, or fair treatment in that wide range of city finance, production, and trade, which concern you always.

American farming, the first of the industries, has suffered endlessly in our commercialized world. It has all to gain by joining forces with those in city industry who are trying to make economic life serve God's law.

You see what I am driving at. It is that God's law must rule work and ownership; that we shall ourselves organize in industry, in agriculture, in the service occupations, and in the professions, to live up to God's law there; that we shall get Government to help us; that we shall move on step by step, not in Utopian fashion but hard-headedly, solving more immediate problems first and then others and then still others. And because all the occupations depend on one another, they must enter into organized relations with one another.

The hard fact is that we are entering a new world. We already have our foot in the door. It can

be the marvel of man's whole long march on this earth. But it will be worse instead of better unless we make religion the outward thrusting rule of our economic life.

Beneath this idea of work and ownership is a gospel, as old as life and reaffirmed in Christianity, but as new as tomorrow in this pagan world. It is that we depend on one another. We depend on one another in each occupation. Every whole occupation depends on every other occupation and on all the people. We are always one of many and never alone. We are brothers. We must live as brothers.

Acting as brothers, we must make private ownership serve the common good of all. We can make private property a mainstay of our great country. We can distribute it widely. For ownership is necessary both for freedom and for full output. We can decide this way, too, which are those few industries and services that are so vitally important to the people that they must in safety to the community be owned by the community.

We can do all this, and do it with relative calm and gradually, if we organize our industries and professions to do it, get Government to help, and become converted to economic morality. This is the recurring theme. In the old days our interdependence, our organic character, our unity, our economic brotherhood in our occupations and in the country as a whole, was not admitted. Competition was supposed to be the law of life. We were not to make God and His law rule economic life. Our social order was disorder. It still is. More than a generation ago we began, also, to fall into the hands of a few magnates of great wealth, a few huge corporations, and a few banks. We are trying to move out

of their control now, out of the remnants and survivals of the old Individualism, and out of the evil spirit of Individualism. We are trying to do so peacefully.

Some are standing in our way. We ourselves make mistakes. Nor are we yet fully converted to morality and order. But we are on the right road. We are taking some of the first steps. A social order of unity, of inter-dependence, of the brotherhood of free men in their vocations, their occupations, separately and jointly, is the end of our road if we are to make a great America and use economic life as rungs in the ladder to God. May we live in His love and in the charity of Jesus Christ. For without such charity we surely fail.

N. C. W. C. STUDY CLUB OUTLINE
SOCIETY AND THE SOCIAL ENCYCLICALS—
AMERICA'S ROAD OUT

I. Collective Bargaining—A First Step

1. Catholic Teaching:
 - (a) Collective bargaining a first and necessary means to establish industrial justice and peace.
 - (b) Labor unions a natural right.
 - (c) Need to organize fundamental, because work and ownership are bound by moral laws.
2. Beyond collective bargaining, field for cooperation of employers and labor unions in enforcing, with assistance of government, moral laws on—
 - (a) Wages, (b) Interest, (c) Profits, (d) Prices, (e) Employment, (f) Production.
3. Results of non-cooperation: (a) Communism and revolution and repression; or (b) Fascism and repression; or (c) slow decay of present system.
4. Recommendations:
 - (a) To employers and employers' associations—accept and cooperate with union.
 - (b) To labor—join the union. Not only bargain, but cooperate. Keep contracts. Reject violence.
 - (c) To the public—stand back of bargaining and cooperating unions. Organize professions and farming.

References: "The American Labor Movement" by Francis J. Haas (N. C. W. C. 10c). "Wages and Hours of American Labor" by Francis J. Haas (N. C. W. C. 10c).

II. Christian Principles and Social Legislation

1. Three principles in Catholic social teaching:
 - (a) General laws and institutions to help establish justice and the common good.
 - (b) Special laws to protect the poor.
 - (c) Government support and help to cooperating organized employers and labor in the direction of economic life for the common good.
2. Philosophy back of these principles—our heavenly destination obtained through doing justice to one another for the common good, in which we need government help.
3. Necessities:
 - (a) Minimum wage laws which labor will have some part in deciding.
 - (b) Government help to organized, cooperating employers and employees in obtaining
 - (1) Maximum employment wage and price.
 - (2) Sharing-in-product wage.
 - (3) Property wage.
 - (c) Direct laws regarding unemployment and taxation.
 - (d) A revolution of spirit in which love of God and love of our neighbor for love of God will permeate work and ownership.

References. "What Laws Must We Have?" by Elizabeth Morrissy (N. C. W. C. 10c). "The Constitution and Catholic Industrial Teaching" by John A. Ryan (N. C. W. C. 10c).

III. A New Social Order

1. Unless principles of organization and legislation accompanied by a new spirit of social charity, of brotherhood under God, are realized, alternatives are:
 - (a) Communism.
 - (b) Fascism.
 - (c) Slow decay.
2. We must all cooperate around our work, our occupations in life, for the common good.
3. The growth to this order must be gradual through:
 - (a) (In industry)—Collective bargaining-cooperation.
 - (b) (In government)—Legislation, which increasingly relies on organizations.
 - (c) (In spiritual life)—Growth in love of God and man, and knowledge of God's law.
4. Catastrophes due to present system and rejection of Christ.
5. What applies to industry applies to farming and service occupations and professions.
6. As to farming, organize in cooperatives and insist that all laws concerning farming shall rely on the farmers' organizations.
7. Result: A social order of unity, of interdependence, of brotherhood of free men in their occupations.

References. "Toward Social Justice" R. A. McGowan (N. C. W. C. 15c).
"New Guilds" by R. A. McGowan (N. C. W. C. 10c).

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(Extract from his address at the inaugural program in the studio of the National Broadcasting Company, New York City, March 2, 1930.)

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