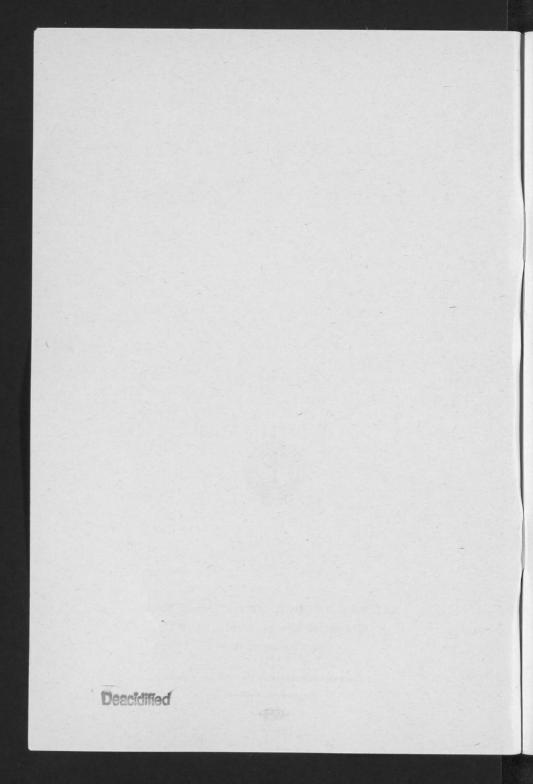


# "The Christian In Action-In Economic Relations"



# "The Christian In Action-In Economic Relations"

A series of eight radio programs presented on "The Christian in Action" (ABC, 11:30-12 noon EST) from September 2, 1951 to October 21, 1951. "The Christian in Action" is produced by the National Council of Catholic Men in cooperation with the American Broadcasting Company.



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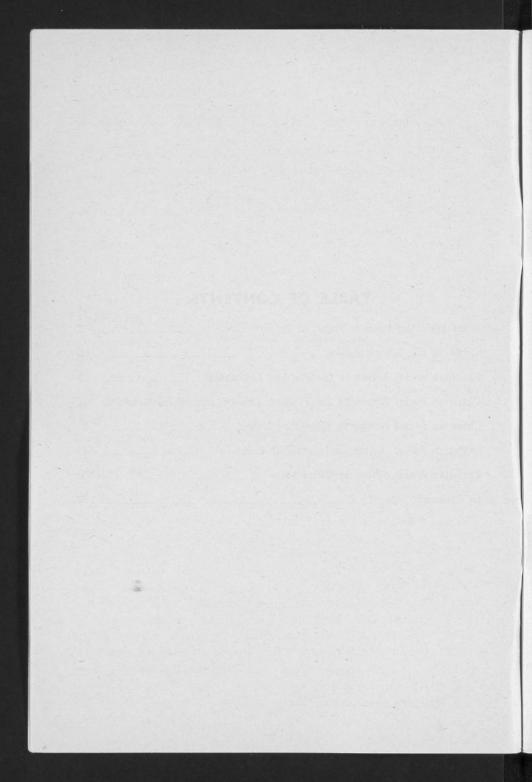
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# WHAT DOES THE CHURCH THINK OF LABOR?

### Address Delivered on September 2, 1951 By the Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, of the Society of Mary.

I wonder as you ride along in your car or sit at home with your eyes on the Sunday paper and your ear tuned to the radio -would you permit me to have a one-way chat with you about labor? I know to-day and tomorrow are really days for relaxing. It does seem funny, doesn't it, that we call the day when most workers are on vacation-Labor Day? But after all, the Labor Day weekend is a good occasion to take time out and, at our leisure, think over some of the problems which face American workers today. Certainly a problem of modern life is the terrific pace we are forced to keep up. Most folks have neither the chance nor the desire to think things out for themselves. The main thought which I would like to discuss with you today is: What does the Church think about Labor? By Labor here I mean generally, all people who work for a living, and particularly, organized labor-unions.

You know, some people believe that the Church shouldn't have any thoughts about labor. They seem to feel that the mind and voice of the Church should be restricted to things like praver. devotions, religious services, and the salvation of souls for the hereafter. By the way, did you ever stop to think how close the hereafter is to the here-andnow? Many folks who are here for the beginning of this labor day weekend, are mighty close to eternity. Their number will be a headline in Tuesday's papers. When they stand before their Maker. I am sure that they will find that He is interested in more than just what they did on Sunday or during a novena. They will find that God had a purpose in mind when He said. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

The Divine purpose of work is fitted to the nature of man. One of our main problems today is man's refusing to seek and accept the natural purpose of work. Nature is a funny thing —we can't flaunt its laws without experiencing painful reactions. I think it was St. Thomas Aquinas who said, "God for-

gives, and man can be taught to forgive, but nature never forgives." Now if God had wanted to, He could have created man and then left it up to us to find out in our own way what He wants us to do-how He wants us to behave. In His Infinite Mercy, He did not abandon us in that manner. All through the ages He has spoken to man through His representatives. In every day and age, He has told us what we must do in order to be happy here and hereafter. Now that's the function of the Church, Our Lord, Himself, has told us, "Behold, I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world," and again, "He who hears you, hears Me." In recent years Our Holy Fathers have told us over and over again that work, like the nature of man, has a double character, a double purpose-personal and social. The personal purpose of work is to give us the things we need to keep us alive and develop our creative powers. The social purpose of work is to supply all and each with all the goods that the wealth and resources of nature, technical achievement, and the social organization of economic life can furnish.

Has the industrial age op-

erated in such a way as to fulfill these two purposes? What do you think? Pius XI certainly didn't think so. In 1931 discussing the necessary reconstruction of the Social Order he wrote these solemn words regarding the failure of modern industrial techniques to fulfill the personal purpose of work. I quote: "And thus bodily labor which Divine Providence decreed to be performed, even after original sin for the good at once of man's body and soul, is being everywhere changed into an instrument of perversion: for dead matter comes forth from the factory ennobled, while men there are corrupted and degraded." It's clear from the context of his letter that Pius XI was not talking here about immorality in the factories. He was concerned with the blunting and stunting effect that a monotonous, mechanical, repetitious operation can have on the personality of the human being created to the image and likeness of God. This question of mass production techniques is both a serious and a difficult problem. Its seriousness can be gathered from these words of Leo XIII. I quote: "No one may with impunity outrage the dignity of man, which God Himself

treats with great reverence . . . Nay more, in this connection a man cannot even by his own free choice allow himself to be treated in a way inconsistent with his nature, and suffer his soul to be enslaved. . ." Now what makes the problem so difficult is the fact that if we concentrate on trying to make our industrial jobs more human so that they will give a man a chance to develop his creative instincts, we run the danger of not fulfilling the social purpose of work. You will remember that we said the social purpose of work was to supply all and each with everything that natural resources, technology and social organization can produce. Pius XI tells us that these goods ought to be enough both to meet the demands of decent comfort and to advance people to what he calls that "happier and fuller condition of life which, when it is wisely cared for, is not only no hinderence to virtue but helps it greatly."

It's all right to talk about the wonderful effects that handcraft methods have on developing a man's creative abilities, but you don't have to be an economist or a production manager to see that such methods are impractical when hundreds of thousands of people are dying of starvation in India-when we are not producing enough now to give our own workers a living, saving, family wage-and when millions of people are forced to arm themselves against the threat of a gigantic Soviet military machine. The Church doesn't have all the answers to these problems. She never has and does not intend to enter into the field of business, concerning matters which are purely technical. She is not interested in proposing scientific production techniques, accounting systems, marketing methods, and such things. As the Bishops of the United States said in 1940: "To pass judgement on their aptitude and merits is a technical problem proper to economic science and business administration. For such the Church has neither the equipment nor the authorization. We frankly declare that it would be unwise on her part to discuss their operation except insofar as the moral interest might be involved."

But the Church very definitely has both the right and the duty to be interested in economic affairs which produce a long train of evils, physical, social and moral. As the Bishops point out, unfair wages due to

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greed, and insecurity due to immoral economic principles cause parents and children to be undernourished. live in unfit. houses, quarrel, and become parental and juvenile delinguents. Certainly, no one can challenge the right and duty of the Church to speak out against these moral evils. As the Bishops put it: "because human beings and not animated machines toil in industry. therefore, the Church cannot abdicate her right and duty to speak out in defense of the rights of human personality nor fail to declare uncompromisingly the moral obligations of industrial and economic life."

Too often, this right of the Church to have a hearing in the market place is denied by the worldling and even, sad to say, by some of its own members who have become infected with secularism. It should be evident to any clear thinking person that social our problems involve rights and wrongs and are, therefore, moral problems. Surely anyone who is not blind to the history of the past 50 years will readily see that the Church and her members have been tragicaly harmed by false political and economic philosophies which were pawned off on millions of men as a total solution

to their social problems. Exaggerated individualism with its philosophy of "what's mine is my own" developed an iron curtain policy towards the moral law and its application to business. As a result insupportable economic burdens were imposed upon the shoulders of the workers to such a degree that they lost interest and even developed an antagonism towards their religious and moral obligations. The effects of this false doctrine tore away members from the body of the Church in such numbers that our late Holy Father. Pius XI was forced to utter these startling words to Bishops in a European country: "the working classes are lost to the Church." As far as Communism. Facism, and Nazism are concerned, how can anyone possibly close his eyes to the campaign of insidious propaganda and inhuman persecution carried on against the Church and millions of her members? These are some of the reasons why the Church insists that all of us must work with untiring and unceasing efforts for a return to Christian life and Christian institutions, especially in the world of labor.

Christian Social principles are not statements made for the record. They are ethical judge-

ments giving directions for action. We have heard a lot and read a lot about Christianity. It's time we see a few more Christians in action. As our Bishops pointed out in 1948: "It is not enough to find fault with the way our economic system is working. Positive constructive thought and action are needed." What does the Church think about labor? She thinks that those who work for a living will never be really interested in their work if they turn to the solutions offered either by 18th century individualism or 20th century statism. The brown shirt and the red shirt, just like the stuffed shirt, turn the workers into a mass, and the masses are the worst enemy of the people. The masses can be pushed around and manipulated like a large rubber ball by any clever demagogue. P eople don't like to be herded beneath a bal cony, whipped up to an emotional frenzy and asked to make the decision, "What do you want? guns." Butter or Dictators whether they be political or economic have no fear of the masses. What they fear more than anything else in the world is people. People have the disturbing habit of asking, "Why?" They find no satisfaction in

answering problems with the hysterical shout of "Duce", "Sieg heil", or "Stalin". They want food, clothing, housing. They demand a degree of economic security, but real people want these things in order that they may exercise the virtue of social justice by making their contributions to the political, economic, and social welfare of the community.

Christian Social Principles which apply to labor, management, government are too numerous to mention on this program. I am restricting myself here to judgements made by the Church which would help us build the kind of social order that would permit our workers to labor in such a way as to fulfill the personal and social purpose which God assigned to work. Pius XI offered two wavs of working out a solution to this problem. One technique applies to the relationship between employer and employee. It would make the worker more interested and efficient on his job. The other plan calls for a cooperative effort freely organized between the elected representatives of capital and labor under the supervision, but not the domination, of government, in order to attain the social purpose of an

economic system. Most of our industrial and farm population today is sharply divided into two groups. A few own the machinerv and/or direct the operations. The vast majority neither own nor direct. To remedy this unnatural division of labor Pius XI made the following statement: "We consider it more advisable in the present condition of human society that so far as possible, the work contract be somewhat modified by a partnership contract . . . Workers . . . thus become sharers in ownership or management or participate in some fashion in the profits received." The personal ownership of his tools has always been the best way to make a worker interested in his job and its product. In our present setup this is not possible except for a handful of our workers. It is certainly possible, however, to introduce, gradually, the majority of our workers to the functions and advantages of ownership. The main things that go along with ownership are management, profits, and the feeling of independence. Our Holy Father is not suggesting that labor should immediately be allowed to have a voice in such things as the purchasing of materials, marketing operations or financing. These things are over the heads of most of our workers. But he is saving that labor sharing in management means more than bargaining collectively for wages, hours, working conditions. A man who spends his whole working time for years in a factory or office or on a farm can't help but learn something about the productive processes of his industry. Since he is a human being with brains, he gets the urge at times to have some control over these operations. He wants to suggest improvements. He thinks of ways to eliminate waste. If he is permitted equal cooperation with his employer in these things, the sharing in management will go a long way towards developing his directive and creative abilities. He gets the feeling of ownership also if he is able to share in the profits in an equitable way. Perhaps one of the most effective methods of creating interest and efficiency in the worker would be the possibility of owning some controlling stock in the business.

What we are discussing here are some of the techniques recommended by Our Holy Fathers for the purpose of introducing the majority of our workers to the functions and advantages of ownership. The techniques are not offered as either complete or infallible solutions to the problem of human relations in modern industry. They are, however, sound recommendations which would go far towards helping us to achieve the personal purpose of work, namely, the providing of the things necessary for life and developing man's creative powers. But even if labor along with capital and government succeeds in humanizing our industrial system, it would not have satisfied the social purpose of work, which is, as we have said, to provide each and all with all the goods that the wealth and resources of nature, technical achievement and the social organization of economic life can furnish. We have great wealth. We have great natural resources and technical know-how, but what we need badly is the social organization of our economic life. The organization which our Holy Fathers recommend has been given many names, "the vocational group system," "the occupational group system," and recently in America "the industry council system." It is a plan which calls for cooperation. not conflict-for freedom and not repression in the development of economic life. But the cooperation must be organizedorganized for the common good; the freedom must be orderedordered for the common good. As our Bishops have told us in their appeal for the Christian in action: "Today we have labor partly organized, but chiefly for its own interest. We have capital organized, possible on a larger scale, but again for its own interests. What we urgently need in the Christian view of social order is the free organization of capital and labor in perminent agencies of cooperation for the common good." These industry councils would bind men together, not merely as workers or managers, but according to the specific public service they offer. For instance, in the textile industry the owners, managers, workers would recognize the fact that the main reason why they are in business is because people need and want textile goods. Employers and employees would elect representatives to the National Textile Council and the National Textile Council would elect representatives to the National Federation of Industry Councils. Government representatives would have the job of supervising, but not dominating, the council de-

cisions. In a word, the Industry Council plan is an appeal for representative self-government of the people in industry, by the people in industry, for the people as a whole.

The completion of this reorganization of our economic life would take a long time, much courage, and persistent patience. It presupposes that all of our managers, professional people and workers already belong to their appropriate organizations so that fully accredited representatives would be elected to the councils. But the time to begin is now. It is hard enough to make our economy produce a living, family saving wage in peace time. The problem of 'maintaining a balanced economy with one foot on the battlefield is an impossibility unless our leaders in government, business, labor, and agriculture are willing to accept their solemn obligation to the general welfare. Yes, labor day is a day for relaxing. A day for getting away from our ordinary routine. But in 1951, it is also a day for some serious thinking, constructive thinking. When we think of the world situation, when we think of the boys in Korea, it seems to me that complete mental relaxation in the sense of

getting away from it all and letting things take care of themselves is a luxury which none of us has a right to seek. One of the reasons why we have boys on the battlefield today is because you and I have been too lazy or too fearful to face the political and economic facts of life. It is said that the tragedy of our times is that evil triumphs because of good men's timidity.

In making their appeal for the Industry Council plan the Bishops said: "We call upon men of religious faith and principle. both in management and labor. to take the lead in working out and applying, gradually if need be, a constructive social program of this type. For the moral and social ideals which it would realize are their heritage." This is indeed a great challenge to the Christian in action. But in the words of Pius XI on Atheistic Communism: "When our country is in danger, everything not strictly necessary, everything not bearing on the urgent matter of unified defense, takes second place. So we must act in today's crisis. Every other enterprise, however attractive and helpful must yield before the vital need of protecting the very foundation of the Faith and of Christian civilization."

# CHRIST IN THE MARKETPLACE

#### Address Delivered on September 9, 1951

By the Rev. John F. Cronin, author and assistant director, department of Social Action, N.C.W.C.

We wish to make the world over, in the image of Christ. Knowing that Christ as God came on earth to redeem us from sin and to teach us the ways of truth, our aim is nothing less than total Christianity. We seek to have the life-giving teachings of the Savior prevail everywhere, from the councils of nations to the humblest home.

It is for this reason that the Church has a program of social principles and of social action. For us it is not enough that men accept the Gospel merely as individuals and in the narrow spheres of private action. It is good that farmers and industrial workers, business men and professional men, believe in God and accept His teachings. But the world will not be Christian until men practice these truths in every phase of their lives.

We are often told that the purpose of economic life is the production of wealth. Textbooks put it that way: the laws of wealth, production and distribution. But to the Christian, such a point of view is incomplete. The material world exists to serve man. Food, clothing, and housing are for man. The thousands of services, from teaching to medical care, are for man. Material wealth is a ladder which man uses to climb to higher things-to the riches of the mind, to treasures of art, and above all to the lasting wealth of virtue. It is just that simple. Economic life should help man to be a better Christian. It has no other purpose in the mind of God.

Such is the ideal. But in practice material things are often obstacles to man's progress towards heaven. This can happen in several ways.

First, there are those who seek wealth for its own sake, who worship riches as men once bowed down before graven images. This is the sin of greed. In its worst form, it violates the first and greatest commandment of God: "I am the Lord, thy

God. Thou shalt not have strange Gods before me." (Ex.--20:2-3)

Again, there are those who seek wealth merely as a step towards other vices. It may minister to an excessive desire for pleasure. It may pander to vanity and pride. Or it may lead man to the sin of Lucifer, the grasping for power and even more power, until man says in his heart: I will be like God. All these evils have been occasioned by economic life, by the misuse of wealth.

But there are other dangers as well in the struggle for material things. Some do not receive enough in worldly goods to enable them to live a Christian life. A startling statement? But this is the thought of our present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII. He speaks of "social conditions which, whether one wills it or not, make a Christian life difficult or practically impossible." (Solennita della Pentecoste, June 1, 1941).

Bitter poverty often drags a man down to earth, because it forces him to devote all his thought and energies to mere survival. It is the occasion of sins against the marriage bond, as families desperately refuse to have children which they cannot support. Such poverty has produced city slums, the festering breeding places of crime and vice. And, in our day, it has served as an excuse for the dictator state, Communist, Nazi, or Fascist, which enthrones a Party and its ruler in the place of God Himself.

It is only natural, then, that the Church should speak out again and again for an economic system which would be a servant of man, not his master; a system which would minister to all, not to the few; a system which would be a material foundation for Christian living, and not an occasion of sin and oppression.

But what does this mean in practice? How do we enthrone Christ in the marketplace? There are many ways to answer these questions, but two steps are basic. Christ must rule in the hearts of men. Christ must rule in the laws, customs, and organization of social and economic life.

For Christ to rule in the hearts of men, it is necessary for each of us to accept Him totally. Religion must be more than Sunday worship or family piety. Its principles must guide our conduct in the factory, at the mine, on the farm, in the office. Where greed has reigned, there must be Christian moderation. In place of the pursuit of power or pleasure, there should be a sense of service, a desire to benefit one's fellow man. Austere justice, tempered and warmed by Christian brotherhood, the love of neighbor second only to the love of God, should prevail in economic life.

But personal reform is not enough. Christ must also be enthroned in the very structure of society. We know that many will not practice the teachings of the Gospel. There will be evil men, selfish, greedy, desirous of absolute power. Some men will do the right thing only if restrained by law, custom, or by the form of social organization. That is why justice and charity must be more than personal virtues: they must also be the accepted rules of economic life. Only in this way can the pursuit of wealth take its proper place in God's plan.

A Christian economic society would produce and distribute goods and services in such a way that the individual, the family, and society itself would receive the greatest benefit. Such a society would be productive. It would use the best techniques of the physical and economic sciences to assure efficient and abundant production, provided only that man did not suffer in the process.

Christian virtues do not substitute for economic law, any more than they would repeal the law of gravitation. Rather they direct and channel the forces governed by these laws into worthwhile ends.

With this in mind, we seek a level of production and distribution which would be a material foundation for right living. This means above all the ideal of a living wage-a system whereby a worker who is the head of a family could support his wife and children in decent comfort. We do not want children to be compelled to work at tasks unsuitable for their age and strength. Much less do we sanction conditions which force mothers of young children to leave the home for work in a factory or store. A family wage for heads of families is the norm we seek.

This example may serve to illustrate how social principles

lead to social action. In the nineteenth century, the abuses of the Industrial Revolution led to sickening scenes of poverty in industrial Europe. To remedy these evils, men took two practical steps towards a better distribution of wealth. Some favored social legislation: forbidding some evils, regulating others which could not be abolished at once, and beginning a common program of action to provide such necessities as housing, medical care. and education. Some forms of child labor were abolished; the work of older children and of women was regulated. Gradually, as economic society improved and the social conscience of mankind was more developed, we got an extensive code of social legislation. Christian groups, acting on religious grounds, were in the forefront of the struggle for such laws.

The second step toward the attainment of justice for the worker was the foundation of unions. Labor unions had a hard struggle for existence in the nineteenth century. But they received tremendous encouragement in 1891, when Pope Leo XIII issued his famous encyclical letter "On the Condition of Labor." Here the Pope explained clearly the rights and duties of workers, as defined by the moral law. And among the rights, he noted the very important right of organization.

Moreover, Christian groups aided workers to fight for their just claims. In fact, in Europe many purely Christian labor unions were formed. While this particular pattern is unnecessary under our conditions, it does show the real interest of the Church in social action.

What the Church has done may seem strange to many of us who have held a limited view of the function of religion. Some feel that religion is almost exclusively a matter of worship, with perhaps some moral implications for our private lives.

But this view misses the total nature of Christian teaching. God's law and God's purpose must enter into every phase of life. If, under God, you hold that man's dignity and his ability to observe the moral law can be substantially furthered by a sound economic foundation, then you are bound to take prudent and reasonable steps to secure that foundation. Social principles and social action form an inseparable team. It would be possible to go much further in outlining the implications of the Christian dignity of man. Certainly it calls for a decent wage, as the material foundation for family life. But it also demands working conditions and a community atmosphere which respect man's dignity.

Thus, the Christian idea of labor-management relations would call for mutual respect shown in the conditions of work and the rules of collective bargaining. It would frankly reject discrimination against anyone for trivial or unjust reasons. This is especially true when discrimination is based on race, religion or national origin.

Here again principles lead to action. In this country, for example, the Church has made continual efforts to bring about harmony, based on mutual respect, in labor-management relations. There have been many statements by our bishops regarding the dignity of labor and the urgent need for a real spirit of partnership between workers and employers. We have well over a hundred labor schools, conducted by Church groups, for the purpose of infusing Christian principles into labor relations. In fact, the few exceptions to the custom that churchmen do not accept public office have occurred in this field. Priests have acted in public capacity as arbitrators, mediators, and even chairmen of state or federal boards having functions of this type.

Likewise the Church has been active in fighting discrimination against minority groups. We have Catholic interracial councils. There is a Catholic Committee for the Spanish-Speaking. The leaders of the Church have spoken strongly against anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry.

Our views are clear. Under God, there is no such thing as a second-class man. We cannot say that justice and charity are observed, so long as men are labeled inferior because of their color or their cultural background.

There is another conclusion from the Christian dignity of man. This is man's claim to freedom.

Today this is particularly true in the political area. Against the dictator state, Communist, Nazi or Fascist, we hold the basic rights of the individual man, the family, and of free associations

formed by men. In modern times, at least, these rights are best safeguarded by political democracy.

But even democracy has its economic foundations. Men have their highest political freedom when they also have economic independence. It is for this reason that the Church has opposed socialism, even democratic but total socialism which rejects both revolution and the class struggle. When there is but one employer, the state, the citizen cannot be really free. If he has only one source for his daily bread, then that source can control his life.

The Church has argued for economic independence as the basis for man's freedom. Three popes—Leo XIII, Pius XI, and Pius XII—defended property rights against Marxist socialism or communism. But each of them has called for a better distribution of property, particularly among the workers.

In fact, it would hardly be an exaggeration to call this the central social teaching of the present Holy Father. In more than a score of important addresses he has brought out this theme. "The dignity of the human person requires normally as a natural foundation of life, the right to use the goods of the earth. To this right corresponds the fundamental obligation to grant private ownership of property, if possible, to all." This will "prevent the worker, who is or will be a father of a family, from being condemned to an economic dependence and slavery which is irreconcilable with his rights as a person." (Christmas Broadcast, 1942).

The Church has fought in many ways to protect man's freedom by securing for him economic independence. Thus, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference has urged the value of the family farm. It has encouraged families to live on a farm, either as a full-time occupation or as a supplement to industrial work.

For industrial labor, our concept of a living wage includes saving so that the worker may own a home and achieve some degree of independence. Pope Pius XI favored experiments which would give the worker a greater stake in the plant where he works. Such devices as profitsharing, worker stock ownership, and a voice in management have been encouraged as steps towards independence. The popes have condemned concentration of economic power, whether in the hands of the state or in private hands, as threatening the independence and hence the Christian dignity of the worker.

Freedom is the battle-cry today. But the Christian ideal of freedom is not anarchy. We do not believe that anyone can do what he wants, without regard to his neighbor. Imagine, if you will, how life would be in a large city if there were no traffic lights, no rules or regulations regarding the movement of tens of thousands of automobiles converging on the business section. That would be a form of individualism which ignores the rights of others. It would violate the basic virtues of justice and charity.

The same is true in economic life. We want freedom, but not anarchy. Independence tempered by social responsibility is the Christian approach. We have the firm belief that people working together can do more than the same people fighting one another. This is why we favor labor-management co-operation in the factory.

But we would go further and not restrict collaboration to the individual plant or firm. We believe that groups with common interests should organize to promote both their own interests and the common good of the economic community. Industries and professions should be so organized that everyone concerned would have a voice in meeting general problems.

There are two main reasons for favoring an organized approach to economic problems. The first is negative. If people do not group together to act on common responsibilities there will be a demand for government action to meet these needs. This would tend to move more power toward the center and to leave less with the individual or the smaller group. Even though the purpose is good, there would be some lessening of freedom. It is far better to have self-regulation by all persons in the industries and professions, capital and labor united for this purpose, than to have controls imposed from without.

A second reason for common action is the value of co-operation in contrast to struggle. What works well in the home and in the factory should at least be tried in broader areas. Of course, there is a legitimate

place for rivalry and competition. There are fields in which interests clash and in which independent action may be desirable. But this is no reason for doing nothing or too little about common interests and problems.

As a means for translating these ideas into action, the Church has not only promoted collaboration among economic groups, but it has also urged that government agencies consult and work with voluntary groups in their respective fields. We prefer self-regulation to the greatest degree possible. But when this is not feasible, then we wish maximum participation by the affected groups in the making of decisions.

These, then, are the highlights of a program of social action based on Christian social principles. We seek an economic system which harmonizes with the dignity of man. This system would support the family. It would be a society based on partnership rather than conflict. It would be permeated by justice and charity.

To bring this about the Church seeks to change the hearts of men. It seeks to educate, to persuade men into attitudes of friendliness and co-operation. But attitudes are not enough. These principles must pervade our laws, our customs, our organizations.

Thus the work of Christian social action is also a work of legislation and organization. How this is done in practice will be the story to be told in the remaining broadcasts of this series.

# CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN THE FIELD OF LEGISLATION

#### Address Delivered on September 16, 1951

A discussion by the Rev. Joseph Fitzpatrick, S.J., Mr. James R. Brown, Mr. Alphonso Castagno and Mr. Joseph Claderon.

FR. FITZPATRICK: Some years ago, I remember meeting an experienced Pastor who had just come from

a conference with one of his parishioners. He said: "Do you know what we are discussing, Father?" "Here was one of the finest mothers we have in the parish. And she came to me in great distress this evening. She said 'I hope you can help me, Father. My oldest boy Bobby just told me he is going in to politics. Isn't there something you can do to stop him? He was always such a good boy."

I mention the story because I think it illustrates the attitude that too many of our people have toward the matter of political action. Yet in the field of political action lie some of our most serious and urgent responsibilities as Christians. For we know, as Christians, that we are our brother's keeper. We have duties in justice and charity to all the children of God. We have an obligation to give of our talent and to create a social world worthy for all men to live in. Yet it often happens today that we can fulfil these duties only through legislation and intelligent political action.

We have an obligation to feed the hungry. But we can rarely do this today by giving a few pieces of bread to a hungry neighbor on our back porch. Today this has become a problem of feeding millions of starving people in India or elsewhere by sending them millions of bushels of wheat. This can be done only through highly organized activity; often only through the medium of national legislation.

How could we shelter the homeless today without housing legislation; how could we give workingmen a chance to seek justice without our labor laws; how could we have released the captive in concentration camps without the political cooperation of the nations of the earth!

But our obligations also come closer to home. In a highly complicated society such as our own where probably the work of millions of people was required to get the pork chops on our dinner plate, control of strategic positions by unscrupulous or incompetent men may place these men in a position to control our lives. Eternal vigilance, therefore, is the price we pay for freedom. That is why

the present Pope warned us in his 1944 Christmas address that intelligent political action was today a matter of life or death.

Political action, therefore, is something that no Christian can take lightly, particularly in view of our present social problems. Perhaps my colleagues on today's program can tell us how to go about it. Mr. Castagno, suppose you get things started.

MR. CASTAGNO: Well some of the basic ways by which we can participate in government is by voting. In this way we exercise our privilege to vote as often as national and local elections allow. When every citizen votes his responsibility and proper participation in government is completed. We then withdraw from all other political activity. But it is between the elections that is also important. However, at the time of voting is the particular period that the citizen must take part.

FR. FITZPATRICK:

You're not arguing the importance of voting are you Mr. Castagno?

MR. CASTAGNO:

Certainly not Father. On the contrary. The privilege to vote is one of the most impor-

tant privileges and we must use this right and exercise it. There was some commentary recently on American Political life that we have been more anxious to preserve that right than to exercise it. Only approximately 50% of the population votes. For example, in Europe, France, England, and Italy the percentage in elections is higher than here in the U.S.A.

FR. FITZPATRICK: That's a surprising thing particularly in view of the fact we pride ourselves on being an outstanding example of a democratic nation. Mr. Brown can we have a comment from you along these lines?

MR. BROWN.

I would like to add this comment that it is also the duty of the citizen to take action

between voting periods. For example when the Control Bill was debated in the Senate, many Congressmen publicly stated the fact that they did not hear from their constituents. And thus they had to take action without really knowing what the voters back home really wanted. Many voters did not take time to find out what the facts in the case were and hence they didn't take action. So it seems to me the voter must not only vote but he must watch what's going on and take part.

FR. FITZPATRICK:

Mr. Calderon I wonder if you could give us a little word on this?

MR. CALDERON:

Father, it's quite true what Mr. Brown said. The congressmen want to hear from their

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constituents. Because of the fact that the constituents did not write letters the Congressmen could not take the position and vote as the citizens think they should vote. The Congressmen are grateful to the citizens who keep in touch with the Congressmen. I have had quite a bit of experience with Congressmen and I know they are grateful when the facts are presented as the reasons for their actions in Congress.

FR. FITZPATRICK: What do we know of what happens to a telegram or postcard when it is sent to Washington. Tell us something of that.

MR. CALDERON: They have some effect. But their effect has been overly exaggerated. A congressman is not too impressed with a manufactured opinion. He listens to the opinion of his constituents and of the citizen because he considers that a real measure in the opinion of the community. Whereas the other one is an artificial opinion and that type of opinion he is not impressed with.

FR. FITZPATRICK: Well, you are of the opinion that intelligent participation is important. However being

informed properly is the real point where the problem comes in. Now our good people are housewives, they're plumbers, truck drivers, they're longshoremen and they want to participate in public life and legislation but it's the problem of being informed and of having an intelligent judgment that baffles them. And that to my mind is where I think the real problem lies.

MR. BROWN:

Let me cut in there Father and take a few minutes of our time here. I think I can

give you an example of exactly that problem and possibly suggest a partial solution at least to it. We all knew from the newspapers that early in 1951 India was facing a very serious starvation problem. Their Embassy had asked us to give them help on reasonable terms. Now on June 30th Congressmen began to take action. They met with the President a little bit later and he suggested to them that they introduce legislation before the House of Representatives, and eleven bills were sent up. Now when these bills got there that information was printed in the paper. Any voter by merely writing to the House Document Room in Washington, D.C., that's the House Document Room of the House of Representatives, could have received a copy of any or all of those bills, which he could have read and studied at his leisure. Later on the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the House called hearings. Now at those hearings 19 people appeared. Nine of these people were from private organizations or purely individuals. Once again if the

citizens feel strongly about a piece of legislation he may arrange to appear personally before the Committee that is holding public hearings and express that point of view. Or if he cannot go there he may certainly send his points of view in writing, and this will be made a part of the record. As a matter of fact many Christian organizations did that. In addition the Christian who wants to get further information on anyone may write to the Committee and receive a copy of those hearings, when they are printed. When the Committee had finished its work it reported the bill out. The report being the summary of the reason for passage of the bill. And in some reports perhaps there are reasons against it. These also are available to anyone who will just take the trouble to write a request to the House or the Senate Document Room at the Capital in Washington, D.C. Now here are the ways Christians could study the matter and form opinions. In this bill for India which was passed in 1951 many people did form opinions. The bill that was originally proposed rested in Committee for a long time. Nothing was done about it. While this time was going by many people were writing letters, both individuals and organizations. So that when the Bill did come up in the House, the Chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. Saber said this: "This legislation was tied up in my committee for many weeks. During this time I was being assailed and held responsible for the delay in the granting of a rule for its consideration. As Chairman of the Committee on Rules I have received thousands of letters from all over the United States, from Church organizations of every denomination, civic groups, labor organizations and individuals pleading for and favoring that a rule be granted without delay." He gave some of those letters. There were letters there from the Southern Baptists Convention. Letters from the Atlanta Young Women's Christian Association, from the Synagogue Council of America, from the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus Educational Institute. When the bill was debated many representatives revealed that they too felt strongly about it because their constituents had expressed Christian opinions. Representative McCormack said it was a matter of charity. Representative Dovle said it was American Christian ideals in action. Mrs. Baldwin said we were actually sharing what God gave us as our abundance was not our own. So in this act I think we can see first of all that the individual may get his information not mainly from the newspaper but authoritative and as complete information as his own legislators have. And secondly that he may go through organizations and through individual actions, to express himself to his legislators and if enough will do it the effect of that expression will feel itself.

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FR. FITZPATRICK: I think that is an excellent example Mr. Brown and I am glad that you brought it

up. I think what is so important about the remarks in aiding India is that we were not only helping fellow Christians in the world but also those who are not Christians but are children of God. I was glad you mentioned the various associations because when we speak about the Christian in Action we do not mean to exclude those who do things out of good will. We're simply emphasizing that as Christians we want to be aware of our responsibilities to our fellow men in social affairs. I think that is an excellent example of the way legislation was effected.

MR. CALDERON. I think one more thing that ought to be said here is the importance of contact with the representatives in Congress and appropriate contact with the proper officials who want this contact. I think the representatives or officials should try to get a personal visit contact of his constituents to his office. Or an invitation should be extended to the representative or local official through local organizations, or Church organization so that the representative may come and present his views to the citizens. Some of the questions today are very complicated. It is only by personal contact that the representative as well as the citizen can have his views clarified and that both of them try to understand each other and understand that both are working for the same thing, the common good of the United States.

FR. FITZPATRICK: That's an excellent idea Mr. Calderon. I

often think how much more interesting our parish societies and organization meetings would be if instead of sitting around discussing local gossip perhaps if we had one of our representatives in Congress appear and discuss these things with them. And particularly around the time of local elections or at the time of some particular legislation such as price control, housing, or rent control. In that way we would know why the Congressman thinks the way he does and why he will vote for the legislation the way he does. I think it would help a great deal if that personal contact were established between us and our government officials.

MR. BROWN: Also Father let us not forget that today we live in a very highly technical society, so complex that even our own Congressmen cannot today completely comprehend the impact of a piece of legislation.

MR. CASTAGNO: The average citizen cannot be expected to be an expert on such questions as federal housing and the like. Perhaps such people as the school teacher who

is teaching economics, or the university professor who lives around the corner or the pharmacist who has studied a bill on medicine, that is if such a bill were introduced in Congress, could be considered experts. Now I would like to illustrate here an area in which the citizens join to form themselves and then influence their Congressmen on a very important measure. After World War II, as you know, hundreds of thousands of workers were living in devastated homes, hundreds without opportunities of employment, without any funds, hundreds of citizens in the United States conscious of their Christian duties asked the government to help them in their predicament. A bill was introduced in Congress in 1948 for them to enter our country. The Bill was having trouble and then it was delayed. What happened was that the sympathy that was provoked for these people was conflicting with the desire to perserve the economic and cultural background of our country. The bill that was made was inadequate but Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups prevailed upon Congress the need of liberalizing the bill. It was a good example of cooperative effort and the campaign was kept alive by some private citizens until in 1950 Congress submitted a bill for the entrance of 100,000 refugees. That is an example of citizens aware of their responsibility and not letting down their work until it was completed. In a similar fashion such groups as the Knights of Columbus prevailed upon Congress to make sure that our immigration act included the many unemployed in Europe and in Asia.

FR. FITZPATRICK: Thank you Mr. Castagno. I think it is grand and is another example of the proper interest of our parish societies and our local groups. I think it is interesting to know that not only our government representatives but informed people, and I know personally that people engaged in the Displaced Persons Program, etc. are most anxious to inform people about what they are doing. And I personally think it would be one way of participating intelligently in such legislation to have our people get in touch with the informed men who are actually working in the Program.

MR. CASTAGNO: I think you'll find Father they are usually very glad to participate. I must say that unless each individual, and unless each and everyone of us feels a personal responsibility for our neighborhood, for our country we will not be able to discharge our responsibility, we will not be able to make our country a better place. Each and everyone of us must participate in the Apostolate of charity.

MR. CALDERON:

Generally, we have been talking about national government and I think we are

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completely forgetting the area of local government. Now we've talked about national legislation, etc. but now let's get back to our home ground. Let's consider for a moment that each one of us in our daily life is being regulated constantly by our local government. They have the power to pass laws dealing with marriages, health, unemployment, welfare, labor, education. Here is an area where a vast part of social legislation is being made yet only one out of three persons entitled to vote, votes in the municipal elections. Only one out of every ten votes in a county election. If a State election is not held during a presidential election which is usually the case the number selected here is not very much better. Now as for public participation between the elections nothing is more indicative of public apathy than the recent reaction to the Kefauver Crime Investigation. When the hearings brought out widespread gambling and its effect on the community there was an immediate cry for action. But the demand faded away when the newspapers stopped headlining the investigation.

FR. FITZPATRICK: I'm glad Mr. Castagno that you brought up that question of local affairs because I think its quite clear that a great deal of the most advanced social legislation originated on the state and local level.

MR. BROWN:

We have a very good example of that right here in New York State gentlemen although

I think Mr. Castagno and I could get in quite a little argument of whether it will remain on the state level. I refer to the state law against discrimination. You know the one that has been in effect here in New York. All I wanted to mention was that when that law was being proposed and in the discussion stage all the Christian communities in the state took action. There were radio programs, newspaper articles, magazine articles so the legislation knew that it did have the support of all people of good will and they found that the act worked out very well in New York State.

FR. FITZPATRICK: That's another good example of citizen participation. But what bothers me is that we have been talking all morning about the participation of the local housewife and the plumber but what bothers me a little is getting incompetent people into government positions.

MR. CALDERON:

I think that it is absolutely important to get good men and good women into government

positions. One way we can encourage this is for the average citizen to stop irresponsible criticism of those in government. We must believe that those in the government are men of good will, are trying to do a good job and if they don't vote the way that we

would like to have them vote that they have good reason to vote and thus our criticism must not be abusive, our criticism must not be violent, our criticism must be reasonably discriminating, to the point and must be criticism of the issue and discussion of the issue on the merits of the issue not on the individual.

FR. FITZPATRICK: A very good point.

#### SUMMARY

If that good Mother we spoke about earlier had heard today's program, I am sure she would have come to her Pastor and said: "Father is there anything you can do to get Bobby to go into politics, or at least to busy himself about intelligent political action?" It is quite clear from our discussion that Christians must be concerned about their obligation to participate in political decisions and legislation that are closely related to problems of justice and charity. It is clear that the obligation to vote is basic. To be convinced of this, we should not have to wait for some critical election like the 1948 elections that saved Italy from Communism. But it is not enough to vote. It is equally important to participate in the forming of legislation between votes. Our speakers have indicated how simple a thing this really is when a person puts his mind to it. We can participate by informing ourselves on issues involved, and by expressing our judgments in an intelligent manner. Certainly the examples of our great charity to the starving in India, or to the homeless refugees of Europe, our fostering of social justice through the labor laws, or our help to families through housing legislation, these are small illustrations of the extent to which Christians can cooperate with other men of good will to enable the Christian conscience to express itself effectively in legislation.

As Christians, we have the message of Christ's love and mercy to bring to all men today. Strive as we may to bring this example of Christian living to others in our personal life, there are many occasions where we can bring the power of justice and love to men only through legislation, through political action.

Never before has a nation had the responsibility of leadership that the United States has today. But most of this leadership must be exercised through political channels. Whether or not we shall give to the world an example of justice at home, whether or not we shall give an example of great-mindedness, of charity and justice abroad, will depend on the extent to which Christians make effective the teachings of their faith. Political action can be matter of life or death. But it should be so much more a matter of life, than a matter of death.

# CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN THE FIELD OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

#### Address Delivered on September 23, 1951

A discussion by the Rev. Philip A. Carey, S.J., Miss Frances M. Smith, Mr. John J. Brooks, Mr. Charles D. Cicchino, and Mr. Bernard H. Fitzpatrick.

FATHER CAREY: Labor relations were pretty much of a mess in the Ford Company, till young Henry Ford took over. His first task, as he saw it, was a sincere effort to improve relations between his company and the 130,000 men he employed. He based his new policies on the four things workingmen seem to want from their jobs:

A sense of security.

An opportunity for advancement.

Treatment proper to a human being.

A sense of human dignity, which comes from feeling that a man's work is useful to society.

What Ford has been trying to do is being done by many other men from Labor and Industry. For men are realizing that labor problems are human problems; that labor problems are moral problems; that the relations between those who offer their wealth, and those who contribute their know-how and those who give the most intimate thing a man can give—the labor of his person—that these relations are subject, under God, to the demands of justice and of charity.

It wasn't always this way. In a bitter passage of his teaching letter on the REORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY, Pius XI wept. He said: "Dead matter comes from the factory ennobled, while men there are corrupted and degraded."

Thinking and courageous Christians have come to see that industrialization ought not to have become a hideous curse upon mankind. Man is the master of the universe—subject only to God. Man was made for God—and all other things on the face of the earth, the factory, the economic system—all are man's. My friend, Johnny Dillon, said well: "We Christians are the real radicals." He's right. What a gigantic upheaval in human affairs would result if every man were regarded, not for his economic worth in the market place, nor for his social contribution to the community . . . but respected and treated for that which in all reality he is: the

most precious thing in the world, God's adopted child, a true Christ bearer, my most dear brother.

Men have been thinking that radical way. Men have been praying for the courage and understanding that only comes from God's grace.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, a little while ago you were telling us of a business man...

MR. FITZPATRICK: My story is the story of an individual, a Christian. Let's call him Peter Stuyvesant. Peter was one of the directors of one of the nation's largest banking houses. A problem came before the Board of Directors of this banking house. It had to do with the employment of tellers in the cages. You may remember that, before the war, almost universally banks employed male tellers. During the war, shortages had forced them to employ women in that capacity. At the conclusion of the war, this bank had to make a policy as to what it would do with the tellers. Should it employ women exclusively, should it employ men exclusively? How should the problem be met?

Well, it was a rather large organization, with a very competent personnel department, and the question was referred to this department. The Personnel Department made a thorough study, and reported back to the Board that, over the long run, the employment of women tellers in the cages would mean a saving in money for the bank; contrariwise, if the bank used male tellers, the expense would be prohibitive. The reason assigned for this by the Personnel Department was that if men were assigned to the cages, they would have to be paid a living wage; based upon family responsibilities; whereas, if women were employed, the family responsibility angle of the women would tend to keep the wages down.

That was their report to the Board of Directors. Now, the Board usually follows the recommendations of its Personnel Department, just as it does these of its general executive offices. But, in this case, Peter Stuyvesant was at the meeting of the Board of Directors at which this matter came up, and he said:

"Gentlemen, if we follow the policy suggested by our Personnel Department, we will not be discharging our obligation to the community in which this bank operates. It is not only our obligation to provide adequate and safe banking service and facilities, but it is also our obligation to provide jobs which will sustain the families of the communities which we serve. We can't permit the bank to cut out every job which might sustain a family simply for the reason that it would save the bank money, or save it trouble. We must, therefore, adopt a policy of employing men in our tellers' cages, even

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though that means that we will have to pay them a more ample wage."

The Board followed his policy. Now, why did he make this suggestion? Well, the only reason I can ascribe is that, as a Christian, he had a sense of obligation that the organization was not only to make a dollar, but that it was obliged to meet its social responsibility as well, particularly toward the heads of families.

FATHER CAREY: This man did an excellent thing. It's true that there are many exceptional cases where women have to work. But it's true that the family is the basis of all our society, and that the normal supporter of the family ought to be the father. Here is a man who recognized that principle, and despite what it cost, was willing to follow through.

John Brooks tells the same story of Christian action, but this one was done by a group . . . John Brooks . . .

JOHN BROOKS: In another state, there was a bad situation

in one of the larger transit systems. It was

an all too frequent story. A gang had control of the union, and they worked in collusion with an old-time management. Wage scales were below standard. Protection against unjust accusation just didn't exist. You worked because you had to, and were told that if you didn't like the conditions as they existed, well then, no-one was chaining you. Get the heck out. The contract was almost automatically negotiating itself, and the men had substantially the same deal that had been worked out in 1920, with little, if any, progress.

Now this wasn't right, and many of the drivers resented it. They all grumbled, or cried in their beer, and said it was wrong. Then a group of the fellows decided they had better do something about it.

First, they realized they didn't know too much about those things, so they made a connection and came over to the Xavier Labor School for a couple of years. That wasn't easy. In fact, it was tough. They didn't get home to bed before midnight, and they had a six a.m. report at the barn.

Now, they decided they had to work together as a team, and as a team that wasn't Catholic only, but one that would include all the guys on the road and in the shops. The work of social justice is the job of all men of good will.

Every one of them figured before he started this deal that he was liable to be in a position where he'd suffer. They weren't looking for it—but they had a job to do. I think we all know what it means to go through a rough organizing campaign . . . to stand on the street . . . to get the bad name of an agitator from the management and even from some of the men themselves. Every man of

them lost his job on some pretext or excuse. The Beakies did a real job on them. Most of them walked the streets for six months without any help from anybody. And they were all family men.

I'm very happy to be able to say that these men from Jersey did a swell job. They were successful, and they have very good conditions on the job. They broke the evil system.

| MISS SMITH:  | What's a Beakie?   |
|--------------|--|
| JOHN BROOKS: | It's another word for company detective or spotter.                                    |
| MISS SMITH:  | Why did they do it?  |
| JOHN BROOKS: | Why did they do it? Well, suppose we ask<br>one of the fellows who was in it. Charlie, |

tell us why they did it.

CHARLES CICCHINO: John, it's a composite story. You told about

the fellows, but if we hadn't the help of a really Christian lawyer, we'd never have made it. He doesn't want his name mentioned here, but we're all deeply grateful for the encouragement his unselfish example and advice meant to us. While we recognized the problem and the need to do something, we feared to lead off until our advisor pointed out the proper road. I can still hear Don Kelly saying: "C'mon boys, let's get going. The Lord won't let us down." And some tough spots were licked by Jack Clayton's reminders that as the Lord took care of the sparrows in the streets, he'd not forget us and our little ones. You see, these obligations that we fathers of families have shouldn't make us cowards. Our Lord never promised us that we'd have an easy time of it, and anyone who promises a free and easy existence is selling snake oil, or gold bricks. A Christian man wants a family living wage, so he can exercise freely, responsibly, and with independence his duties as a father and husband.

The one thing we really learned from the labor philosophy course at Xavier was a deep realization that the other fellow was our brother... that we had an obligation to love the other man as a brother in Christ... It is possible that this LOVE really moved us, even though we didn't know it at the time.

| MISS SMITH:   | The wives of those men must have been pretty wonderful people. |
|---------------|--|
| JOHN BROOKS:  | Well, they were animated by the same<br>Christian spirit.      |
| FATHER CAREY. | The men their wives-all good souls are                         |

members of Christ's Mystical Body—and we have to suffer with Him. In the words of St. Paul, we are "Filling

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up by our suffering what is wanting to the sufferings of Christ." Christ does suffer again in His people. Do you remember that incident told of the Young Christian Workers of France? There was a vast concourse of young workers from all over the nation gathered in the huge stadium at Paris . . . the bakers, the bus drivers, the workers from the Renault auto plant . . . waiting for a special midnight Mass. They were all there-ten thousand of them. And in the pitch darkness of midnight, the leader walked quietly into the sanctuary. He lit his candle from the sanctuary lamp and, with infinite dramatic quiet, paced down to the first row. From his candle, he lit that of the first man, who in turn passed it to the next man, and so from man to man, from one to the other all the way down the lines of the stadium, until the night was gleaming.

One man lights the candle.

Every group, every generation needs men like these men of Jersey to light the candle for their fellows.

Let's leave Jersey for awhile to take ourselves across the rivers to Brooklyn, the haunt of Dodgers and Christian men.

MISS SMITH:

This is a story still in the making, and while I can't tie it up with the usual happy ending at this time, it is developing the way we hoped it would.

Again, it is an example of what one person can do in a rather complex situation. The company I work for has been in business for a long time. It is small enough to be fairly intimate and yet large enough to give us scope. It is family-owned, and has a large proportion of workers who have been with us for some time. It has been run profitably. The working conditions are good. The wages are comparable to those of other companies in the area. We are unionized by the UAW, a union which is not noted for its softness. We have had, I think, good management-union relations. We have never had a strike, nor have we ever taken a grievance to arbitration. We have had, of course, good healthy knockdown, drag-outs with the union, but somehow we have always managed to reach a compromise . . . not necessarily satisfactory to all parties, but workable.

The President of the company came to us about five years ago. He had, therefore, a fresh point of view, and it struck him that while we were operating well and fairly harmoniously, there was something lacking. A factory-no matter how ideal the working conditions-implies assembly lines and rows of machines; in other words, it's rather monotonous work for the majority of the employees. How you will do your job is thought out for you by the engineers; one simply follows directions and produces one small part of an item. Eight hours a day is a long time to be simply an extension of an idea.

Well, anyway, one man—the president—felt that there must be a way of running a profitable enterprise which would be more rewarding to the people involved. Rewarding not only in a dollars and cents way, but in emotional and spiritual manner as well. So, after some puzzled gropings, he hit upon a production sharing plan whereby workers stood to gain if they put their brains, not their brawn, to work.

The core of the plan revolved around those ideas and suggestions workers have regarding better and easier ways to do their respective jobs. Fruitful suggestions may involve changing the setup of a department, buying special equipment, or just the addition of a simple fixture to a working place. But underlying all these suggestions is the idea of doing the job with no greater expenditure of physical energy. It is really the principle stated in Quadragesimo Anno . . . it is a grave wrong for the State to do for the individual what he can better do for himself . . . brought down to the plant level; or perhaps it is the St. Thomas principle, whereby one is given an opportunity, at least in part, of developing his potentialities. Moreover, the worker probably has more and better ideas about his job than the Engineering brass, and possibly, he is fulfilling himself to some extent, at least vocationally, if he is in a position to contribute to his own job welfare.

If the suggestions are worth-while, they pay off in increased production, and the fruits of that production are shared by the workers, from the porter to the President. We like the plan better than individual or group incentive plans, for the basis of it appears to be rooted in the Christian principle of men working together. and not pitted one against the other. A worker will give a lift to a trucker who is having trouble pushing a heavy hand truck over a bumpy floor, for they both benefit through concerted action of this kind. A die-setter may knock himself out making crude drawings of improvements if he thinks the Engineering Department will examine them with interest and improve them. In other words, people respond to respect. Not just phony paternalism, like sending birthday cards on your birthday, but the love and respect Jesus Christ demands that you give your fellow workers. The real thing is difficult to develop, but you know when you have got it and when you have given it.

The team work, love and respect we are trying to achieve is not being won without a struggle. The idea behind the productionsharing plan was not greeted with mad enthusiasm when it was introduced. The union was suspicious and some of the staff thought it was socialism. The head of the Company had, and still has, a tough road ahead; however, he persisted, and I think his plugging away at these very simple Christian concepts almost shamed the opposition into acceptance.

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We are not yet sure how it is going to work out. For the past two months there have been no bonuses, and we have eyed that period uneasily; we wondered if man really did "live by bread alone." It does not look that way. There have been disappointments, but we continue working together to develop a better-run enterprise.

FATHER CAREY: Both John Brooks and Charles Cicchino have a number of questions, Miss Smith, but we haven't time for that discussion here. What they wanted to know was: "Is this a gorgeously disguised form of speed-up?" "How do the men know they are not being 'taken'?" "They produce the ideas that make for greater profits . . . do they really get a proper share of these profits, which they've helped to create?"

And, you, Miss Smith, would say that the whole scheme is based on mutual confidence and fair dealing . . . that the integrity of the parties had to be assumed, or the scheme meant nothing, and that this kind of an experiment must be worked out in a climate of faith.

Mr. Cicchino wants to give his tale of a man who did something positive in the field of Christian social action . . .

CHARLES CICCHINO: The most important thing about Pete Belmonte was that he *knew* something; I don't mean the way we all of us knew him—he was a plain little man, who had had a rough time of it. He left grammar school to take over the support of his family, because his father died. Now Pete's trade was to be a paper cutter, and his joy was to be a good union man, in Local 119 of the Bookbinders. When I say it was Pete's joy, I'm speaking of this knowledge he had so strong and deep inside him. There were times when he would speak of it as his sense of responsibility. It was a word he prized; "We're a responsible union," he would say.

Pete worked in a shop, known as the Trade Bindery, in Hell's Kitchen. He was shop steward for two hundred workers. There was no man who worked harder when contract negotiations rolled around, and no man who gained more for his union; but, on the other hand, when he felt his men were not living up to their agreement with their boss, he worked just as hard to see them meet their obligations. The boss, by the way, was a pretty good guy, and he admired Pete. Many times he offered Pete the job of plant manager, at twice the pay, but Pete always turned him down, and the boss couldn't understand. It was part of that thing Pete knew about himself, for he'd had other chances to advance himself financially.

One day Pete was talking to Father Carey here. He said that he had a problem to solve. "I've a chance to go into the package liquor business with my brother-in-law, a vet, in a good location,"

said Pete, "but I don't know whether to take him up." All on his own he worked the problem out. He put down the arguments for and against the deal.

There was a lot to be said for the liquor store. It was a good business. A man got up in the morning, dressed in good clothes, and went to work as a gentleman should. He was respected as a good man to know in the community . . . and he made money. "Of course," Pete said, "I know there's nothing really basically wrong with liquor. Liquor too is one of God's creatures. It's good for pneumonia. But just like the mustard people make their real money, not on what people put on their hot dogs, but what they leave on the spoon, so," Pete said, "I'd be making my real money on the abuse of the creature. In the shop," he said, "work is hard and full of aggravations. There's danger, long hours, and getting stuck when you don't want it. There's the pressure of getting production out . . .

"But somehow, I *mean* something there. I have work to do with my fellow children of God, and I count for something in helping to make at least a part of their lives better.

"I guess when it comes down to it, I've got to make the choice. There'll come a time when St. Peter is going to be making the introductions to Our Lord. I wonder whether I would want him to introduce me: 'Lord Jesus Christ, this is Mr. Belmonte, the package liquor salesman'; or would it be better for him to be able to say: 'Christ, this is Pete, the paper cutter from Local 119 and a good shop steward.' You don't have to tell me," Pete would say, "I know."

| MISS SMITH:<br>MR. FITZPATRICK:<br>JOHN BROOKS: | How fortunate Pete was that he knew—that he saw so clearly.    |
|---|--|
|   | Two years ago this very month that intro-<br>duction was made. |
|   | How does a guy get that way?                                   |

FATHER CAREY:

Well, I guess the only way you get that way

is that you're awfully simple and you take Our Lord for just exactly what He says He is. Pete did a lot of praying in a strange, manly kind of way that nobody ever knew about. And through the grace of God working in his soul, through the retreats and days of recollection that Pete went through, he got some kind of vision. He saw things so clearly. Life was simple and clear to him.

The incidents just mentioned here were all very real. They happened. And I myself know something of the soul searching and the suffering these good men went through for the sake of justice and for the sake of love of their neighbor.

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Normally, social action, to be effective, must be group action the work of a team. But that group must be sparked. You will have observed in the stories that one individual was responsible for a good which came to so many.

The world is a better place for what they did. But I want you to realize that it was that which motivated them that was important. I just can't, as a Christian, love my neighbor for the sake of humanity. Humanitarianism is a vague phantom of the virile supernatural virtue of Charity. I've got to love my neighbor, in all his God-given greatness, for the sake of Christ in him.

The incidents we mentioned this morning range from a simple Christian way of viewing a business problem, to incidents involving heroic sanctity. But the point in all of them is the same. These men did try to think and act as Christ would think and act if He were in modern times. And whether the action was simple or heroic, it was God's grace moving them. And that comes only from prayer... honest, perservering prayer.

There's the Christian in action. It's not too hard. Christ didn't talk to philosophers, but to little people like you and me. His doctrine is simple enough to understand. You'll find it in modern application in the letters of Pope Leo XIII and Pius XI.

Over in Belgium the young Christian workers have done an admirable job in Christian social action. They have a technique, a simple technique for group action. It's in three words . . . Observe— Judge—Act.

1. OBSERVE. The team must first get the facts of a problem. No hearsay. No opinions. Get the facts. Study the situation. Observe!

2. Then, JUDGE. In the light of Christian principles and of Christian thinking . . . what are we to say of this situation? What JUDGEMENT would Christ, our Lord, give were He on the spot? How would He assess it? What attitude would He take? JUDGE!

Again, to JUDGE. To judge what we, our small group, can do in the light of our limitations. What positive action can we perform? Judge.

3. ACT. Above all, to act! Don't be just debating society. Set down concrete action that you, as a group, will surely carry out. Put sanctions on yourself if you fail. But . . . act.

#### OBSERVE—JUDGE—ACT.

It is our vocation to be living out the life of Christ all over again in our living. It is our high privilege to radiate Christ in the market place, in the factory, on the docks, in the banks.

We are other Christs.

# CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN MIGRATORY LABOR

#### Address Delivered on September 30, 1951

A discussion by the Rev. Theodore J. Radtke, Dr. Carlos Castaneda, the Rev. James J. Riley, Mr. Henry LeBlanc, and Mr. Ted Aanstoos.

ANNCR: Today the "Christian In Action" presents a round table discussion entitled, "Christian Social Action In Migratory Labor." The members of our panel are: the Rev. Theodore J. Radtke, Executive Secretary, Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking, Austin, Texas; Dr. Carlos Castaneda, Professor of Latin American History, University of Texas, author of "The Catholic Heritage of Texas"; Rev. James J. Riley, O.M.I., Colorado City, Texas; Mr. Henry LeBlanc, Texas Employment Commission, Austin, Texas; Mr. Ted Aanstoos, Human Relations Council, Austin, Texas. Here is Father Radtke to begin the discussion.

RADTKE: There are now in the United States, roughly 4½ million wage earners who depend principally on farm employment for their income. At this time of the year, September, employment at farm labor is at its peak.

In December and January, less than one million farm laborers are employed. The farm workers who migrate in search of employment are approximately one million. They work principally in the cotton, fruit, vegetable and sugar beet industry.

Mr. Henry LeBlanc of the Texas Employment Commission is here to tell us who these migratory workers are, what they do, and where they go.

Mr. LeBlanc.

LEBLANC: Thank you. Our economy today demands a migra-

tion of a large number to meet the seasonal production needs in agriculture. The increase in mechanization and the decline in farm population causes the need for migratory labor. This need becomes essential in the harvest season and without this labor many crops would be lost. Much of the investment and effort put into the food crops by producers and processors would be sacrificed and the crop bills would not be met. In order to avoid these losses the migratory farm laborer is employed.

He is a worker whose principal income is earned in farm employment and who in the course of a year's work moves one or more times to several areas in one state or to several states. You have

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heard it is estimated that, during the harvest season in the United States, the migrant labor force is composed of a million persons. In addition to this number there are approximately three and a quarter million people not living on farms who do seasonal farm work locally but do not migrate to other areas. Actually to meet the seasonal need it is also necessary to use citizens of the United States, Puerto Rico, Bahamans, Jamaicans, and Mexican nationals; there never seems to be enough farm labor. These workers engage in all types of agricultural activities.

The majority of workers required in the migratory movement have their origin in states along the Atlantic seaboard, in the southwestern areas of Texas, in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Arizona, and in southern California.

There are three major migratory movements, identified as the eastern, central and western province.

The eastern province is the movement along the Atlantic seaboard from Florida to Maine, in which it is estimated that about 45,000 people engage.

The central province representing the migration which originates in the southwest, primarily from Texas, fans out over the northwestern and north central areas of the United States from Oregon to Ohio. This migration involves about 125,000 people with some 85,000 from Texas. The western province originates primarily in Southern California but includes migrants from Arizona, Oklahoma, and Texas, and continues northward to Oregon and Washington. In this migration about 40,000 are involved.

On November 1 most of the migratory workers have returned to their homes. Some of the Texas migrants, on their way home, harvest crops in Missouri, Mississippi and Arkansas.

However, the larger proportion of these workers upon returning to Texas join local migratory workers in the cotton harvest which is carried on in the western part of the state. While the 85,000 Texas workers have moved to the Northern states, another 80,000 to 100,000 Texas workers migrate to engage in seasonal agricultural activities but restrict the area of their migration to Texas alone.

These workers are primarily from the southern and eastern parts of the state. Normally, the first of the year finds them in their home areas.

In fact, in southern Texas, the fruit, vegetable harvest and fruit processing are the chief operations in the winter, and employment is provided by these activities.

In east Texas the workers are usually supported through the winter by large farmers and by doing farm work on small farms and in small communities.

In the spring, the cotton chopping which progresses through other sections of the state until July produces a small migration, but the cotton harvest which starts in July involves the largest number of migrants. The cotton harvest progresses through the states and continues i nto December in west Texas. Following the completion of the cotton harvest, the vegetable season in south Texas is in full force and the annual migration cycle begins anew.

RADTKE: Thank you, Mr. LeBlanc. Now Father Riley, you have had contact with many of these people, while they are on the road; could you describe the conditions of life and work which you have seen?

RILEY: Well Father, I would like to limit my remarks to the conditions which prevail among migratory workers in west Texas, especially in the cotton fields. Let us take the hours of work; almost with the rising of the sun, the migrant workers bundle themselves picnic style into their trucks and venture out into the cotton fields.

From 'home-base' the distance varies from five to 15 and sometimes as high as 20 miles. Their hours of work depend upon the workers themselves. They punch no time clock, they arrive and leave more or less at will depending, first, on the distance back home from the fields, or for how long they can endure the work before weariness or fatigue slows them down.

Their day's work would extend from six in the morning to four or five in the evening.

Now in regard to their wages, these are not standard by any means. From county to county, from season to season, it is variable. Let us take the cotton; it is dependent upon two factors—the amount of cotton to be picked and the number of hands available to manage it. One farmer for example may, because of an urgency, offer a higher wage than the prevailing one, in that particular area, and this may tend to raise the standard. Or when an entire area has a bumper crop as in 1950, the necessity of gathering it in before a complete loss, tends to raise the wages.

From season to season the wage is more or less dependent upon the prevalent fixed price for the cotton. Hence the migratory worker's wage for picking cotton may vary from \$.50 to \$2.00 for 100 pounds, vary, too, according to the amount and the speed with which the cotton is picked. During the harvest season the amount of cotton picked ranges between 300 and 500 pounds a day. So in a ratio from a minimum to a maximum the migratory laborer's earnings range from about \$3.00 to \$12.00 a day.

Now, as to the question of housing and sanitation. Almost without exception, these are simply primitive and almost shocking

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shacks. They are a menace to both physical and moral health. Take the labor camp and on-the-job housing. At the labor camp where the workers congregate upon coming into a new area the place is almost cattle-like, and many different families will occupy a place that does not provide healthy living for even one family.

Bathing, cooking, laundry facilities do not exist at all; or almost without exception are unhealthy, unworthy to be fit for human beings. And in on-the-job housing, these are on the sites where the migrant will find work. The local farmer usually provides this housing, and in some instances conditions are very good, but in the vast majority of cases they can be alluded to as simply rundown shacks, hardly able to keep out the rain and the cold.

The migrants roam from one job to another, following the crops like nomads. They remain in one spot only until the crop is finished and then the family must pack themselves and their belongings into their trucks for another two or three days stay in another spot in the same area. Whenever the work of an entire area is finished, the season over, the migratory farmers pack themselves into their trucks, their destination many times off into the distant states, either back home or to another crop.

In both instances, home is on wheels. Their bed is either the floor-boards of the truck or down beneath, the food is meager, and on the long stretch, gasoline and food bills eat up a good deal of their savings. I would say that these conditions are hardly productive of a healthy and educated citizenry.

RADTKE: Thank you, Father Riley. Along our Mexican border stretching for sixteen hundred miles from Texas to California, many Mexican citizens cross the line illegally and swell the farm labor supply. In 1950 this "wetback" traffic reached an all time high, estimated between 500,000 and 600,000, sometimes as high as 1,000,000.

Mr. Ted Aanstoos can give us some data on this phase of the migratory labor problem.

AANSTOOS: Father, the "wetback" invasion became intensified during the genuine shortage of the war years when

American employers, despite their compunction employed them profusely. Continued usage has given employers a sense of rightful domain over this contraband labor, and caused an unprecedented flow last year of approximately 1,000,000 "wetbacks," estimated conservatively.

Generally speaking, this condition is a result of the most abrupt clash of economic standards found anywhere in the world. Another product of the war time shortage of labor, was our first agreement with Mexico for the procurement of legal farm help for the United

States. In accord with the agreement, recently renewed on a short time basis, the United States government plays an additional role as legal guardian of the Mexican worker, by guaranteeing employment for the term of their contract.

Depending on variable factors it is estimated that 100,000 to 150,000 Mexican nationals would be contracted for work in the United States agricultural industry under this agreement. As regards the original agreement, Mexico remained steadfast in her refusal to send Mexican nationals into communities where there is discrimination against them. The Mexican government has also taken a stand that legislation designed especially for the "wetback" is a prerequisite for future renewal of this agreement. Due to the seasonal and the temporary characteristics of their employment, these people, especially the "wetback," who works continually in a state of intimidation, seldom encounter adequate housing, sanitation, educational or recreational facilities; and the argument has been advanced that they seriously impair the wage structure to the detriment of the community.

It logically follows that the domestic migration is primarily a result of displacement. One fifth of the population of Texas, is composed of people of Hispano-Indian descent; for decades they have made an earnest and respectable attempt to qualify for assimilation into our democratic society. This process has been retarded drastically by presence of those having marked differences in their physical characteristics, customs and speech. None-the-less, we avail ourselves of whatever utility this horde possesses, right or wrong.

Should we ignore the inherent responsibility? These people are not essentially nomadic, but rather are victims of circumstance, and finding themselves confronted with an utterly strange environment, where their psychology and set of values are inapplicable they become as defenseless as lost sheep. And is it not said, "What one of you that has a hundred sheep, and if he shall lose one of them, doth he no go forth, after that which is lost, until he find it?"

RADTKE: Thank you, Mr. Aanstoos. Dr. Carlos Castaneda, you have had first hand experience with the problems of workers during the last war as an official of the Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission—let's hear your views on the matter of the migratory worker.

CASTANEDA: Father, "who is the migrant worker," has been explained. But in Texas the migrant worker is the American citizen of Mexican descent primarily, and the Negro, who like the "wetback" every year leaves home and goes to help others across the Southwest and in other states, even as far as the beetfields of Michigan.

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He is in the same position as the displaced person; the social security legislation does not protect him; he is a non-resident in every community. Public health facilities are refused or grudgingly given; and public welfare agencies have adopted the policy of giving him little or less than that which is alloted.

The "wetback" has been mentioned several times. The "wetback" is a part of the social-economic situation peculiar to our present day. The Mexican national, like the laboring class of many countries throughout the world, longs for an opportunity to work for wages payable in American dollars. Other workers find it very difficult and often impossible to enter the United States because of the physical difficulty of reaching its border. The Mexican national has but to cross the river, a river that, although called "Grande," is fordable during all seasons of the year throughout its entire course from Brownsville to El Paso. In New Mexico, Arizona, and California there is but a flimsy fence to keep the Mexican national from the promised land.

That he has no status, that if he were caught he would be deported, makes no difference to him. He is willing to take chances and to run the risk. He is truly a pathetic figure, heartlessly exploited by the employer in this country who knows that he is helpless.

Numerical statistics? Almost an impossibility; one can guess at the number; only those who are caught and deported can be counted. When the employer, who will pay twenty-five cents or less an hour, needs them no more, the Immigration officials gather about one out of ten for deportation as illegal immigrants. Estimates vary from 500,000 to 1,000,000. These laborers compete against native workers in all kinds of unskilled labor in the fields, and after the harvest season many drift to the urban areas for any unskilled job they can get.

In this manner they retard, demoralize, and lower the standard of living for our American citizens and become an added burden to our welfare agencies. South Texas in particular is the victim of this unrestricted, uncontrolled invasion of hungry, anxious human beings, who blindly follow the will-o'-the-wisp of the American dollar to the benefit of large farm owners at the expense of the American public and to the detriment of American laborers in our fair land.

RADTKE: Thank you, Dr. Castaneda. The migratory laborers

in the United States are our American "D.P.'s." They are 1,000,000 people who cannot help themselves. The majority of them are citizens but they have no rights. They are wanted only when farm employers need stoop laborers. Immediately when that work is done, we say "Move on, you sons of misfortune!" The majority of them are good people, honest people, looking for work in order to earn an honest dollar. And believe me, you earn your

two or three dollars under the hot sun picking a hundred pounds of cotton, or hoeing an acre of beets.

My hat is off to those good people in our labor union movement who were instrumental in getting President Truman to appoint a five-man commission to study and report on the conditions in migratory labor. The report and recommendations of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor is available at the U. S. Government Printing Office for \$.75.

This report declares that there is no need for alien laborers in the U.S.; that legislation is badly needed to correct the abuses which abound in migratory labor; that a Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor be appointed to assist, coordinate, and stimulate the various agencies of the government in their activities and policies relating to migratory farm labor. I think we can all perform a Christian act of charity by asking our President and congressional representatives to carry out the recommendations of the President's Commission on migratory labor.

There are other favorable slants to the picture on migratory labor. In the area of Saginaw, Michigan, during the beet-growing season, thousands of Texans are working in the fields. The Church there carries on a program of catechetical instruction, medical assistance, recreation and social welfare for these people. In the Red River Valley in western Minnesota the Church has for years conducted summer schools to give the migrant children at least some semblance of an education. In 1945 sixteen Bishops of the southwest formed the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking. This Committee maintains a regional office to study the problem and promote the welfare of the migrant workers in the southwest. This year in the area of Corpus Christi, Texas, where we were located. we succeeded in getting the cooperation of the Chambers of Commerce in five cities with a plan based on the idea of welcoming the cotton-pickers into our cities as visitors, providing them sanitation and recreational facilities, and furnishing them a special bulletin of information about the area. Any city can copy this plan.

ANNCR: Thank you, Father Radtke, we will have a summary in just a moment on the discussion you have just heard entitled, "Christian Social Action in Migratory Labor." The National Council of Catholic Men is pleased to make available printed copies of this discussion and the summary that follows. For your free copy simply drop a letter or postcard to the National Council of Catholic Men, Washington 5, D. C., or to your favorite ABC station.

Now for perhaps one question, Father Radtke, and then our summary.

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RADTKE: Mr. LeBlanc, you are very familiar with the recommendations of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, which of these do you consider of prime importance?

LEBLANC: Father Radtke, I believe the first recommendation, that a permanent commission should be appointed;

I believe this because the changes involved will take a long time, but these things cannot be accomplished rapidly, and coordination of various government agencies is a good starting point.

RADTKE: Father Riley, how is it possible for the migratory workers to live up to their religious obligations?

RILEY: It is becoming very difficult for those away from their home parishes to observe the regular hours of church. These migratory laborers will often fall off from their religious practices.

ANNCR: Now Father Radtke; we will hear our summary of today's discussion.

RADTKE: Of the 4½ million farm workers in the United States 1,000,000 are migratory. Some of them travel thousands of miles in trucks and old cars to find work in agriculture. They work principally in cotton, fruits, vegetables and sugar beets.

The wages for migratory laborers are low. The work is seasonal and unsteady. Very few migrant families can earn enough to keep their children in school. Children work in the fields along with their parents. Housing accommodations, sanitary and laundry facilities are far below standard where they exist. Overcrowding is commonplace. In many places migrant workers live in tents and out in the open under the trees. Undernourishment, overwork, disease and death are ordinary companions of the migrant labor force. Tuberculosis and infant mortality have a high incidence.

Along the Mexican border approximately half a million illegal immigrants swell the labor force and keep the unorganized workers in peonage. The wages offered in this area are commonly called "slave-labor" wages. The invasion of the "wetbacks" is a major factor in retarding the progress of citizen labor and community life in our states that border on Mexico.

The new international agreement with Mexico gives some of the Mexican workers a legal status in the country—but the President's Commission on Migratory Labor declares there is no need for foreign workers if we would utilize our unemployed labor force. Of course, that means paying an honest living wage.

Legislation and social security laws have passed over the migrant workers. Public aid and public facilities are generally denied him because he is non-resident where he works. Oftentimes his color alone is the cause of segregation, discrimination, and ostracism. We have laws governing the treatment of cattle in transit and societies organized to protect animals from human cruelty but we have no laws or organized societies to protect the migrant worker. He can be exploited at will.

The recommendations of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor are excellent. As Christians we have a duty to tell our President and congressmen that we want these recommendations to become a part of the law of our country.

There is great room for improvement in our cities and towns where migrants are working. Christian society has a Christian duty here of welcoming the stranger and providing for him at least the necessities for health and decent family living.

ANNCR: Thank you, Father Radtke. You have just heard a summary of today's discussion "Christian Social Action In Migratory Labor."

# CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN INTERRACIAL RELATIONS

#### Address Delivered on October 7, 1951

A discussion by the Rev. Daniel M. Cantwell, the Rev. John Owczarek, Sister Mary Ellen, Mr. Edward Kralovec, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Strubbe and Mr. Clifford Campbell.

#### ANNOUNCER:

Today's program presents a discussion, "Christian Social Action in Interracial

Relations," featuring Sister Mary Ellen, author and teacher, Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois; Mr. Edward Kralovec, President, West Suburban Unit, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago; Mrs. and Mrs. Charles Strubbe, members of the Christian Family Movement; Mr. Clifford Campbell, Director, Dunbar Trade School, Chicago; Rev. John Owczarek, Pastor, Holy Name of Mary Parish, Chicago, and Rev. Daniel M. Cantwell, Chaplain, Catholic Labor Alliance, who will act as discussion leader. Now here is Fr. Cantwell to begin the discussion.

FR. CANTWELL:

It is really good to be here this morning with this group to discuss what, for me,

is a very practical problem. My problem is this. It came to me this way. A man came to me and asked why all this talk about a more Christian attitude toward colored people. "Why all the fuss and bother," he said. "I don't see anything to be worried about do you?" Well I'll grant that this question more or less took me by surprise and more or less took my wind. I tried to answer him as best I could but I am wondering this morning if you could help me with the job of answering a question like that. So far as those who are with me today, such people with such wide fields of experience, I suppose I could just get a pretty good answer.

MR. STRUBBE:

Well, I suspect Father you have already told him what we could tell you but if

you want we can give it a try.

What about this race relations problem?

Well, the first thing that comes into my mind is some of the doings around the Chicago area not so long ago. I also recall the headlines about the race riots around Israel. All over the world you know the Constitution of the United States is extremely low on this question to me. We really put ourselves up as the so-called champion of Democracy, we stand before the world as the people who

believe that all men are created equal. The point we are extremely low on the ladder is that we don't really act as though we believe people are created equal. It's a point that the Soviet Union broadcasts around the world.

MRS. STRUBBE: I'd like to back up my husband on this point. A friend of ours recently returned from a trip to India and he said that after one of these race riots in Chicago he was ashamed to be seen on the streets. People used to come up to him and say so you're an American; you're supposed to be a great believer in democracy; you're the ones that are going to save us from Communism. It's enough to make us ashamed of ourselves.

Well, what do you tell a man who says "so what" to things like this interracial prejudice?

SISTER MARY ELLEN: In my position as a teacher, Father, I don't meet many people who are quite so blatant as that but I think that you're right. I see the reason and I don't see what Americans have to be so proud about. After all more than two-thirds of the people of the world are colored. This includes the negro, the Mongol, the East Indians, the Arabs, and others. If all of these people are convinced that we, as Americans, hate all colored people he'll believe what he believes in case of an all out war.

MR. KRALOVEC:

I've spent some time in the service so I

think I know how the fellows in uniform feel. Something we can't forget is how can we expect our colored Americans to fight for democracy abroad when we don't have democracy at home.

MR. CAMPBELL:

You happened to hit the nail on the head there Ed. It can really eat a man's heart

out. You read about the Indian who was killed in action in Korea, and then was refused a decent burial back home. That kind of thing goes on in many different ways. Well, how about Father Owczarek? You are a Pastor in Chicago. So far you have been sitting there very quietly? How did Ed and Charlie and Clifford size themselves up to you?

FR. OWCZAREK:

What they said, of course was very true. But it doesn't go far enough.

FR. CANTWELL:

What do you mean Father Owczarek, it doesn't go far enough?

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#### FR. OWCZAREK:

Well, I think it does go far but it doesn't go far enough. Do you really believe that

what we've said so far explains why we shouldn't discriminate against the Negro.

#### MR. STRUBBE:

I know there are more good reasons Father, and here is one we haven't come

to vet. I am in business and I know all those of us who are in commerce, for example, are conducting a campaign in this matter. They're coaching all employees to help qualify negroes and also other workers in minority groups. As I recall the matter was considered good business. I run on the basis of merit and not just on color.

FR. CANTWELL:

What about it Mr. Campbell is that true?

MR. CAMPBELL:

That's very true Father and there are more minority groups jumping into im-

portant jobs that formerly were reserved for whites only. They are being hired on the basis of performance. Yes, it is good business that the large industries are accepting the importance of the worker being able to perform skillfully on the job.

FR. CANTWELL:

But I still have my problem. I have this man who came to me. You've offered me

so far now arguments from international relations, from economics. It isn't good business to discriminate. But I still want to know if that is all that I can tell this man?

MR. KRALOVEC:

I think I know what you are driving at Father, I think Father Owczarek should

give us his ideas but first let me present some views of a Catholic layman who hasn't thought much about the trade question. We have a factory worker. The Superintendent hires a negro to do the job next to me, and as you probably know negroes and whites are working side by side in many plants in both the North and the South. O.K., so far so good. But yet I don't like the idea and I am going to do my best to start trouble. But before I do I go and see you Father Owczarek and you take over from there.

FR. OWCZAREK:

I would try to reason with you in many ways Ed. But somewhere along the line I'd give it to you with both barrels.

FR. CANTWELL: You know Father I heard you say something the other day on St. John. I forget what it was. Father I'd suggest quoting St. John to the indi-

vidual. "If any man says I love God and hates his brother he is a liar."

FR. OWCZAREK: Right. And St. John goes on to say "How can he who does not love his brother say he seems to love God whom he does not see. And this commandment we have from God that he who loves God should love his brother also "

MR. CAMPBELL: I'm afraid all of us know just about what we have already said and what Christ said. A person can get so wrapped up in things that he forgets what counts most. He forgets to ask himself am I living my life the way God wants me too.

MR. STRUBBE:

I believe some people might say but what has that got to do with the negro ques-

tion?

FR. OWCZAREK:

It's got everything to do with the negro question. I wonder how many people have

read Our Lord's own description of the last Judgment. It would be an eye-opener to them to learn just how He will separate the sheep from the goats and how he will send certain men to Heaven and certain men to Hell. Just let me recall to you the words that He will tell those who are bound for Heaven. "Come Blessed of my Father take possession of the Kingdom prepared for you since the foundation of the world." And he goes on to tell them . . . "for I was hungry and you gave me to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me to drink, I was naked and you covered me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me." Christ said that people will ask, "Lord when did we feed thee when you were hungry or when You were thirsty and give you drink." Then come the words which give us the heart of Christian doctrine on brotherhood. "Amen, Amen I say to you as long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me."

MRS. STRUBBE:

Yes, Father but let's not forget what comes after that. Remember that Christ said: "There will be some who got this standard and the odd pieces

and to these He will say Depart from Me O cursed ones into everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels."

Here, in the best possible language, we have the message that how we treat our fellow men will determine whether we ourselves are going toward heaven or to hell.

FR. CANTWELL:

Well, all right now. So far, I think it's pretty clear. As Christians we have a

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responsibility to respect the dignity of all mankind regardless of their skin color.

MRS. STRUBBE: Well, that's very true, Father but there are a lot of people, a lot of our friends and acquaintances some with whom we work, who aren't at all aware of that responsibility.

FR. CANTWELL: Now there are two methods to that problem today. There are organizations that are making an extra hard drive and putting out an extra effort to make known the Christian teaching on race. Maybe, through your own experience Sister Mary Ellen, you could offer some examples of this kind of activity.

SISTER MARY ELLEN: Probably Father, you refer to some very significant groups working for interracial understanding. For example, the Friendship Houses which do this kind of work in Chicago, New York City, Canada, Portland, Oregon, and Washington, D. C. Besides that there are a number of Martin de Porres Centers. And, of course, we all know about the Catholic Interracial Councils in all of our larger cities. And then, besides, there are some smaller groups and a number of individual groups who are giving a great deal of time and effort towards interracial justice.

MR. CAMPBELL: I'd like to add to your list, Sister, the Catholic Committee of the South which has done a great deal.

SISTER MARY ELLEN: And we ought not to forget the Collegiate group of the South which published recently a very significant article in *The Catholic World*, if you

remember.

MR. CAMPBELL: Yes, I do.

FR. CANTWELL:

A great article. I remember seeing that myself. I would still like to ask all of

you some practical kind of advice that you have found helpful to a man in your experience. Father, how do we go about getting more Christian attitudes on race relations right into the home. I think maybe Mr. and Mrs. Strubbe, you can help us on this point.

MRS. STRUBBE:

Well, we can talk about this in a small way because our family is still small. I

think one that is very simple and yet a very successful device is to give little children the Christian teaching on the question of race.

For example, we know that one of the wise men was a negro so we can see to it that our children learn about that. We can tell them how happy Our Lord was to show Himself to members of all races and not just to white people. We can tell them, for example, stories of the different things, the negro things. We can have a statue or a picture of Blessed Martin de Porres. We can always emphasize in the stories that we tell them the accomplishments and the great names, the artists, the scientists, of other races. I think that will do a lot to teach children the right attitude towards people who are not the same color as we are.

FR. CANTWELL:

You mean that it's not the truth then to say that we are born with prejudices.

MRS. STRUBBE:

Oh, not at all. Very little children do not know these things. It's when they come

in contact with prejudiced parents or relatives or next door children that they pick up all the prejudices which are increased every year. And that's what we as parents have to work against.

MR. STRUBBE:

I'd like to add this by way of supporting my wife. It's something that I have been

doing for some time. It's perfectly all right and it's perfectly possible for a good Christian family to try to establish these proper attitudes in the home by using all sorts of little devices from the time the children are very small. As I say Father, they don't have these prejudices when they are children. But the second they go outside of the family into an ordinary community they are going to encounter prejudice. One of the greatest mistakes we as parents make is to assume that if we simply give them good example in the home it's going to be enough. It's not going to be enough. We have to give them the good example of not being prejudiced ourselves, not having any intolerance in ourselves. But I think we have to let that carry over and tell them exactly why it is that we don't have this prejudice. The moment they encounter prejudice outside of the home, for instance in the neighbor's children, we have to tell them specifically why those neighbor's children are wrong and why the attitudes they have encountered in the home are the right ones.

FR. CANTWELL:

I notice Mr. Campbell is squirming over there probably because you think business and industry has got something to do with this question.

MR. CAMPBELL:

Well, Father I think they have. It seems to me there is a great need for the real-

ization of what general employment practices mean to minority groups. A decent job can mean the difference between hope and des-

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pair for a man and his family. Many of my graduates have told me that they never knew what American democracy really meant until they got jobs that matched their abilities and training.

FR. CANTWELL: As I understand, Mr. Campbell and I am sure all our friends would like to know, you are the director of the Dunbar Trade School.

MR. CAMPBELL: That's right Father.

FR. CANTWELL: And you train young people preparing for jobs in special skills. Maybe at this point

you could tell us a little about the good effects of that kind training.

MR. CAMPBELL:

Father, about ten years ago we began to offer a program in the Chicago public

schools at Dunbar for the people of the community, a kind of training that would give them the fields to compete in industry for skilled jobs. That program has paid off. When they are given the opportunity to compete on an equitable basis with other workers the students do well. They do not meet with the things that we ordinarily associate with prejudice and discrimination.

FR. CANTWELL: Good. They are given training as well as an equal opportunity. I'm glad that you mentioned that idea. Mr. Kralovec, you helped, as I understand, to organize the West Suburban group of the Catholic Interracial Council. Suppose you tell us a few things about it. That's a type of

an organizational activity, too.

MR. KRALOVEC:

Well, Father I guess this group opened the eves of a lot of us. We were surprised

at the un-Christian attitudes in some of our neighbors which we never expected and as Catholics we felt an obligation to do something about it. So at that time we formed this organization as the means of getting across to our neighbors the teachings of the Church and our duties of social justice to our neighbors regardless of color.

FR. CANTWELL:

Mrs. Strubbe you have something to add.

MRS. STRUBBE:

Speaking of neighbors reminded me of one more thing which I think the ordin-

ary housewife can do, and that is in conversation with our neighbors. Topics do come up which are connected with this race question and I know a lot of us shy away from them. We think we should discuss nothing more important than the weekly laundry on the rack. I think here we have a chance for tremendous example for informal

speaking with our neighbors, giving Christian attitudes on the race question and showing by our example and by our knowledge that we are working on the side of Christ and the Church.

FR. CANTWELL: Most people, I'm afraid, have really never heard the attitudes to our neighbors which we think we have to utter. They acquire them. Everybody does it, everybody says it, so I must do it. Go shopping and we will hardly meet one individual who will say something that runs counter to the prevailing ideas.

MR. KRALOVEC:

That's partly because even when people do have the right attitude they feel that

it is something which they have to keep to themselves or become personally objectionable to their neighbor. You don't talk about politics and religion. That's the idea, and I'd like to know why. I mean these are the most important things in my life and it seems to me that they are the things that are worth talking about. As long as I talk about them in good will and don't antagonize anybody, it seems to me that this is the most effective area any of us can do any good work in.

FR. CANTWELL:

Sister Mary Ellen, before we run out of our time here, I know we could spend all

evening discussing this problem, but I think we ought to go back again to the schools. What about our schools?

SISTER MARY ELLEN: The Christian teacher, under no circumstances whatsoever, dares to overlook or

neglect the strict duty to promote interracial understanding and justice. This does not only pertain to those teachers who may be occupied solely with subject matter which may be explicitly applied to Christian doctrine and Apologetics. In any phase and subject of the curriculum from the nursery school and the kindergarten to the professional and graduate school any misunderstandings must be exploded and deleted. Because of our relations with all people, our brothers in the Fatherhood of God, our co-members in the Mystical Body of Christ, justice crys out and demands that the truth be unveiled in history, in literature, in the fine arts and in the natural sciences particularly in the biological and medical course. The teachers of ethics, economics, and sociology must deal, and honestly, with all the immoral practices which uphold convenants, segregation in Church, education and recreation, inadequate payment for labor, discrimination for hiring or any circumstances whatsoever where human rights and human dignity is outraged.

FR. CANTWELL:

Father, just for a moment I think we should get back to what individual people

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can do. You told me the other day of something a young lady had done that I thought was awfully good. Would you repeat that story?

FR. OWCZAREK: Negroes were moving into a certain section and one of the women of the block was going from house to house asking of every house owner to refuse to sell to colored. And when she came to this young lady the young lady just gave her a very nice talking to on how utterly un-Christian and uncharitable and wrong she was. And the woman was really flabergasted to find someone who believed in racial justice and believed that there should be no segregation.

FR. CANTWELL: Well, now before we close this off what can you and I as priests do?

FR. OWCZAREK:

As an example, when the colored began coming into this parish and you heard a

lot of rumblings from the people, the chief altar boy who is a colored boy was at the head of a procession and carried the cross. With a few remarks he changed the attitude of the people and no tension was there.

FR. CANTWELL: At the same time we have numerous opportunities from the pulpit to teach haven't we. We teach, of course, by example, we teach by work, but the more and more that we can do this day to solve this problem to create better racial attitudes, the better job we are doing for Christ.

#### SUMMARY

There has been an estimation that racial discrimination costs this nation two billion dollars a year. That's right, two billion dollars. This calculation is based on the production we lose by failing to utilize all our qualified manpower regardless of race, color or creed. The case against discrimination amounts to much more than two billion dollars a year. That after all is a drop in the bucket. The real case against racial discrimination as we have all been saying is that it is morally wrong. As Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio. Texas says: "Racial discrimination hurts not only the negro but also the white man." Discrimination, as he puts it, hurts the white man's conscience because he remembers that what you do to the least of your brethren you do to Christ. The idea of a segregated Christ seems like a blasphemy to Him. Archbishop Lucey goes on to say in regard to our redemption "Does the color of a child's skin make any difference?" When Christ referred to the least of His brethren as representing Him did He mean to exclude the colored child and

the Latin American? Is it not Catholic doctrine that when a brother is excluded and segregated it is Christ who is insulted and humiliated? So that then, as Archbishop Lucey has said, is the reason why we must treat all men regardless of color as brothers. To do otherwise is to sin. To subject negroes to what some people call their own justice, to keep them out of a certain job, to segregate in any way. This, it seems to me, is to sin against justice and to sin against Christian love. Last year in Vatican City the Fides news agency of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith issued a report on the Negro in the United States. This report answers some wrong-those who say negroes and whites must be kept apart in order to maintain peace. Let me quote directly from the report. It says that attempts are made to justify segregation by saying that it produces peace and harmony by keeping separate people who would otherwise be unconscious. Let's acknowledge the fact that separation itself is the principle cause of prejudice. Those are the words that separation itself is the principle cause of prejudice. How is this so and in what reasonable aspect? By segregation you put up an artificial wall between man and man. This artificial wall creates distrust. You don't get to know each other as people, as human beings. as individuals made in the image and likeness of God. You judge each man not by his words and deeds but by his skin color. In recent vears, more and more Americans have realized that racial prejudice is immoral and they've acted accordingly. Schools in all parts of the country are dropping racial restrictions. The Knights of Columbus in San Antonio, Texas recently initiated three negro members. The Benedictine Order has established an inter-racial monastery in Southwestern Kentucky. The Chicago Daily News is hiring a negro reporter. These are just some of the examples of the fact that human brotherhood is not just a faraway idea but a reality that we can and must achieve in our daily lives. So more and more of us in the United States must act in the spirit of God's advice to St. Catherine of Sienna. "I will put you beside your neighbor," God told St. Catherine, "so that you can do for him what you cannot do for me."

## CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN RURAL LIFE

#### Address Delivered on October 14, 1951

A discussion by the Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J., Mr. Henry T. Broderick, Mrs. Roman Smith, Mr. Joseph J. Trainer and Miss Margaret I. Rooney.

FR. GIBBONS:

When the American Revolution took place 90% of our people were farmers. Less than

10% lived in the cities in that day. Today over half our population lives in cities and the larger towns. The rest live either in villages or the open country. Only a little over 12 or 13% of our people earn their living as full time farmers. This shift away from the land as a fine resource of livelihood has been helpful in that it made America productive. We should not underestimate the major importance of the land and those that till it and we must realize that the God-given natural resources of the soil have to be cared for by all of us and not just by the farmers. Families should not be crowded in the cities but should be spread out and that requires industry to be spread out and social services should be available to all our people in rural as well as city areas. I am going to ask Commissioner Broderick to say something to us about the importance of the land that God has given us.

COMM. BRODERICK: Thank you Father Gibbons. When the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock little did they realize the vast continent that lay before them. In a little over three hundred years, that vast expanse of land has become the greatest nation on earth. Today we stand in the forefront as the beacon light of humanity, the mecca that the rest of the world looks to for succor and substance. To stay in the forefront we must preserve that heritage and we must protect our soil. Whether we live in the metropolis of a great city, in some distant hamlet of the great Northwest or in a modest country home in the blue hills of my native Massachusetts we are joined by a common bond. We have both a moral and social duty to preserve for our posterity the soil upon which we live. This great country of ours with its great plains, its rolling hillsides and its pleasant valleys, this land of ours gives us our food, our water supply, our recreation and a place to live under the sun and sky. We must know the land. We must use it intelligently and wisely so we can formulate a sound social Christian policy and to safeguard our future existence.

#### FR. GIBBONS:

Thank you Mr. Broderick. I agree with you that land is one of the most important

teachers of American life today and its protection is a most urgent duty of all of us. But the people who live on the land are in a sense even more important and for that reason I am going to ask Mrs. Roman Smith who is a farmer's wife in South River, New Jersey, to say something to us about the family on the land.

#### MRS. SMITH:

Thank you Father. First I would like to say that I am very happy that my part on this

program is that of a rural wife and mother. I have always been very enthusiastic about family life on the farm and in rural areas and I am becoming more so when I see how congested the cities are becoming. When I look back and remember all the gav happy young people that filled my home I am compelled to admit that I had many advantages raising that large family of nine children on the farm that my friends living in the city did not have. There are so many every day things that the farmer and the people living in rural areas need not give much thought to, and which today present great problems to the city dwellers. And they, consequently, are the subject of much discussion. Briefly the much discussed problem of space. We never have to worry about that. We have plenty of space -indoors and outdoors. Then air. For us that means the clean fresh smell of newly plowed earth, the fragrance of the pine woods and the breath of the four winds. For light we have the unobstructed view of the sun, the moon, the stars and the beautiful sunrises and gorgeous sunsets. For good measure we have electric lighting too. Finally, according to the old American traditions of private enterprise we were fortunate as most rural people are to own something—our family type farm, a home, livestock and pets. And above all we have so much fun together. That is why I hold that the farm home and the rural home in general are especially adapted for establishing and maintaining a strong wholesome familv life. I agree wholeheartedly with the poet who calls that child blessed who is brought up on a farm and pities the child who is imprisoned by walls of city apartments and flaunting signs. From my own experience then I would urge all parents and would be parents to come back to the land, back to God.

#### FR. GIBBONS:

Thank you Mrs. Smith. I think you presented that question of a family having space.

light and air outside the crowded congested city very well. But it's not just the family but the workers on the land who are important and for that reason Mr. Trainer maybe you can say something to us about the labor on the land.

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#### MR. TRAINER:

Father Gibbons I believe that a man who labors on a farm is probably the most for-

tunate man in America. He has independence and has developed the resourcefulness and the initiative that he must have to be purchasing agent, salesman, treasurer and general manager of his own business. In contrast with his lot, however, I would say that my observation indicates that the migrant worker is probably worse off than any other man in this country. Comparing him for example with the industrial employee. The industrial worker has employment the full year around, he has a permanent home and he has the chance to educate his children. The migrant worker has none of these. My first introduction to migrant workers came some years ago when I served upon a jury where we were trying a migrant worker for killing one of his fellowmen. The scene of the crime was a house which once had been owned by an independent farmer and his family and where he and his family lived. When we saw it there were about half a dozen families living there, crowded together in such a way that crime was inevitable. I might say that that house is an ideal breeding place for murder and the crime that came out of it was just what would be expected. A1though all migrant workers do not have to live under those conditions they certainly do for the most part have very bad conditions under which they must live. Not all farm workers of course, are migrant workers and generally speaking farm workers have more satisfactory living conditions than the city workers. You don't have to be smart to figure that one out. Just take a walk out to the zoo and you'll see there that the monkeys have more living space than the people who live in the cities.

FR. GIBBONS:

Well, Mr. Trainer I might have some reservations as to whether all the rural people

have the living conditions that you picture at times but I thoroughly agree with you that the lot of the migrant worker is a fertile field for social action at this time. Not only with regard to working conditions and living places, health and welfare of the children, but also with regard to their religious and spiritual well being. And that leads me to another question, mainly that of rural education. For this reason I am going to ask Miss Rooney, who has a background in that field to say something about the importance of education in rural areas.

MISS ROONEY:

Thank you Father Gibbons. We do have special problems in rural education. Our

funds are meager. Most of our school buildings are inadequate. Our rural roads often are not easy to travel, our textbooks seem to be slanted to urbanize our youngsters. The teacher and the pupils

will always be the important factors in every school however. Today we are apt to stress too much the physical aspects of education. If we can have teachers who themselves appreciate rural life and its advantages we need not be overly anxious about our problems. No rural youth should leave the farm without a reasonable understanding of the advantages farm life has to offer. A good rural teacher will be sure that he has that understanding.

FR. GIBBONS: Miss Rooney, from what you say I gather that it's your belief that the formation of rural youth is about one of the most important things in our country today, and since spiritual values and moral development is vital if our country is going to survive as the home of freedom and the service of God and man, what do you think about religious education and formation in rural areas?

MISS ROONEY: If farm people are to remain firm in their religious life it is necessary not only that they be instructed in religion but even more that they be educated to a religious point of view.

FR. GIBBONS:

Well, I think that puts it very well and 1 am going to turn back to Commissioner

Broderick for a moment and ask him what he thinks about formulating some principles of Christian Social Action with regard to the land.

COMM. BRODERICK: Well, Father we have certain moral duties to use the land wisely. This is our stewardship so to speak. The future of our nation and the future of those who succeed us will depend on the kind of moral and social standards we ourselves employ in our daily lives. We have certain social duties. We must practice soil conservation, we must reforest the depleted woodlands. We must prevent the destruction of our forests through carelessness. We must protect our water supply. We must put all our land to suitable uses. The worker on the soil and his family have the first rights to the fruits of their labor for a decent standard of living. Rural people have the right to receive directly their just share of the economic, social and religious benefits in their organized societies. The land is God's greatest material gift to mankind. No law or contract is superior to the Natural Law. Special adaptability of the farm home for nurturing strong and wholesome family life is the reason for universal interest in land. A unique relationship exists between the families and the rotation of agriculture. It is not only our responsibility to make land available to the family but it is the responsibility of society to

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encourage and educate the rural schools in the proper and most efficient use of the soil in such techniques which will make them masters of their own economic destinies.

FR. GIBBONS: I quite agree with you Commissioner Broderick. I see Mrs. Smith over here is desirous of having something to say. What is it, Mrs. Smith? Is it anything about the family type farm?

MRS. SMITH: Well, Father I think the family type of farm in our part of the country, New Jersey, would be a 60 acre farm because we raise mostly vegetables and fruit. Is that what you wanted to know?

FR. GIBBONS: Well, yes. I do think the question that comes up very frequently is whether the family type farm is efficient. Those who have industrialized agriculture on a very large scale run by managers, etc. often point to the inefficiency of the small share cropper's farm. Now what do you think about that?

MRS. SMITH: Well, Father I think the two man farms are most efficient and I think most of the farms in the United States are the family type farms.

FR. GIBBONS: Well, I am glad to hear that. Have there been any surveys or studies made in this

direction?

MRS. SMITH:

are family type farms.

FR. GIBBONS: Well, what about their efficiency?

MRS. SMITH: Well I suppose that would vary according to the acreage and the type of farming that

is done. A 5 acre truck farm perhaps would be as good as a 500 acre grain farm.

FR. GIBBONS:

Good, I am glad to hear that you have confidence in the initiative and responsibility of

Well, recently I noticed in the Farm Journal that 80% of the farms in the United States

the American Family who till the land. Mr. Trainer I have been wondering about farm production in other parts of the world. Most of all today the United States has been trying to boost production' there.

MR. TRAINER:

Well, it has been estimated that % of the world's people live on a sub-standard diet.

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At the same time I think we have recognized that there are not enough bills in the United States Treasury to buy food for all the rest of the world. However, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference sets a fine example of the way in which that problem should be handled. They have helped to make available to six European countries over 400 tons of hydrant feed corn and the basic yield has increased resulting from planting this corn. It paid off 20 to one. That is, for every dollar invested, the farmers who planted it received \$20.00 in the way of increased crops. I think the answer to the food problem comes in that kind of thing.

FR. GIBBONS:

I started talking about technical assistance and simple devices and methods that were

used about 4,000 years ago. Is that what you think we need Mr. Trainer?

MR. TRAINER: I mean both technical assistance and the idea of helping people to help themselves. I

think they can't recover if they sit back and depend on us but I think if we show them how to recover by teaching technical ability and by training men to spread that ability they would.

FR. GIBBONS:

Good. But I am also worried about the question of rural education and how we are

also going to train people to take advantage of the land for their own sakes and for the benefit of the whole human race. Miss Rooney do you have anything to say about the importance of education in that regard?

MISS ROONEY:

Rural education of youth is certainly very important. Many of our rural youth migrate

to the cities where formal social and Christian education may be readily more available but we can't wait until these young people have left the country to educate them in spiritual values. In the country it is the parents I think who have the very great responsibility for this job.

FR. GIBBONS:

I gather from what you say that you think the training of rural life in our country and

in other parts of the world has to be carried out by the parents and by the school and by the community in general so that we can have the kind of people that will produce for themselves but what's more important will know how to live. Is that right Miss Rooney?

MISS ROONEY:

Yes, Father Gibbons.

FR. GIBBONS:

Thank you. I am going to ask Commissioner Broderick who I understand comes from

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the city where the N.C.R.L.C. Convention is going to be held, to say something briefly about that convention.

COMM. BRODERICK: Yes Father, we're holding the National Catholic Rural Life Conference at the Hotel Bradford in Boston, October 18 to 23rd. That Conference is under the patronage of His Excellency, The Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston and it's also under the able assistance of Msgr. Donovan of Milton, Massachusetts and Monsignor Ligutti of Des Moines, Iowa. And I am sure that all those who are interested in Rural Life will be there and they will be able to learn much from the type of Conference. The sessions will be held at that Conference at the Hotel Bradford.

FR. GIBBONS: Thank you Mr. Broderick. I am glad you have heard what we have said about the National Catholic Rural Life Conference for it has been promoting Christian interest in social action in this country for some 20 years and I know it will continue to do so in the years ahead. It recently sponsored an International Congress in Rome this year in which people from twenty countries came together to discuss rural problems and their relationship to Christian Social Action. This Rome Convention, Mr. Trainer, have you heard anything about it? What about the conclusions that it came to?

MR. TRAINER: The conclusions were exactly in accord with some of the discussions here today. Undoubtedly some portions of the world are overpopulated and do not have the facilities to produce for themselves. This problem can be licked only if we give them assistance from America in the way of encouragement of their own initiative and in the way of technical assistance.

FR. GIBBONS: Fine Mr. Trainer. The conclusions just came off the press I understand and are now available. The importance of pointing out the great good of those directions is necessary now. We're to understand now that Christians are engaged in rural social action in the international field as well

SUMMARY

as here back in the United States.

Land is one of the most important of God's gifts to man. People, all our people, the ones in the cities, as well as the rural areas have to learn to use it wisely. That means very practical things. It means keeping the soil from running down the hillsides. It means keeping

our forests intact so that they can be used for future generations as well as for the immediate present. It means seeing that our water supply is protected and not polluted and that it is kept for the benefit of all our people. It means that we must have the land utilized as the place for healthy recreation and healthy living for as many of our people as possible and not just for those who actually till it. Even more important is the question of the family on the land. It's there that people can own property of their own, productive property. There they can exercise initiative in planning their work and teach their children to do the same. Thomas Jefferson many, many years ago drew attention to the fact that the farm family and the people on the land are the source of independent thinking and judgment, and, therefore, vital to a democracy. The workers who till the soil whether they own or operate the land themselves or whether they are merely hired workers for the whole year or for the season are also important. Recently we had a survey made of conditions amongst migrant workers in agriculture by the President's Commission. It brought out some very very disturbing facts and pointed out plenty of areas for Christian Social Action, in seeing that seasonal work is taken care of. I think that anyone who wishes to help the seasonal workers in American agriculture, has a job cut out for him if he lives in an area where such people work. Rural Education has to be taken care of. We must have the schools and the funds to run them. We must have the teachers who are trained. We must have those who are vitally interested in seeing that America's future citizens so many of whom come from the land have an opportunity that is comparable to that enjoyed by those in the city. And finally we must realize that all over the world there are people in rural poverty and it is the special aim of those who would disrupt our free society to agitate among these rural people and promise betterment. And we who have been given so much by God have a duty to see that they are helped.

## CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN ECONOMIC LIFE

#### Address Delivered on October 21, 1951

By the Rev. George G. Higgins, assistant director, Social Action department, N.C.W.C.

Seven or eight years ago one of the nation's leading economists—more conservative than radical by American standards —wrote an article in which he contradicted, in advance, almost everything that has been said on this current series of broadcasts sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Men.

"As to organized religion," he said. "its sociological function is always conservative; it sanctions whatever social structure and customs are effectively established, merely striving to get people to conform and be content, and to act humanely. The view of religion as the opiate of the masses is scientifically correct, with the addition that it is sometimes expected to function as a sedative for the classes also. Organized religion never has a dynamic or progressive . . . ethic."

Just a few months ago another prominent American author—a lawyer by profession arrived at the same conclusion in an otherwise rather interesting and accurate study.

"There can be little doubt," he says, by way of criticizing organized religion in the United States, "but that Christian theology has profoundly influenced the attitude of the American people on the subject of politics.

"According to Christian theology," he adds, "the individual is saved by repentance and faith rather than by works." By which he means to suggest that organized religion in the United States has always been a conservative or reactionary force.

One of the purposes—or at least one of the results—of this series of broadcasts on "The Christian in Action—in Economic Life" has been to demonstrate that theologically the opinion of these two prominent authors on the subject of the Church and temporal society is inaccurate—well-intentioned, if you will, but nevertheless inaccurate.

The truth of the matter is

that the Catholic church is intensely interested in progressive social action, not ' , reasons of temporary strategy or tactics as her critics sometimes suggest. but for reasons which flow logically and necessarily from her fundamental teaching on the nature and destiny of man. It has been the purpose of this series of broadcasts - which we are concluding this morning-to reemphasize the importance of Catholic social action and, more particularly, to indicate in specific ways how the American Catholic layman, as an individual and as a member of religious and secular organizations, can more effectively promote the cause of Christian social reconstruction.

The implicit theme of the entire series and the common premise of all the participants was stated rather graphically a few years ago by the late Cardinal Suhard of Paris in a pastoral letter entitled "Growth or Decline":

"To convert the world," the Cardinal said, "it is not enough to be saints and preach the Gospel. Rather one cannot be a saint and live the Gospel we preach without spending himself to provide everyone with the housing, employment, food, leisure, education, etc.—without which life is no longer human. Hence, the mission of the Christian is not only an apostolate: it is the convergence of three simultaneous actions: religious, civic and social."

Surely the Cardinal's understanding of Catholicism is more accurate than the opinion of the two American authors quoted at the beginning of this broadcast. And if it be said, by way of rebuttal, that some American Catholics fall .o live up to their social responsibilities in some or all of the areas indicated by the Cardinal, we can only suggest that this is not an argument against Catholic social teaching any more than racial prejudice or other violations of the democratic philosophy are an argument against the Declaration of Independence or the Bill of Rights.

This series of broadcasts will have been successful if it convinces even one additional Catholic or one additional non-Catholic that "one cannot be a saint and live the Gospel we preach without spending himself to provide everyone with the housing, employment, food, leisure, education, etc.—without which life is no longer human." The series will have been successful, in other words, if it persuades even one of its listeners to go into action in economic life, guided by Christian principles and motivated by the love of God and neighbor.

It goes without saying, of course, that the emphasis on *action* in this series of broadcasts does not mean that its sponsors or its participants fail to recognize the primary importance of prayer and meditation. These are taken for granted as absolutely indispensable, with the understanding, however, that while they are the first duty or the first responsibility of the Christian, they are not his only duty or his only responsibility.

The importance of social *action*—with the emphasis on *action*—was stated pointedly many years ago by the saintly Pope Pius X, recently declared Blessed by Holy Mother the Church.

"Certain timid souls, though good living," said Pius X, "are so attached to their habitual quiet and so afraid of every innovation that they believe that it is quite sufficient to pray. But these good people, who I would call optimists, will wait in vain for society to re-Christianize itself simply by the prayers of the

er words, if it persuades even \_ good . . . It is necessary to join one of its listeners to go into ac- prayers with action."

> Let these words of Blessed Pius X be the justification, therefore,—if one be needed for concentrating during these past two months on social action as distinguished from prayer and meditation, however necessary and however indispensable prayer and meditation may be in the life of the Christian layman.

> This series of broadcasts on "The Christian in Action-in Economic Life" has been concerned with labor-management relations, race relations, welfare legislation, rural life, and other related problems in the field of social reconstruction. In concluding the series this morning, we don't intend to go over the ground already covered by the preceding speakers. Rather let us concentrate this morning on two points which were implicit, of course, in all of the preceding broadcasts but probably ought to be emphasized again in conclusion: 1) the importance of the layman in Christian social action; and 2) the necessity of action now-not ten years hence. but now.

> We often hear it said that the Church needs more lay apostles because there is a shortage of priests in almost every diocese

in the world. This is an accurate statement as far as it goes. It is just as accurate, however, and just as necessary to emphasize today that the Church needs more lay apostles because there are certain things that only the layman has the competence to do—regardless of the number of priests at any given time or place.

Take the case of social reconstruction with which this series of broadcasts has been primarily concerned. Please God that we may have an increase in vocations to the priesthood, but even if we had 400,000 priests in the United States instead of 40,000. these 400,000 priests would not -because they could not-bring about a reconstruction of the social order on their own initiative. They could not because they are not "competent" to do so. They are not "competent" to do so because they are not directly engaged in the activities of the marketplace. Their "competence" in the field of social action-and their "duty," as Pope Pius reminds us-is "to search diligently for . . . lay apostles both of workers and of employers, to select them with prudence, and to train and instruct them properly."

Strictly speaking, therefore,

social reconstruction is directly the responsibility of the layman and only indirectly the responsibility of the priest. An American theologian develops this conclusion as follows:

"... the laity are called in a peculiar way to take the initiative in social reform . . . Authority does not and cannot initiate such reforms. It is the function of authority to supervise and regulate, to point out excesses and dangers and to encourage the down-trodden to hope and to struggle for a better day. Social reforms, if they are to be effective and lasting. must come from below: they cannot be imposed from above. It is the vocation of the laity to take this initiative, with the aid and blessing of God."

Coupled with this general principle of lay responsibility in the field of social action is the more specific principle of "specialization"—a big word which is defined very briefly and in very simple terms by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical "On Reconstructing the Social Order."

"The first and immediate apostle to the workers," he says, "ought to be workers: the apostles to those who follow industry and trade ought to be from among them themselves,"

Why? Why this emphasis on specialization in the field of Catholic social action? Because, if we may quote Cardinal Suhard again, "Christian truth cannot be imposed from without by the prestige of those who teach it nor even by its objective rigor alone: it presents itself as a testimony. Now the presence, not only physical but spiritual. which presupposes the community of life, is essential to the witness. The meaning of this principle, often superficially understood, is a profound one: 'the apostolate of like by like.""

This is not to say that the "apostolate of like by like"—of worker to worker and employer to employer—is the only answer or the total answer to the social problem.

The layman has all sorts of other obligations in the field of social reform, not the least of these being the obligation to participate actively in politics and in public affairs in general. He has an obligation to foster good legislation and to interest himself in its administration.

But if social legislation is necessary, it is not a panacea. It should not be looked upon as a substitute for the greatest possible measure of economic selfgovernment through the organized cooperation of voluntary economic associations.

More than that, legislation itself should be consciously aimed at the encouragement of industrial self-government through an organized system of industry councils.

"First and foremost," says Pope Pius XI, "the state and every good citizen ought to look to and strive towards this end: that the conflict between the hostile classes be abolished and harmonious cooperation of the industries and professions be encouraged and promoted. The social policy of the state, therefore, must devote itself to the reestablishment of the industries and professions"—to the establishment, that is, of a system of industry councils.

In any discussion of the lay apostolate in social action it would seem altogether appropriate, therefore, to center attention principally, though not exclusively, of course, on the all-important responsibility of the layman, be he worker or employer, farmer or professional man, to work through his own economic organization towards the re-establishment of a better economic order. This is the major emphasis of the social encyclicals, as we have already indicated, and it

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is likewise the major emphasis of the official statements of the American Bishops.

But whether our emphasis at any given time be centered on economic self-government, or on federal and state welfare legislation, or on community planning at the local level (they all go together in a well-rounded program of social action), the responsibility is always primarily the layman's.

How effectively is the American Catholic layman fulfilling this responsibility? Father John LaFarge, S.J., asked this question of himself in a recent analysis of the impact of Catholicism upon the life of the United States. His answer is rather encouraging:

"Catholic social action, in its different manifestations, has made perhaps the most marked impression upon the non-Catholic world of any form of Catholic activity during the last few vears, chiefly because it grapples directly with problems in which non-Catholics are already deeply interested. Examples of this would be the interest displayed in Catholic concern with the population problem and the refugees, the Church's splendid relief program for Europe and the East. Catholic discussions of social security and other socialwelfare questions; the Catholic interest in the cooperation of labor and management and the problems of organized labor; and the Catholic stand on interracial justice."

These are encouraging words, indeed, but lest we be tempted to give way to complacency, Father LaFarge hastens to add that "nothing is less apt to get us a hearing in this country than to wait for non-Catholics to take all the risks, with the hope that we may some day ride into popularity on the crest of a friendly wave." The implication is—or seems to be—that we are sometimes too timid, too hesitant about initiating necessary measures of social reform.

Be that as it may, now is the time for lay action. Humanly speaking, we can almost say that it is now or never—so serious is the breakdown of social morality in the world at large. Our own country, to be sure, is temporarily more favorably situated than some of the other nations of the world. All the more reason, then for our taking the initiative and setting an example to the rest of mankind.

May we be the first to respond to the challenge of Our Holy Father who has reminded us of the terrifying urgency of more intensive lay action.

"And since the priest," he says, "can reach neither everybody nor everything, and as his work is not always able to meet adequately all needs, those who serve in the Catholic Action ranks must offer the aid of their own experience and activity. No one must be idle and lazy in the face of so many evils and dangers while those in the other camp strive to destroy the very basis of Catholic religion and Christian worship. Let it never come to pass that 'the children of this world are wiser than the children of light' (Luke 16: 8); let it never be that the latter are less active than the former."

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