Religion and modern social trends.

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Boston University

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Boston University
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Thesis

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1938
BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THESIS
RELIGION AND MODERN SOCIAL TRENDS

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(B.S., Boston University - 1931)
In partial fulfillment of requirements for the
degree of Master of Education
1938

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Graduate Record
School of Education
June 27, 1938
16974
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INTRODUCTION

That sweeping changes are taking place through the social, political, and economic forces controlling the lives of all men today admits of no challenge. The direction which these forces shall take, and the nature of their impact upon society, will largely determine the character of the lives of generations to come. Whether this direction shall be Christian or antichristian is of utmost concern not only to the Church but to the civilized world, for there can be but little question that Western civilization, as we know it, has had its roots in Christianity. Indeed, what we call World civilization today, in so far as it embraces the ideals of political liberty and social justice, is but the world-wide reflection of Christian influence.

Life itself implies change, and, as social change has been constant from the beginning of time, the Christian Church, as the world's greatest social agency, has been concerned with it for close to two thousand years. She has not always accepted the new, unconditionally, nor has she rejected the old with undue alacrity. However, the Church has perhaps never been ready to meet the pernicious and devilish errors of modern times with as practical, as understanding, and as well organized a program of definite action as she is today.
An attempt to discover the nature and extent of the work of the Christian Church, and particularly that of the Roman Catholic Church, in present day social reconstruction will be the purpose of this study.

The term, "social reconstruction", as used in this thesis shall be interpreted as any reformation and improvement in modern societal living, whether such reformation and improvement be along lines considered political, economic, or social.

The study will consider as its starting point in time the early Encyclicals of Leo XIII, Immortale Dei (on the Christian Constitution of States) issued in 1885, and Rerum Novarum (on the Condition of the Working Classes) issued in 1891, and will confine itself for the most part to Catholic Action in America since the World War.

Chapter I will deal with a discussion of the changing social order and its significance to Christianity.

Chapter II will discuss the Responsibility of the Church in the Changing Social Order. It will include a necessarily superficial survey of the work of the whole Christian Church, particularly in America, as it is concerned with the problem of social reconstruction. To give a fair picture of the work of each one of the Christian denominations would necessitate at least as detailed a treatment as that which is given to the work of the Catholic Church later in this thesis, and it is to be hoped that further studies will be undertaken by interested students of other Christian congregations.
In Chapters I and II, the term Church, unless otherwise limited, shall be interpreted as organized Religion, or more specifically, organized Christianity. In Chapters III, IV, V, and VI, the term Church is used in reference to the Roman Catholic Church.

Chapter III will deal with the interest of the Catholic Church as it is concerned with social reconstruction and will trace the growth of that movement known throughout the world as Catholic Action.

For purposes of analysis only, Catholic Doctrine and Catholic Action as they are related to modern social trends, are divided into these chapters -

The attempt of the Catholic Church to guide in the solution of economic problems will be considered in Chapter IV, "The Church and the Trend toward Social Justice".

Trends of a political nature will be considered in Chapter V, under the title "The Church and the Totalitarian State".

Problems concerned with the so-called private life of the individual and with family life will be discussed in Chapter VI, "The Church and the Trend from Christian Morality".

It is obvious that these trends are not distinct and separate, that the trend in morals vitally influences the trend in economics, and that each of these trends is a powerful contributing factor to the modern trend in government.

There is no dearth of material on social reconstruction
today. It is safe to say that at no time in history has so much been written of man’s relationship to society. From this wealth of literature, from sources considered radical and conservative, Catholic and non-Catholic, we have attempted to choose that material which would help to answer the question, "What is the nature and extent of the work of the Christian Church, and particularly that of the Roman Catholic Church, in present day social reconstruction?"

I am glad to acknowledge at this time my debt of gratitude to Professor John J. Mahoney, in whose seminar, Education and Democracy, this study was begun, and whose tolerant understanding and unlimited patience have been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement.
CHAPTER I

THE CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER

The Changing Political Order

The age in which we live is undisputedly a critical one. Those of our time have observed with interest and sometimes with anxiety, great revolutionary trends in the political, economic, and social ideals of the world.

In less than one generation, indeed since 1917, we have seen changes in the social order throughout the world that few men living in the nineteenth or in the first decade of the twentieth century would have conceived as possible.

In political life, the idea of a totalitarian state has progressed with startling rapidity and each day it has more and more replaced older theories and forms of government. Russia, once the world's most absolute of monarchies, now stands as the world's foremost experiment in communism. In Fascism and its counterpart Nazism, we find Italy and Germany, each trusting its destiny to a state which claims all power and which is virtually controlled by one man. In Spain, what, in the opinion of many, seems but a clash between two forms of absolutism, has resulted in a civil war whose intensity shocks the sensibilities of civilized men. In Mexico, in South America, in Turkey, in Central Europe, in China and in Japan are seen further proofs of the triumph of the new political religion; for state absolutism, claiming as it does
the control of the whole man, puts itself clearly in the realm of religion. Even those countries of Europe whose governments have in the past been most democratic seem unable to keep out of the political maelstrom which measures its force by its ability to pull all down to a level, in contrast to the true democratic ideal which aims to lift all up to a higher one.

That our own country is not outside the possibilities of entering into the current political revolution is the belief and fear of many. The growing centralization of power at Washington is viewed by many observers with alarm; for, it is felt, we, too, are drifting with the current which has swept most of the democratic governments of the world off their feet.

The National Catholic Alumni Federation, in attempting the reaffirmation of the spiritual nature of man as his ultimate defense against tyranny, recently issued this statement in its pamphlet, "Today's Threat to Man's Liberties,

"More menacing to America, is the sober truth, enforced daily with new evidence, that the enemies of our traditional liberties, determined to resolve the modern problem according to their own ideas which are both revolutionary and destructive, are now engaged in world-wide propaganda. Here and elsewhere it seizes every opportunity afforded to create more unrest and dissatisfaction, ultimately aiming at such a complete change of political, economic, and social life as to amount to a revolution." 1.

Hubert C. Herring in Social Action (Congregationalist), after submitting the proposition that radical social change is inevitable, sounds this warning:

"The changes in the social order may be destructive of all that we cherish as Americans. There is nothing automatic about progress. We have seen what despair can do with a great people in Italy, Germany, and Russia. We covet for America neither the regimentation of Communism nor Fascism. Either could come to America by exactly the same routes as they came to Europe - poverty, despair, revolt."(1)

Raymond Gram Swing in "Forerunners of American Fascism" examines the four conditions which, he says, precipitate revolutionary change in the political order and finds three of them present here.

"In Europe, these (conditions) have been the impoverishment of the middle class; the slowing down of business, causing unemployment on a large scale; the paralysis of democratic government; and the threat of a strong communistic movement."(2)

We have in this country, he claims, at least the first two of these four conditions, and adds that our "democratic machinery has broken down if it has not collapsed."(3)

"I think it is fair to call the delegation of power to the President by Congress a breakdown of political machinery and certainly it is not any longer the pure political machinery that it was."(4)

(1) Herring, H. Social Action and Business Social Action (May, 1936) p. 5
(2) Swing, R.G. Forerunners of American Fascism p. 19
(3) Ibid., p. 19
(4) Ibid., p. 19
The fourth condition, a strong left wing movement, he claims, is, at present, altogether lacking except in the imaginations of "witch hunters", who, he states, "are doing their utmost to make the country feel there is a great and immediate red peril."(1)

Whether the danger of Communism is purposely minimized or honestly believed to be of no consequence cannot be proven. However it would seem that Mr. Swing's optimism concerning this danger is not shared by Raymond Feely, S.J. who, in his comparison of the doctrines of Fascism and Communism, sounds this warning:

"Insiduously yet effectively Communists are seeking to persuade American laborers that our present economic system cannot be salvaged. They are warping the mind of organized labor to believe that they must choose between Fascism and Communism. The tactics of the "United Front" have reached their highest perfection on the West Coast. The infiltration of communism into collegiate, labor and church groups is developing at an alarming rate.... How long Americans will be deceived by the relatively small numbers of Communist votes cast, and be unmindful of the "United Front" and of European history, is a rather depressing prospect to face."(2)

(1) Swing, R.G. Forerunners of American Fascism p.19
(2) Feely, R.T.,S.J. Fascism, Communism, The U.S.A. p.29-30
Dr. Glenn Frank, newly appointed chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, refers to the "Fascist program" of the present Roosevelt administration. In reference to such legislation as the judiciary reform bill, the executive reorganization bill, the wages and hours bill and the farm bill, with whose announced purposes he concedes many are in complete sympathy, Dr. Frank goes on to say that these measures symbolize a drive of the New Deal toward converting the United States into a Fascist state with supreme power over the life and enterprise of the American people lodged in the hands of one man. (1)

The Changing Economic Order

In the economic order the trend from unrestrained individualism toward social justice has been no less certain than has been the trend in the political order from monarchy and forms of parliamentary democracy toward the absolute state. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have seen great economic expansion with its attendant exploitation both of labor and of the world's natural resources. The inordinate accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, socially irresponsible individualism in business practices with the recognition of the profit motive as the chief end of industry, a growing mutual distrust

(1) Frank, Glenn - New York Herald Tribune - Report of Speech made at Topeka, Kansas (January 30, 1938)
In a recent decision, the court held that

"reasonable notices" and "adequate advance written notice" are equivalent concepts. The decision elaborated on the importance of providing adequate notice to ensure that affected parties have sufficient time to prepare and respond. The court ruled that such notices must be clear, specific, and timely to meet legal requirements.

In conclusion, the decision highlights the significance of proper notice in legal proceedings, emphasizing the necessity for transparency and fairness in communication between parties.
between employers and employees, ruthless competition, widespread unemployment, and poverty may all be termed the evil fruits of our industrial age.

The rise of capitalism, where it has been accompanied by an utter disregard of human personality, has done much, perhaps it may be said has done everything, to further the cause of Communism.

Hellaire Belloc in "The Restoration of Property" says:

"Where, as has happened to a considerable extent, the system has been so conducted as to create a large class of wholly unpropertied human beings, and, in addition, has exploited their labor in such a degree as to exclude them from those minima of necessities and simple comforts as are proper to a truly human existence, the transformation to Communism is a natural, indeed a logical transition." (1)

The philosophy that defended economic dictatorship in the past, that permitted individuals, corporations, and nations to accumulate as much wealth as they could, often by the use of unfair methods, with no thought of that social justice which is necessary for the common good, is fast falling into disrepute.

The Bishops' Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Conference makes the following observation:

"The social philosophy prevailing during recent centuries has carried human society far from its safe moorings. That philosophy, if indeed it be worthy of the name, which has

(1) Belloc, H., The Restoration of Property p.14
ruled governments, groups, and individuals for the past three hundred years has not taken as its guide the moral law; has not considered the rights of man. Money, not man, has been the supreme consideration and the justifying end. That philosophy has aroused opposition and has given rise to grave errors and exaggeration." (1)

The Changing Moral Order

In any attempt to discuss the social reconstruction in progress today, political, economic and moral shortages cannot be attacked or disposed of separately, for, just as political revolutions almost invariably have their roots in economic unrest, so the causes of economic ills may be traced to weaknesses in the moral law. That an unrestrained and anti-social capitalistic society is a primary cause, and the rise of the totalitarian state an effect, is generally conceded. It also follows that the general denial and disregard of moral principles is at the base of economic disorder.

The ends of justice and charity cannot be attained in large group relationships if these virtues have lost their meaning in the existing relationships between individuals.

The tendency to subordinate every other side of human life to economic activity has resulted in a gradual breaking down of the family as a fixed social unit.

Christopher Dawson in his "Enquiries into Religion and Culture" stresses the importance of moral change over all others:

"Of all the symptoms of change, the breakdown of the traditional morality is undoubtedly the most important, for it involves a profound biological change in the life of society. A society can undergo a considerable transformation of its economic conditions and yet preserve its vital continuity, but if a fundamental social unit like the family loses its coherence and takes on a new form, this continuity is destroyed and a new social organism comes into existence." (1)

As the state absorbs more and more of the life of its members, the family as a social unit steadily loses both its force and its social significance. In a communistic society, the truly Christian monagamous and undissoluble marriage, which, Dawson points out, "has been the foundation of European society and has conditioned the whole development of civilization" has lost its usefulness.

Mme. Kollantai, the Soviet Ambassador to Norway, is credited with the following statement which voices the communist opposition to the traditional view of the family as a permanent social unit:

"The old form of the family is passing away; the communist society has no use for it. In the scattered and disjointed bourgeois society full of struggle and destruction, the family was the sole anchor of hope in the storms of life, the peaceful haven in the ocean of hostilities and competitions between persons. The family represented an individual class in the social unit. There can and must be no such thing

1. Dawson, Christopher H. Enquiries into Religion and Culture p. 261
in the communist society. For communist society, as a whole, represents a fortress of collective life, precluding any possibility of the existence of an isolated class of family bodies existing by itself, with its ties of birth, its love of family honour, its absolute segregation." (1)

And so has followed a modification of the marriage laws, with easy divorce, and a new concept of marital relationship which is little more than a temporary accommodation with no intention of a necessarily permanent union; until today, in Russia, marriage has become very little more than a purely voluntary arrangement, termi

able on the demand of either party. In our own country, divorce has become increasingly easy and alarmingly common although public opinion and social authority still attempt to preserve, as far as possible, the moral and social traditions of a Christian culture.

Here, however, as well as in those lands where the rise of state absolutism is more clearly recognized, responsibilities which were considered inviolable rights of parents, and functions which were formerly performed by the head of the family, have been freely given over to the state and its agencies, until the attitudes of family responsibility and of sacrifice are assumed by many today with more and more reluctance.

1. Calverton, V. Bankruptcy of Marriage p. 276-277
A natural concomitant of this breaking down of the family as a fixed social unit has been the growing disregard and disrespect for all duly constituted authority, human or Divine. On the human side, the indifference to parental and civic authority has resulted in wide-spread juvenile delinquency and an alarming increase in crime and lawlessness.

It is claimed that we in America are the most lawless of the so-called Christian nations of the world. In a report to the Committee on Social Trends of the National Lutheran Council under whose direction an extensive and comprehensive study of modern social conditions was made, Martin Anderson, reporting on Crime and Lawlessness, gives the following facts:

"There has been a steady increase in crime in the United States since 1910 - especially since 1926. The trend is still upwards. A significant element in the situation is the great increase in juvenile delinquency."

"Lawlessness is not an accident. It grows out of various well-defined causes. Prominent among the causes of disobedience to law, is the collapse of parental authority in many homes." (1)

With the practical denial of all responsibility to a Higher Authority, and with no notion of either reward or punishment after death, an increasing number, even among those who are nominally Christian, have come to accept a standard of morality whose distinctions between right and wrong are based, not upon their concord with the spiritual law, but upon what is expedient or what is pleasurable.

(1) Lutheran Committee on Social Trends - Exhibit III - Item 2.
This liberal interpretation of the moral law in the
so-called private life of the individual, ignoring as it does
the spiritual significance of man's every act, has resulted
in excesses whose effects are felt, not only in family
relationships, but in the economic and political aspects of
societal living as well; for the roots of such anti-social
attitudes as those of unrestrained capitalism and totalitar-
ianism in government, may be found in the soil of a personal
denial, implied at least in action, of the spiritual nature
of man.

The dependence of the economic order upon morals is
expressed concisely by Herbert Agar, who, in "The Land of
the Free" attempts to point out a remedy for the social ills.
His thesis might be applied to politics as well.

"Any economic system can be changed if its
moral assumptions are clearly understood and are
felt to be displeasing; but the displeasure has
to be sincere, not merely formal. The economic
order does not have an independent existence.
Back of economics lies morals. The morals of
society may be high or low, conscious or un-
conscious, but they cannot be non-existant. And
the morals of society determine what emotions
will be allowed fair play, what social conditions
will be tolerated - they determine in other words
the limits within which the economic system must
move. One way of stating our American problem,
then, is to ask whether we still have the energy
and the hope to try and make our society a
spiritual organism, or whether we are content to
have it an economic machine." (1)

The destruction of family life, the abuses of economics

(1) Agar, H., The Land of the Free, p.155.
and the injustices of government may all be traced to corruption in what may strictly be termed the personal moral code. Moral ills become, in the final analysis, individual matters of personal moral responsibility. The sound observation has been made by men of all faiths, or none at all, that social betterment must begin in the realm of the spirit.

Morality in any civilization has always depended upon religion; in Western civilization, that religion has been Christianity. Christianity recognizes three social orders, the family, the Church, and the State. Of these, the State and the family have each taken directions which must certainly be termed anti-social if not anti-Christian.

There remains but the Church, as yet the most stable social force in the world of today. To it, the Christian world looks for guidance in the solution of the social problems which beset the world.

"Whether one looks at civilization's most urgent problems from the standpoint of the professed religionist or from that of the avowed secularist, it is impossible not to realize that religion has a legitimate part in their solution if it has a right to exist at all." (1).

(1) Garrison, W., Intolerance (Introduction).
CHAPTER II

THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

The place of religion in any plan for the reconstruction of societal living depends wholly on that society's accepted concept of the nature of man. At a recent interdenominational conference of social workers at Boston, the Rev. Bryan McIntegart, after stating that the central social question of today is "What think you of man?" made the sound observation that, until the answer to that question is agreed upon by any society, it is useless to plan a social order or to adopt a social philosophy.

"An architect cannot plan a building until he knows what he is planning for. If you ask him to build for criminals he will build a prison; if you ask him to build for invalids, he will build a hospital; if you ask him to build for wild animals, he will build a cage. If man is only a hand, as some industrialists seem to think, or if he is merely a stomach, as some governments think, then the structure of society should be quite different from that designed for creatures composed of body and soul and made to the image and likeness of God."(1)

Man taken as a social or economic unit exists for his government; taken as a person the government exists for him. Modern leaders who look upon men and women merely as economic or social units make the grave mistake, from Religion's point of view, of submerging, indeed of denying man's personality.

(1) McIntegart, Rev. Bryan, Excerpts from address, Religious Forces Affecting Social Work, given at Boston November 30, 1937
The procedure

...
The Church has always been, and must necessarily always be concerned with any planning or reconstruction of the social order in a Christian civilization, for it, alone, of all the forces at work, is vitally concerned with conserving this basic concept of man as a person, created by God, accountable to Him and destined for Him. It is upon this concept of the personality of Man, and of Man's equality before God, that the Church bases its right to act in the present crisis; for any economic, political or social trend which tends to repudiate this conception of man as a person, destined to work out his eternal salvation in society as it is constructed, must be of deepest concern to that social agency which alone holds itself to be the guardian of man's spiritual well-being.

Indeed, from this recognition of personality spring all those ideals which political science regards as essential to our democracy; the supremacy of law, the recognition of man's moral rights, and the duty of society towards the poor and oppressed. On it are based man's rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of conscience. In economic affairs it is man's personality that, in the last analysis, justifies his claims for decent living conditions, for minimum wages and minimum hours, for social security and for the right to collective bargaining.
The "inherent and inalienable rights", so self evident to the framers of our Constitution, are all based upon the recognition of this spiritual nature of man. It is only from this religious concept of man's true nature that any meaning can be read into the democratic maxim, "All men are created equal", for on any natural basis of comparison, if man be considered merely as an economic unit or as a social unit, the fallacy of any claim to equality is all too evident.

An interesting treatment of the religious significance of the democratic idea of equality is given by James M. Gillis in his article, "In Defence of Democracy". In an effort to prove that democracy cannot be said to have failed because it has never been tried, he traces what he calls the "idea of democracy" to a Christian source.

"The idea of democracy is essentially Christian. Only on the basis of Christian mysticism can the equality of man be defended. . . . . In any theology, in any philosophy, God is Infinite. Man compared with the Infinite is nothing and one nothing is no more than another nothing. . . . . It may seem absurd to go plunging into theology and even into mysticism to find support for a statement in the Declaration of Independence. . . . . Give the framer of the Declaration his due; he couldn't be so silly as those who, to their own satisfaction, obliterate his entire political philosophy by pointing out that an intellectual giant has more brains than a village idiot. Jefferson, it may charitably be assumed, knew that much. When he said all men are equal he declared a truth so deeply mystical and so profoundly theological that small minds think it ridiculous."(1)

(1) Gillis, Rev. J.M. This Our Day p. 310-313
If we accept this spiritual reality of man, and it seems that a Christian culture must accept it, we must then recognize the loss of the religious influence as one of the most serious weaknesses of our present civilization; and indeed it has been so recognized, not only by churchmen, but by thinking citizens in all walks of life.

Christopher Dawson in "The Modern Dilemma" says:

"It is only the ideal of a spiritual order which transcends the relative value of the economic and political world, that is capable of overcoming the forces of disintegration and destruction that exist in modern civilization. The faith of the future cannot be economic or scientific or even moral; it must be religious." (1)

Irving Babbitt in "Democracy and Leadership", makes the following observation: "As soon as studied with any degree of thoroughness, the economic problem runs into the political, the political into the philosophic and that, in turn, is found to be indissolubly bound up at last in the religious problem"; (2) and no less a secular extremist than H. G. Wells assigns to religion, albeit conditionally, a very sweeping social responsibility. He makes the following statement:

"Religion, modern and disillusioned, has for its outward task to set itself to the control and direction of political, social, and economic life. If it does not do that, it is no more than a drug for easing discomfort, an opium of the peoples." (3)

(1) Dawson, C. The Modern Dilemma p. 105
(2) Babbitt, I. Democracy and Leadership p.
(3) Wells, H.G. What Are We To Do With Our Lives? p. 33
The text on this page is not clearly visible due to the quality of the image. It appears to contain paragraphs of text, possibly discussing a specific topic or set of ideas. Without clearer visibility, the content cannot be accurately transcribed.
Church leaders, naturally, are almost unanimous in voicing their convictions that religion must contribute to social betterment in concrete ways, although there is considerable expression of opinion and some controversy as to how far the church may properly go, and what means she can profitably use in making her contribution to that new social order which may, happily, conform more closely to her spiritual ideals.

It is probably safe to assume that little criticism would follow any deep concern shown by organized religion in what might narrowly be called the changing moral order, if, in the consideration of that moral order, the Church treated man as an individual, intent only upon his personal otherworldly salvation. However, although it be conceded that the preservation of Man's personality is of prime importance in any scheme of social reorganization, it must also be remembered that Man is unable to achieve entire happiness in this world as an individual; that Man, being, as he is, a social creature, can develop that personality to its fullest only through contacts with other personalities in what are commonly known as social, economic, and political relationships.

In the age just passed, there is evidence that at least some of the denominations of the Christian Church have emphasized personal salvation and private religious emotion somewhat more, perhaps, than what has come to be termed the
Social Gospel; and while the Church has preached the love of neighbor, she has not always put such strong emphasis upon the importance of interpreting that commandment in those relationships that are commonly considered as economic or political. Indeed, there are many who feel she should keep out of what they term "debated territory."

Bishop Francis J. McConnell (Methodist), in answering the charge of Arthur M. Hyde, that Christianity is a religion of the individual; that the way out of our difficulties "lies upward through character building and not downward, deeper into materialism;" and that "economics is not the Church's sphere", makes this reply:

"It is the duty of the Church to take account of all the forces which help or hinder the building of individual character. It appears at once that social forces take on a profound significance for shaping the individual lives, and because of such power, are inevitably objects of concern to the Church." (1)

In fairness, it must be said that Mr. Hyde's views are shared by many laymen. This interest of the Church in economic and political problems is not, however, something new. In his book "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism", R. H. Tawney makes the point, well known to students of history, that the Church's entry into the fields of economics and of political science is no deviation from the rule of her past policies -

(1) Hyde, A.M. and McConnell, F.J. Spiritual vs. Social Gospel (A Debate) XCIV 267-271
"The criticism which dismisses the concern of Churches with economic relations and social reorganization as a modern invention, finds little support in past history. What requires explanation is not the view that these matters are part of the province of religion, but that they are not."(1)

There are four main attitudes, Tawney claims, which religious opinion has adopted toward the world of social institutions and economic relationships. The first of these is the attitude of ascetic aloofness which "sees nothing in economic life but the struggle of wolves over carrion." The second attitude is one of indifference, which he describes as "the doctrine of the anticipation of celestial happiness as compensation for earthly misery." These two attitudes might describe the attitudes of those churches and churchmen who cry loudest today, against the present so-called social trends in religion. (2)

The third attitude shows itself in agitation for some particular reform. This attitude has led often to such futile activity as Dr. O. H. Greever describes in his "Facts and Forces in the Social Order."

"The almost fanatical concern for incidental ills, far from the heart of society, the inauguration of movements on this or that, or the other account, or the almost inevitable resort to effort for special legislation to regulate life in particular points are characteristic of many enthusiasts for social welfare.

(1) Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism p. 17
(2) Ibid p. 17-19
But in the absence of other voices, and for the lack of a better leadership, it is not uncommon for some of the best people to follow these enthusiasts - where they can see tangible results that may be beneficial to society, but not always for fundamental good. The zeal and intent may be commendable, but the view is often superficial and the results more apparent than real."(1)

The fourth attitude is that which most Churches probably will agree is right in theory if not always expedient in practice, that attitude which holds that "there is no absolute division between inner personal life and the practical interests of the external order". (2) At least it would seem that this attitude is commonly accepted if we are to judge by the almost universal interest of all churches not only in the moral, but in the economic and political aspects of social reconstruction as well.

When we study the activities of such organizations among Protestant groups as the Federal Council of Churches, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and the Council of Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, among others, we find sufficient evidence upon which to make the assertion that the Church is very much concerned with social reconstruction. We find such an organization as the Department of Social Relations of the American Unitarian Association, issuing a program which defines the position of that body

(1) Greever, W.H. Facts and Forces in the Social Order p.9
(2) Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism p.19
on War and Peace, Economic Relations, The Relationship between Church and State, Race Relations, Family and Sex Relations, Crime and the Penal System, Housing, and Education. (1)

The National Lutheran Council has organized a committee which, at this writing, has made a comprehensive report (2) upon such social questions as The Church and Communism, Crime, The Liquor Problem, Gambling, Unemployment, The Profit Motive in Industry, Industrial Relationships, Child Labor, and Divorce. Study Clubs in various congregations are being encouraged to discuss these problems and to draw conclusions as to the part which the Church can take in their solution.

The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, claiming that absence of action in the right direction is equivalent to action in the wrong direction, has issued carefully prepared programs for study clubs and panel discussions on economic and political problems of the day, and has set up, as one of its objectives, a higher standard of living. To that end it is concerned with social security legislation, more extensive organization of labor for collective bargaining, the establishment of producers' and consumers' cooperatives, the safeguarding of civil liberties, and peace. Such articles as "Profits and the Profits System", "Why Did Auto Workers Strike?"

(1) Dept. for Social Relations - American Unitarian Association (Program for Social Action) May, 1934

(2) Report - Committee on Social Trends - National Lutheran Council
"Good Housing For America", "Steel and Men", "Social Security and America", and "Militarism in Education" are among many other such articles appearing in the monthly magazine of the Council "Social Action".

It is true that these organizations, in most cases, do not claim to speak for the whole body of the denomination which they represent; and, it is also true, that, in many cases strenuous opposition to the activity of these "advanced" groups has been voiced by the more conservative element in the churches.

The claim made by Harold Lord Varney in his article, "Radicals in Our Churches", (1) that such extreme social theories as Socialism and Communism have penetrated the American Church and that many of these outstanding Church institutions are being used as instruments for social "revolution" through the cooperation of "an appallingly large number of well-meaning but politically immature pastors", is a fear, shared, no doubt, by those who feel that the social mission of the Church should be a more or less limited one.

At Chicago, before a union meeting of Protestant ministers (many of whom, doubtless, were the "politically immature pastors" referred to by Mr. Varney) Charles Clayton Morrison warned them of the danger of reducing the Church to the level of a secular institution.

(1) Varney, H.L. Radicals in Our Churches - American Mercury (January 1938) p. 61-67
"If the acceptance of the social interpretation of Christianity implies that the Church is to become a mere agency of political and economic reform, like a political government or a sort of glorified better government association, or a recruiting station for soldiers in the nation's war, or a pacifist organization - in a word, if the Church's function is to be discharged by direct dealing with secular forces on the secular level, it will cease to become a church and will become another secular institution." (1)

Voicing the same fear that social activity is secularizing the Church, Dr. Caleb Stetson in the Year Book of Old Trinity Episcopal Church, New York City, makes the charge that religion, concerning itself with the so-called social gospel, has lost sight of its primary function of personal spiritual salvation and, by so doing, has caused a widespread abandonment of religion. His comment follows:

"There seems to be a desire to make the clergyman the directing head of a corporation, giving his attention to general subjects such as world peace, law enforcement, prohibition, disarmament, etc., while committees under his direction, care for the individuals who may come to church. The increasing political activity of the churches has caused many people grave anxiety and many have given up their church membership because of it. They felt that these churches were giving their interest and influence to objects outside their proper sphere and were neglecting the soul in order to further some political measure. The political activities of churches and denominations which have become so strikingly a feature of national life since the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution is definitely hurting religion in this country." (2)

(1) Morrison, C.C. Social Resources of the Church
Christian Century LIV (1937) p. 606-608

(2) High, S. The Church in Politics p. 32-33
null
It would seem, however, that what is so evidently an opinion would need proof before it could be established as fact, for might it not also be claimed, and with equal evidence perhaps, that as many have left the church because of its apparent unconcern for their social needs, as have been driven away by an excess of socio-political activity? The differing opinions of those who condemn the church for its activity in social, economic and political spheres and of those who do not, seem to be based upon considerable confusion as to the primary function of the church. The arguments for a return to the "good old Gospel" are founded, for the most part, upon the conception that the Church's primary purpose is the furthering of personal salvation, and these arguments presuppose a fallacy that each individual is, to all intents and purposes, sufficient unto himself.

But, we have attempted to show that while the Church admits as paramount the development of man as a person, it also recognizes the fact that man cannot attain this full development as an isolated being;—that, by nature, he is a member of the society of mankind and of smaller groups and societies as well.

Can the church, then, concern herself with man's personal development and hold aloof from those forces in society that accelerate or retard this development, or, it may be, make such development impossible? It would seem not.
In the realm of government it is Christian belief that states and nations can be governed more in harmony with the Will of God. In the realm of economics, it is Christian teaching that man is, to some extent at least, his brother's keeper. In the realm of morals, experience has shown that sin is seldom, if ever, a private affair.

So long as man lives in society, and he can live in no other way, the church must concern itself with anything which may affect his right to fulfill the primary purpose of saving his soul. If, in this concern, it is necessary for the church to enter politics, then enter she must; and, indeed it would seem, that, in a society which is gradually assuming control of man's every activity, and whose policies are the primary result of that game called politics, the Church has no alternative. So long as politics provides one of the means for furthering God's Kingdom on Earth, the Church has not only the right, but the duty to make her force felt in legislation that is destined to change the social order; for it is a fact that needs no proof that only with difficulty can man rise above the social order of which he is a part. If the totalitarian state makes it impossible for a man to live as a Christian or to educate his family in a Christian manner, how can the Christian Church be silent? If legislation is proposed which will result in an atheistic society, should the Church remain piously upon her knees? If economic individualism is carried to a point where social justice is
violated, should the one force whose interests are unselfishly concerned with the social and moral effects of this evil remain neutral? It would seem not.

We have already said that the Church has always concerned herself not only with the state of man, but with the state of society, that her concern with economic relations and social reorganization is no innovation. However, in the light of past experience, we must recognize safe limits within which she can properly exercise this prerogative. It is our opinion that organized religion not only should, but must concern itself with what may be termed moral questions; that a moral question may loosely be defined as any question which affects man's right to live his life according to the dictates of his conscience, and that in so far as moral questions come to specific and definite issues in legislation, the Church should and must concern itself with such issues. Organized Christianity must oppose such anti-Christian evils as totalitarianism in government, industrial oppression, race injustices, offensive war, and atheistic communism, for these issues, and others which we might name, repudiate Christianity's fundamental doctrines of love of God and of neighbor. Surely, when issues appear that threaten to destroy the opportunity of following the Christian way of life, Christianity must fight for its existence.

However, the danger lies in the possibility that the Church may confuse issues and principles with men and political parties. While the Church has every right to
support a principle and to use every fair means to influence public opinion to her way of thinking, she should refrain from endorsing any particular candidate; for, even though the candidate may stand four-square upon the particular moral issue involved, he must, of necessity, represent other issues that may be distinctly unmoral and upon which the Church may, conceivably, take an opposing stand, or, properly, none at all. Neither can the Church endorse a political party or a party platform, for the issues involved here are even more numerous than in the case of the individual candidate.

Rare exceptions to this general policy may be admitted however. If, for example, a candidate openly subscribes to principles which are definitely opposed to all religion, as, for instance, those of Atheistic Communism, this condition, we believe, would serve as cause for action contrary to the rule already stated, and direct attack against the candidate and the party may be justified.

With these restrictions, then, that the Church confine her activity to what may loosely be called moral questions, (and it is felt that they are becoming increasingly less easy to define) and that this activity be restricted to the shaping of public sentiment toward policies, principles, or issues, it is our opinion that the "social activity" of the Church today is a proper and necessary factor in the reconstruction of the new social order. The acceptance
of this point of view as to the nature and the extent of the Church's responsibility will be assumed throughout the following chapters, in which an attempt will be made to trace the work of that movement known as Catholic Action, particularly as it is concerned with social reconstruction in America since the World War.
CHAPTER III
CATHOLIC ACTION

The interest of the Roman Catholic Church in Social Reconstruction is a very real one. It is probable that no other church has so clearly defined a position on modern social trends. This is but to be expected, however, for there is no other Christian Congregation, within which unity of action is so possible, in which authority is so centrally vested, and whose concern with the state of society by the very nature of its organization, is so universal.

Louis Minsky, referring to what he terms "Catholicism's Social Awakening", makes this statement:

"The charge against Protestant preachers who have shown an inclination to change the social order has been that their business is concerned exclusively with the salvation of individual souls. Yet here is a church which has emphasized personal salvation above everything else, rapidly assuming a leadership in a battle for social justice which, if it continues as boldly as it has started, will soon register its imprint upon the country." (1)

Ross Hoffman, in his book "The Restoration" recognizes the work of the Church in these words:

"The Catholic Church is more manifestly alive today than anything else in the Western World; it is the one thing capable of staying the Communist threat of destroying our civilization; it is the one thing Catholic enough to
repair our broken world. The Catholic mind is grappling with modern anarchy in every field. Every day it grows plainer that the fate of Western man as a human and not as a mere animal being depends on the outcome of that struggle. Once again, as so often in the past, the Church is warring upon madness and perversion, fighting for the preservation of human nature that men may have life and have it abundantly." (1).

Michael Williams, Editor of the Commonweal, in his introduction to "The Catholic Church in Action", says:

"We think that few observers of the trends of the age would deny, and most would agree, that since the close of the World War, the Catholic Church has been positively active, to a higher degree and on a broader scale than at any time since just before the Counter Reformation." (2).

This renewed activity on the part of the Church is met with differing reactions by those outside the Catholic faith. There are some who heartily welcome this activity, recognizing the fact that the Church is the one great institution to survive the onslaughts of modern pagan thought.

"They believe that, in spite of what they regard as errors in doctrine, or discipline, or, particularly, its claims to supreme Authority, Catholicism, when it is energetic and not feeble or lax, upholds and tends to unite the moral and educational forces of Christian civilization against the sapping, or the open attacks of non-Christian on anti-Christian or purely atheistic opponents." (3).

(3) Ibid., p.4.
It must not be concluded, however, that this activity of the Catholic Church has met with unanimous approval. There are a considerable number of those outside the Church, who, because of a lack of understanding, or, in some instances, a misunderstanding of Catholic Doctrine and practice, view with alarm the growing influence of the Church. This group, we honestly believe to be daily decreasing; but, however small in numbers, its very existence in an age, which, because of its facilities of communication should be an enlightened one, is proof that much misunderstanding still exists as to the nature and extent of the work of the Catholic Church in Social Reconstruction.

It will be impossible, in this paper, to adequately trace the history of Catholic Action; for it is repeatedly asserted in Catholic writings from the encyclical letters of the Popes to those of humble laymen, that Catholic Action is no new ideology of the Church, - that it has existed throughout its entire history. Indeed, this point has been conceded by Protestant historians and commentators as well.

H.L. Willet in the Christian Century, writing on The Place of the Church in the Social Order, says:

"There was a time when the Church was sole custodian of the morals as well as the religion of the people of the Western World. Imperfect and worldly as the Church was during the Middle Ages and the pre-Reformation period, it was the one instrument for the stabilization of society and the prevention
of its moral collapse. It was the teachings of the Church which abolished feudalism with its attendant evils. It gradually limited the autocratic powers of kings whose arbitrary and cruel behavior shocks the modern mind." (1)

While the contention, that Catholic Action is no new practice, might be expanded into an exposition which would include of necessity the whole history of a Church whose story is a continuous stream of social activity, the immediate concern of this thesis is the work of the Church in the present social crisis.

A study of the position of any great organization on such vital questions as those of absolutism in government and justice in economic and social relations is of great common interest and should be productive of better understanding. This study will attempt to define the Church's position upon certain questions of immediate public concern, and to show how that great movement known as Catholic Action has received renewed impetus in America since the turn of the century and particularly since the end of the World War.

At this point, and in succeeding chapters, the term "Church" shall be interpreted as signifying the Roman Catholic Church. As has been stated at the beginning of this study, the term "Church" in Chapters I and II was used in reference to the Christian Church as distinguished from that body within the Christian Church which is commonly referred to as the Roman Catholic Church.

It must be understood, at the outset, that no layman may speak with authority for the

1. Willet, H.L., The Place of the Church in the Social Order Christian Century LIV p. 557
Catholic Church; that any interpretations of the social doctrines of the Church contained herein are but conclusions of the author, or opinions taken from what are honestly supposed to be reliable sources. Only when exact quotations are made from the so-called encyclicals, or letters of the Popes, may the material be considered as authoritatively expressing Catholic doctrine. The wisdom of this rule, which insists that there is but one voice within the Church which may be considered as authoritative will be understood and appreciated by those who have seen religious groups become divided against themselves, because personal opinion has been mistaken for accepted dogma.

In its older sense, Catholic Action includes three main fields of activity; that of Divine worship, that of doctrinal teaching, and that of Church government. Catholic Action, as the term is used in the modern social crisis, and as it is to be understood in this thesis, consists, in the words of Pius XI, of "the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy", the laity denoting the body of the Church outside the ranks of the clergy, the hierarchy "that body of clergy between whom the ecclesiastical power is divided according to distinct degrees", (1) - that is to say, the Bishops of the Catholic Church, and "the apostolic mission, is that of bringing Christ into human lives". (2)

It should be noted, then, that there are limits to lay action within the Catholic Church - that the lay element must be directed and cannot of its own initiative and under the

(1) Williams, Michael - The Catholic Church in Action, p.137
(2) Lord, Daniel, S.J., The Call to Catholic Action, p.13
name of the Church, launch new works of Catholic Action without submitting to legitimate authority and receiving hierarchical approval. Whether these limits which are placed upon action of the laity should help or hinder the progress of Catholic Action is a question, the answer to which will differ with one's point of view. However strange it may seem to those who resent the authority herein granted to the Bishops of the Church, no intelligent well-instructed Catholic feels that this restriction to his activity is unjust or, indeed, undemocratic, but looks rather to the resultant unified activity of clergy and laity as a desirable end, accomplished in good part, at least, by his willingness to sacrifice what may be termed individual undirected initiative for the common good. This should not lead one to the conclusion that no projects can be initiated by laymen, for such work as the founding of the Jesuits by St. Ignatius, the institution of the International Eucharistic Congress, and indeed the founding of the League of Social Justice in America, were inspired by individual lay leaders, who, in each case, received the proper commission before proceeding upon a course of action.

Although there exists no difference of opinion among Bishops regarding the principles underlying Catholic Action, there may, and do exist differing opinions as to which methods are most expedient in putting these principles into
practice. Consequently, as each Bishop has special jurisdiction in the matter of ways and means over the activities of his own flock, we find differing degrees of activity in different dioceses, for in each case the "problem of adapting to modern needs the unchanging and unchangeable doctrine of the Church" presents a different situation.

While it is understood that Catholic Action groups include countless religious confraternities and charitable agencies at work all over the world, the organization in America which is particularly interested and engaged in the work of social reconstruction is called the National Catholic Welfare Conference. This Conference succeeded the emergency National Catholic War Council, established by the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States at the time of America's entrance into the World War.

During the reconstruction period following the war, there was felt the need of a similar agency for peacetime purposes and, on September 24, 1919, a group of Bishops met and established a conference for the purpose of "unifying the Catholic people of the United States". In a Joint Pastoral Letter (1919) the purposes of the organization were stated as follows:

"We have grouped together, under the National Catholic Welfare Council, the various agencies by which the cause of religion is
furthered. Each of these, continuing its own special work in its chosen field, will now derive additional support through general cooperation.

"The task assigned to each department is so laborious and yet so promising of results that we may surely expect, with the Divine assistance and the loyal support of our clergy and people, to promote more effectively the glory of God, the interests of His Church and the welfare of our Country."(1)

With these aims constantly in view, the original organization has expanded, until, today, there are sixteen Bishops or Archbishops actively engaged in directing the National Catholic Welfare Conference. This organization must not be understood to exist for purposes of ecclesiastical legislation or confused with what is known as Plenary Council. It is an association of the Hierarchy which is purely voluntary in character, and has no mandatory or legislative powers. Nothing can be done in a Diocese without the permission of the Head of the Diocese, often referred to by Catholics as the Ordinary. The voluntary character of this organization and this limitation of territory, explain why there are still dioceses in the United States that are not represented in the National Catholic Welfare Conference, although the Conference has received full sanction and high praise from the Pope. This is but an illustration of the point made earlier in the study, that while the principles of Catholic

(1) Joint Pastoral Letter- Bishops' Committee, N.C.W.C. (1919)
Action are subscribed to by all, the ways and means of carrying out that action are left to the direction of the Bishops of the Church. The conference meets yearly at Washington, D.C., where it has established headquarters, "for mutual conference, deliberation, and decision on matters of general public concern, on the defence and welfare of the Church in the United States".

The National Catholic Welfare Conference, in its present form, comprises the following departments:

(1) The Executive Department is concerned with the coordination of all the departments of the Conference together with certain special duties. These include the supervision of the National Catholic Welfare Conference Youth Bureau, the Bureau of Immigrant Aid, and the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; the publication of the magazine, "Catholic Action" (the official organ of the N.C.W.C.) as well as the supervision of a large Publications Office of the Conference, and finally, the Department of Historical Records.

(2) The Education Department is engaged in the collection of data concerning Catholic education in America; the furnishing of information to school officials, the safeguarding of Catholic education, keeping in touch with all governmental agencies and serving on such advisory educational committees as the National Committee for Education by Radio and the Advisory Committee of the National Youth Movement.
(3) The Press Department maintains news services furnishing to the Catholic Press of America and to Catholic presses of certain foreign Countries, news releases of particular interest to Catholics. It also applies corrective truth where things Catholic are misrepresented or erroneous assertions are made, and has obtained retraction of reports that were untrue. In a positive way it has attempted to refute such doctrines as materialism, Communism, and intolerance, through the medium of the Catholic press, and has made some attempt to spread through the press the social justice teachings of the Popes.

(4) The Department of Social Action is most vitally concerned with economic, social, and civic problems, and it is the department which has been most active in attempting to point to a solution of the complex social problems of the country today. Its two great auxiliaries are the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women. The work of this Department of Social Action on industrial questions is outstanding, and will be more fully explained, later, in treating the subject "Catholic Action on Social Justice". Another interesting phase of the Social Action Department is called the Rural Life Bureau which considers religious, social, economic, and educational programs as they affect Catholics in rural communities.
but this may be attributed to the

difficulties in the nature of the problem, which

made it necessary to resort to approximations.

The solutions of these equations are then

used to determine the equilibrium of the

structure. The calculations are then

repeated until the results are satisfactory.

The final solution gives the forces and

moments acting on the structure.
A list of the objectives of this Department of Social Action advances what would be considered an ambitious program of Christian social reconstruction not only in America, but indeed for the world.

"The restoration of an economic order based upon social justice and animated by social charity, the creation of a sound rural America, the establishment of a sound civic and governmental life, the preservation of world peace founded in world justice, and the growth of a strong moral life - these are the chief interests of the Social Action Department." (1)

The Legal Department serves as a clearing house for information on legislative matters, particularly those affecting Catholic life and religious institutions. With the safeguarding of Catholic principles as its primary concern, an attempt is made to present the Catholic point of view regarding current legislation. The right of the Church to this type of activity has already been defended.

The remaining department of the Conference is called the Department of Lay Organizations and consists of two great bodies, the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women, which organizations, in turn, embrace most of the fraternal, social, and religious Catholic organizations of laity in this Country. Through this central medium, concerted group action is made possible, the object of such action being "the furthering of the causes of truth, justice, decency and honor in American life". To the

1. National Catholic Welfare Conference (Bulletin of Organization)
Council of Catholic Women is entrusted the maintenance of the National Catholic School of Social Service in Washington, D.C., a graduate school of the Catholic University of America.

Notable among the activities of the National Council of Catholic Men is the creation and maintenance of a nation-wide religious radio program, the Catholic Hour, which has done much to correct misunderstandings concerning the Catholic position, not only on religious questions, but on social, economic, and political issues as well.

In addition to these departments, certain Episcopal Committees are elected annually, such as the Committee on Motion Pictures whose success in establishing the National Legion of Decency is well known.

This particular set-up of the organization behind Catholic Action pertains only to the work in America. There exist similar organizations in other countries of the World, but the same freedom of choice in ways and means exists throughout the Catholic world as exists in different dioceses, and one would expect to find varying solutions as to the most expedient method of carrying Catholicity into action, as one found varying conditions all over the world.

Pius XI, in a letter to the Bishops of the United States gave his official sanction to the National Catholic Welfare Conference and calls it a proper solution to the
problem of effective Catholic Action in this country.

"This organization", he wrote, "is not only useful but also necessary for you. Since you reside in cities far apart and there are matters of a higher import demanding your joint deliberation - as for example those relating to the Christian family, the education of youth, public and private morality, care of numerous immigrants and other problems of this kind, it is imperative that by taking counsel together you all agree on one common aim, and with one united will strive for its attainment, by employing, as you now do, the means which are adequate and adapted to present day conditions."

This organization, itself, may be considered as one of the modern trends in religion. It compares favorably with the conferences of other religious groups and though possibly no more effective in fulfilling its purpose, is more ambitious in its scope. As we have noted before, Catholic Action for social reconstruction is not new; but such efficient and centralized organization for carrying out its program, is new. Catholics are frequently warned, however, and with reason, that true social reconstruction must begin in the realm of the spirit and the Church constantly reminds her children that unless this be accomplished, the existence of such a superstructure as the National Catholic Welfare Conference will be of no avail. However, it is the hope of the Catholic Church, that this remarkable organization will create, or at least help to create, a social consciousness that will do much to lead Catholics, and possibly by their

1. Letter of Pope Pius XI to the Bishops of the United States August, 1927
example, some who are outside the Catholic Church, to follow Christian principles in their relationships with God, with themselves, and with their fellowmen.
CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND THE TREND TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE

Catholic Doctrine on Social Justice

Modern social trends in Catholic Action may be said to have received a new impetus from the so-called social encyclicals or letters of Popes Leo XIII and of the present Pope, Pius XI. These encyclicals belong to the whole body of the teaching of the Church and must not be thought of as individual treatises. Each is but a link in the long chain of Catholic evidence and must be considered, no only in relation to those letters which preceded it, but also in relation to those which followed. For example, Leo XIII, had written, among others, encyclicals on Political Power (1), on Human Liberty (2), and on The Christian Constitution of States (3), before he issued the one which was most revolutionary, and which, today, is most widely discussed, - that encyclical called Rerum Novarum, issued in 1891, and dealing with the condition of the working classes. Forty years later, Leo's successor, Pius XI, issued the now noted Quadragesimo Anno, whose chief purposes were "to vindicate the social and economic doctrine of so great a master (Leo XIII) against certain doubts which have arisen, - to expose the root of the present social disorder, and to point out the salutary cure, a reform of Christian morals." (4)

1. Encyclical Diuturom - 1881
2. Encyclical Libertas - 1888
3. Encyclical Immortale Dei - 1885
4. Encyclical Quadragessimo Anno p. 6-7
These two "labor" encyclicals are considered in many quarters as valuable blue prints on that trend in economic relationships which we have called "social justice".

In these two papal letters, Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno, an integral part of the Christian solution to the economic problem is referred to by this term, "social justice". Dom Michel, in his book "Christian Social Reconstruction" attempts to show how Catholic teaching can be applied to the vast social problems of our day, and, in so doing, traces the development of the term "social justice".

All justice, he explains, is concerned with the rights of men in their relationships with other men. Commutative justice is understood as that justice which has to do with the rights of two parties who stand upon an equal footing. In all buying and selling, whether the matter be goods or labor, an equal exchange is understood. Violations of commutative justice come when exhorbitant prices are asked, or when employers demand a maximum of work at a minimum wage, or when a laborer demands an excessive recompense for his work.

Distributive justice has to do with the relative merits of the different members of a group. It attempts to distribute equitably the benefits of any group enterprise according to the relative values of the individual contributions to a combined project, or of their different needs. For example, a parent may, in all justice, treat his children differently and yet administer to each according to his needs or his merits.
Social justice, however, is a larger concept, for it has as its object the general common good or the common interests of society as distinct from the particular good or the particular interests of any individual members. It is defined as "that virtue of justice by which members of society perform whatever actions are necessary for attaining or maintaining the common good of that society, and regulate all their conduct in right relationship to that common good". The common good has been defined as "that good which is common, not only to the whole social community, but to the individuals who make up that community as well". This double qualification refutes the theory of rugged "individualism" which emphasized in the past individual good as the equivalent of common good, but likewise denies the socialistic theory which considers the common good of the state or community as synonymous with individual good. (1)

When we consider the condition of society as described by Leo in these opening sentences of Rerum Novarum, it is difficult to believe that they were written close to fifty years ago. They might well be used as an approach to an appeal for "social justice" today. He begins his encyclical with these words:

"That the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been disturbing the nations of the world, should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of economics is not surprising. The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast

expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvelous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; in the increased self-reliance and closer combination of the working classes; as also, finally in the prevailing moral degeneracy." (1)

Added to these unsavory conditions, Leo notes further along in this letter, the rapidly growing Marxian Socialism which today, true to the Pope's warning of fifty years ago, has grown into that force which the Church calls Atheistic Communism and which the Catholic Church considers to be the greatest organized anti-religious agency in the world today.

In this and later letters, Leo not only points out the shortages of the existing social order, but urges action which will bring about what he considered, even at that time, to be needed reforms.

It will be quite impossible in such a study as this one, to present an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of the church relating to social justice, for were we to analyze but the two encyclicals - Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno - we would find reference to the theory of Christian social justice as it should be applied to such specific problems in societal living as: the right to private property; the right to a living wage; the reciprocal duties of owners and propertyless employees; the necessity of distributing ownership; the right to organize; the right to strike; the economic dictatorship of capital; the corporative order; and the duties of

(1) Encyclical - Rerum Novarum p.1
government in social relationships. Nor, is this list complete, for a definite position is also taken against totalitarianism in government and a truly Christian and scholarly treatment is given to the subject of the hopeful reform of morals; that basic reform which the Church feels must underlie any Christian reconstruction of the social order. Indeed these encyclicals have so thoroughly analyzed the shortages of our present social, economic and political orders, that it is with difficulty that one resists quoting them in their entirety. It is the opinion of the writer that the student of social reconstruction, regardless of his religious convictions, will do well to consider the solutions to the present social problems as they are outlined in these two encyclicals, often referred to as a Magna Charta of Social Justice.

The right to property is a doctrine which is of very vital importance in socio-economic relationships. Recognizing, yet abusing such a right, the excessive practices of the past generation have led the world into the throes of unrestrained Capitalism; and, consequently, it is a prevalent notion that the right of property and Capitalism go hand in hand. The abuses to property rights of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the results of an economic ideology which held that, in the realm of property, there is no law higher than man.
The Church, then, in taking a firm stand on the right to property has run the risk of being misunderstood. Indeed, she has been accused by Communists of being an instrument of Capitalism. While it is true that the Church has never condemned Capitalism as a system, she has always strongly condemned the anti-Christian abuses which have crept into that system, and she has not hesitated to say so.

As unrestrained Capitalism emphasizes the individual aspect of property alone, Communism emphasizes only the social aspect. The Church, however, foresees the errors in both of these doctrines and proposes her own theory of property rights; and, as it is Christian teaching that all rights imply correlative duties, we might say property duties, as well.

In Leo's encyclical which treats of the condition of the working classes, he takes exception to the socialistic theory of ownership by defending man's right to own property as a natural right of man, and urges action which will make private ownership the normal portion of the average man. He says:

"Man, alone, among the animal kingdom is endowed with reason; hence, it must be within his right to possess things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living things do, but to have and to hold them in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things that perish in the use, but those also, which, though they have been reduced into use, continue for further use in after time."(1)And later,

1. Encyclical Rerum Novarum p.4
"The fact that God has given the earth for the use and enjoyment of the whole human race, can in no way bar to the owning of private property. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it was assigned to any one in particular and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples." (1)

In discussing the individual and social character of ownership, Pius XI, in his encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno, says:

"First, let it be made clear that neither Leo XIII nor those who have taught under the guidance and direction of the Church have ever denied or called in question the two-fold aspect of ownership which is individual or social, as it regards individuals or concerns the common good... On the one hand, if the social and public aspect of ownership be denied or minimized, the logical consequence is Individualism, as it is called; on the other hand, the rejection or diminution of its private and individual character necessarily leads to some form of Collectivism." (2)

It is one principle to have the right to own, however, and still another to have the right to use. The Church, while defending man's right to own, puts Christian restrictions on the use of any superabundance which may result from Divine Providence and man's industry. This restriction is not imposed wholly by the law of charity, but by the principle of social justice as well. Leo says:

"Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be eternal and corporal, or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for perfecting his own nature, and, at the same time that he may employ them, as the minister of God's Providence for the benefit of others." (3)

1. Encyclical Rerum Novarum p. 5
2. Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno p. 15-16
3. Encyclical Rerum Novarum p. 13-14
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Moreover, the particular use of this superfluity is not left wholly to the whim of the owner, for it is suggested -

"The investment of superfluous income in searching favorable opportunities for employment, provided the labor employed produces results which are really useful, is to be considered." (1)

Though the Church takes a strong position against the common ownership theory of modern socialism, she does not teach that community ownership is wholly wrong, but infers rather, that "certain forms of resources and certain types of equipment are so important, and personal ownership of them gives individuals such tremendous power over the community, that there is no common sense alternative to public ownership." (2)

In the encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno", Pius proclaims this right to public ownership in these words:

"Certain forms of property must be reserved to the State, since they carry with them an opportunity for domination too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large. Just demands and desires of this kind contain nothing opposed to Christian truth nor are they in any sense peculiar to Socialism. Those, therefore, who look for nothing else, have no reason for becoming Socialists." (3)

It will be seen that the Church does not take a one-sided view. She admits both the individual and the social character of property, but warns of the danger of too much emphasis on either side. The right to private ownership is granted, but it must not be forgotten that property involves obligations.

1. Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno p. 15
3. Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno p. 35-36
The right to public ownership is granted in certain instances also, and duties likewise are correlative to this right. A balance in the combination of private and public ownership is the proper solution. In the Catholic doctrine of property as expressed by Leo and by Pius, there is a margin of freedom which may at one time favor the individual, and at another time, the social aspect of property.

All labor problems are related somewhat to this theory of the right to property. However, there are some particular problems of economic adjustment which become a part of Catholic Social Doctrine as it is propounded in these encyclicals. One of these is the right relationship between Capital and Labor.

The basis for the Catholic point of view on labor relations is expressed by Leo in one sentence: "Capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital." (1)

It is a great mistake, he goes on to say, that the idea has become so prevalent that class is naturally hostile to class, and that rich and poor have so little in common.

"Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a State it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital." (2)

1. Encyclical Rerum Novarum p.10
2. Ibid p. 10
That Religion is the only force that can effect the reconciliation of these forces which today are so antagonistic to each other but whose cooperation is so essential to any economic reform, is insinuated in the teaching of the Church on the reciprocal duties of capital and labor. In defining the duties of Labor, Leo gives what might be considered a code of ethics for the workingman and states the Church's position with respect to certain abuses which have been perpetrated in recent labor disputes.

"Thus Religion teaches the laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made; never to injure capital, not to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, not to engage in riot and disorder." (1)

To Capital he likewise assigns duties:

"Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work people are not slaves; that they must respect in every man his dignity as a Man and as a Christian; that labor is nothing to be ashamed of, if we listen to right reason and Christian philosophy, but is an honorable employment, enabling a man to sustain his life in an upright and creditable way; and that it is shameful to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power." - then again, "the employer must never tax his work-people beyond their strength, nor employ them in work unsuited to sex and age. His great and principal obligation is to give to everyone that which is just." (2)

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1. Encyclical Rerum Novarum p.10
2. Ibid p. 11
This statement of duties has implications which relate to such problems as the matter of child labor, the employment of women in industry and the right to a living wage. Just what constitutes a living wage, however, is a problem which is difficult of solution. This difficulty is recognized by the Church, and it is conceded: "that many things must be considered before we can decide whether wages are adequate." (1)

However, the Church is specific to this extent:

"Let it be granted, then, that, as a rule workmen and employer should make free agreements, and in particular should freely agree as to wages, nevertheless there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If, through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice." (2)

That the employer has rights also in this matter of wages is shown by the warning in Quadragesimo Anno that the condition of the business must be taken into account, in any demand for higher wages. If a poor financial condition exists due to faulty management, in justice the employee can expect a reform in conditions; however, if the business does not make enough to pay a just wage because of outside forces such as unfair competition, and like causes, the culpability of violating social justice rests upon those who, by forcing an unreasonable reduction of profits, indirectly deprive the workingman of his just due. (3)

1. Encyclical Rerum Novarum p. 11
2. Ibid p. 25
3. Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno p. 24
Excess profits and unjust working conditions are condemned in these words:

"But rich men and masters should remember this - that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain upon the indigent and destitute, and to make one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine." (1)

That profits should be shared is conceded, but that extreme theory that falsely holds that all the profits belong to the laborer is condemned. The law of social justice, or the common good, forbids the exclusion of either labor or capital from a share in the profits. Pius points to abuses on both sides:

"This sacred law is violated by an irresponsible wealthy class who in the excess of their good fortune, deem it a just state of things that they should receive everything and the laborer nothing; it is violated also by a propertyless wage-earning class who demand for themselves all the fruits of production as being the work of their hands." (2)

And so on, throughout the two encycicals the Church takes a definite stand on such phases of social justice as the validity of the wage contract, the abuses of free competition, the economic inter-dependence of nations, the rights of every man to work, the causes and evils of unemployment and the right to organize.

1. Encyclical, Rerum Novarum, p. 11.
2. Encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno, p. 20.
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In the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, written, as its name implies, forty years after the Rerum Novarum of Leo, and concerned with reconstructing the social order, Pius goes one step farther toward reaching a Christian solution of the reformation of modern societal living, when, in the light of conditions which have developed during the last half century, he recommends the institution of a vocational group system which is understood to be a modified and modernized revival of the Guild System of the Middle Ages. This new order, he hopefully declares, will be imbued with the spirit of mutual cooperation in the cause of the common good.
Catholic Action for Social Justice

The encyclicals to which we have referred so frequently are the channels through which Catholic doctrine on social justice have been broadcast to the Christian world. As it has been stated, Catholic Action may be defined as "the participation of the laity in the Apostolic mission of the Hierarchy". One of the fundamental bases for any purposeful activity is the proper education of those who are to engage in it. The Church has been extremely fortunate in this regard, through the almost universal response given to these social pronouncements by both clergy and laity. Representative laymen, under the direction of an alert and far-sighted Hierarchy have made an honest effort to educate themselves properly on social questions, and to spread that knowledge gained thereby, not only to those of their own faith, but to all who are interested in preserving a Christian culture.

In our own country this work for social justice has been particularly fruitful since the end of the World War. In the Bishop's Reconstruction Program, issued in 1919, the following social reforms were advocated:

1. The continuance of the National War Labor Board to put the power of government back to the family living wage, fair hours and the right to collective bargaining.

2. The necessity of a high level of general purchasing power to secure steady prosperity.(1)

1. McGowan, Rev. R.A. Catholic Work in the U.S. for S.J. p.5-6
3. Social insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness and invalidity; and a coordinated system of employment bureaus.

4. Minimum wage laws and equal pay for equal work for women.

5. The development of consumer's cooperatives and of government competition with those monopolies not otherwise restrainable.

6. High taxes on large incomes, excess profits and inheritances.

7. The rise of labor to a share in management.

8. The rise of the working people to share in the ownership of the things with which, and on which they work (through co-partnerships and producer's cooperation) if we are to have an efficient economic regime, and one safe from revolution.

9. The supremacy of the right to a living wage over even interest on investment.

10. Application to both public service monopolies and other businesses of the principle of no more than a fair return on actual investment,

Although this program was regarded as extremely radical at the time of its issuance, the last ten years, particularly, have seen progress toward many of these goals. The programs which have been organized since that time in some cases recommend more effective means toward the accomplishment of these reforms, one being the holding of conferences of employers and their associations, and labor and their unions, to provide for the common good, and to secure an equitable distribution of our income and wealth. This activity has come to be known as the Catholic Conference on Industrial

1. McGowan, Rev. R.A. Catholic Work in the U.S. for S.J. p.5-6
Problems. Begun in 1922 at Loyola University School of Sociology on the initiation of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, it seeks to promote the study and understanding of industrial problems in the light of Catholic teaching, and to advance the knowledge and practice of this teaching to industrial life. To date, over sixty Regional Conferences have been held in many of the industrial centers of our country. These conferences have attracted much favorable comment.

Referring to one of these conferences held in Des Moines, Iowa, the Des Moines Register, February 1, 1937, makes this comment:

"The Catholic regional conference here ought to be but one of a thousand such activities by men of good will, whatever their race or religion. It represents the most hopeful of methods - the method of studious, zealous, cooperative probing into conditions, causes ultimate purposes and ways of marching together toward their realization." (1)

At these conferences no vote is taken on questions of industrial policy. The scheme is entirely one of education. Employer and employee, government official and economist, meet on common ground and discuss their experiences and viewpoints with frankness and freedom in the presence always, and with the help of the industrial program as set forth in the great encyclicals, the Rerum Novarum and the more recent Quadragesimo Anno. These conferences for the most part, last two days, with morning and evening sessions. The viewpoint

1. Des Moines Iowa Register February 1, 1937
of the employer, that of the employee and that of Catholic teaching are all presented, and open discussion from the floor is encouraged. (1)

No doubt some good has been accomplished already, by this effort to adjust the conflicting viewpoints of Capital and Labor; and, if these conferences are continued with the spirit in which they have begun, and with the purpose for which they are intended, they should make a valuable contribution to the cause of social justice.

One need but look at a list of the Catholic Publications of recent years to realize how widespread has been the interest of the Catholic Clergy and laity in the field of social justice. A staggering number of pamphlets and books and study outlines on Catholic teaching have been published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Queens' Press of St. Louis, the America Press and the Paulist Press of New York, and the Christian Front of Villanova, Pennsylvania. Outstanding among treatises on phases of the new social order are those by the Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J., the Rev. Fulton J. Sheen, the Rev. James M. Gillis, C.S.P., the Rev. R. A. McGowan, the Rev. Francis J. Haas and Rev. John A. Ryan. These men, and others, through the mediums of the lecture platform, the Catholic and secular press, and the radio broadcast have done pioneer work in bringing to the Catholic world at least, an interpretation of the Church's doctrines of the new day.

(1) Bresette, Linna E.-Ed. by Conf. Catholic Action May, 1937
In every state in the United States, if not in every diocese, study clubs, panel discussions and open forums are being conducted for the purpose of understanding more clearly the social teachings of the church. The broadcast of the National Council of Catholic Men, begun in 1930 on a network of twenty-two stations, has expanded until now its weekly message is carried over sixty-eight broadcasting stations situated in thirty-eight states, and including two short-wave stations broadcasting to the entire western world. The cost of this program runs to approximately twenty-five thousand (§25,000) dollars a year, raised entirely by voluntary subscription.

While this list of activities is by no means exhaustive, it gives a fair picture of the nature and extent of the work being accomplished by the Catholic Church in America in the field of social justice. In passing, it is necessary to call attention, at least, to the work being done in consumer's cooperatives, particularly that of Dr. M.M.Coady, under whose direction the whole Diocese of Antigonish was organized on a cooperative basis. (1) This and like rural problems, such as those of the establishment of credit unions (two hundred of which are organized in Catholic parishes) have led to the establishment of a Rural Life Conference which has taken up Catholic teaching in relation to farming, the farm tenant problem, and the back-to-the land movement.

(1) See With An Eye To The Future (St Francis Xavier University Antigonish, N.S.)
It would seem that such a formidable program as that outlined by Catholic Action would leave little need for alarm concerning the success of the cause of social justice in this country. But, when one considers that there are in these United States over twenty millions of Catholics, all of whom are more or less exposed to these doctrines of social justice, the societal improvement resulting from this concerted education does not appear at all commensurate with the activity involved. However, it must be borne in mind that a great majority of those of the Catholic Faith in this country are wage earners rather than owners, and represent Labor rather than Capital. It will probably be conceded, also, that legislation enacted in the cause of social justice in the past decade has been more interested in Labor than in Capital. That this may be considered cause and effect, is at least probable.

There remains, nevertheless, a wide gap between a statement of the principles of social justice and their application, even in the United States. The truth, so often repeated by Christian leaders all over the world, whether they be Catholic or non-Catholic, that social reconstruction must begin in the realm of the spirit, must be kept in mind as a fundamental basis for, and precedent to, any definite social legislation. It is, no doubt, as grave an error to over-emphasize economics as to underrate it. Regardless of
what line of thought we pursue, we are faced in the last analysis with the fact that - "The modern dilemma is essentially a spiritual one; and everyone of its main aspect moral, political and scientific brings us back to the need of a religious solution." (1)

1. Dawson, Cl. The Modern Dilemma p. 20
CHAPTER V

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

It has already been pointed out that the present trend in governments of the world toward that form which has come to be known as the Totalitarian State, may be considered a more or less direct result of the abuses which have sprung from the neglect or the denial of Christian principles in socio-economic relationships. For purposes of analysis only, an attempt will be made in this chapter to picture that trend in government which has resulted in such political theories as those of Communism and Fascism, and to discover the Catholic position relative to these movements as it is exemplified in doctrine and in action. If, in some degree, we seem to repeat principles which have already been applied to our discussion of the trend toward social justice, it will be understood that these two trends and their causes are considered by the writer to be so closely interwoven that it is impossible to deal with them separately, as one might deal with movements which are wholly unrelated.

When we speak of totalitarianism in government, we refer to that more or less complete absorption of the individual by the State; that philosophy, which in practice at least, seems based upon the anti-Christian idea that man exists solely for the State. The classic examples of this practice in modern times are those of the Communism of Soviet Russia, and the Fascism of Italy and Germany.
These two forms of socialism are understood, particularly in America, to represent opposing schools of thought, and to embody fundamental differences; but in the opinion of many students of modern political science, these differences are of degree rather than of kind.

Raymond Feely, S.J. presents his interpretation of the basic principles underlying the theories of Fascism and Communism. He summarizes the contrary nature of the Totalitarian and American philosophies of government, by stating that Communists and Fascists believe that the individual exists for the State, while the American believes that the State exists for the benefit of the individual. Between the philosophies of Fascism and Communism, the exponent of American Democracy has no choice.

The contrasts and parallels of Fascism and Communism as Father Feely sees them, are condensed in the following chart. While there are, no doubt, some parallels and contrasts in his picture which may not be accepted by all, the comparison is interesting, at least. The chart presents merely the skeletons. The author warns that his analysis is coldly, brutally frank; but, in his opinion "the time has come to strip the glamorous garments of propaganda from the diseased bodies of European systems, so that no unholy liaison may corrupt this country. His analysis follows:
# PARALLELS AND CONTRASTS
## OF
### FASCISM AND COMMUNISM

<table>
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<th>FASCISM</th>
<th>COMMUNISM</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A. POLITICAL STRUCTURE</strong></td>
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| 1. Totalitarian  
i.e., all rights, personal, political, religious, economic, etc., originate with, and can be modified or destroyed at will by the State. | 1. Totalitarian  
i.e., all rights, personal, political, religious, economic, etc., originate with, and can be modified or destroyed at will by the State. |
| 2. Dictatorship  
Centralization of all power, executive, legislative, and judicial in one man. | 2. Dictatorship  
Centralization of all power, executive, legislative, and judicial in one man. |
| 3. End Justifies Means  
Dictatorship preserved by propaganda if possible, violence if necessary. | 3. End Justifies Means  
"Whatever helps the Proletariat Revolution is ethical."
"Power resting on violence, not on law."
| 4. Essentially Undemocratic  
(a) One party government  
(b) Suppression of Liberty of  
Speech  
Press  
Assembly  
Political Opposition | 4. Essentially Undemocratic  
(a) One party government  
(b) Suppression of Liberty of  
Speech  
Press  
Assembly  
Political Opposition |
| 5. Essentially National  
(a) Exalts national traditions (e.g., Glories of Rome, German blood myth)  
(b) Exalts war to regain lost pre-eminence. | 5. Essentially International  
(a) Rejects tradition. Seeks to remake man. Rejects national. Seeks to establish World Union of Soviets.  
(b) Preaches peace but erects the world's greatest war machine for the "world revolution." |
FASCISM

6. Form of Political Structure
   Radically modifies existing structure, but normally by peaceful methods.

7. State conceived as a "Mystical Entity."

B. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

1. Private property retained save in basic public utilities. Social obligations of capital exacted by the State.

2. Economic classes retained Employer and employee, etc.

3. Class struggles eliminated by the State outlawing strikes and lockouts.


COMMUNISM

6. Form of Political Structure
   "Violent overthrow" of former political structure.

7. Rejects "Mystical Entity" theory. Adores not the State, but Dictator of the State, eg., Lenin.

B. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

1. Common Property
   All land and sources of production to be liquidated (i.e.-violently seized without compensation).
   State ultimately to give to each according to his needs, and each to labor according to his capacity.

2. Classless Society
   Transitional stage. Dictatorship of (over) Proletariat by Communist Party.
   Ultimately, classless society.

3. Class Struggles Eliminated by eliminating (i.e., assassination, etc.) other classes.

4. Economic Dictatorship
   i.e., Substitution for "wage-slavery" under Capitalism, serfdom under Communist Dictator.
FASCISM

C. PHILOSOPHICAL

1. Confer "A" and "B"
2. Spiritual aspects of life stressed
3. Encourages Religion, but only from motives of expediency and not belief.
4. Home life encouraged but from motives of expediency.

COMMUNISM

C. PHILOSOPHICAL

1. Confer "A" and "B"
2. Essentially Materialistic (Marxian)
3. Essentially atheistic
4. Most moral aspects of Home Life uprooted. Those retained aim to breed soldiers and serfs of machine and soil. (1)

In this interesting study, which he calls Fascism-Communism-The U.S.A., Father Feely makes the claim that "Communism really is an entire philosophy of life, covering economic, political, sociological and philosophical fields." On the other hand, it is his observation that Fascism is essentially a political structure.

Dictatorship, it is seen, is common to both of these forms of socialism, both in theory and in practice. Italy has its Benito Mussolini; Germany has its Adolf Hitler; Russia boasts of its Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Yet dictatorship need not necessarily signify Totalitarianism, Father Feely contends, for it is possible to have what might be called an Authoritarian State, ruled by a Dictator who would, conceivably, respect the natural rights of citizens.

1. Feely, Raymond T., S.J. - Fascism-Communism-The U.S.A. (A study of the parallels and contrasts of Fascism and Communism and their threat to America)
Under such a Dictator we would have a State which would approach Totalitarianism more or less as it respected, or refused to respect, these natural or inalienable rights.

In support of this contention, it is claimed that Italian Fascism which began as a definite Totalitarian philosophy has since mellowed into a quasi-authoritarian state, (1), while German Fascism (Nazism) has remained definitely Totalitarian. This distinction should be kept in mind when later we consider the Church's position in regard to the governments of these two countries.

The full import to Christianity of the philosophy underlying both Communism and Fascism is contained in this statement:

"Briefly put, the philosophy underlying Communism and Fascism is simply this - all rights have their origin in and therefore can be modified by or destroyed at will of the Omnipotent State. In more detail, personal rights of the individual, such as life, and liberty; political rights such as freedom of speech, press, assembly and formation of political opposition to incumbents; economic rights, such as rights to personal property, to the selection and place, etc., of employment; family rights, religious liberty - all these basic rights and liberties in the Totalitarian concept, have their origin in the State. The State, therefore, may, at will, abrogate or curtail any or all of these rights at its pleasure."(2).

We are asked to call to mind such atrocities as the wholesale murder of the Kulaks in Russia, the Blood Purge in Germany, and the murder of Matteotti in Italy, - all for the greater honor and glory of the State.

"The point that you and I must rivet our minds to is this - the Totalitarian philosophy of both Communism and Fascism maintains the right to do any or all of these things. If it is necessary to build up foreign credit by the murder of millions of peasants, or to insure dictatorship by the assassination of political opposition, then, granted the doctrine that all rights proceed from the State, both Communism and Fascism have acted most logically. The same state which granted the right to life may liquidate that life. This is the logic that underlies the ruthlessness of European dictatorships which have shocked the world."(1)

It is this inversion of the social order which gives to the State the place which the Christian believes belongs to God, that, in the final analysis, constitutes the basis for the Church's opposition to Totalitarianism.

There has always been some misunderstanding on the subject of the relationship of the Catholic Church to Civil Governments. In order to fully understand the teaching of the Church on this question, it is necessary to consider the universal character of the Catholic Church - that is to say, its catholicity. It has existed under all forms of political government and under every system of economics which the world has known for the past nineteen hundred years. It has functioned in countries where there was what is known as a union of Church and State; we find it operating in countries as in our own, where there is a separation of Church and State, or more properly stated, a free Church in a free State.

1. Feely, Raymond T.,S.J. - Fascism-Communism-The U.S.A. p.8
There have been situations where the Church was controlled by the State, and it might even be claimed that some evidence exists of instances where the state has been controlled by the Church.

This point is amplified by the Rt.Rev. John J. Dunn, Auxiliary Bishop of New York, who, in a monograph containing three radio addresses previously given by him on the subject of Religion and Citizenship makes the following statement:

"At the very start, I wish to say with all the authority I have as a Bishop, that the Catholic Church is not wedded to any particular form of government. She has worked harmoniously in almost every conceivable situation. In fact, the Catholic Church could hardly be Catholic if she did not have this adaptability. For, to be Catholic, she must spread throughout the world, taking men as she finds them in their political predilections. The Catholic Church is at home under the advanced democracy of our own country or under the constitutional monarchy of a Victoria, or under the autocracy of a Hohenzollern. And the violent emergence of a democracy in Germany (written in 1926) finds her steadily going about her spiritual work, baptizing infants, marryng young people, burying the dead, celebrating her worship of God, without any particular disturbance of routine."(1)

This functioning of the Church under all conditions does not, however, point to a conclusion that no one of these forms is preferable. Bishop Dunn later makes this statement:

"As an American, I am thoroughly convinced that the Catholic Church is better off here in the United States than in almost any other country in the world. It is true that she is not a partner of the State, here, as she is in some countries. But she has here a freedom, an opportunity to work, that is unsurpassed anywhere."

2. Ibid p.4
The relationship between Church and State as it exists in this country, closely approximates the ideal relationship of the Catholic Church to the State in a country whose population is not largely Catholic. When we study the Catholic doctrine on the function of the State and of its relation to man, and man's relation to it, we find some of the reasons why the opportunities afforded in a democracy most nearly parallel those of an ideal Christian State.

In his encyclical, Divini Redemptoris, issued in 1937 and dealing with the subject of Atheistic Communism, Pius XI makes several pronouncements which should help to clarify the Church’s position. After first declaring a belief in God "as the Omnipotent Creator of all things and the just Judge of all men," and asserting the Christian belief that "man has a spiritual and immortal soul," - that he is "a person, marvelously endowed by his Creator with gifts of body and mind," the Pope goes on to define the "natural" rights to which we have often made reference. Man, he says -

"has been endowed by God with many and varied prerogatives: the right to life, to bodily integrity, to the necessary means of existence; the right to tend toward his ultimate goal in the path marked out for him by God; the right to association and the right to possess and use property." (1)

These rights, the Church claims to be of divine origin. Pius goes on to define man’s position in relation to society -

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1. Encyclical Divini Redemptoris (1937) p.152
"But God has likewise destined man for civil society according to the dictates of his very nature. In the plan of the Creator, society is a natural means which man can and must use to reach his destined end. Society is for man and not vice versa." (1)

In using the term "must" in the foregoing statement, he infers and later elaborates upon the truth that man cannot attain his full development except as he becomes a member of that organic unity which Pius calls society. Man owes something to that society, however, and the following quotation, by indirection at least, refers to the duty of social justice or the common good so often mentioned in the earlier encyclicals, Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno.

"Society is for man, and not vice versa. This must not be understood in the sense of liberalistic individualism, which subordinates society to the selfish use of the individual; but only in the sense that by means of an organic union with society and by mutual collaboration, the attainment of earthly happiness is placed within the reach of all. In a further sense, it is society which affords the opportunities for the development of all the individual and social gifts bestowed on human nature. These natural gifts have a value surpassing the immediate interests of the moment, for in society they reflect the divine perfection, which would not be true were man to live alone."(2)

The function of the State, as Catholic doctrine defines it, is briefly expressed in this sentence:

"Catholic doctrine vindicates to the State the dignity and authority of a vigilant and provident defender of those divine and human rights on which the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church insist so often."(3)

1. Encyclical Divini Redemptoris (1937) p. 152
2. Ibid p. 152
3. Ibid p. 154
We have said before that the Catholic Church is committed to no particular form of government. So long as her children are allowed to exercise the rights already defined, she hesitates to condemn or to favor one form of government over another. As the state should assume the attitude of a loving father over those within its jurisdiction, so the Catholic Church, whose children live under every government under the sun, must assume a like position. Indeed, it would be very unwise for her to express her preference without reason.

We have said "without reason." Today that reason for interference is only because natural rights are threatened; specifically, certain governments have interfered with the practice of religion.

In the totalitarian state as we find it operating under the system commonly known as Russian Communism, there is no room for the idea of God; there is "no difference between matter and spirit, between soul and body; there is neither survival of the soul after death nor any hope in a future life."(1)

"Communism, moreover, strips man of his liberty, robs human personality of all its dignity, and removes all the moral restraints that check the eruptions of blind impulse. There is no recognition of any right of the individual in his relation to the collectivity; no natural right is accorded to human personality, which is a mere cog-wheel in the Communist system." (2)

1. Encyclical Divini Redemptoris (1937) p. 144-145
2. Ibid p. 145
And so on, this encyclical cites one Christian principle after another, which, in the opinion of the Catholic Church is violated by that form of Totalitarianism which she refers to as Atheistic Communism and whose purpose, she claims, is "to inaugurate a new era and a new civilization which is the result of blind evolutionary forces culminating in a 'humanity without God'."(1)

But what of Fascism? The fact that a concordat was made between the Catholic Church and the Italian Government has led some to the false conclusion that this agreement set the seal of Papal approval on Fascism. That this misunderstanding exists, at least to some degree, may be seen by the following quotation taken from the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences under the subject of "Fascism".

"It would be a mistake of course to ignore the political motives which operated on both sides in the rapprochement between the Curia and the king. But it would be equally unrealistic, in considering the monopolization by the Fascists of the social life of Italy, especially the education of the young, - and the irremediable resentment of the Curia, to forget that both groups deem it from time to time expedient to pose in the eyes of the world as bitter enemies."(2)

This, however, is hardly a fair statement. The Pope has not condemned the Fascism of Italy, because, to date, religious freedom has not been denied, and those fundamental natural rights such as the right to property, the right to supervise the Christian education of children, and the right

1. Encyclical Divini Redemptoris (1937) p. 146
2. von Bekerath, Erwin - Fascism - Encyclopedia of Social Sciences Vol. VI p. 133
to the practice of religion, while strictly supervised, have not yet been seriously limited. In Germany, on the contrary, there was a denial of these rights, not only to Catholics, but to Protestants and Jews as well.

Referring back to Raymond Feely's chart of parallels and contrasts of Fascism and Communism, it will be seen that under C-3 we find in Fascism his claim that Religion is encouraged, but only from motives of expediency. This, he later admits, is a statement which would be hard to prove. However, many Catholic authorities (outside of Italy we might add) have made the same inference.

In Boston on Sunday, November 20, 1937, the Rev. M.J. Ahearn, S.J., speaking on the Church's Stand on Totalitarian States, makes this statement:

"In Italy, Mussolini, in view of the fact that well over ninety per cent of the Italian people are Catholic, had made a concordat with the Holy See, recognizing the Catholic religion as the religion of the State, but granting religious rights to non-Catholic minorities. But, while this recognition has given the Catholic Church a freedom to teach and worship which she did not have during the fifty years or more preceding the advent of the Mussolini government, nevertheless, the Church views with considerable apprehension, the regimentation of youth under the Fascist regime. A few months after signing the Concordat, when Mussolini claimed the right of the Fascist State over the complete education of youth, Pope Pius the Eleventh was quick to warn him that the Church would tolerate no such monopoly over the heart and soul of youth. His Holiness was willing to revoke the Concordat before he would consent to such totalitarian tyranny." (1)

1. Boston Pilot Vol.CIX No.43 p.6
The frequency with which the inference is made that the Pope has, by this Concordat, endorsed the policies of Mussolini and the Fascist State, brought forth this rebuke of the Rev. James M. Gillis:

"A thousand times in her long history, the Church has been made the scapegoat for the sins of emperors and kings simply because she has upheld the principle of authority. But to lay upon her back the sins and crimes of despots and tyrants, of royal rouses and aristocratic scapegraces, is manifestly unjust. She upbraided and excommunicated rulers who abused power even while she reiterated the Scriptural truth that "all power is from God." It pleases her enemies to forget her conflicts with kings and emperors and to remember only that she made compacts with them. Even today in spite of frequently repeated papal admonitions of the mistakes and injustices of Fascism, critics of Catholicity seem to imagine that the Pope is committed body and soul to Mussolini. Even some indiscriminating thinkers among Catholics seem to fancy that because the Holy Father came to an agreement that settled the Roman Question, he thereby made himself sponsor for all that Mussolini has done, is doing and will yet do. To hear them speak one might imagine that since the trains run on time and the streets of Naples are clean, Fascism is the one and only divinely revealed system of government." (1)

The fact that the Pope has accepted a concordat with a nation does not imply that he surrenders his right to rebuke that government, nor does it ever imply a compromise on moral rights. It is conceivable that certain non-essential customs and privileges may be surrendered by such an agreement, but when essential Catholic doctrine is in question there is no surrender.

1. Gillis, Rev. J.M. This Our Day p. 271
In the Encyclical Mit brennender Sorge, issued in March, 1937, the Pope exercises his right to rebuke and his refusal to surrender. In strong language he recounts the German situation, the offenses of the present Nazi government against Religion; its denial of Christian, indeed of humanitarian principles; its doctrine of race superiority; its extreme and un-Christian nationalism.

He refers first to a concordat, established between the Church with the new government in 1933, and presents in defense of such an agreement, the Church's purpose in entering into negotiations with the German government. He later attributes the failure of the Nazi government to live up to the terms of the concordat to "intrigues which, from the outset only aimed at a war of extermination." (1)

In defending the Church's efforts to prevent the hostility between Church and State in Germany, he makes this statement:

"We have done everything in Our power to defend the sacred pledge of the given word of honor, against theories and practices, which, if officially endorsed, would wreck every faith in treaties and make every signature worthless. Should the day ever come to place before the world the account of Our efforts, every honest mind will see on which side are to be found the promoters of peace, and on which side its disturbers. Whoever has left in his soul an atom of love for truth, and in his heart a shadow of a sense of justice, must admit that, in the course of these anxious and trying years following upon the conclusion of the concordat, every one of Our words, every one of Our acts, has been inspired by the binding law of treaties. At the

1. Encyclical Mit brennender Sorge p. 186
same time, anyone must acknowledge, not without surprise and reprobation, how the other contracting party emasculated the terms of the treaty, distorted their meaning, and eventually considered its more or less official violation as a normal policy." (1)

Referring to the new "Reichs-Kirche" or State Church, he recalls, as he has so often, in reference to Communism, the need of a faith in God and the proper Christian conception of God and the State:

"The believer in God is not he who utters the name in his speech, but he for whom this sacred word stands for a true and worthy concept of the Divinity. Whoever identifies, by pantheistic confusion, God and the universe, by either lowering God to the dimensions of the world, or raising the world to the dimensions of God, is not a believer in God. Whoever follows that so-called pre-Christian Germanic conception of substituting a dark and impersonal destiny for the personal God, denies thereby the Wisdom and Providence of God." (2)

The doctrines of race superiority, of State absolutism with all its implications, and of ruthless economic independence, are all condemned in no uncertain language. In this encyclical on Germany and the Church, which has been described by Rev. M.J.Ahearn, S.J. as "the finest defense of Christianity yet written against the persecution by the Nazi Government," (3) Pius goes on to say:

"Whoever exalts race, or the people, or the State, or a particular form of State, or the depositories of power, or any other fundamental value of the human community - whoever raises these notions above their standard value and divinizes them to an idolatrous level, distorts and perverts an order of the world planned and created by God." (4)

1. Encyclical Mit brennender Sorge p. 186-187
2. Ibid p.188
3. Boston Pilot Vol.CIX No. 48 p.6
4. Ibid p. 6
Pope Pius concedes that a love of country is to be commended, but he denounces as un-Christian the trend toward the idolatry of the state which has found its expression in extreme German nationalism. After reminding the government of Germany that "As God's sun shines on every human face, so His law knows neither privilege nor exception,"(1) he goes on:

"None but superficial minds could stumble into concepts of a national God, of a national religion; or attempt to lock within the frontiers of a single people, within the narrow limits of a single race, God, the Creator of the universe, King and Legislator of all nations before whose immensity they are 'as a drop of a bucket' (Isaiah XI, 15)" (2)

Just as the encyclical Divini Redemptoris, which has already been quoted, condemned the excess of Communism, so this encyclical condemns the excesses of Fascism; and, were these excesses to occur under the Totalitarian State (or the quasi-Authoritarian State) of Italy, a like rebuke would, doubtless, be forthcoming.

It may be concluded, then, that Totalitarianism in its true sense is essentially anti-Christian and consequently anti-Catholic. It need not be proved that it is essentially undemocratic. There seems to be a rather common, though, it has been shown, an erroneous belief that inasmuch as the Church has strongly condemned Communism, she has thereby approved of Fascism. In the light of the Catholic doctrine already quoted, we have seen that this conclusion is a false one.

1. Encyclical Mit brennender Sorge p. 188
2. Ibid p. 189
The Catholic Church has approved of neither form. We have quoted before the opinion of Bishop Dunn, that while the Church has no preference for one particular form over another, he is thoroughly convinced that the Catholic Church is better off, here in the United States, than in any other country in the world.

The Church, it is true, has been a little less harsh in her criticism of Fascism than of Communism. That is, it has been shown, because she considers Fascism, at least as it has been practiced in Italy to date, as the lesser of two evils, but an evil nevertheless. She also realizes that Atheistic Communism has definitely declared a war on Religion while Fascism has not yet gone that far.

"The choice," says Father Ahearn, in his discussion of the Church and Totalitarian State, already referred to, "is not between Communism or Fascism, because there is another system of human government - that is Christian democracy."(1)

It is probably safe to say, that our own government more nearly approaches a Christian democracy than any other in the world. It has been the purpose of Catholic Action in America to try to preserve it, in its Christian form, against the inroads of such foreign trends as those of Fascism and Communism.

1. Boston Pilot Vol.CIX No.43 p.6
Whether by accident or design, the secular press, by giving widespread publicity to Catholic Action against Communism has led some to the conclusion that the Church in this country is lined up for Fascism. This belief is also due, in part at least, to misleading statements of well intentioned, but poorly informed Catholics whose personal opinion, expressed publicly, has been quoted, or at least interpreted, as accepted Catholic teaching. The misunderstanding which has resulted from these two causes alone, has prepared fertile soil for the reception of propaganda which claims that, in this country, the choice is between Fascism and democracy.

The Catholic Church claims that the alternatives are not Fascism and Democracy, but Democracy and all forms of Totalitarianism. She recognizes the fact that the differences between Fascism and Communism are those of economic rather than political theory. She recognizes also, that, as both deny the natural rights of man, they are both enemies of democracy. If she has seemed less harsh in her criticism of Fascism, it is because Communism, by its avowed Atheism, is openly religion's more formidable foe.
Catholic Action Against Totalitarianism

We have attempted to discover the Catholic Doctrine on the Absolute State as that State exists today, under those forms of political organization known as Communism in Russia, and Fascism in Italy and Germany. The purpose of this study, as has been already stated is to discover the nature and extent of the work of the Catholic Church in social reconstruction. Social reconstruction, we have said, is understood as any improvement in societal living, whether that improvement be along lines considered economic, political, or social. We also limited our study, somewhat, to that movement known as Catholic Action as it has functioned in America since the turn of the century and particularly since the end of the World War.

In our last chapter, we attempted to set forth what might be called the Church's attempt to improve societal living along economic lines. As we have said before, it is impossible to consider these trends as distinct and separate. It is similarly impossible to make this distinction with reference to Catholic Action.

If we concede that a trend toward social justice will, ultimately, retard the trend toward a totalitarian state, any work which is being done by the Catholic Church in the field of social justice may also be claimed as an effort being made against Totalitarianism in government.
However closely related these fields are, we find that the Church has taken a definite stand not only against economic injustice but against the injustice of government as well.

We have already quoted from four encyclicals which have denounced this trend toward state absolutism. These encyclicals are but links in a long chain of Catholic evidence beginning before the middle of the nineteenth century and continuing up to and through our day, all warning the world of that socialistic philosophy which has been steadily growing in popularity, and which has found its fullest expression in the Communist government of Soviet Russia. There are those, within the Church and out, who believe that the present government of Mexico and the Loyalist government of Spain are but further expressions of the same socialistic theories which form the basic philosophy of the Atheistic Communism of Russia. Be that as it may, in the opinion of some, at least, there is reason for alarm concerning the extension of Communist activities in the United States.

Catholic Action to combat this trend has been, in this country, mainly of an educational nature. Through the Catholic Action program, the encyclicals of the Popes on questions relating to Social Justice and to Totalitarianism in its many forms have been widely distributed and carefully studied. Study Clubs have been organized in almost every
diocese, under the direction of Catholic organizations. Through these groups, under what aims to be competent leadership, an increasing number of lay leaders is being trained to advance the work of carrying to the rank and file of the Church, the doctrines put forth in the encyclicals. The Catholic press has been active in publishing and distributing countless pamphlets relating particularly to the Catholic point of view on Communism and Fascism.

We have already quoted Raymond Feely's "Communism-Fascism-The U.S.A." An examination of the material published by the Paulist Press alone reveals such titles as "The Tactics of Communism," by Rt. Rev. Fulton Sheen, Ph.D., "Just What is Communism," "Morals and Moscow," and "Communism and Morals" by the Rev. Raymond T. Feely, S.J., and "Spain's Struggle Against Anarchy and Communism," by the Rev. G. Dietz, O.S.B. Catholic magazines and newspapers everywhere have kept before the public eye the dangers which the Church considers are inevitable if Communistic doctrines are allowed to spread unopposed. Numerous other pamphlets are being published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Queen's Work Press. Such magazines as America, the Catholic World, The Sign, Commonweal, and Queen's Work are constantly disseminating information pertinent to socio-political problems.
Catholic Youth organizations are laboring to combat Communistic influence on the youth of the Church, and adult education programs are carried out in Catholic institutions of higher learning. Discussion classes are being held in New York under the direction of the Trinity League, whose purpose is to establish a general medium of opposition to the spread of atheism through the press and the radio. Consequently, this league has started a press clipping bureau and is inaugurating a radio program to refute incorrect statements published in secular papers and magazines relative to Catholic doctrine and practice.

In Union Square, in New York City, a Catholic Workers' School has been started. At this school is published a paper called the Catholic Worker, under the leadership of Dorothy Day. This paper, in a recent edition, suggested, among other things, that trade guilds be formed to combat the Communist, Socialist and bourgeois already in existence; that Communist propaganda be eliminated from text-books in our schools; that farming communes be established where Catholic thought may flourish; and that workers' colleges be established throughout the country.

While many of these reforms may sound radical to those who have not yet been able to see where a trend toward social justice will eventually lead us, there is no doubt that the work being carried out today by Catholic Action groups all
over the country, is a practical application of that action which -

"goes forward to meet the multitude of the humblest workers with special solicitude; and not only so that these may enjoy those benefits to which they have a right according to justice and equity, but still more so that they may be taken from the insidious and pernicious influence of Communism, which, with diabolical perfidy, endeavors to stifle the light of religion in the world, and expose the workers to the sure danger of falling again, in a more or less distant day, into the same state of abjectness from which they have been laboriously raised." (1)

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1. Catholic Action (May 1934) p. 8
CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH AND THE TREND FROM CHRISTIAN MORALITY.

At the beginning of this study, we traced three trends in the changing social order, which, we maintain, must be considered of vital importance in any attempt at social reconstruction. We attempted to prove that the Christian Church, as the world's greatest social agency, not only should, but must be concerned with this social reconstruction.

The trend in the world of economics, we called the trend toward social justice. This, from the point of view of practical Christianity, may be considered a positive trend in the sense that its direction and its end can be reconciled with Christian principles. The Catholic Church, however, sensing the dangers of any economic revolution whose foundation was laid in the shifting sands of materialism, felt called upon to carefully direct the thinking of Catholics in this field and to warn, not only Catholics but the whole world, of the dangers sure to follow, if God were left out of the picture.

The second trend, that in the world of politics, we have called the trend toward the totalitarian state. This trend, from the point of view of Christianity, may be considered a negative one, for neither its ultimate nor
its immediate results can be reconciled with Christian principles. The Catholic Church's position is, and must be, unquestionably against totalitarianism in government.

The third trend, it will be recalled, was referred to as the trend from Christian morality. This moral trend, far from being distinct from the other two is actually the vital current which gives to these other trends their force and direction. We have called it the trend from morality because it appears that the Western world, as a whole, seems to be travelling in what the Christian Church would call a negative direction, rather than a positive one.

These three trends, we have said before, are closely interrelated. When we examine the political order, we find its excesses and extremes to be the result of like excesses and extremes in the economic order. Likewise, when we examine these economic and political abuses, we find that they are caused largely because individuals have lost what is known as a sense of moral responsibility. Because we are dealing with a civilization which is Christian, at least in name, we have called that trend in social living which has gone far, in practice, from the Christian moral standards of the past, the trend from Christian morality.

The world, any world, economic, political or social, is made up of individuals. Those social institutions which we call the family, the Church, and the State, are but
groups of individuals, in each of which the whole can be no
greater than the sum of its parts. You and I make up the
family, the Church and the State; likewise you and I, and
countless other individuals, make up those economic groups,
to which we so abstractly refer, as Labor or Capital.
Furthermore, we usually represent two or more of these groups
at the same time.

It is futile to talk of reformation or reconstruction
of the political order as if such reconstruction could be
effected in mass formation, as it were, with no thought of
changing the individuals who make up the mass. Likewise in
the world of work, we can hope for no positive reform until
the rank and file of men decide to return to the practice of
Christian principles in their economic relationships, one
with another.

This age has seen a world wide industrial revolution;
it is now in the throes of what might be called a universal
political revolution. Each of these upheavals has left its
indelible imprint upon the moral character of our times.
James Truslow Adams, in an article called, "The Crisis in
Character", makes the observation that we are passing
through three crises simultaneously - a crisis in economics,
a crisis in politics, and a crisis in character.

The crisis in character has received less
attention," he says, "than the other two, but
has complicated our unhappy situation and may continue to have far reaching effects after we have surmounted the other crises and regained a certain degree of material proper prosperity." (1)

It is interesting to note, in passing, that while Mr. Adams recalls the factors which operated in his own youth to develop character, he, in common with many other writers of today, makes no reference to God or to any religious foundation as a fundamental basis for the necessary moral reform.

How strong a force the Christian religion, or any other religion, is in the modern world we cannot say. We do know, however, that in our own country it is claimed that seventy millions of our people have no religious affiliations whatsoever. This means, in the field of morals, as we who profess to be Christians understand morals, that these seventy millions cannot be said to subscribe to any guide other than that of an individual personal interpretation of what is right and what is wrong.

In a recent Methodist Protestant Conference the statement was made that little more than twenty-five percent of the forty nine million young people in our country have been in a church. At the same conference the results of a recent questionnaire were read, showing that sixteen thousand out of fifty five thousand school children who were tested had never heard of the Ten Commandments. (2).

(2) Cartwright, Rev. John K., Our Sunday Visitor XXVI, No.46)
What effect this lack of a definite accepted religious basis for morality will have upon the future of our country is not hard to guess. The commonly expressed opinion that morals may exist without religion and that most men are agreed as to the essentials of morals, is not admitted by the Catholic Church. The Rev. M.P. Hill explains Catholic teaching on this point as follows:

"Morality without religion means morality without any basis of moral obligation. Apart from religion I can find no answer to the questions: Why must I do this? Why must I omit that? If I discard the idea of a God by whom I was created and to whom I owe obedience, there is nothing that can strictly oblige me to be honest if I am inclined to be dishonest. Honesty becomes a matter of expediency, and where I find it expedient to be dishonest, I will be dishonest. There is no obligation where there is no authority; but there is no authority that is not either in God or derived from God. The One who made us is the only One who has absolute and unqualified authority over our wills. The obligations imposed by others - by one's parents, by the State - are valid only inasmuch as they rest on the authority of God. To sever morality from religion is to deprive morality of all motive and all sanction." (1).

He goes on to say that if the basis of all morality is God's will, we are bound to learn His will and know when, how, and where we are to observe it. If God has revealed His will, as Christians believe, we must accept this revelation in its purest form and act upon it. This means embracing a definite form of religion.

null
Some will argue that moral laws will be obeyed with "the good of society" as a motive for right conduct. Father Hill says that this influences a select few who are made of finer clay than the rest of men, but it will operate very feebly among the masses.

"The selfish instinct reinforced by poverty and suffering, or goaded on by greed or ambition will surely overpower so shadowy a motive as the good of society or the progress of humanity. . . . The one bond of society is conscience, and when conscience disappears it will be followed by anarchy. But conscience is the voice of God heard in the heart, and to hearken to God's voice, is, at least implicitly, an act of religion." (1)

That the good of society may constitute a motive for right conduct among a selected few, has been admitted. That this motive is not an effective one with the masses is seen by the crime wave which threatens the very foundations of society today. J. Edgar Hoover, in an address given in New York, in November 1937, made this summary of the extent of crime in our country:

"My statement is not merely bombast, but a matter of grim facts and figures. When any nation is assaulted to the extent that a major crime occurs every twenty-four seconds, that every forty minutes some one dies by the violence of homicide, then indeed are we a nation besieged. And to this picture which portrays only the more desperate of the forays against our security, confining itself to the shock troops, as it were, of robbery, aggravated assault, rape, burglary, murder, extortion and kidnapping, we must add the ravages practiced upon us by the secondary line of assault, the snipers, the looters, the rookies, the recruits

(1) Ibid., p.331-332.
and training squads of crime, those lesser evils which annually roll up a total of more than fourteen million assaults against our statutes, or one every two seconds." (1).

If this is a true picture of the America in which we live, (and Mr. Hoover claims his facts are based upon figures) it would seem that such "humanized" moral motives as the welfare of society or the love of order are not operating very well in our country today.

In his encyclical, Mit brennender Sorge, Pius XI brings out the fact that no coercive power of the State, nor any purely human ideal, however lofty it may be, can take the place of religion in solving the social problems of today. He becomes more specific and makes the claim that without a return to that morality which is based upon the foundation of a belief in God and in His commandments, social reconstruction is impossible:

"The conscientious observation of the ten commandments of God and the precepts of the Church (which are nothing but practical specifications of the rules of the Gospel) is for every one an unrivaled school of personal discipline, moral education and formation of character, a school that is exacting, but not to excess. A merciful God, who, as Legislator says - Thou must - also gives by His Grace the power to will and to do. To let forces of moral formation of such efficacy lie fallow, or to exclude them positively from public education, would spell religious under-feeding of a nation. To hand over the moral law to man's subjective opinion, which changes with the times, instead of anchoring it in the holy will

(1) Our Sunday Visitor, Vol. XXVI, No. 33, p. 8)
of the eternal God and His commandments, is to open wide every door to the forces of destruction. The resulting dereliction of the eternal principles of an objective morality, which educates conscience and enables every department and organization of life, is a sin against the destiny of a nation, a sin whose bitter fruit will poison future generations." (1).

Even though men have never agreed on the subject of religion, there has been, in ages past, a more or less general acceptance among Christians and Jews as well, as to the divine origin of the Ten Commandments and there has also been a general agreement as to their efficacy as a rule for right living. In that past it was possible to use that common understanding as a basis for the solution of moral problems.

However, as we have already said, there are an increasingly large number of people in our country who either have never heard of the Commandments, or, who believe them to be "only a set of rules and regulations devised by the shrewd patriarch, Moses, to keep a restive people under his thumb." (2).

The Catholic Church, even her enemies will admit, has always refused to surrender her principles to the spirit of the age. She has taken an uncompromising stand on the divine origin of the Ten Commandments and, though she makes no claim that all Catholics follow her commands to the

(2) Gillis, Rev. J. M., This Our Day, p. 324.
letter, she cannot be fairly accused of changing her teaching on the Commandments, or of allowing them to be subjected to what she considers the questionable liberty of private interpretation.

It is obviously impossible to include within the scope of this study a full statement of Catholic Doctrine. However, for purposes of clarifying our reference to Catholic teaching, the following brief analysis will serve our purpose, and, we hope, will not omit any vital point of Catholic belief.

The Church teaches these fundamentals which all Catholics must believe:

1. That God made us to know him, to love him, and to serve him in this life and to be happy with him in the next.

2. That to this end we must:

   (a) Believe all that God has revealed.
   (b) Keep all the Commandments (including those commandments of the Church which, as Pope Pius says, are nothing but practical specifications of the rules of the Gospels).
   (c) Make use of the means of Grace which God has ordained; namely, Prayer and the Sacraments.

It is interesting, from the point of view of this study, to note how easy of solution would be the problem of social reconstruction if all men, or even if all Catholics were to obey the Commandments to the letter of the law as they are understood and taught by the Catholic Church.
The First Commandment says, in effect, - I am the Lord, thy God. Thou shalt not have strange Gods before me. In economics we have seen how material success has been made a god, and consequently abuses have followed which have gone far toward defeating the cause of social justice. In politics, the State has become a god; and, whether we consider the Atheistic doctrine of Communism or its close rival, Fascism, we see the elevation of the State to a position which the Catholic Church teaches belongs to God alone.

In the Second Commandment we are forbidden to take God's name in vain. Under this Commandment, all oaths and solemn agreements in private relationships, and all treaties and concordats entered into solemnly in relationships of a national and international character are bound to be kept. We have but to look around us to see how lightly are these oaths taken, not only in the Courts of justice, but in the multiple situations where individuals, Catholics as well as non-Catholics, solemnly swear to uphold the dignity and to fulfill the duties of public office.

The Third Commandment reminds us of our obligations to keep holy the Sabbath-day. The Catholic Church makes a special interpretation of this commandment by requiring that all Catholics hear Mass on Sunday. That some Catholics do little more than obey this rule in body, though not in spirit, is probably true. However, their very presence at
that religious service or sacrifice which the Catholic Church calls the Mass, and which is the center of all Catholic worship, constitutes an act of faith and signifies a belief in God. Although the Church says it is lawful to do servile work on Sunday as often as the honor of God, the good of our neighbor or urgent necessity requires it, the Church condemns that practice in industry, which, in the past, neglected the moral obligations of workmen.

"Even on Sundays and holy-days, labor shifts were given no time to attend to their religious duties. No one thought of building churches within convenient distance of factories, nor of facilitating the work of the priest. On the contrary, laicism was actively and persistently promoted, with the result that we are now reaping the fruits of errors so often denounced by Our Predecessors and by Ourselves." (1)

The solution to many of our modern social problems would be effected if the world were to read into the Fourth Commandment, the meaning and significance which is read into it by the Catholic Church. The Church teaches that the duties implied in the commandment "Honor thy Father and thy Mother", are reciprocal. Fathers and Mothers have duties toward their children; - parents must, by their example, inspire the respect and honor which they, in turn, should receive. This obligation is interpreted by the Church to cover obedience to all duly constituted authority such as guardians, teachers, and employers, and to all Spiritual and Civil Superiors, with the understanding, always,

(1) Encyclical, Divini Redemptoris, p. 168.
that such obedience is never required when it would lead to
a violation of the law of God.

The Catholic Church, in teaching this commandment
reminds parents of their sacred obligation to give to their
children a Christian education, which, she feels, is neglected
today both at home and in the public school. Consequently
she has set up a system of Catholic Schools which, in this
country alone, has assumed full responsibility for the
education of hundreds of thousands of Catholic children. That
this idea is not un-American or un-democratic was proven in
the U.S. Supreme Court Decision in the Oregon School Case,
June 1, 1925., from which we make the following quotation:

"The fundamental theory of liberty upon
which all governments in this Union repose,
excludes any general power of the State to
standardize its children by forcing them to
accept instruction from public teachers only.
The child is not a mere creature of the
State; those who nurture him and direct his
destiny have the right, coupled with the high
duty, to recognize and prepare him for addition-
al duties." (1)

The Catholic Church considers the Commandment, "Thou
Shalt Not Kill", to imply something more than a defense
against murder, for she recognizes a death of the soul as well
as the body. While she claims it is lawful to destroy human
life in defense of one's country, or when necessary in
protecting life from unjust attacks, and that it is lawful

(1) U.S.Supreme Court Decision - Oregon School Case,
June 1, 1925.
for the Supreme Authority to do so in the execution of criminals, she considers as violations of this commandment, anger, and hatred, inasmuch as they may lead to murder, as well as those practices which today are considered under the name of artificial birth control; for, according to Catholic teaching, "the deliberate destruction of infant life before birth, even in its earliest stages, is nothing less than wilful murder."(1) While the Church admits the existence of the economic problems which are ever present, especially so, today, in the raising of a large family, the remedy, she teaches, lies in such reforms as will create a social order where the support of such a family is economically possible.

In the Sixth and Ninth Commandments the Church forbids all sins against the virtue which she calls Christian purity. Among other violations of the sixth commandment she considers remarriage after divorce. The position of the Catholic Church on the subject of divorce, does not lend itself to brief analysis. However, it is sufficient for our purposes to say that inasmuch as the Catholic Church regards the family as the vital unit in the existing social order, it makes every effort to preserve it. However,

"Where much suffering is endured by one of the parties in consequence of the guilty acts of the other, both human and divine law has provided for separation, whilst the best

interests of society, as well as of the individuals concerned, forbid the complete severance of the bond of matrimony." (1).

In its positive stand in regard to this particular social problem, the Catholic Church, it is probably fair to say, stands alone.

The Commandment "Thou shalt not steal" is understood by Catholics to cover not only theft of the commonly understood variety, but the injuring, openly or secretly of another's business, the refusal to pay one's lawful debts when payment can be made, graft in the use of public funds, and gambling, when by such indulgence the right of others are violated. Workmen are required, under this commandment, to keep agreements and contracts with their employers, provided always that they have been freely entered into, and employers are required to pay to workmen their just due. How simple would be the problem of the right relationship between Capital and Labor if these principles were followed more carefully in practice.

How different would be our political campaigns were Christians, or indeed were Catholics to show, by their actions, that they believed that calumny and detraction, and such vicious practices as "whispering campaigns" were sins against the commandment which says - "Thou shalt not bear false witness" - and, how changed would be the attitude of the press, which, today, as James Truslow Adams notes

in "The Crisis in Character," falsifies facts in its news and falsifies values in its advertising, almost as a matter of principle.

And finally, how many of the present day social problems would be eliminated were we to do away with the envy and selfishness and greed which are implied in "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods".

The Church would be glad to boast that all Catholics not only accepted the standards of moral conduct as they are outlined in the Ten Commandments, but also that they, by their exemplary lives, led others to that "sincere renewal of the private and public life according to the principles of the Gospel," which the present Pope says is so necessary to "preserve human society from total corruption."(1).

The Church has spoken as to what she considers Catholic principles. She makes no claim, however, that every individual Catholic lives up to these principles. She admits, to her sorrow, that there are those who call themselves Catholics who are politically corrupt, as there are Catholics who are corrupt in other respects. However, the Church claims, and rightly so, that this is not because of their Catholicity, but in spite of it. They begin, she says, by being bad Catholics, and then they set out to prove that they are bad citizens as well.

(1) Encyclical, Devini Redemptoris, p.158.
We have attempted to set forth, in this chapter, the Doctrine of the Catholic Church as it is expressed in the Ten Commandments. We must again recall to the reader that warning given earlier in the study, - that only in so far as exact quotations from Scripture and the encyclicals of the Popes have been used, may this explanation of Catholic Doctrine be considered as authoritative. However, we may add, that the opinion we have expressed throughout this chapter, as well as that expressed in the previous ones, is one that is common, we believe, among laymen who are engaged in Catholic Action today.
Catholic Action and the Moral Trend.

There are some activities of that movement known as Catholic Action which seem more properly to come under the discussion of the moral trend than under the discussion of the trends in economics and in government. We have referred several times to the difficulty which presents itself when an attempt is made to call one work of Catholic Action economic in its influence, one, political, and one, moral. However, we shall attempt, at this point to outline some of the activities among Catholic laymen and clergy which are concerned particularly with individual and family relationships and which have not already been covered in previous chapters.

Among these may be considered the Legion of Decency, organized in 1933 under the direction of the Bishops of the Catholic Church, and supported by Protestant and Jewish leaders as well as by Catholics. Realizing the tremendous influence of the cinema on the thoughts and actions of those it reaches, and feeling that the course which was being pursued by those who controlled production was, if held to, "threatening the basic moralities of the nation," (1) the Bishop's Committee on Motion Pictures, started in 1933, a crusade against objectionable films. This crusade soon became known as "The Legion of Decency". While not a

censorship body, the Legion of Decency "urged producers to
exercise a self-control responsive to public opinion aroused
and insistent upon decency."(1).

Father Daniel S. Lord, S.J., wrote a "Code to Govern
the Production of Motion Pictures" which was agreed upon and
signed in 1930 by a group which comprised the producers and
distributors of more than ninety percent of the motion
pictures in the United States. This code is a detailed and
inclusive formula whose purpose is to help in the regulation
of moral standards in moving picture production. The
working principles set forth in the code are these:

(1) No picture should lower the moral standards
of those who see it.
(2) Law, natural or divine, must not be belittled
or ridiculed, nor must a sentiment be created
against it.
(3) As far as possible, life should not be mis-
represents, at least not in such a way as
to place in the minds of youth false values
on life. (2).

In this last connection, the attention of the producers
is called to the magnificent possibilities of the screen
for character development, the building of right ideals and
the inculcation in story form of right principles. The
statement is made in the code that if motion pictures

(1) Ibid.
(2) Code adopted February 1930, by the Association of
Motion Picture Producers, Inc., and ratified March
31, 1930, by the Motion Picture Producers and
Distributors of America, Inc.
consistently held up high types of character, and presented stories that would affect lives for the better, they would become the greatest natural force for improvement of mankind. This seems a fair statement, for while we have quoted to the effect that but twenty-five per cent of our young people have ever been to church, it is probably safe to say that many more than twenty-five per cent have been to the movies.

Once a year, in December, every Catholic in the United States is asked to take a pledge to keep away from moving pictures of an objectionable nature, to stay away from places of amusement which show objectionable films as a matter of policy, and to do all that he can to strengthen public opinion against the production of indecent and immoral films.

Of more recent origin is the "League for Clean Reading", started under the auspices of the South Bend, Indiana, Deanery Council of the League of Catholic Women and receiving the cooperation of Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis as well as that of Catholic priests. A similar pledge to that of the Legion of Decency has already been signed by fifty thousand men and women who have promised to refrain from purchasing and reading literature of a lewd nature and of withholding all patronage from places where such literature is sold, if, after warning, obscene publications are continued to be displayed for sale.
relationships are necessary to bring about an effective change. The need for the identification of key steps and the implementation of appropriate actions is crucial. The key to success lies in understanding the dynamics of social systems and adapting strategies accordingly. It is essential to recognize the interdependence of various factors and to address them in a comprehensive manner. This approach ensures a more sustainable and effective change process.
The importance of this work cannot be over-estimated if, as J. Edgar Hoover has said, "Indecent and immoral literature is one of the principal causes of the wave of sex crimes."(1).

Other work being carried on by Catholic Action groups in America which could properly be included under the work being done for a return to the so-called private life of the individual to standards of Christian morality are such activities as those which are being fostered by the National Council of Catholic Women. This group assumes the responsibility of acquainting Catholic women with national legislation of vital interest to them, and provides representation at all meetings of a national or international character when vital principles are at stake or where matters of national well-being, which should be their concern, are under discussion.

This group has defined some of its objectives as: the study and promotion of social principles; the maintaining of Christian standards in recreation, dress, and literature, and the preservation of Christian home life.

In addition to these fields of action, a Catholic youth movement is developing in this country, cooperating with such existing secular organization as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, but also including such Catholic

organization as the Columbian Squires, a junior group under the direction of the Knights of Columbus. The Catholic Church hopes in this way to combat the anti-religious forces which are at work among the youth of America today.

It is not to be understood that activities of the sort we have described are confined to Catholic Action. Every Church in America, it is safe to say, is thinking and acting along similar lines. In some instances the work has been of a cooperative nature, church groups have been able, without a compromise of principle to unite in social action. The growing spirit of cooperation is, in our opinion, one of the most hopeful signs of our day; for the bitter conflicts within the Christian Church during the past, have done much to drive outside the sphere of its influence, many, who today are found in the ranks of those hostile to religion.

If Christianity is to be a vital force in the new social order, there must be, and hopefully there will be, in the not too far distant future, a return to that spiritual unity which has been so sadly lacking in the past four hundred years.
SUMMARY

There can be little question that those of our day have seen more radical changes in the social order than those of any other age in history. These changes in government, in economics, and in morals have been so violent in their nature that they may well be termed revolutionary. The trend in government toward the totalitarian state has advanced with such rapidity in the past few years as to startle those whose democratic theories of government have thus ruthlessly been thrown to the winds. The trend in economics, which is commonly believed to be a trend in the direction of social justice, has read new meaning into the existing relationships between capital and labor. The trend in morals has been of such force as to awaken to a renewed sense of responsibility that guardian of morals, the Christian Church.

That the Church has a responsibility in the changing social order, and that she is not only conscious of this obligation but has met it creditably in the spirit of the age, is the conclusion we would make from the evidence we have been able to gather.

In that detailed treatment which we have given to the work of the Roman Catholic Church, we have discovered that Catholic Doctrine in political and economic problems today is definite and uncompromising.
In the trend toward absolutism in government, the Church, believing that society exists for man, and that all power comes from God, is, and must be, definitely in opposition to such extreme theories as those of Atheistic Communism and pure Fascism.

The Church, through the medium of the so-called social encyclicals, Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno, has clearly stated her position in relation to the changing emphasis in economic relationships. In these encyclicals the Church rejects with equal stress the unrestrained individualism of the age just passing, and the Marxist Communism which is its antithesis. She chooses to take the middle road, which retains private enterprise and private ownership, but which makes it the normal portion of the average man. With this end in view the Church insists that wages and profits shall be at levels which will give to every family, and to the whole community, the material means of a good life.

The Church recognizes the absolute dependence of reform in economic and political life, on reform in morals. This renewal of the spiritual nature of man, the Church considers to be of vital and immediate concern, and recommends a return to the strict observance of the Ten Commandments as the remedy for the social ills of today.

The Catholic Church has attempted to carry into practice through that movement known to the world as Catholic Action,
her doctrines relating to each of the trends we have defined. In our country this work has been largely under the direction of that organization which is known as the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

No one realizes more fully than the Church the fact that the task of social reconstruction today is no small one. Her efforts to make this reconstruction Christian in character, have met with some measure of success, but, in self criticism, the Church feels that her progress has not been commensurate with her numbers. Nevertheless, partial failure has not dimmed the greatness of her effort.
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