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## The Attitude of the Catholic Press Regarding the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE CATHOLIC PRESS REGARDING  
THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT  
OF 1947

BY

BROTHER JUDE ALOYSIUS, F.S.C. (CANTWELL)

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Social Administration  
in Sociology  
at  
Loyola University  
1948

### VITA

Brother Jude Aloysius, F.S.C. (Cantwell) was born in Chicago, Illinois, August 7, 1918.

He attended St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Mel Grammar Schools, Chicago, receiving his diploma from St. Mel's in June of 1932. After spending part of his Freshman year at St. Mel High School, he entered the Juniorate of the Christian Brothers located at La Salle Institute, Glencoe, Missouri, graduating from that institution in June, 1936.

Upon finishing the year of regular Novitiate, the writer entered St. Mary's College, Winona, Minnesota. In June, 1940 he received the Bachelor of Social Science Degree with a major in Economics.

From 1940 to 1942 the writer was engaged in teaching at St. Patrick Academy, Chicago, and also attended evening classes at Loyola University. In June, 1942, he was assigned to do teaching and supervisory work at Father Flanagan's Boys Home, Boys' Town, Nebraska, where he remained until September, 1944. At that time he was changed to Cotter High School, Winona, Minnesota, and remained there actively engaged in teaching until the summer of 1947.

At the present time he is teaching Religion, Fundamentals of American Government, and Introductory Sociology in the Senior Department of St. Mel High School, Chicago.

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INTRODUCTION  
AND  
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The first half of the twentieth century has been fifty years of many paradoxes. Although two devastating wars have come within the life-time of many Americans, still all men in our land have been yearning for peace. With the greatest technological advancement the world has ever known, and surpassing that in all previous centuries, still man has not solved the problems of poverty. With the best equipped system of schools in the world, still man in the United States has not found the solution of his domestic problems. Yes, and with the largest corporations and the wealthiest businesses, greater than a large part of the combined, man in the United States has not yet found the secret of industrial peace.

Over fifty years ago Pope Leo XIII pondered the question of industrial peace, and gave to the world the immortal Encyclical, Rerum Novarum. Other men since his day have broached the same subject and with more or less success have attempted to present their programs to the world. In our own country the economists and sociologists have prepared many diverse programs for industrial peace and still there is no peace. Private industry has not been able to solve its own problems without the periodic intervention of both State and Federal Governments.

In attempting this thesis on The Attitude of the Catholic Press Regarding the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, the writer decided to take as his standard, the Social Encyclicals or recent Popes. These Encyclicals abound with principles

underlying any practical program for industrial peace. These same documents should be the basis for all the Social Action work of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the other agencies assisting the Catholic Press. So throughout the pages of this thesis, the writer will be trying to discover whether the Catholic Press -- magazines, diocesan papers, and labor papers -- follows the Papal Principles in expressing its attitude regarding current social and labor problems, and in particular the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. In this survey of the Catholic Press, the writer will limit himself to a study of editorials, feature articles and news articles in attempting to find this attitude, and will include only material published between January 1, 1947 and November 30, 1947. Instead of including all the material regarding the Act published during this period, the writer will use only those excerpts that most clearly express the attitudes of the various publications. And for purposes of clarity, the writer will use throughout the thesis the divisions -- editorials, feature articles and news articles -- even though all news and feature articles imply some measure of editorial sanction. Any percentages presented in the summaries and conclusions are based only on the excerpts given in the chapters of the thesis. In other words, it will be the purpose of the writer first to present the principles of the Papal Plan for Industrial Peace and then in the succeeding chapters to try to discover whether or not the Catholic Press follows these

principles, referring principally to this particular piece of labor legislation.

In a thesis of this type, where the writer is depending upon dozens of different editors to furnish him with the necessary material and data for the project, it might be argued that obtaining such material would be so uncertain as to make the study of little value. But on the other hand if sufficient information is secured, and this material represents a good cross-section of the Catholic Press, then there certainly will be a high degree of working accuracy and reliability.

In this present thesis as complete a survey as possible will be made of all Catholic magazines, diocesan papers and labor papers, so that any conclusions regarding the Catholic Press and its attitude towards the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 will be true, accurate and reliable.

The Encyclicals, Rerum Novarum, Quadragesimo Anno, and Sertum Laetitiae will be the source material from which will be taken the principles set forth in Chapter I. The fundamental principles of these historic documents actually are the Catholic ideals for industrial peace; however, in this thesis they will be studied from the view of their particular reference to labor legislation. Therefore the subject matter of Chapter I will be narrowed down to include only those basic ideas that are related to the general theme of industrial cooperation and labor legislation.



A brief historical sketch of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, with emphasis centering around the growth and progress of the Social Action Department, will introduce Chapter II. The Statement of the Social Action Department regarding the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947<sup>4</sup> accompanied with an analysis of some reasons for its presentation will then follow. In this same section there will be a brief explanation of the purpose of the Act itself and mention of the controversies between the Social Action Department and some columnists regarding it.

In Chapters III, IV, and V the writer will give a thoroughly objective presentation of the opinions of the Catholic magazines, diocesan papers, and labor papers available, about the Act. Such a style of presentation in these Chapters should make this thesis more acceptable as evidence of real research. The material included in this section, literally the opinions of the various publications, will be the results of many long hours spent in libraries of the Chicago area delving through Catholic periodicals. In addition, the opinions contained in Chapter IV will be the answers to more than fifty letters sent out by the writer requesting information concerning the attitude of the Catholic diocesan papers regarding the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947.

Chapter VI will consist of a summary of the work done in the preparation of the thesis, the difficulties met with in the writing of it, and the conclusions that should be forthcoming

as a result of the study. It is the hope of the writer, that this thesis will contribute something of practical value to the field of Catholic Social Thought and serve as an aid in promoting an ever increasing interest in and appreciation for the Catholic Press in the United States. \* \*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to take this occasion to thank his religious superior, Brother Leopold Julian, F.S.C., Provincial, for the opportunity to complete the required graduate study in Sociology at Loyola University. Likewise he is indebted to Mr. Edward Marciniak, his thesis adviser, for the many helpful suggestions in bringing this study to a successful termination. Gratitude is also due to the author's sister, who very graciously sacrificed a great deal of her time in typing the final copies of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I.

CATHOLIC IDEALS FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

During recent decades the Social Encyclicals of the Popes have set forth the ideals of the Catholic Church regarding social and industrial welfare. These Papal letters have dealt with a wide variety of subject matters and have tended to set the mind of Catholic editors and writers on current social problems.

Among the Social Encyclicals dealing directly with labor problems are Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno.<sup>1</sup> References to the labor problems of our day are also made in others, such as Sertum Laetitiae and Divini Redemptoris.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that although these Encyclicals were written concerning problems confronting man at a particular period, still the principles of them can be applied to any period.

Preceding any discussion of social and industrial problems, Pope Pius XI clearly establishes the definite connection between morality and economics. He states:

Even though economics and moral science employs each its own principles in its own sphere, it is, nevertheless, an error to say that the econ-

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<sup>1</sup>. Throughout the thesis the official English translation of Rerum Novarum will be used: The Condition of Labor by Pope Leo XIII, National Catholic Welfare Conference Edition, 1942. Throughout the thesis the official English translation of Quadragesimo Anno will be used: On Reconstructing the Social Order by Pope Pius XI, National Catholic Welfare Conference Edition, 1942.

<sup>2</sup>. Sertum Laetitiae, Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XII to the American Hierarchy, November 1, 1939. Paulist Press Edition, 1940. Divini Redemptoris, Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI on Atheistic Communism, Paulist Press Edition, 1940.

omic and moral orders are so distinct from and alien to each other that the former depends in no way on the latter. ....It is reason itself that clearly shows, on the basis of the individual and social nature of things and of man, the purpose which God ordained for all economic life.<sup>3</sup>

Basing the absolute need of guiding moral principles on an understanding of man's very nature, the Popes have definitely come to the forefront and presented to the world the basic moral standards underlying all economics, applicable to all men in the various economic situations of life. And these standards may be found in the Social Encyclicals.

# I. Role of the State in Labor-Management

## Relations

One of the first basic principles set forth in the Encyclicals is that relating to the part that the State should have in social and economic situations. Pope Leo XIII points out that "among the numerous and weighty duties of rulers who would serve their people well, this is first and foremost, namely, that they protect equitably each and every class of citizens."<sup>4</sup> Again he states:

Those governing the State ought primarily to devote themselves to the service of individual groups and of the whole commonwealth, and through

<sup>3</sup>. On Reconstructing the Social Order, Pope Pius XI, 17.

<sup>4</sup>. The Condition of Labor, Pope Leo XIII, 22.

the entire scheme of laws and institutions to cause both public and individual well-being to develop spontaneously out of the very structure and administration of the State. For this is the duty of wise state-manship and the essential office of those in charge of the State.<sup>5</sup>

And in the same paragraph the Pope declares that "the state is bound by the very law of its office to serve the common interest."<sup>6</sup> He then continues to explain that in the practical application of the foregoing principle, the State must necessarily show a very special concern for non-owning workers. The rich are able to take care of themselves, but this is not the case with the over-whelming numbers of workers. The Holy Father goes on to explain that:

Since it would be quite absurd to look out for one portion of the citizens and to neglect another, it follows that public authority ought to exercise due care in safe-guarding the well-being and the interests of non-owning workers. Unless this is done, justice, which commands that everyone be given his own, will be violated.<sup>7</sup>

He further remarks concerning the duty of the State toward the workers:

Equity therefore commands that public authority show proper concern for the worker so that from what he contributes to the common good he may receive what will enable him, housed, clothed, and

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<sup>5</sup>. Ibid., 21.

<sup>6</sup>. Ibid., 21.

<sup>7</sup>. Ibid., 21.

secure, to live his life without hardship.<sup>8</sup>

In another place he mentions that "those who govern must see to it that they protect the community and its constituent parts."<sup>9</sup>

Pope Pius XI brings out the idea of the role of the State when he says that it should be that of "directing, watching, urging, and restraining, as occasion requires and necessity demands."<sup>10</sup> Then referring directly to the role of the State in caring for the workers he mentions that:

Since wage-workers are numbered among the great mass of the needy, the State must include them under its special care and foresight.<sup>11</sup>

In another reference to the new development of social legislation protecting the rights of the workers he continues:

A new branch of law....has arisen from the continuous and unwearied labor to protect vigorously the sacred rights of the workers that flow from their dignity as men and as Christians. These laws undertake the protection of life, health, strength, family, homes, workshops, wages and hazards, in fine, everything which pertains to the condition of wage workers.<sup>12</sup>

It would seem that Pope Pius XI in the above references is laying down the principles that the Government has the duty of fostering the well-being of labor unions, since it is in such organizations

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8. Ibid., 22.

9. Ibid., 23.

10. On Reconstructing the Social Order, Pope Pius XI, 30.

11. Ibid., 12.

that the "sacred rights of the workers"<sup>13</sup> are protected..

## II. "Subsidiary Function" and Occupational Group System

Although still referring somewhat to the role of the state, Pope Pius XI brings out another basic principle, that of "subsidiary function".<sup>14</sup> According to this principle what can be done by lesser groups should not be done by larger groups. His Holiness explains it as follows:

Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do. For every social activity ought of its very nature to furnish help to the members of the body social and never destroy and absorb them.<sup>15</sup>

He then continues with a practical application of the principle set forth in the preceding paragraph:

The supreme authority of the State ought, therefore, to let subordinate groups handle matters and concerns of lesser importance, which would otherwise dissipate its efforts greatly. Thereby the State will more freely, powerfully, and effectively do all those things that belong to

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12. Ibid., 13.

13. Ibid., 13.

14. Ibid., 30.

15. Ibid., 30.



it alone because it alone can do them. ....Therefore, those in power should be sure that the more perfectly a graduated order is kept among the various associations, in observance of the principle of subsidiary function, the stronger social authority and effectiveness will be and the happier and more prosperous the condition of the state.<sup>16</sup>

In applying this principle the Pope urges the state and every good citizen to look to and strive toward this end: "that the conflict between the hostile classes be abolished and harmonious cooperation of the Industries and Professions be encouraged and promoted."<sup>17</sup> He continues by saying "the social policy of the state, therefore, must devote itself to the reestablishment of the Industries and Professions."<sup>18</sup> The Popes believe that in the Industries and Professions, or in the Occupational Group System as they are frequently referred to, there exists those elements of unity that are so necessary for any lasting industrial and public cooperation.

The organization of an Occupational Group may be described as follows:

In the society reconstructed according to the Pope's System, each Occupational Group is an organized, autonomous unit in which the freely chosen representatives of employers

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<sup>16</sup>. Ibid., 30.

<sup>17</sup>. Ibid., 31.

<sup>18</sup>. Ibid., 31. Other translations used are "vocational groups", "occupational groups", and "occupational group system".

and workers collaborate in all the discussions and decisions of industry-wide significance. This type of collaboration implies the existence of voluntary and representative organizations of employers and workers, recognizing each other and recognized by the public authorities. It implies also the will of employers and workers to settle their problems through bona fide collective bargaining, to consult together on all matters of common interest, and to make the best possible use of their combined experience and capacities for the common good of their industry and of the nation. This collaboration is opposed to the spirit of class conflict, that is, the grouping of people for combat and not for co-operation.<sup>19</sup>

While the Occupational Group System would be developing in a country, the Popes suggest the Government initiate and encourage the spirit of collaboration between employers and workers. If a difficulty appears, Pope Leo XIII states that:

It is more effective and salutary that the authority of the law anticipate and completely prevent the evil from breaking out by removing early the causes from which it would seem that conflict between employers and workers is bound to rise.<sup>20</sup>

The Popes would have the government take the position of an umpire whose job is to see that the players (workers and employers)

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<sup>19</sup>. Munier, Joseph D., Some American Approximations to Pius XI's "Industries and Professions", Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C. 1943, 130-131.

<sup>20</sup>. The Condition of Labor, Pope Leo XIII, 34.

keep the rules of the industrial game. But when the real spirit of collaboration would be realized and would be functioning properly, then the government would not try to dictate policy or action, but rather watch and protect the common interest of the nation from any dangerous decisions by an individual occupational group.<sup>21</sup>

Thus it can be realized that the Papal plan of cooperation between employers, workers, and the Government represents a vital application of democratic principles and methods. Such a plan would extend these democratic ideals from the political to the social and economic life of the nation.<sup>22</sup>

### III. Fundamental Duties of Employers and Employees

Having set the stage with a practical workable system, the Popes now give specific bits of advice for the proper working of economic order. Workers are given a new dignity and employers are constantly reminded of their obligation of strict justice towards the working class society. The very expressions used by Pope Leo XIII seem to be but a paraphrase from the famous Sermon on the Mount:

Workers are not to be treated as slaves; justice demands that the dignity of human personality be respected in them....It is shameful and inhuman to use men as things for gain and to put no more value on them than what they are worth in

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21. Munier, Joseph D., op. cit., 131.

22. Ibid., 134.

muscle and energy. Likewise it is enjoined that the religious interests and the spiritual well-being of the workers receive proper consideration....More work is not to be imposed than strength can endure, nor that kind of work which is unsuited to a worker's age or sex.<sup>23</sup>

And then in stating the duties of workers, the Papal pronouncements are just as outspoken:

Workers should perform entirely and conscientiously whatever work has been voluntarily and equitably agreed upon; not in any way to injure the property or to harm the person of employers; in protecting their own interests, to refrain from violence and never to engage in rioting; not to associate with vicious men who craftily hold out exaggerated hopes and make huge promises, a course usually ending in vain regrets and in the destruction of wealth.<sup>24</sup>

The Popes have made it clear that both employers and employees must work together as do members of the same team. They have pointed out that although there are great differences between men in talents, skill, health and capacities, still there is no logical reason why these differences must result in conflict between the groups. This difference in the condition of things as they so aptly point out, is adapted to benefit both individuals and the community; for to carry on its affairs community life requires varied aptitudes and diverse services.

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<sup>23</sup>. The Condition of Labor, 14.

<sup>24</sup>. Ibid., 14.

As for the two groups getting along together in society,

Pope Leo XIII frankly affirms that:

It is a capital evil to take for granted that the one class of society is of itself hostile to the other, as if nature had set rich and poor against each other to fight fiercely in implacable war..  
..Each needs the other completely; neither capital can do without labor, nor labor without capital.<sup>25</sup>

The Popes realize the innate unity of mankind and therefore are insistent on the program of unity and cooperation between capital and labor, the rich and the poor.

#### IV. Labor Unions and Employers' Associations

In accordance with the principle of the Occupational Group System, the Popes believe that societies of workers and employers are essential institutions in modern group living, and openly give their approval to the increased number and activities of such organizations.

In referring more specifically to labor unions, Pope Leo XIII mentions that:

Workers' association ought to be so constituted and so governed as to furnish the most suitable and most convenient means to attain the object proposed, which consists in this, that the individual members of the association secure, so far as possible, an increase in the goods

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<sup>25</sup>. Ibid., 13.

of body, of soul, and of prosperity.<sup>26</sup>

By way of defending the existence of labor unions, Pope Pius XII in speaking of current social problems observes that:

Because social relations is one of man's natural requirements and since it is legitimate to promote by common effort decent livelihood, it is not possible without injustice to deny or to limit either to the producers or to the laboring and farming classes the free faculty of uniting in associations by means of which they may defend their proper rights and secure the betterment of the goods of soul and body as well as the honest comforts of life.<sup>27</sup>

The same Pope shows much concern for the principles of integrity regarding the operations of labor unions, for he writes elsewhere:

Let the unions draw their vital force from principles of wholesome liberty; let them take their form from the lofty rules of justice and honesty, and conforming themselves to those norms, let them act in such a manner that in their care for the interests of their class they violate no one's rights; let them continue to strive for harmony and respect of the commonweal of civil society.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the pages of the Encyclicals, statements may be found relating to the basic obligations and duties of the leaders of labor unions, as seen from the viewpoint of the Popes. They

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<sup>26</sup>. Ibid., 33.

<sup>27</sup>. Sertum Laetitiae, Pope Pius XII, 20-21.

<sup>28</sup>. Ibid., 21.

specially provide that the worker always have sufficient work, and that any money paid into the treasury of the association furnish the means of assisting members in need, who might be stricken by sickness, old age, or misfortune. Above all, the Popes seem to intimate that although labor unions are really an essential institution in our modern times, still they must ever be considered as only a means to an end: labor unions are a means toward the end -- the unity and solidarity of labor-management relations.

Then in almost identical terms the Popes show a very keen interest in the formation of employers' associations. Pope Leo XIII states that "it is gratifying that societies of this kind are being formed everywhere, and it is truly to be desired that they grow in number and in active vigor".<sup>29</sup> Pope Pius XI comments that he "certainly regrets that they are so few".<sup>30</sup> It is evident then that in a close knit association of workers or employers, or of workers and employers together, the Popes believe the successful solution of economic labor difficulties rests. And according to this basic assumption it is important to continue stressing the interdependence of labor upon capital and capital upon labor.

#### SUMMARY

In this first chapter entitled CATHOLIC IDEALS FOR

<sup>29</sup>. The Condition of Labor, Pope Leo XIII, 30.

<sup>30</sup>. On Reconstructing the Social Order, Pope Pius XI, 16.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE, an attempt was made to lay the foundation upon which to build the findings and conclusions of the following chapters. The Catholic ideals on social and economic matters are found in the Social Encyclicals of the Popes; hence these documents became the basis for the material of the chapter.

After establishing a definite connection between morality and economics, four principles were presented as pertinent to this thesis and as indicative of the ideals proposed by the Popes for the solution of the current social and labor problems. The principles referred to were:

- I. Role of the State in Labor-Management Relations.
- II. "Subsidiary Function" and Occupational Group System.
- III. Fundamental Duties of Employers and Employees.
- IV. Labor Unions and Employers' Associations.

This review of the principles pertaining to the subject-matter of this thesis will serve as the standard against which to judge the findings and conclusions of the following chapters.

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CHAPTER II.

N.C.W.C. SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT  
ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT OF 1947

Like many another American institution, the National Catholic Welfare Conference had a somewhat humble beginning and in the short span of about thirty years has grown to take a place of prominence and prestige. It was in the year 1919 shortly after the end of the First World War, during which the National Catholic War Council had done outstanding work, that the N.C.W.C.<sup>1</sup> had its start. The Archbishops of the United States had constituted themselves the National Catholic War Council and were officially recognized by the United States Government as the agency of Catholic activity during the war period. When peace was restored and at the suggestion of Pope Benedict XV, the Archbishops and Bishops began to hold an annual meeting in Washington, D.C., at which meetings "they would take common counsel on matters of general import and establish definite departments that would under their supervision and direction, carry out the work assigned."<sup>2</sup> The Bishops resolved that an organization of the Hierarchy be formed to be known as the National Catholic Welfare Council and decided upon forming and electing the various departments and committees as suggested by the Pope. In 1923 the present title of the organization, National Catholic Welfare Conference, was adopted. Throughout the years that have followed,

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1. Throughout the rest of the thesis the initials N.C.W.C. will be used instead of the title National Catholic Welfare Conference.

2. National Catholic Welfare Conference, (pamphlet) as given by Cardinal Ceretti to the American Bishops, N.C.W.C. Press, Washington, D.C., 6.

the soul of the N.C.W.C. has been the Bishops of the United States; apart from them it has had no existence.

Of all the various N.C.W.C. Departments, a brief survey of the Social Action Department is important because of its relationship to the subject matter of this thesis and also to the spreading of the elements of Catholic social thought. This Department was established in 1920 and "is primarily a service department for Catholic lay organizations, the press, schools, priests, brothers, sisters and for the laity generally."<sup>3</sup> The Department strives to instill a knowledge of Catholic social teaching into the minds and hearts of American Catholics and their non-Catholic friends as well. "The bases of the work are the great Encyclicals and pronouncements of the Popes who have been trying to lead the world out of its confusion and devastation, physical and spiritual, and the great statements of our own Bishops in applying Catholic social teaching to America and American relations with the world."<sup>4</sup>

The scope of the Department's work is far reaching, including many fields, among others being industrial relations, international peace, family life, social welfare and rural life. This important type of work results in the time-taking task of keeping in touch with those facts, movements, proposals and persons of our changing generation that bear on the purpose of the Depart-

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<sup>3</sup>. Ibid., 27.

<sup>4</sup>. Ibid., 29.

ment. Then there is the preparation of written material and the response to requests for information and advice.

The Social Action Department has always shown a deep concern for the betterment of industrial relations and on various occasions during the past twenty years has made recommendations to industrial and governmental leaders. And whenever there have been moral and ethical considerations involved, the Department has issued its statements or suggestions out of a sense of duty and obligation. The Department recommended to Congress the passage of the Wages-Hours Amendments and the Full Employment Bill, recommended to the Secretary of Labor the use of fact-finding early in minor industrial disputes which threaten to end in great and damaging strikes, and more recently has expressed its opposition to certain of the provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. These statements from the Social Action Department take on added importance when it is recalled that the standards used in the Department's work are those found in the pages of the Social Encyclicals.

Even prior to the existence of the Social Action Department however, the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council had made similar recommendations. In one such pronouncement made on February 12, 1919, the Committee issued a statement for Social Reconstruction which later came to be known as THE "BISHOPS' PROGRAM". Among the principal recommendations and proposals contained therein were:

1. Minimum wage legislation.
2. Insurance against unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age.
3. A sixteen-year minimum age limit for working children.
4. The legal enforcement of the right of labor to organize.
5. Continuation of the National War Labor Board, for this and other purposes affecting the relations of employers and employees.
6. A national employment service.
7. Public housing for the working classes.
8. No general reduction of war-time wages and a long distance program of increasing them, not only for the benefit of labor but in order to bring about that general prosperity which cannot be maintained without a wide distribution of purchasing power among the masses.
9. Prevention of excessive profits and incomes through a regulation of rates which allows the owners of public utilities only a fair rate of return on their actual investment, and through progressive taxes on inheritance and income, and excess profits.
10. Participation of labor in management and a wider distribution of ownership through cooperative enterprises and worker ownership in the stock of corporations.
11. Effective control of monopolies, even by the method of government competition if that should prove necessary.<sup>5</sup>

It is evident then that through the years, the Social Action Department in making its recommendations, has simply continued what the famous "Bishops' Program" inaugurated. And in these state-

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<sup>5</sup>•Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, N.C.W.C. Press, Washington, D.C. 20th Anniversary Edition. 1939. 4.

ments "the emphasis all along has been not on attacking present-day evils but on the positive program of the Church and on right things done or proposed."<sup>6</sup> The statements have received wide publicity because many Catholics and non-Catholics alike believe the N.C.W.C. Social Action Department statements to be either the official teaching of the Bishops on current social problems in the United States, or that they are simply the opinions of the agents of the Bishops. In either case their influence is very widespread and people admit that the N.C.W.C. Social Action Department performs a great service in shaping Catholic thought on current social and labor problems.

In reference to the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 in particular, the Social Action Department has expressed its opinion of opposition to certain of its provisions in clear, brief, and yet exact terms.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note through-

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<sup>6</sup>•National Catholic Welfare Conference, (pamphlet) op. cit. 31.

<sup>7</sup>•Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. Throughout the remainder of the thesis this Act will be referred to by its more familiar title: Taft-Hartley Act. A short history of the Act appeared in the magazine Survey Graphic during the spring and summer of 1947:

Seventeen bills to amend the Wagner Law or otherwise to deal with unions or collective bargaining were dropped into the hopper of the House of Representatives on January 3, 1947. During the following week fifteen such bills were introduced by members of the upper house. By the end of January, 1947, no less than forty-eight bills dealing with unions and collective bargaining were

out the entire statement the department's concern regarding the effects of the law on the entire economy of the country, with particular emphasis referring to the millions engaged in labor-management relations.<sup>9</sup> Such expressions as "general economic

before the two Houses. There were sixty-five by the end of February.

On April 17, 1947 the Hartley Bill passed the House 308 to 107.

On June 4, 1947 the joint conference bill passed the House 320 to 79.

On June 23, 1947 the House overrode the President's veto 331 to 83.

On May 13, 1947 the Taft Bill passed the Senate 68 to 24.

On June 6, 1947 a later conference report passed the Senate 54 to 17.

On June 23, 1947 The Senate overrode the President's veto 68 to 25. There had been a Congressional debate for six months previous to the final enactment of the Law.<sup>8</sup>

8. Survey Graphic, Vol. XXXVI No. 4 & 7, 380-383.

9. The Taft-Hartley Act. According to the wording of the introduction of the Act, the purpose of it is:

To amend the National Labor Relations Act, to provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes affecting commerce, to equalize legal responsibilities of labor organizations and employers, and for other purposes....

It is the purpose and policy of this Act, in order to promote the full flow of commerce, to prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce, to provide orderly and peaceful procedures for preventing the

life of the country....entire economy....cooperation for the common good....general economic welfare....and whole range of industrial and economic problems<sup>10</sup> are real evidence of the Social Action Department's lively concern for the general welfare of social and labor conditions throughout the United States.

(The actual statement of the Social Action Department re-

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interference by either with the legitimate rights of the other, to protect the rights of the individual employees in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to define and proscribe practices on the part of labor and management which affect commerce and are inimical to the general welfare, and to protect the rights of the public in connection with labor disputes affecting commerce...  
(Taken from Taft-Hartley Act).

Some of the main features of the Act refer to the following:

Closed Shop, Union Shop, Industry-wide Bargaining, Jurisdictional Strikes, Foremen and other Supervisory workers, Secondary Boycotts, National Labor Relations Board, Freedom of Speech, Mass Picketing, Financial Reports, Contract Violations and Court Injunctions.  
(Work, Catholic Labor Alliance, May, 1947, Chicago, Ill. 8.)

<sup>10</sup>•N.C.W.C. Social Action Department Statement on Taft-Hartley Act.



garding the Taft-Hartley Act appears in the Appendix).<sup>11</sup>

As to why the Social Action Department made the statement the following reasons may be cited:

1.) The Papal Encyclicals favor the existence of the Occupational Group System, but since "The Taft-Hartley Bill does little or nothing to encourage labor-management cooperation",<sup>12</sup>

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11. Mr. David Lawrence, editor of United States News (News Weekly published in Washington, D.C.), took exception to this statement and severely criticized the Social Action Department for issuing it. There followed a controversy between Rev. George C. Higgins, Assistant Director of the Social Action Department and Mr. David Lawrence. The material used by both men was later printed in pamphlet form and was titled: RELATIONSHIP OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO A RECENT CONTROVERSY OVER A LABOR-MANAGEMENT LAW, by David Lawrence.

In this same connection Mr. Westbrook Pegler, a writer for King Features Syndicate, Inc., gave his opinion of the Social Action Department's statement in his column for October 23, 1947. He stated that the Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C. does not speak for the Church and its statements may be disregarded by Catholics, few of whom ever even read or hear of them....

In regards to the position of the Social Action Department in this controversy, Father George Higgins, Assistant Director of the Department, made it clear just why the Department took such a particular stand. In his syndicated column for September 5, 1947, he stated:

If it were true that the Taft-Hartley Bill was concerned only with the technicalities of industrial relations -- if it were true, in other words, that there were no moral or ethical issues involved in its manifold provisions -- it would follow, of course, that the Social Action Department was out of order in issuing its statement.

However, if the Taft-Hartley Bill

there is a chance that industrial relations may be severely hampered, disorganized and even disrupted. This completely goes counter to the principle of the Occupational Group System built on labor-management cooperation as explained in Chapter I.

Therefore the Social Action Department opposed the Act, since it believes that industrial peace without the foundation of the Occupational Group System is not a lasting peace.

2.) According to the Taft-Hartley Act, foremen and certain other supervisory employees may become or remain members of a labor organization but no employer subject to the Act shall be compelled to deem such men as employees. This is the same thing as denying these men the natural right to organize into trade unions of their own free choosing, which is also contrary to one of the Papal principles presented in Chapter I, wherein was stated:

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11. cont'                      encroached on the territory of ethics, it would follow, by the same token, that the Department was fully warranted in taking public issue with it. It might even be argued as a matter of fact that, because of the long-range importance of the Bill, the Department was under obligation to make its position known.

It was precisely because the Department felt that it was under such an obligation that it decided to issue its statement and to run the risk of having its motives misunderstood or misinterpreted....

12. N.C.W.C. Social Action Department Statement on Taft-Hartley Act.

It is not possible without injustice to deny or to limit either to the producers or the laboring and farming classes the free faculty of uniting in association by means of which they may defend their proper rights and secure the betterment of the goods of soul and body as well as the honest comforts of life.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore the Social Action Department opposed the Act, since it believes that industrial cooperation will never come as a result of such a denial of natural rights.

3.) The Social Action Department believes that the Act would tend to encourage the separate States to enact anti-labor legislation. Certainly such a condition would not be in accord with the Papal ideal that "among the numerous and weighty duties of rulers who would serve their people well, this is first and foremost, that they protect equitably each and every class of citizens."<sup>14</sup> Therefore the Social Action Department opposed the Act, since it believes that both State and Federal Governments should work together in trying to assist labor and management in achieving industrial peace.

4.) The Social Action Department believes that the Act preceded the bi-partisan study of industrial relations and problems instead of following the study. It feels that a more comprehensive study should have been made before the Act was passed.

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<sup>13</sup>. Sertum Laetitiae, Pope Pius XII, 20-21.

<sup>14</sup>. The Condition of Labor, Pope Leo XIII, 22.

Without this study, with the result that the Act was passed, a class conflict might be set off with organized management and organized labor as contestants in a continuing struggle for power. Such conditions and situations would be totally contrary to the plan of the Popes for economic order, for they have stated:

It is more effective and salutary that the authority of the law anticipate and completely prevent the evil from breaking out by removing early the causes from which it would seem that conflict between employers and workers is bound to rise.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore the Social Action Department opposed the Act, since it believes that such legislation will not assure industrial peace, but on the contrary will promote industrial conflict.

In his syndicated column "The Yardstick" for September 5, 1947, Father George Higgins presented further evidence to substantiate the position of the Social Action Department:

Actually there were some clear-cut ethical issues involved in the Taft-Hartley Bill -- among them, its refusal to protect the right of supervisory employees to organize, and its blanket abolition of the closed shop under any and all conditions. Perhaps even more important was the over-all tendency of the Bill to ignore, and even to run counter to, the responsibility of government to contribute to the establishment of a system of organized economic cooperation between management and labor....<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>•Ibid., 24.

<sup>16</sup>•Higgins, George Rev. "The Yardstick", The Evangelist, Albany, New York, September 5, 1947, 4.

SUMMARY

A short description of the founding of the N.C.W.C. was given at the beginning of the Chapter, with particular emphasis placed on the purposes and functions of the Social Action Department. The fields, types, and standards of its work were presented and explained. References were made to the famous "Bishops' Program" of 1919, the actual forerunner of the Social Action Department. The influence of the statements coming from this Department was stressed as having great effect upon Catholic social thought.

The statement of the Social Action Department on the Taft-Hartley Act was presented along with an analysis and reasons for the Department's opposition to the Act.

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CHAPTER III.

STATEMENTS OF SOME CATHOLIC MAGAZINES ON  
LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT OF 1947

In the field of the Catholic Press, the weekly and monthly magazines play an important role. Since a number of these periodicals carry articles and editorials bearing on current social and labor problems, it is necessary to this to discover something as to their opinion regarding the Taft-Hartley Act.

In a survey made of some Catholic magazines, the following were found to have editorials and articles referring to the Taft-Hartley Act: America, Commonweal, Extension, The Ave Maria, The Sign, Information, The Catholic World, and The American Catholic Sociological Review.<sup>1</sup> The material obtained as a result of the survey was sorted and classified according to the following divisions: 1.) References pro and con to general provisions of the Act, and 2.) References pro and con to specific points of the Act.

# I. References to General Provisions of Act

## 1. In Favor of Provisions

THE CATHOLIC WORLD, John B. Sheerin, "Union Leaders and Taft-Hartley", November 1947.

It is true that it is a law born of  
resentment; according to Congress, a  
just resentment at the officiousness

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<sup>1</sup>•The survey included the following magazines: America, Ave Maria, American Ecclesiastical Review, Catholic Action, Catholic Charities Review, Catholic Educational Review, Catholic Mind, Catholic World, Columbia, Commonweal, Extension, Messenger of the Sacred Heart, Information, The Sign, The Catholic Digest, Social Justice Review, Thought, The American Catholic Sociological Review, Catholic Worker, Family Digest, Review of Politics, and Catholic Historical Review.

of the unions under the former law.

The law seems to be essentially good in spite of its defects...And I venture the opinion that it conforms substantially to Catholic teaching on the rights of labor...I do consider it essentially good...

The Act as eventually revised will realize the best aspiration of the Wagner Act and this revision obtained under quiet obedience will result in amiable industrial relations...

In spite of the 'slave-labor' complaints of the union leaders, we ought to have honest acknowledgment of the freedom of labor under the law....

INFORMATION, Godfrey Schmidt, "Why I Like The Taft-Hartley Law"<sup>2</sup>, August, 1947.

The Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C. called for a veto of the bill because the measure "will almost inevitably lead to industrial strife and unrest." It is pretty well established that the National Labor Relations Law did just that. But that never constituted a sound reason to condemn the Wagner Act... Sometimes the common good must be purchased at such a price. Maybe the short range effect of any new and complex legislation will be an increase of litigation. But the overwhelming majority of our National Legislature thought that the long range good to be attained by the Taft-Hartley bill was preferable to the evil of the situation immediately preceding it...

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<sup>2</sup>•Both The Catholic World and Information are published by The Paulist Fathers in New York City and therefore do not present two distinct opinions, but one. Father Sheerin is on the editorial staff of both publications.



All in all I think the new law exemplifies a rational and fair (but not perfect) application of certain ideas and ideals expressed by Theodore Roosevelt and recently made his own by Cardinal Spellman. Only those who argue that labor unions and labor union leaders stand outside or above the law can quarrel with such principles. The future will test whether these leaders will be any more law-abiding than employers.

## 2. In Disapproval of Provisions:

AVE MARIA, Notes and Remarks: "Labor Aftermath", August 2, 1947.

We note with considerable interest the various reactions to the new labor law. Obviously it is not the panacea we had hoped for. Even Mr. Taft and Mr. Hartley, co-authors, are not agreed on its application...

EXTENSION, Editorial: "Every Shield Has A Reverse Side", September, 1947.

The 'industrial strife and unrest' (mentioned in the N.C.W.C. Statement) has already begun to manifest itself, and will, we think, become more turbulent in the months to come...

AMERICA, Editorial: "The Taft Bill", May 24, 1947.

Despite certain constructive features, the net effect of this bill is to weaken the power of organized labor and not merely to discipline it. Its underlying philosophy is not encouragement of organization, but at best neutrality; at worst, opposition. The bill thus reverses the approach to industrial relations enshrined in the National Labor Relations Act. If the law could be enforced, which is doubtful, it seems to us that labor

unions would gradually lose their cohesion, become fragmentized and decline in number and power. Some of them, especially in industries which have never accepted the philosophy of the Wagner Act, might be destroyed. For these reasons, we believe that President Truman ought to veto the bill.

Benjamin L. Masse, S.J. "The Labor Policy of the 80th Congress", June 14, 1947.

The Taft bill reflects more the class-conscious outlook of anti-labor employers than it does a concern with successful collective bargaining. And in no instance has the 80th Congress approved legislation aimed at helping American workers to meet their personal and family obligations.

Editorial: "The Taft-Hartley Act", July 5, 1947.

And so now the Taft-Hartley bill, imposing severe restrictions on labor unions, is the law of the land... As we see it, the substance of any hope of industrial peace under the new law lies in the good sense of those leaders of labor and management who hate industrial strife and who realize that their mutual respect and regard for one another's rights, is the only alternative to further governmental control of industrial relations.

THE SIGN, Editorial: "Labor, Law and Human Relations", July 1947.

The tragic misconception that has brought on so much industrial conflict and will always work mischief, law or no law, is the one that pictures management and labor as two fighters slugging it out and returning to their corners only when the

refereeing government blows his legal whistle. That was precisely the unfortunate concept of the Tafts and the Hartleys in their legislative endeavors. Their idea was to equalize the struggle by depriving labor of its alleged advantages over management. It is their appraisal, that they had to take the lead out of labor's gloves...

COMMONWEAL, Editorial: "Please Veto, Mr. President", June 6, 1947.

Every indication points to their producing a thoroughly bad and unjust piece of legislation. We therefore strongly urge the President not only to veto it but to accompany his veto with a message which will make clear the reasons for his action and will thus leave open a reasonable hope for the emergence of a sound reform in labor legislation...

John Broderick, "The Taft-Hartley Bill", June 20, 1947.

It represents an attempt to do too much too quickly, an error which is the result, partially, of Congressional reluctance to believe in and to understand the complexity of the American industrial problem...The Congressmen have put together a piece of legislation which irritates more often than it heals. Instead of knitting society together more closely, instead of lulling that beast---class warfare---, they have approved a bill which, largely because of a number of unnecessary provisions, will make the worker more aware of himself as a worker, and which will lead to a period of labor counteraction, both in and out of the courts...

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Report of the Industry Council Plan Committee, December 1947.

It is based on a philosophy of re-

pression rather than on one of cooperation. The Act is based on a theory of balancing conflicting powers, not on any recognition of the need of coordinated and integrated functioning of the groups involved...

The Act violates the principles of subsidiarity...The Committee is of the opinion that the Act places in government hands functions which can be efficiently performed by labor and management representatives working together in harmonious cooperation...

The Act goes beyond what is permitted under the principles of intervention... It has not been demonstrated that private initiative in the settlement of labor-management disputes had broken down in 1947...to justify the degree of governmental interference authorized by the Act...

The Act violates the principle of the common good, which states that each member of society, with the aid of the state which sets up proper conditions, must be given the opportunity to perfect himself physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually....<sup>3</sup>

## II. References to Specific Points of Act

### 1. In Favor of Specific Points

THE CATHOLIC WORLD, John B. Sheerin, "Union Leaders and Taft-Hartley", November 1947.

The company has the right under the Act, to sue the union if it engages in certain unfair labor practices or breaks its contracts. This provision seems to square with the American idea

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<sup>3</sup>. This reference is the only one in this thesis dated later than November 1947. This exception was made due to the fact that this publication is a quarterly magazine.

of fair play....

The provision requiring union officials to sign non-Communist affidavits has been in the headlines...Union officials must sign or else their union will not be allowed to take a grievance before NLRB...Some Catholic writers object that this is a basic violation of human rights. ...The privilege of taking a case before NLRB is not a human right....

The provisions aimed at featherbedding, secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes are surely beyond challenge, featherbedding being particularly obnoxious....

The Act recognizes the worker's right to strike. But moral theology rules that the right to strike is not absolute. In the Taft-Hartley Act, it is subject to certain conditions which seem reasonable, such as the required sixty-day notice in calling a strike at the end of a contract and Presidential veto-power for national emergency strikes....

INFORMATION, Godfrey Schmidt, "Why I Like The Taft-Hartley Law", August, 1947.

The conditions for a just strike as set forth in the manuals of moral theology are rarely motivating considerations in the minds of the strike strategists. Like employers, labor unions have abused their power...The unfair practices of labor organizations impinge as importantly upon the common good as those of employers. The National Labor Relations Law was not the fixed pattern of legislative perfection....

The Taft-Hartley bill was submitted through a congressional process fashioned after the best law-making traditions in a republic. No bill of our

time was more fully debated and studied....

Nor are the arguments in favor of the closed shop self-evident. I do not think it can be argued that the closed shop is per se good or per se bad. But I do think it constitutes an average evil in practice. \* It is a petty one-party system paving the way ideologically for political one-partyism; an average affront to human freedom; an equally bad inversion of the bad yellowdog contract or the hypocritically 'open shop' of anti-union employers....

The Social Action Department objected to the removal of foremen from the coverage of the new Act...But much can be said reasonably on both sides. The new act does not prohibit supervisors from joining unions. It simply refuses to compel employers who are subject to the act to treat supervisors as employees for the purpose of collective bargaining or organizational activities. Even the NLRB saw this problem differently at different times....

COMMONWEAL, John C. Cort, "The First Reaction", The Labor Movement, July 11, 1947.

The CP's will be able to convince a lot of people that the fight to preserve the autonomy of the union from unwarranted government interference is more important than getting rid of a few Stalinists.

Question: if a communist has the legal right to be elected an official of the United States, how can you deprive him of the legal right to be elected an official of a labor union? Is the part more important than the whole?

## 2. In Disapproval of Specific Points

THE CATHOLIC WORLD, John B. Sheerin, "Union Leaders and Taft-Hartley", November, 1947.

The law is open to serious criticism from the standpoint of legal expression. Of course no law is perfect. The sixty-nine volumes of NLRB decisions bear witness to the perplexities of the Wagner Act....

The clause governing the union shop seems unfair. The Act prescribes that a majority of workers eligible to vote must vote for the union shop in order to establish it. Under the former law, a majority of those actually voting was sufficient...It does not seem right to regard those who are absent as having voted 'No'....

THE SIGN, Editorial: "Labor, Law, and Human Relations", July, 1947.

What is absolutely needed is some sort of joint council to bring together these parallel lines that never meet. A joint council of employers and employees in the various industries and crafts wherein management and labor can meet as partners. Joint councils at local levels, at regional levels, on a national level. It is the only way to bring back the human relationship between capital and labor that was lost in the industrial revolution. And only when that human relationship is restored will the common good be served. This is the social teaching of the Church....

AMERICA, Washington Front, Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. June 14, 1947.

The new Labor Board, under the Taft-Hartley Bill, is given wider and stronger powers over industry than the old NLRB had. Thus, instead of government being taken out of business, it is in more deeply....

COMMONWEAL, John Broderick, "The Taft-Hartley Bill", June 20, 1947.

That provision in the bill which requires all labor officials to prove their non-affiliation with the Communist Party is certainly not an irritant, but it is, nevertheless, an example of a different type of Taft-Hartley failure. Insistence on affidavits will not hold up communist infiltration into the labor union, it will merely make the job of detecting them a lot more difficult. The Taft-Hartley Bill would succeed only in forcing the party members underground....

John C. Cort, "The First Reactions", July 11, 1947.

If any one provision is ignored, it will doubtless be the one that outlaws every kind of political action by the unions....If any part of the bill is unconstitutional, and the chances are that a good part of it is, then this provision is surely the most unconstitutional, since it appears clearly to violate about half of the Bill of Rights...Strict observance of it, furthermore, would be peculiarly disastrous because it would just about paralyze labor's attempt to strike back where the striking is most painful and effective, namely, in the ballot box....

What has happened is that Congress, not quite so stupid and reactionary that it could find within itself the capacity to outlaw the Communist Party as a whole, has passed the buck to the labor movement and said, "If you don't rid of your CP officials, we won't give you bargaining rights"....

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SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

The over-all opinion of the Catholic magazines quoted in this Chapter would be an opinion of opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act. There seems to be more opposition to specific points of the Act rather than just a general statement of opposition. Some of the significant findings are as follows:

1. It is to be noted that in the survey of these Catholic magazines only a few general references to the Papal Social Encyclicals were found. While this is significant, it is very possible for Catholic periodicals to be following the principles of the Encyclicals without actually quoting from them directly.
2. Thirty-five percent of the editorials used in the survey were found to have been issued prior to the enactment of the Act, and these comments appeared only in America and Commonweal.
3. Sixty-five percent of the editorials were found to have been issued after the enactment of the Act, and appeared in The Catholic World, Information, The Sign, Ave Maria, and Extension.
4. It was found that the following publications although ordinarily carrying editorials on labor legislation, economics, and public affairs, did not contain any editorials on the Taft-Hartley Act:

Columbia, The Catholic Digest, Social Justice Review, The Catholic Worker, The Family Digest, Messenger of the Sacred Heart.

5. The N.C.W.C. Social Action Department was found to be partly responsible for the material appearing in The Catholic World and Information, although only indirectly, because parts of these articles argued against the stand taken by the Department in its Statement concerning the Act. However the material in the other publications appeared to be completely independent of any reference to the Social Action Department.
6. It is significant to note that the major portion of the articles and editorials appeared after the piece of legislation was enacted. This finding is rather surprising in view of that commonly accepted idea that the Catholic Press is supposed to be a guide in assisting people to form correct judgments on current problems. The statements issued after the Taft-Hartley Act was passed were more on the order of advice suggestions on how to obey the law but not guides in helping people to form right opinions of a proposed piece of legislation.
7. The idea that seemed to find its way into most of

the editorials and articles of this Chapter is that the Taft-Hartley Act definitely reflects too much a class-conscious outlook of anti-labor employers rather than a real interest in making collective bargaining successful. In a word the Taft-Hartley Act means repression instead of co-operation.

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CHAPTER IV.

STATEMENTS OF SOME CATHOLIC DIOCESAN PAPERS  
ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT OF 1947

Today in the United States most Catholic Dioceses have their own weekly newspaper. It keeps Catholic people abreast with current events throughout the world, because the Catholic Diocesan Paper presents local, national and international news. It should be a practical guide in right living for the many millions of laboring-class Catholics living in urban areas.

In attempting to discover the opinion of some Catholic Diocesan Papers on the Taft-Hartley Act,<sup>1</sup> letters were sent to the editors of thirty-two Diocesan Papers asking for copies of their paper in which they expressed an opinion pro or con about the Act.<sup>1</sup> The following list shows the names of the various papers and the city wherein they are published, that received a letter from the writer of the present thesis:

THE PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC -- Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE CATHOLIC COURIER JOURNAL -- Rochester, New York.

THE CATHOLIC LIGHT -- Scranton, Pa.

THE FLORIDA CATHOLIC -- St. Augustine, Florida.

THE MICHIGAN CATHOLIC -- Detroit, Michigan.

THE MONITOR -- San Francisco, California.

THE SOUTHERN CROSS -- San Diego, California.

THE TIDINGS -- Los Angeles, California.

THE WITNESS -- Dubuque, Iowa.

THE EVANGELIST -- Albany, New York.

THE SOUTHWEST COURIER -- Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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<sup>1</sup>. A copy of this letter may be found in the Appendix.

THE MESSENGER -- East St. Louis, Illinois.

THE CATHOLIC TRANSCRIPT -- Hartford, Connecticut.

THE CATHOLIC NORTHWEST PROGRESS -- Seattle, Washington.

THE CATHOLIC CHRONICLE -- Toledo, Ohio.

THE BROOKLYN TABLET -- Brooklyn, New York.

THE PILOT -- Boston, Massachusetts.

THE CATHOLIC MESSENGER -- Davenport, Iowa.

\*THE CATHOLIC EXPONENT -- Youngstown, Ohio.

\*THE CATHOLIC STANDARD AND TIMES -- Philadelphia, Pa.

\*THE CATHOLIC HERALD-CITIZEN -- Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

\*THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSE BULLETIN -- Cleveland, Ohio.

\*THE UNION AND ECHO -- Buffalo, New York.

\*THE CATHOLIC VIRGINIAN -- Richmond, Virginia.

\*THE OBSERVER -- Freeport, Illinois.

\*THE NEW WORLD -- Chicago, Illinois.

\*THE SUNDAY VISITOR -- Huntington, Indiana.

\*THE REGISTER -- Denver, Colorado.

#THE WESTERN AMERICAN -- El Paso, Texas.

#THE CATHOLIC ACTION OF THE SOUTH -- New Orleans, La.

#THE CATHOLIC REVIEW -- Baltimore, Maryland.

#THE WANDERER -- St. Paul, Minnesota.

Although the above list of Catholic Diocesan Papers is only a fraction of the total number of such papers throughout the

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\*Letter received from editor but no accompanying material.

#No answer even after a third letter was sent asking for material

United States, still it is fairly representative of the main sections of the country and of the centers of Catholic population. After reviewing the contents of these various papers with particular emphasis on material relating to the Taft-Hartley Act, it was decided to divide the material as follows:

- 1.) Editorial References pro and con on the Act.
- 2.) Contributed Articles on the Act.
- 3.) Statements of Individual Catholics regarding the Act as appearing in News Articles.

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I. Editorial References to Taft-Hartley Act

1. In Favor of Act

THE EVANGELIST, Albany, New York, June 27, 1947:

A Test For Labor

The new legislation...was a bi-partisan measure. Liberals, known for their sympathetic views on labor questions, supported the legislation which aims to implement the Wagner Act, instituting a revised set of rules equitably governing labor-management relations. That some rearrangement of checks and balances was sorely needed is obvious. Labor's arbitrary demands in several instances strongly opposed the public welfare. An aroused and alarmed electorate vigorously protested these abuses and sought corrective measures...Proper evaluation of the Act as an element of furthering justice can only come with the honest and diligent administration of its regulations, and the testing of time....

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2. In Disapproval Of The Act

THE CATHOLIC COURIER JOURNAL, Rochester, New York, June 12, 1947:

Antilabor Bills

True friends of labor hope that the President will veto the Taft-Hartley labor bill now before him, and thus avoid the passing into law of an anti-labor act that will take away much of what labor has gained in the years gone by. Learned men, students of the labor question, condemn the bill...Antilabor laws will injure not alone the working-man, but all the country. They will be of no help in preserving a prospering economy in America...

THE CATHOLIC LIGHT, Scranton, Pennsylvania, May 2, 1947:

Labor Bills

The whole trouble...is that no one seems to know just what an ideal labor act is like. What pleases one side seems bound to displease the other. Each is interested only in itself; neither cares what happens to the other. Unfortunately the Hartley Act practically destroys all that labor won in the Wagner Act of 1935. It must be admitted that the outlawing of jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts is a good and necessary thing; but there is no reason for its drastic and labor-penalizing provisions.

The Taft-Hartley Act -- July 18, 1947:

There is no doubt whatever that the American public had become extremely dissatisfied with labor strikes and serious abuses into which different labor unions had been drawn by criminal, racketeer bosses a number of whom are now behind bars where they should have been years ago. To mistake this attitude of the United States



public however as a demand for a revocation of the just, legitimate gains labor unions have made at heavy costs over the years would be folly. The great labor encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI stand firmly in the way of such an interpretation...

THE CATHOLIC TRANSCRIPT, Hartford, Connecticut, August 28, 1947:

### Labor's Goal, Industrial Cooperation

The Taft-Hartley Act, an awkward, unworkable and unsatisfactory measure, has been passed. But its results promise to be no more than immediate confusion and ultimate conflict, either in the courts or in the field of economic warfare, between organized labor and organized management...The Taft-Hartley Act was conceived by its authors as a remedy for certain practices on the part of labor unions...But one thing should be remembered about these highly publicized union defects. None of them are intended to hurt the public or the employer. They are merely attempts to keep men at work...

THE MESSENGER, Belleville, Illinois, July 4, 1947:

### Anti-Labor Legislation

We were opposed to this bill and believe that it will not solve the problems confronting the economic stability of our nation but will further add to them...In our opinion anti-labor laws injure not only the working man but the country. Economic prosperity suffers when any legislation creates class conflict. We believe that the Taft-Hartley Act does create class conflict...Labor is in no small way responsible for this anti-labor legislation because labor in many instances refused to clean its own house and to put its house in order...

THE MICHIGAN CATHOLIC, Detroit, Michigan, June 25, 1947:

It's the Law Now

We and many other Catholic students of the legislation have expressed the fearful opinion that the 'cure' was too drastic and radical. To borrow the saying of Senator Vandenberg in another instance, we have felt that it is a case of "burning down the house to get rid of rats". We are not wishing for the chance to say "we told you so". As to our apprehensions about the success of the Taft-Hartley law we would rather be wrong than right. Let's hope it will work out better than we fearfully anticipate.

THE FLORIDA CATHOLIC, St. Augustine, Florida, July 11, 1947:

Cooperation or Conflict?

If there are features of the Taft-Hartley Bill which are unjustly restrictive of the rights of either labor or management, they will be removed by proper legal process. Meanwhile, for the peace and prosperity of the nation, this law must be obeyed. It is to be regretted that the controversy over corrective labor legislation has tended to perpetuate the theory of conflict, rather than to promote the theory of cooperation for the common good, as outlined in the Papal Encyclicals on labor... Let us hope that future governmental action, legislative or executive, on labor matters will be governed by wiser heads than have recently prevailed... Continued conflict can only end in wide-spread misery and despair.

THE SOUTHERN CROSS, San Diego, California, June 27, 1947:

Prolonging The Agony

It is a sad commentary on the executive ability of the supreme legislative body of the great United States to pass a bill definitely anti-labor in its origin to prove who is the stronger of two factions. Seriously attempting to be impartial and facing the tense capital vs. labor battle squarely, we can see only stubbornness in this new law. Our judgment is based on the following considerations:

1. The Taft-Hartley labor control bill does not remedy the abuses in either Capital or Labor.
2. The new law is not clear in itself -- is not clear to the drafters of the bill -- is not clear to the federal judges who will have to enforce it -- is not clear to the President -- is not clear to the capitalists -- is not clear to the labor leaders -- is not clear to the people of the land.
3. The bill is too drastic in its attempt at labor reform.
4. The bill is ambiguous in many controversial points.
5. The bill is an incitement to innumerable squabbles.
6. The bill is an affront to the intelligence of that group of people who do the producing for the industrialists.

7. The bill is too comprehensive... The Taft-Hartley bill is only a half-way measure. It is a victory for partisans which throws the American economic struggle back to the time of the depression. It is not a forward step. It is unfortunate that the great minds who drafted the labor legislation made a law to win a fight rather than make a law to bring about a better relationship between Capital and Labor. Finances instead of mankind has been favored.

THE MONITOR, San Francisco, California, June 20, 1947:

Labor Bill

The new labor legislation that was intended to bring a measure of peace in industrial relations is viewed as a threat to that peace...The greatest defect of the Taft-Hartley Act is that it may throw any and every labor dispute into the courts.

Labor -- July 4, 1947:

Either the general public favored the passage of restrictive labor legislation or Congressional members have in great majority decided to ignore the wishes of their constituents. We hardly believe the latter possibility and therefore accept the former. Of course the general public did not necessarily desire this particular Act except in a most vague fashion. They hope to see in the administration of the Act an elimination of union abuses but not the elimination of unions...It is now feared that we have turned back the pages of history to the time when unions were tolerated but not given any legal support...

THE PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1947:

TO THE FRONT

Lesson For Congress

(Reference is made to the two-year agreement signed by the United States Steel Corporation and the Labor Union, the CIO United Steelworkers). To achieve this agreement, establishing wholesome peace in the steel industry, the corporation needed none of the anti-union weapons which Congress is forging, and it was demonstrated that in any industry, where good will and concern for the public welfare prevails, the present labor laws are not harmful to management's interests.

Industry-wide bargaining brought about

this settlement, but the Hartley Bill would abolish it; the closed shop question was set aside by mutual consent, but the Hartley bill would forbid it, even when both management and workers want it. The company was not obliged to resort to injunctions, suits against the union, the fostering of company unions, although the Hartley bill seems to take it for granted that employers are at a disadvantage unless they can use these methods of infringing on the workers' rights. The lesson of the steel contract is plain; scrap all that trouble-making legislation that the enemies of labor have pushed into the halls of Congress...

Three-Quarters -- May 8, 1947:

One must admire the frankness of Senator Taft's admission that the version of the anti-labor legislation in the Senate, which he is supporting, represents about three-quarters of the matters "pressed on us very strenuously by employers". But such subservience to special interests cannot be admired....

Labor Bill -- June 5, 1947:

The Wagner Act was put on the books to protect the human rights of the worker, and it is to weaken the Wagner Act that the new legislation is being framed in Congress. The Wagner Act placed safeguards around the workers' right to organize their right to bargain collectively; these safeguards are necessary to keep from again being degraded to the level of a mere chattel, and thus the changes proposed by the Taft-Hartley Bill would be a backward step. Except in union with his fellow-workers the individual employee of a corporation cannot hope to have his human rights respected, yet the new bill deliberately sets out to limit and restrict the strength of the workers' unions....

Labor and Public -- June 12, 1947:

What seems to be overlooked in a great deal of the comment on the Taft-Hartley Bill...is that the restrictions and restraints it seeks to place on the workers and their unions will inevitably react against the public...

The Taft-Hartley Bill, or any other measure that sets out to deprive the worker of his rights, cannot, in the long run, succeed; workers are men and will not be treated as merchandise. What this bill could do, if it should become law, is to create turmoil and dissension in industry and retard the national well-being for the length of time it takes management to be convinced that it is following false guides when it opposes the rights of labor. We need cooperation, not contention between labor and management, and this bill is designed to destroy cooperation and to promote contention. It is a reproach to democracy that it passed the two houses of Congress, and the wisdom of our Constitution shows forth in the power it gives the President to veto such a measure, in the hope that sound thinking will replace the hysteria that won it a majority vote...

Labor Bill Effects -- July 3, 1947:

The unfortunate part of it is that when the effects of this anti-labor and therefore anti-public, bill are really felt, so much damage will have been done to the nation's economy that it will be an almost impossible task to repair it...

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law would mean the removal of a serious menace to the prosperity and well-being of the country...

THE WITNESS, Dubuque, Iowa, June 26, 1947:

### Did Congress Win A Victory?

The legislators, attempting to do away with abuses in labor unions have interfered with their effectiveness as instruments of obtaining economic freedom. It appears that the turn-of-the-century, rugged individualism still underlies the social philosophy of the men behind this move...The danger in attempting to revert to it is that, as a reaction, the trend toward collectivism, evident in America as well as in Europe, will be strengthened. It is, in fact, impossible to legislate away the struggle of man for economic freedom...

THE TIDINGS, Los Angeles, California, September 19, 1947:

#### El Rodeo (Weekly Column)

We are among that number holding to the position that the Taft-Hartley Act has penalized the American Labor movement...

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## II. Contributed Articles on Taft-Hartley Act

### 1. In Disapproval of the Act

THE SOUTHERN CROSS, San Diego, California, August 29, 1947:

#### Labor Group Secretary Warns Against

#### New Law

by

C. J. Haggerty  
Secretary, California State Federation of Labor

It is no exaggeration to describe the Taft-Hartley Act as a fatal blow aimed at the very existence of the trade union movement. This repugnant piece of class legislation marked the culmination of an anti-labor hysteria whipped up by the National Association of Manufacturers and its cohorts. A Con-

gress subservient to this nefarious campaign went to work and fabricated a slave collar for labor...

The enactment of this law has reopened the class struggle in its full nakedness. The Communists are gloating over the tremendous opportunity it has given them to spread their gospel of hate and dissension. The handful of monopolistic capitalists are preparing to wage war upon the trade unions. Stability in labor-management relations is being shattered and replaced with class warfare. These are the terrible results of the Taft-Hartley slave act which have already occurred...

October 10, 1947:

Fallacies of Taft-Hartley Labor Bill

by

Max J. Osslo, President, Western  
Federation of Butchers AFL.

With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, thinking citizens everywhere must give serious consideration to the situation of Labor if our problems are to be resolved amicably... When we understand that labor unions exist only to serve their members, then we realize some of the significance of the Taft-Hartley Law. Make no mistake -- the intent of this law was to render trade unions weak and ineffective. The long-range purpose of this law is to make it impossible for trade unions to render effective service to its members... The theory back of this bill was that labor was too strong economically in its relations with the employer...

THE CATHOLIC COURIER JOURNAL, Rochester, New York, May 22, 1947:

A Look At Labor

by

A. C. Tuohy



The Hartley bill is admitted by all to be an extreme anti-union measure. ...Yet some of the provisions of the Hartley bill are significant insofar as they lay bare the mentality of several hundred congressmen on the nature of collective bargaining. The present congressmen, are attempting to make collective bargaining something static...Here is a bill which professedly aims to promote industrial peace, and yet gives the employer the legal right to reject sections of a labor agreement which have been in force in his industry for years....

June 12, 1947:

On Guard!  
The New Labor Bill  
Heart or Hartley?  
American Workers  
 by

Rev. P. J. Flynn

The Taft-Hartley Labor Bill may or may not be vetoed by President Truman but unfortunately the bill has already damaged our chances for industrial peace...

The bitter atmosphere in which the bill was hammered out by our lawmakers on Capitol Hill has engendered new feelings of class conflict between the ranks of management and labor...

The need for restrictive labor legislation is debatable. Certainly the merits of the Taft-Hartley bill are highly debatable. And it is also certain that those who think that a new law is going to bring industrial peace are only dreamers...

The Taft-Hartley bill is aimed at weakening this great body of workers--the backbone of our industrial life.

This is risky business. You can't endanger the economic welfare and progress of 16,000,000 workers without endangering the welfare of the whole nation. If the Taft-Hartley bill proves to be a blow at American labor we shall all feel the sting of the punch!

### III. Statements of Individual Catholics in News

#### Articles Regarding the Taft-Hartley Act

THE MICHIGAN CATHOLIC, Detroit, Michigan, May 22, 1947:

#### Archbishop Lucey Rakes Labor 'Ruin' Bills; Calls Taft-Hartley Drafts 'Handcuffs' Upon The Workers.

Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio has come out against the Taft-Hartley labor crackdown bills....

"Some of our congressmen view disputes between management and workers as a fight for spoils. They believe that also to make that fight fair labor must be handcuffed"....

He declared the legislation would destroy good labor-management relations and that labor problems should not be used by Congress for political ends....

"The four premises on which the legislation is based, seem to be headed by the belief that labor is lording it over management. But management always has the last word in the fixing of prices and labor needs added strength. Government should lead both labor and management in cooperative battle against depression, instead of treating the problem as a fight for spoils....

"Labor and management can agree, but the Taft-Hartley measures are not the means by which such an agreement can be achieved".

THE NEW WORLD, Chicago, Illinois, May 30, 1947:

Catholic Pressmen Hit Anti-Labor Laws

Delegates to the 37th annual Catholic Press Association convention in St. Paul blasted proposed legislation tending to infringe the right of labor to strike.... Citing the current labor disputes in Congress, the association reaffirmed the Catholic position ~~that~~ working men have the inalienable right to organize in unions for their economic defense and betterment....

THE CATHOLIC TRANSCRIPT, Hartford, Connecticut, June 12, 1947:

THE EVANGELIST, Albany, New York, June 13, 1947:

Diocesan Labor Institute Asks Veto Of  
Taft-Hartley Bill

An appeal to President Truman to veto the Taft-Hartley Bill because "it is so contradictory to our American ideals" has been made by the Hartford Diocesan Labor Institute....

"Despite its few constructive features we believe that the passage of this legislation will cripple unions with law suits and injunctions, and we believe that not a few of the provisions of this bill were deliberately so designed. In short, the net effect of this bill will be a serious weakening of the bargaining power of American workers, and it can and will lead to lower wages, unemployment and consequent depression."

Among those signing the appeal was the Rev. Joseph F. Donnelly, Labor Institute director, who is vice-chairman of the Connecticut State Board of Mediation and Arbitration.

THE CATHOLIC CHRONICLE, Toledo, Ohio, June 20, 1947:

Bishop Sheil Rips Taft-Hartley Bill

"The labor-restricting Taft-Hartley

Bill, is manifestly against the best interests of the country because it would throw industry back into the economic jungle of laissez-faire", Auxiliary Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago said here in Cleveland today. .... "Labor unions deserve the unswerving support of thinking men and women because they have brought morality and social justice into our economic system....

"The abuses caused by some unions, have been much exaggerated and will in time be eliminated by the unions themselves. What labor and management need is greater mutual respect and mutual understanding which cannot be brought about by laws of the Taft-Hartley type".

THE MONITOR, San Francisco, California, July 4, 1947:

New Labor Act is Scored by Priest;  
MacArthur Consultant Questions Work-  
ability

Msgr. John P. Boland of Buffalo, New York, enroute to New York from Tokyo where he was labor relations consultant to General Douglas MacArthur, declared that the Taft-Hartley Labor Law attempts to cover "too much controversial ground and will end up covering none"....

"Some of the provisions of the law are definitely an infringement of labor's rights....

"If the law does curtail industry-wide bargaining, it goes directly against the Church's teaching as enunciated in the Papal Encyclicals...."

THE CATHOLIC MESSENGER, Davenport, Iowa, August 7, 1947:

Taft-Hartley Errs in Shops Clauses

Most serious defect in the Taft-Hartley bill is the banning of "closed shops" and the weakening of "union shops",

the Rev. James D. Shaughnessy of Peoria Social Action Institute told a Te Deum International Ladies' Night audience.... The social action priest saw two big general flaws in the bill: 1. it tries to do too much too quickly; 2. it is being imposed at a troubled time when we need peace and production....

THE SOUTHERN CROSS, San Diego, California, September 5, 1947:

"Cannot Legislate Justice", Bishop Says...Taft-Hartley Bill Cannot Last

Because it is "a measure of expediency" and "false in principle", the Taft-Hartley Bill cannot last, His Excellency the Most Reverend Bishop Buddy told the hundreds of representatives of organized labor....

The Bill, which "stands as a barrier to that mutual cooperation that should be fostered between management and labor....proposed to legislate justice into the ranks of labor and management", His Excellency said, adding that "Temperance, justice, charity are not achieved by legislation but by the moral principles enunciated by Jesus Christ and propounded by Christianity....

THE FLORIDA CATHOLIC, St. Augustine, Florida, Sept. 5, 1947:

THE COURIER JOURNAL, Rochester, New York, Sept. 4, 1947:

THE EVANGELIST, Albany, New York, Sept. 5, 1947:

THE SOUTHWEST COURIER, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Sept. 5, 1947:

THE PILOT, Boston, Massachusetts, Sept. 5, 1947:

Taft-Hartley Law Scored by Prelate

The Taft-Hartley Law was criticized as an "impetuous" piece of legislation and a matter of resorting to "amputation" where only "medication" was called for in a Labor Day message

written for the Springfield Federation of Labor by Bishop James A. Griffin of Springfield, Illinois....

"The American public and the rank and file of the American working men should be subjected to an educational campaign concerning the inherent nobility of manual labor as consistent with man's nature as a rational and free being....

"As soon as the American public and the workers themselves realize that the working man is not a mere piston, fly-wheel, or soul-less conveyor belt, the sooner will the Labor movement emerge upon the American scene as the greatest Christian victory of our times"....

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#### SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

The Catholic Diocesan Papers seem to be somewhat of a solid bloc in their opposition and disapproval of the Taft-Hartley Act. From the various sections, the opposition appears to be somewhat the same.

Some of the significant findings are as follows:

1. In answer to letters sent to thirty-two different diocesan papers requesting material on the Taft-Hartley Act, four made no reply after repeated requests, nine answered the letter but had made no comments on the Act, seven sent material but it contained no editorials, eleven sent copies of papers that did contain editorials and articles, and one sent a reply advising the writer to choose a different topic for this dissertation.

2. Of the papers containing editorials on the Taft-Hartley

Act, thirty-seven percent of such material appeared before the enactment of the Act, whereas sixty-three percent of the comments were issued days and weeks after the Act was passed.

3. Fifty percent of the contributed articles found in the survey appeared in the various papers before the Act became a law of the land.

4. Likewise fifty percent of the statements of individual Catholics appearing in the various papers were part of news articles issued before the enactment of the legislation. These particular statements were not given to these papers directly but were rather part of current news events.

5. In the survey made of these diocesan papers, two direct references to the Papal Social Encyclicals were found. The first appeared in The Catholic Light, Scranton, Pa., for July 18, 1947 and the other appeared in The Monitor, San Francisco, California, and in other papers as part of a news article quoting Msgr. John P. Boland of Buffalo, New York, on July 4, 1947.

6. In gathering the material for this chapter, it was found that at least eighty percent of the news articles about the Taft-Hartley Act were N.C.W.C. News Releases. This is not surprising since most of the N.C.W.C. Releases are current news items, the type of which should be expected to appear in weekly newspapers. These same news releases would not appear in the ordinary Catholic magazine since those publications are

given over more to editorial writing rather than to news bulletins.

7. In the editorials and contributed articles there were no direct references to the N.C.W.C. Social Action Department Statement, but the diocesan papers seemed to follow the same philosophy regarding the Act as did the Department.

8. The common theme running through the criticisms of the Catholic Diocesan Papers concerning the Taft-Hartley Act is that this piece of legislation besides causing immediate economic warfare between organized labor and management, will destroy the progress that both labor and management have realized in striving during recent years for improved conditions of collective bargaining.

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CHAPTER V.

STATEMENTS OF SOME CATHOLIC LABOR PAPERS  
ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT OF 1947

Catholic Labor Papers, as distinct from the Catholic Diocesan Papers, are rapidly gaining ground as an essential part of the Catholic Press. They perform a most important service not only for the working masses but also for the general public as well. These papers give "the Catholic viewpoint on Labor",<sup>1</sup> and are "dedicated to the proposition that the teachings of Jesus Christ furnish the only sound basis of social reform".<sup>2</sup> These papers "support the common democratic objective of building a social order founded upon the principles contained in the Encyclicals".<sup>3</sup>

In trying to discover the opinion of the Catholic Labor Papers with reference to the Taft-Hartley Act, a survey was made of the following publications:

THE WAGE EARNER - an independent non-profit newspaper published every week as a public service to the working people of Detroit, Michigan, by the ACTU Publishing Corporation.

THE CATHOLIC LABOR OBSERVER - a biweekly paper published by the Buffalo, New York, Diocesan Labor School to give the Catholic Viewpoint on Labor.

THE LABOR LEADER - a biweekly paper published by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, New York City, New York.

WORK - a monthly paper published by the Catholic Labor Alliance of Chicago, Illinois.

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1. Purpose of such papers as stated by The Catholic Labor Observer.

2. Foundation of such papers as stated by The Wage Earner.

3. Principles behind such papers as stated by Work.

The editorials and articles in these papers referring to the Taft-Hartley Act were grouped so as to give as complete a picture as possible of each paper's opinion of the Act.

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THE WAGE EARNER --- Detroit, Michigan, April 25, 1947:

No, No, Lawrence !

One of the most consistent reactionaries we know of is David Lawrence, editor of The United States News,

In his NEWSGRAM, captioned 'a look ahead', Lawrence had this to say on his favorite subject, the power of labor leaders: 'Power of U.S. labor leaders definitely is waning, definitely is on the downgrade after a long period of rising power, even of dominant power...

There you have the kind of thinking that is currently inspiring the anti-labor laws in Washington. People like Lawrence, who look upon times of unemployment not as times of tragedy for human beings but as a period when employers are at less of a disadvantage in dealing with those dreadful labor leaders, who, (as everyone knows) are racketeers and speak only for themselves while holding the rank-and-file in chains, are behind the Hartley Bill.

It is not far, we think, from that kind of thinking to the kind which says that if you get the jump on labor good, there is nothing wrong in putting the boot, and the nightstick, to it.

Fixing The Responsibility -- May 16, 1947:

Congress is evidently not to be deterred from doing its worst to organ-

ized labor --- except possibly by a Presidential veto.

The Taft Bill (even if it prevails over the House of Representatives' Hartley Bill, which deserves no other adjective than 'vicious') will severely damage the bargaining power of labor.

At a time when the real problem of the nation is an unparalleled orgy of profiteering at the expense of the people, this new 'go ahead' signal to the profiteers means trouble for the entire nation.

Organized labor is America's sole check (and only partially effective one) against unrestrained destruction of consumer purchasing power and consequent depression.

The action of Congress to destroy labor's capacity to protect itself and the general economic welfare is an invitation to economic disaster. It is the duty of President Truman, as the servant of all the people, to veto the irresponsible and unjust law which Congress is preparing...

Whose Right?----May 30, 1947:

The story from Cleveland about how two sons dug their mother's grave because the cemetery workers were on strike, is the kind of thing that brings Hartley-Taft bills down upon the heads of labor.

Grave-diggers, of course, have the right to strike. But when and where that right should be exercised is another matter. It is hard to believe that economic justice for the cemetery workers required such disregard of the rights and feelings of innocent third parties.

It is good to note that the head of the union involved deplored the incident and said that if he had been present the grave would have been dug by the strikers.

But it is such stupid exhibitions of unconcern for the feelings of the public that inspires short-sighted people to curtail the right to strike by repressive laws....

Taft-Hartley Act --- July 4, 1947:  
(Guest Editorial)

"Human law has the essential nature of law only insofar as it is in accordance with right reason, and thus manifestly it derives from the eternal law.

"But insofar as it deviates from reason it is called unjust law, and so it does not have the essential nature of law, but rather of a kind of violence."---St. Thomas Aquinas, "Summa Theologica".

Lewis and the 'Mandate' --- July 11, 1947:

Whether high political skulduggery went on, as some claim, behind the negotiations which brought the United Mine Workers (AFL) the best contract in their history this week, we have no way of knowing. The big fact that appears on the surface is that if the Taft-Hartley law was meant for John L. Lewis, it has missed its mark...

Labor unanimously agreed --- as did many outside its ranks --- that the Taft-Hartley law was a vindictive, unfair piece of legislation. That being so, this newspaper does not go along with the editorial pundits who slobbered this week that labor has once again shown that it considers itself above the law, not bound by it.

This newspaper tries hard to be objective in its newswriting. But from the first we have felt justified in referring to the new statute not as a labor law, but as an anti-labor law...

'More Than Meets The Eye' --- July 25, 1947:

First results of the Taft-Hartley Act are now beginning to be apparent. The results bear out fully the contention of organized labor that this law is a half-baked hodge-podge of trouble-making interferences with peaceful management-labor relations and the rights of union members...

It is safe to say that the authors of this law did not foresee any such results. But that does not excuse them from having recklessly tampered with delicate labor-management balances...

Fred Hartley was right when he said: 'There is more in this law than meets the eye'. There is more trouble for all of us in this labor law than even Fred Hartley could have thought of...

THE CATHOLIC LABOR OBSERVER - Buffalo, New York. October 23, 1947:

#### The Taft-Hartley and The Unions

The Taft-Hartley is based on the theory that by now unions have become so powerful that employers today are on an unequal footing when they have to bargain with unions. The 'restore the balance', Congress has completely rewritten the labor laws of the country and has turned the clock backward many, many years...

Although the Law was passed for the supposed purpose of bringing about industrial peace, it will probably create more industrial strife than this country has witnessed in a long

time. Already many employers have sobered-up after their first flush of victory and have come to realize that the new Law carries with it plenty of headaches for them as well as for Labor. Just how it will work out only time will tell. But outlawing long-established collective bargaining procedures and practices, however, it is bound to create chaos and confusion.

THE LABOR LEADER -- New York City, New York. February 28, 1947:

### Indirect Assault

The 80th Congress has before it some 30 odd measures relating to the 'labor problem'...Close examination reveals that the one characteristic common to all the bills is that they seek to restrict the power of labor organizations; the main point on which they differ is the degree of restriction...

In short, unionism has worked -- it has brought results and it is capable of increased influence in our national life in the future. That is the crux of the present assault. Instead of making a direct attack on unionism, which would be rebuffed at once, its enemies seek to 'whittle' away union power by restrictive legislation. As time goes by they will seek to broaden these restrictions. This end is to be achieved by focussing public attention on the abuses of unionism and playing down its good aspects...

Industry-Wide Bargaining -- April 30, 1947:

One of the most poisonous features of the Hartley Bill, recently passed by the House at the urging of American big business, is the provision which

would outlaw industry-wide bargaining except for employers with less than 100 workers in an area no wider than 50 miles...

ACTU believes that the Unions should not only have something to say about national wage scales, but also about national price levels and profit margins. In short what we need is not less but more industry-wide bargaining. In fact, we need economy-wide bargaining. Without it we cannot see how it is possible to realize the program of the Popes for economic democracy.

ACTU Urges Letter-Writing -- May 30, 1947:

Comment: We appeal to our readers to write today to President Truman to veto this vicious bill....

We do not take the position that no legislation is needed. In The Labor Leader for January 17, 1947, we urged adoption of the moderate program proposed by President Truman...

It Doesn't Make Sense -- June 28, 1947:

It is one thing to pass a Taft-Hartley bill. It is quite a different matter to enforce it, particularly when the interested parties on both sides -- organized labor and organized management -- have made up their collective minds to stand firm and not to give an inch when it comes to interpretation of the bill's provisions....

Resolutions Adopted by ACTU Convention.

Taft-Hartley Bill -- July 25, 1947:

Whereas the ACTU has consistently opposed the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Act of 1947 on the score that it seriously weakens and hampers workers



in the exercise of their right to organize and bargain collectively, and

Whereas Congress has seen fit to override all protests and enact the bill into law despite a Presidential veto, now therefore be it resolved that ACTU (1) Renews its vigorous opposition to the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Act and calls for its repeal, (2) That we call upon all fair minded employers to continue peaceful constructive labor relations in presently organized industries and to deal with newly chosen representatives of their employees without recourse to the hampering machinery of the NLRB, (3) That American labor unions reject the advice of those who propose general strikes and similar techniques of violence and class war as means of opposing this Act and, (4) That each ACTU chapter actively campaign toward the repeal of this Act in the shortest possible time.

Let's Wake Up -- August 22, 1947:

In enacting the Taft-Hartley law, our present Congress paid little heed to its damaging effects on our standing abroad. Left-wing propagandists in Europe are now assiduously 'selling' the idea that the American worker is gradually losing his freedom and is drifting into a slave status.

Like most propaganda it contains a few grains of truth. There are restrictions today on the American worker's freedom that were not there two months ago. But certainly he is not confronted with a supervised future such as faces the English worker under the new labor regulatory powers demanded by and granted to the English Labor Government a few days ago.

Let's face the facts. By and large the American worker, even under the Taft-Hartley measure, enjoys freedoms denied the majority of the world's workers. We have a Constitution and a Bill of Rights which protects us in the enjoyment of these freedoms....

An Unjust Feature - Sept. 30, 1947:

On his current tour of the Far West, Senator Taft is busily engaged in justifying the Taft-Hartley law which he co-authored. The number one point on the Senator's nine-point defense program is: A union shop cannot be imposed on the men unless a majority of the employees vote for it.

Actually the section of the law from which this point was drawn is outstandingly unjust. It completely reverses the past practice in bargaining elections, which was to accept the wishes of the majority of those voting as binding upon all in the particular bargaining unit. No consideration has ever been given to the votes of those who do not trouble to participate -- and rightly so.

Under the Taft-Hartley law, however, a union shop will be granted only if a majority of all the employees in an appropriate union unit vote 'Yes'. Those who choose to absent themselves from voting are in effect, voting 'No'. As a matter of fact, only those who desire to vote 'Yes' need to go to the poll at all. In border-line cases where the employer is in a position to intimidate workers the word might well filter down from the front office that it would be wise to stay away from the polling place.

Senator Taft would have a difficult time convincing us that this feature

of his law is just and for the protection of the working man....

WORK --- Chicago, Illinois, March 1947:

What's Back Of The Drive For New

Labor Laws?

Never in the history of the United States Congress has there been so much agitation for legislation to curb labor unions as there has been in the 1947 Congress.

Why all this interest in anti-union legislation? (By anti-union legislation we mean bills that would ban the closed shop, deny foremen the legal right to bargain collectively, impose compulsory arbitration on labor and management, and abolish industry-wide bargaining.) Who are the men and women anxious to see some labor legislation drafted in the 80th Congress? What are their motives?

In an attempt to answer these questions, we have tried to make a list of those groups that are now actively supporting some kind of labor legislation.

These are:

- (1) Politicians who see in restrictive labor laws an opportunity to collect a few extra votes by capitalizing on the anti-union sentiment in their congressional districts.
- (2) Honest men who are disturbed by the disastrous effects of strikes and lockouts in key public utilities, water, electricity, and transportation.
- (3) Muddle-headed congressmen and editors who do not understand and study the basic economic and social causes of industrial unrest. They do not realize that industrial peace is impossible when economic power is concentrated in the hands of a few instead of being shared jointly by labor

and management in an organized economic society -- organized for the common good of all.

(4) Socially-minded citizens who are worried about obvious abuses in some unions: restrictive practices, unjustified secondary boycotts, jurisdictional strikes, racial discrimination, and lack of union democracy.

(5) Old-fashioned union-busters who do not hesitate to support any legislation which would short-circuit the activity of organized labor. Anti-union statutes are just another weapon to fight labor.

(6) Farmers and small businessmen who have been talked into believing that organized labor's gain is the farmer's loss and the businessmen's disaster.

(7) Members of the public who still regard labor unions with suspicion and who have never extended a hearty welcome to trade unions....

(8) Industrialists who do not want the economic status quo disturbed and so advocate legislation which would preserve economic dictatorship and monopoly. These men regard labor organizations as a threat to the arbitrary economic power which they now possess.

(9) Free 'enterprisers' who look upon unions as illegitimate restrictions upon the economic freedom of management and capital.

(10) The 'there-ought-to-be-a-law' advocates who apparently do not know of any other way to solve our country's social and economic problems except by passing a law.

Put all these groups together and you have a fairly accurate picture of what is going on in Washington and in various state legislatures at the present time. With a few but notable exceptions most of these groups engage in political double-talk about the necessity of keeping labor in its place.

## Congress Not Likely To Ban Closed

Shop, Industry Pact -- March, 1947:

....This much, we feel, can be said: Congress will be against the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes and it will probably not ban the closed shop or industry-wide bargaining. Why? Practically all of industry, including the National Association of Manufacturers, is against compulsory arbitration. Despite the support of the NAM, key industrial and business figures all over the nation have defended the closed shop and industry-wide bargaining....

## Congress Goes On Union-Busting Campaign

May, 1947:

If the present version of the House and Senate 'omnibus' labor bills are presented to President Truman for his signature, WORK respectfully recommends a presidential veto. In their place we suggest a joint congressional commission to study the underlying causes of labor trouble and to prescribe remedies for proven abuses...  
...The Editor of WORK.

## Congress Must Act To Limit Power Of

Huge Monopolies -- June, 1947:

The 80th Congress is following a double standard. It thunders against so-called labor monopolies but soft-pedals the danger of economic monopoly and the need for greater economic democracy.

The economic policy of the present Congress has been prejudiced against unions and for industrial monopoly. With one eye on the 1948 presidential election, senators and congressmen scramble madly to pass a restrictive

labor bill. With equal diligence they are continuing to shelve legislation which would curb the rise the real monopoly. Our congressional representatives have short memories. Or they would keep one eye open for the danger of soup and bread lines....

Labor Relations Under The Taft-Hartley  
Law

The Future is Not Too Bright -- July, 1947:

The Taft-Hartley Law, despite the credit that might be given to some of its supporters for good intentions, is an example of the wrong means to a laudable end. Certainly the preservation of good labor relations and the protection of rights are noble purposes. But the end doesn't justify the means. The law is loaded with 'gimmicks' which will irritate employers, tie unions down, and complicate collective bargaining to the point where it may frequently break down...

The law is a step backward in America's march toward economic democracy. Instead of encouraging unions and management to assume joint responsibility for many of their common problems, the law turns over much of this work to the NLRB...

The law was hastily drawn up without being thought through carefully and completely...

The plain fact is that the Taft-Hartley Law is not a good piece of legislation...

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SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

The Catholic Labor Papers of the United States have,

like the other sections of the Catholic Press, voiced an attitude of opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act. The statement of their opposition is presented in far more detail due to the nature of the publications. One of the main purposes of the labor papers is to help develop a spirit of mutual cooperation and helpfulness between labor and management. Hence they would be expected to contain many editorials and articles on labor legislation. The Diocesan papers on the other hand carry such material as just another one of the many general fields of news coverage each week. This difference of purpose between these sections of the Catholic Press would certainly indicate that the labor papers have the greater responsibility of treating a topic such as the Taft-Hartley Act.

The opinion of these papers regarding the Act is uniform in that all agree that the Act is not a good piece of legislation. Some of the significant findings in this survey of the Catholic Labor Papers are:

1. Fifty-two percent of the editorials about the Taft-Hartley Act appeared before the enactment of the Act.
2. The paper with the highest percentage of articles presented before the passage of the Act was WORK of Chicago, with seventy-five percent.
3. In the survey of these papers, one direct reference to the Papal plan for economic democracy was found. It appeared in The Labor Leader for April 30, 1947, in an editori-

in an editorial entitled: "Industry-wide Bargaining". The other labor papers and particularly WORK of Chicago carried many references in every issue to the Papal Social Encyclicals. WORK very frequently prints excerpts from the Encyclicals, which contain the principles upon which the paper later bases its opinion on some current problem.

4. Although the Catholic Labor Papers refer to the Papal Social Encyclicals, they ordinarily make no references to the N.C.W.C. Social Action Department. At least this was the finding in the present thesis.

5. The common criticism of the Taft-Hartley Act by the Catholic Labor Papers is that the Act will discourage labor and management from assuming any joint responsibility for the solution of their mutual problems, and in doing this, it will ruin long-established collective bargaining procedures and practices.

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CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study of THE ATTITUDE OF THE CATHOLIC PRESS REGARDING THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT OF 1947, the writer was confronted with many problems. The first and most difficult one was the very nature of the thesis itself. The topic was far too new for much research work among the volumes in libraries, and still currently important enough so that a great deal had been written in recent literature concerning it. Although attempts at research were undertaken, these replies usually were forth-coming: "Our material is at the bindery", or "Your topic is just too new". Another problem was that of depending on the cooperation of the editors of the various magazines and newspapers to whom letters were sent requesting desired material. When the first letters did not bring in the necessary information the writer was obliged to try and try again. A number of months were spent at this very doubtful and uncertain method of gathering data and material for a thesis. Still another problem was that of knowing just how much material from the various Catholic magazines, diocesan papers, and labor papers was necessary to give a sufficient basis for any conclusions about the attitude of the Catholic Press regarding the Taft-Hartley Act. Sorting the material obtained through the mail and trying to find the editorials and articles that would best illustrate the opinions of the editors was a difficult task due in part to the excellent response finally given to the letters asking for material. Then dividing the thesis into the proper chapter sec-

tions along with many revisions of each chapter as it was being composed brought its own problems. But in each one of these difficulties, the writer was determined to keep crystal clear in mind that he was to look past the barriers of material and work, to the horizon beyond, for there he would find the full fruit of his efforts -- the attitude of the Catholic Press regarding the Taft-Hartley Act.

Each of the above mentioned problems was later solved sufficiently to allow the writer to continue the project. Since research work amongst library books was tried in vain, the author resorted to combing through all the recent issues of the social and labor magazines available in order to get a background for this particular type of thesis. Some graduate work in Christian Social Principles and Current Labor Problems served as excellent background material for the preparation of writing this dissertation. A comprehensive study of the Social Encyclicals, and a reading of several commentaries on the same, acquainted the writer with the Papal plan for industrial peace. This material later became the substance of Chapter I, which in turn served as the foundation of the following sections.

The response to the letters requesting information was a success, due in large part to the method used in seeking the opinions of the various editors. Personal messages were sent to the men, and the answers both in the form of letters and publication copies were most encouraging. Even though patience was

required in using such a technique, still the large number of replies was proof of the interest of the editors in helping the writer to gather evidence in stating objectively the attitude of the Catholic Press regarding the Taft-Hartley Act.

In an attempt to keep the thesis free from unnecessary and overburdening details, great care was taken to screen the material received through the mail and secured by research. Many duplications of articles and data were purposely omitted, although not in such a way as to take from the unity or completeness of the finished work. A careful reading and study of all editorials and articles allowed the writer to select the material that he felt most appropriately expressed the editors' opinions on the Taft-Hartley Act.

The problem of organizing and revising the various chapters gradually disappeared as the writer continued to study the material analytically, with the view to his ultimate goal -- finding an objective answer to the question as to what the Catholic Press thought of the Taft-Hartley Act.

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#### CONCLUSIONS:

Efforts were put forth to find some theses written concerning the attitude of the Catholic Press on other current social problems. After corresponding with the Librarian of the Catholic University, and personally visiting the offices of

the School of Journalism at Marquette University, the writer came to the conclusion that very little if anything had previously been written of the Catholic Press and its attitude on some particular social or labor problem. However three theses were found that in general might be considered to have some degree of similarity to the present study;

1. THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC ATTITUDE ON CHILD LABOR SINCE 1891<sup>1</sup>
2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS TOWARD THE IMMIGRANT AND THE NEGRO, 1825-1925<sup>2</sup>
3. SOME AMERICAN APPROXIMATIONS TO PIUS XI'S "INDUSTRIES AND PROFESSIONS"<sup>3</sup>

But as far as anything dealing directly with the Catholic Press and its opinion on some labor or social question, the writer was assured that most probably nothing had been attempted. As a result of this information, the writer believed that this present study might be of importance in contributing some new ideas to the field of Catholic Social Thought.

## II.

The attitude of the Catholic magazines regarding the

1. McQuade, Rev. Vincent A., M.A. The American Catholic Attitude on Child Labor Since 1891, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1938.
2. Murphy, John C., M.A., An Analysis of The Attitudes of American Catholics toward the Immigrant and the Negro, 1825-1925, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1940.
3. Munier, Rev. Joseph D., Some American Approximations to Pius XI's "Industries and Professions", Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1943.

general provisions of the Act was clearly brought out in Chapter III. The over-all opinion could be classified as one of disappointment and opposition to the Act, in spite of the fact that Father John B. Sheerin of The Catholic World and Godfrey Schmidt, a contributing writer for Information expressed an optimistic view of the labor law. Father Sheerin believes that the Act is essentially good and that obedience to it will result in amicable industrial relations. Godfrey Schmidt thought that the long range good to be attained by the Law was preferable to the evils of the situation preceding it. But a majority of the magazines felt firmly that the Law would:

1. Lead to industrial strife and unrest.
2. Weaken the power of organized labor.
3. Reflect more the class conscious outlook of anti-labor employers than a concern with successful collective bargaining, thus showing a spirit of repression rather than one of cooperation.
4. Violate the principles of subsidiarity, intervention, and common good.

Specific points of the Act were also approved by Father Sheerin and Godfrey Schmidt. They favor the provisions requiring union officials to sign non-communist affidavits and the provisions aimed at featherbedding, secondary boycotts, and jurisdictional strikes. They believe that labor unions as well as employers have abused their power and should be curbed. Godfrey Schmidt

also believes that the closed shop constitutes an average evil in practice. But again a majority of the Catholic magazines are opposed to many specific points of the Act. They think unfair the clause governing the union shop, wherein a majority of the workers eligible to vote must vote for the union shop in order to establish it. They also believe that as a result of the new powers given to the NLRB, that instead of government being taken out of business, it is in more deeply. They also oppose the non-communist affidavits, for the practical reason that from now on the job of detecting the communists in labor will become more difficult, since the Act simply forces the party members underground. Lastly, they oppose the provision outlawing every kind of political action by the unions, since it seems to paralyze labor's attempt to strike back where the striking is most painful and effective, namely, in the ballot box.

### III.

The opinions of the Catholic Diocesan Papers as given in Chapter IV should be considered as being indicative of all such papers, since the list includes papers from twenty-eight cities, representing nineteen states. A large number of these papers are printed in the big centers of Catholic population. The survey of these papers showed the following results. One editorial from New York State expressed a certain degree of satisfaction with the enactment of the Act. This editorial appearing in The Evangelist, observed that the law was a bi-partisan measure,

that labor's arbitrary demands in many instances opposed the public welfare, and that the electorate vigorously protested these abuses and sought corrective measures.

On the other hand, a large majority of the Diocesan papers disapproved of the Act for the following reasons:

1. It will take away much of what labor gained in the past years.
2. There are too many drastic and labor-penalizing provisions.
3. Its results promise to be no more than immediate confusion and ultimate conflict, either in the courts or in the field of economic warfare, between organized labor and organized management.
4. It creates class conflict and economic prosperity suffers when any legislation causes such conflict.
5. As a cure, the Act was too drastic and radical.
6. The controversy over corrective labor legislation, has tended to perpetuate the theory of conflict, rather than to promote the theory of cooperation for the common good, as outlined in the Papal Encyclicals on labor.
7. The Act is an incitement to innumerable squabbles.
8. The Act is ambiguous in many controversial points.
9. The Act is an affront to the intelligence of that group of people who do the producing for the



industrialists.

10. It may throw every labor dispute into the courts.
11. It has turned back the pages of history to the time when unions were tolerated but not given any legal support.
12. The Act was framed to weaken the Wagner Act.
13. The restrictions that it seeks to place on the workers and their unions will inevitably react against the public.
14. The effects, when felt will cause so much damage to the national economy that it will be an almost impossible task to repair it.
15. It sets out to deprive the worker of his rights.

In the series of contributed articles quoted in the same Chapter, the following reasons are cited as disapproval of the Act:<sup>4</sup>

1. The Act is a fatal blow aimed at the very existence of the trade union movement.
2. The Communists are gloating over the tremendous opportunity it has given them to spread their gospel of hate and dissension.
3. The theory back of the bill is that labor is too strong.

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<sup>4</sup>. All the contributed articles found in the survey appear to disapprove of the Taft-Hartley Act.

4. The Congress attempted to make collective bargaining static.

In the statements of individual Catholics regarding the Taft-Hartley Act, the following reasons are cited as evidence of their disapproval of the Act:

1. Labor and management can agree, but the Taft-Hartley Act is not the means by which such agreement can be achieved.
2. It tends to infringe the right of labor to strike.
3. The Act will cripple unions with law suits and injunctions.
4. The Act will be a serious weakening of the bargaining power of American workers, and it can and will lead to lower wages, unemployment and consequent depression.
5. The Act is manifestly against the best interests of the country because it would throw industry back into the economic jungle of laissez-faire.
6. If the law does curtail industry-wide bargaining, it goes directly against the Church's teaching as enunciated in the Papal Encyclicals.
7. It tries to do too much too quickly and it is being imposed at a troubled time when we need peace and production.
8. It is a measure of expediency and false in principle.

The Catholic Diocesan papers as a group are opposed to the Taft-Hartley Act, since they believe that the Act is based on a false philosophy of compulsion and not cooperation, and as a group they stand firm in their belief that the Act will not result in achieving industrial peace for the American people.

Although the coverage of the material in this thesis referred mainly to the attitude of the Catholic Press regarding the Taft-Hartley Act from an editorial point of view, still it is very significant to remark that in studying the Catholic Diocesan papers for news articles referring to the Act, it was noted that a very large percentage of such material consisted of releases from the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Bureau. Furthermore it was noted that the Catholic Diocesan papers in general rely on the N.C.W.C. News Bureau for a good deal of their news coverage of national affairs. And in as much as these same papers opposed the Taft-Hartley Act editorially in much the same manner, it can only be concluded that the N.C.W.C. exerts a marked influence over the Catholic Diocesan papers of the United States. There is a striking degree of similarity between the statement of the N.C.W.C. Social Action Department and the comments these papers have made regarding the Act. However, if on the other hand the Diocesan Papers speak independently of the N.C.W.C., then the only conclusion to be drawn is that both the Diocesan Papers and the N.C.W.C. simply proposed the same program for industrial peace. The survey of this thesis would

indicate that these identical programs have their foundations in the Social Encyclicals. This is evident from the fact that the Papal Social Principles permeate both the statement of the Social Action Department and the editorials of the Diocesan Papers.

In this regard, the writer is inclined to believe that the similarity between the N.C.W.C. statement and the editorials of the Catholic Diocesan Papers is the result of the diocesan editors' recognition of the N.C.W.C. statements to be the ideas of the Papal plan for industrial peace, practically applied to the current social and labor problems of our country today. In a word, the Catholic editors appear to consider the N.C.W.C. as a reliable interpreter of the Papal program for industrial peace as applied to the American scene.

#### IV.

A number of the publications of the Catholic Press were slow in commenting upon the Taft-Hartley Act and only after the Bill became law, did they issue statements and then many of these were just fence-straddling generalities about obeying the Law. In this present thesis such comments were not considered as having expressed any definite opinion and were for that reason omitted.

#### V.

The Catholic Labor papers are of the opinion that the Taft-Hartley Act will not solve the industrial problems con-

fronting the American workers and employers. The following reasons are cited from among the many presented in Chapter V:

1. The Act is a vindictive, unfair piece of legislation.
2. The Act interferes with peaceful management-labor relations and the rights of union members.
3. It is based on the theory that by now unions have become so powerful that employers today are on an unequal footing when they have to bargain with unions.
4. By outlawing long-established collective bargaining procedures and practices, it is bound to create chaos and confusion.
5. It will have damaging effects on our standing abroad.
6. The law is a step backward in America's march toward economic democracy.
7. Instead of encouraging unions and management to assume joint responsibility for many of their common problems, the law turns over much of this work to the National Labor Relations Board.

The Catholic Labor papers have displayed a great degree of unity in their opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act. One conclusion that could logically be drawn from the study of these papers is that they are opposed to the Act, because they believe it is not just a labor law, but an anti-labor law. And in as much as these papers base their work in labor matters upon the teachings of Christ and His Church (actually the Papal Encycli-

cals)<sup>5</sup>, it can be concluded that they believe the Taft-Hartley Act is opposed to the principles of industrial peace as established and set forth in these same Encyclicals.

## VI.

The writer believes that the Catholic Press is not so much opposed to specific points of the Taft-Hartley Act, but is more concerned with stating its opposition to the philosophy and thinking behind such a type of legislation. From pages after pages of evidence as presented in the earlier chapters of this thesis, it is clear that the different editors believe the Act is definitely contrary to the Papal plan for industrial peace. The Catholic editors maintain that the Taft-Hartley Act does nothing to encourage the spread of the Occupational Group System, which is one of the cardinal principles set forth by the Papal Encyclicals, and without which there can be no lasting industrial cooperation between labor and management.

The Catholic editors insist that if there is to be any hope for industrial unity in the future, every step must be taken to foster the growth of the Occupational Group System, consequently they maintain that the Taft-Hartley Act is a step in the wrong direction in so far as it retards and jeopardizes any progress that has been made along that line in the past few decades.

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<sup>5</sup>.The purposes of their work as presented in the very papers themselves, appear in the Appendix.

## VII.

In completing the task of this thesis, it was the responsibility of the writer to gather, analyze, interpret, and present all the essential material that would clearly state the position of the Catholic Press with reference to the Taft-Hartley Act. The data in the form of the editorials and articles really speak for themselves, as the writer's intention was to present as objective a study as possible. He believes that such a method of presentation adds more to the actual worth of the completed thesis, and will be both practical and helpful to people desiring a cross-section view of the attitude of Catholic publications regarding the Taft-Hartley Act.

It is the hope of the writer that in proving the marked degree of unity existing between the Papal Principles for industrial peace and the attitude of the Catholic Press regarding the Taft-Hartley Act, that he has contributed something of value to the advancement of Catholic Social Thought.

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APPENDIX



(Copy of Letter Requesting Material)

November 15, 1947

Dear Sir:

In preparing for a Master's Degree in Social Administration at Loyola University here in Chicago, I have been assigned the following topic for a thesis requirement:

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CATHOLIC PRESS REGARDING THE  
LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT OF 1947

Thus far I have gathered all the necessary information and data from the more prominent and significant Catholic magazines. Now I am very anxious to get a cross-section viewpoint presented by the many Catholic Diocesan Papers.

If at all possible, please do me the following favor:

1. Send me any back issues of your paper from January 1947 to November 1947 that contained any editorials or editorial comment on the Taft-Hartley Act.
2. Also please send me any back issues of your paper from January 1947 to November 1947 that contained any feature articles or contributed articles on the Taft-Hartley Act.

I will be most willing to pay for the issues. For any sacrifice on your part in assisting me to complete my thesis I certainly promise to remember you in my prayers and good works.

I will appreciate receiving the material as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Brother Jude Aloysius, F.S.C.

Brother Jude Aloysius, F.S.C.  
St. Mel High School  
4247 W. Washington Blvd.  
Chicago 24, Illinois

STATEMENT ON TAFT-HARTLEY BILL  
ISSUED BY THE SOCIAL ACTION DE-  
PARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC  
WELFARE CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Now that collective bargaining and trade unionism occupy an accepted place in American life, it is the part of political and economic statesmanship to develop an organized system of employer-labor partnership by industries and in the general economic life of the country. Otherwise collective bargaining may degenerate into class conflict instead of being a spring-board towards cooperation for the good of the entire economy.

The Taft-Hartley Bill does little or nothing to encourage labor-management cooperation. On the contrary, it approaches the complicated problem of industrial relations from a narrow and excessively legalistic point of view. It runs the risk of disorganizing and disrupting industrial relations by hastily and completely recasting the whole range of federal labor legislation just at the time when industrial stability is most desperately needed and, ironically enough, just at the time when collective bargaining shows definite signs of moving towards collective cooperation for the common good. Instead of encouraging labor and management to work together in harmony for the general economic welfare, the bill puts a number of legal restrictions on collective bargaining and particularly on the activities of trade unions, restriction which will almost inevitably lead to industrial strife and unrest. The bill is an open invitation to management to have recourse to the courts and the Labor Board

at almost every turn and thus to side-track or evade the normal processes of constructive collective bargaining. It will also result in strikes of all sorts during the long period in which the administration and the legality of the bill are being clarified. It will create the sort of confusion which prevailed in industry during the period in which the National Labor Relations Act was being tested in the courts. There is no sufficient reason to risk such wholesale confusion at the present time.

More specifically, we oppose the Taft-Hartley Bill because of the following unfair and unworkable provisions:

1.) By outlawing the closed shop, the bill disregards completely the history of industrial relations in the United States during the past fifty years or more. Hundreds of thousands of American workers are now covered by closed shop contracts, which, in the vast majority of cases, have operated and are now operating to the mutual benefit of labor and management alike. To wipe out these long-standing contracts by the stroke of a pen is to invite legitimate rebellion on the part of organized labor and consequently to encourage widespread industrial unrest and confusion. If there are occasional abuses under existing closed shop agreements, surely these abuses can be corrected without resorting to the wholesale prohibition of the practice of the closed shop itself.

2.) The bill denies to foremen and to certain other supervisory employees the legal protection of their natural right to organize into trade unions of their own free choosing. This denial

is at once unethical and impractical. Again it is an open invitation to foremen and supervisory employees to disrupt industrial relations by fighting a last-ditch battle for the free exercise of a right which they know to be theirs and which they are determined to safeguard. Recent events indicate very clearly that these workers have no intention of tolerating such a serious infringement upon their moral and constitutional right to organize. They have every reason to expect and to demand that the exercise of this right be guaranteed and protected by law.

3.) The bill, in effect, would tend to encourage the separate States to enact anti-labor legislation. It would do so by going out of its way in a most unprecedented manner to provide that in spite of the federal law the States are free to outlaw the union shop in any of its various and long-established forms.

4.) The provision in the bill which would deny official certification to a union unless all of its officers declare under oath that they are not members of the Communist Party and that they do not favor the forceful or unconstitutional overthrow of the government is likely to lead to serious confusion. Likewise it will prove to be very embarrassing to the great majority of sincere anti-Communists in the American labor movement. Simply by refusing to sign the required affidavit, a single Communist officer could prevent an otherwise decent and legitimate union from being legally certified for purposes of collective bargaining. This provision of the bill is calculated, therefore,

to play into the hands of the Communists, who thrive on confusion and disorder. Once again the bill reveals an uncritical tendency to try to solve complicated problems of industrial relations by an over-simplified legalistic approach --- an approach which, in the present instance, is rejected as worse than useless by the vast majority of those who have had practical experience in combating the influence of the Communist minority in the labor movement.

We urge the Congress to reconsider its vote and to make haste more slowly in its approach to a problem which is far too delicate and far too complicated to be legislated out of existence. If additional labor legislation is necessary, let it follow and not precede the bi-partisan study of industrial relations which is provided for in Title IV of the bill. This study ought not to limit itself to the details of collective bargaining as such. Rather it ought to concentrate seriously on discovering ways and means of going beyond the limits of traditional collective bargaining into an organized system of labor-management cooperation on the whole range of industrial and economic problems. Anything less than this will tend to encourage class conflict by setting off organized management and organized labor as contestants in a continuing struggle for power.

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## STATED PURPOSES OF THE CATHOLIC LABOR PAPERS

### THE WAGE EARNER -- Detroit, Michigan.

The Wage Earner is dedicated to the proposition that the teachings of Jesus Christ furnish the only sound basis of social reform.

### THE CATHOLIC LABOR OBSERVER -- Buffalo, New York.

To give the Catholic viewpoint on Labor.

### THE LABOR LEADER -- New York City, New York.

The ACTU is an association of Catholic men and women who are members of AFL, CIO and other bona fide unions. It does not believe in Catholic unions in America. It does not seek to divide the workers on religious grounds or create a Catholic bloc.

The purpose of the ACTU is primarily educational and religious. That purpose is to promote the teachings of Christ and His Church in the American labor movement, and to train men and women to put those teachings into practice.

We believe that Catholics should work with all men of good will for the common goal of decent, democratic trade unionism.

We believe that Catholics should work with all men of good will for the common goal of a sound social order -- full and fair employment, annual living wages, fair prices, fair profits and everything over that shared with labor and consumers, industry councils, and private property well distributed and not monopolized -- justice and charity for all.

WORK -- Chicago, Illinois.

THE CATHOLIC LABOR ALLIANCE is an organization of Catholics, Protestants and Jews. Its purpose is to apply to the economic and social problems of the United States the principles found in the letters On The Condition of Labor by Pope Leo XIII and On The Reconstruction Of The Social Order by Pope Pius XI.

The Alliance has no political interests. It is not a labor union, but an organization of men and women interested in working with unions and working for better union-management cooperation.

Membership is open to all, without regard to race, color, or creed.

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