THE ROLE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

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This study examines the role of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) within the American labor movement. Although it is not a large organization, it has attracted considerable notice and caused controversy as to its intentions. The study examines whether a Catholic association promotes sectarian dissension within the labor movement; whether the organization is directed authoritatively by the Catholic Church for ulterior ends; and, whether ultimate goals are proposed which are inimical to the labor movement and the American environment.

For perspective, the study reviews environmental factors which promoted Christian unionism in European labor movements as contrasted with the operation of Catholic social doctrine within the non-sectarian labor movement of the United States. The origin, development, structure, and aims of the Association are described. Its activities in the American labor movement are analyzed in the following areas: Organizational; Anti-Communist; Anti-racketeering; Assistance to Unionists; Anti-discriminatory; Educational; and, Religious.

Certain issues concerning the functions of ACTU are given special attention, such as its special bias, if one

exists; its sectarianism as a divisive element in the labor movement; its relationship with Catholic Church authority; and its proposals for ultimate reform of industrial society.

The results of this study indicate that while the Catholic Church promoted Christian unionism in Europe, Catholic workers in this country were encouraged by the Church to join the non-sectarian union movement. Consequently, the Church's support of an Association of Catholic Trade Unionists did not necessarily indicate an attempt by the Church to form Christian unions, thereby dividing labor's ranks on religious grounds. Analysis of the activities of the organization in the areas noted above indicate that ACTU's efforts have been in harmony with those of respected elements of organized labor.

The study also shows that ACTU's opposition and support are without sectarian or racial bias. Furthermore, noted non-Catholic labor authorities have commended its work, while some Catholic sources have questioned its contribution. That Catholic members of the Association are "controlled" in their social thinking by Church authority is an allegation unsupported by Church doctrine and, therefore, not a necessary inference from the Association's title, which is derived from the religious practices of the members.

In its ultimate goal of an Industry Council system, the study shows that proposals for unusual programs are not uncommon to the American scene. The NRA, the CIO Industry Council Plan, and the Bituminous Coal Commission, each supported by organized labor, established or recommended

plans similar to those of ACTU. In any case, the study contends that Actists have the right to espouse and debate democratic programs they believe beneficial to society.

The conclusion drawn is that associations of this kind, with their desire for more ethical, moral, and suitable ideological foundations for industrial relations in our economy, should not be deemed harmful to the labor movement. Attempts to instill into individual unionists a sense of moral rectitude should be reflected in union activity. The work of this organization, even if peripheral, offers constructive assistance to the union movement of the United States.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Need For This Study

"The significant and predominant role of the Catholic Church in shaping the thought and aspirations of labor is a neglected chapter in the history of the American labor movement."[1] The purpose of this study is to examine one phase of that influence as it has been reflected in the activities of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU).

The role of this organization in the labor movement, though the object of numerous partial studies, has not been given a thorough examination. "I am amazed," one writer has said,

> that no liberal journal has cared to follow the progress of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Nor has any magazine, to my knowledge, examined the theoretical and practical principles of the Catholic Church as they relate to the labor movement. There is plenty to go on in the various papal encyclicals, in the history of labor in Germany, Italy, and Spain since World War I, and in hundreds of local unions throughout the United States. . .[2]

Failure to give greater attention to ACTU has prevailed in spite of the fact that by 1945 it was described as having achieved "peculiar prominence in the United States labor

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[1]David Saposs, "The Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," Modern Monthly, II (May 1933), 225.

[2]James Higgins, "How Long Can He Compromise," New Republic, March 7, 1949, p. 31.

scene,"[1] while in 1949, it was described by Philip Taft, a leading authority on American labor history, as a "unique labor organization. It has grown in influence and today it is an important factor in a number of unions."[2] The Select Committee on Improper Practices in the Labor or Management Field (New York area), established by the United States Senate in 1957, publicly thanked ACTU and John McNiff, its Executive Secretary, for testimony on the exploitation by management and unions of New York's Puerto Rican immigrants. Mr. McNiff's testimony, picture and affiliation made front page news in August of that year.[3]

There is need for an analysis of this organization's role in the labor movement, not only in terms of the influence it may have, but particularly because its name implies a relationship with the Catholic Church. Since its inception in 1937, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists has been the subject of both considerable praise and criticism from spokesmen both within and outside the American labor movement. Traditionally, the American labor movement has been wary of organizations which are founded by or have strong ties with particular denominations. It has been

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[1] "The Upright Spirit," Fortune, November, 1946, p. 188.

[2] Philip Taft, "The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, II (January, 1949), 210.

[3] For example, the New York Times, Saturday, August 3, 1957, p. 1. The Senate Hearings were also nationally televised from Washington, D.C., and included Mr. McNiff's testimony.

alleged, rightly or wrongly, that such associations are "alien to the American tradition," and will introduce religious divisions into a movement which has been free of sectarian differences in the past.

As might be expected, therefore, the ACTU has been a highly controversial organization; it has been labelled "the most militant and most criticized force on the Catholic labor front."[1] Words of support and opposition alike concerning the ACTU have come from labor leaders of all faiths and from other sources in an unpredictable pattern. Those who oppose it see numerous potential evils: Vatican influence taking priority over American; clerical interference in labor affairs; religious dissension within unions; dissipation of labor unity in fractionalism and internal strife. Those who favor it see numerous potential virtues: its educational function through ACTU labor schools and newspapers; its vigorous opposition to Communism and racketeering in unions; its aid to individual unionists; its moral contribution to unionism; its encouragement to workers to join unions.

One or another of the above issues have come forward whenever the ACTU engaged in controversial labor activity. This study will deal with those issues on the basis of the available evidence.

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[1] Fortune, loc. cit.

Framework of This Study

In order to analyze and evaluate the unique function of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in the labor movement, a thorough description of the organization's background and its activities in the labor field will be necessary. In the study which follows, Chapter II provides a historical perspective by examining the background and environmental factors on the European and American scenes which gave rise on the one hand to Christian unions in Europe and on the other to the integration of Catholics into the "neutral" (non-sectarian) unions in this country. This chapter also analyses the role of ACTU as an agency which introduces Christian social activity into a labor movement which is non-sectarian. Chapter III gives a more specific historical picture of ACTU's origin, growth, structure and principles, with an analysis of the conditions which promoted such an organization, while Chapter IV deals with the activities of ACTU in the labor field. It analyses typical cases in detail in order to examine on a practical basis ACTU's role in the labor movement. Chapter V considers specifically other basic issues of importance, such as ACTU's special bias, if one exists, its sectarianism within the labor movement, and whether democratic or undemocratic control over Catholic workers is exerted by Church authority. This chapter also examines the industry council plan of ACTU as to its commensurability with American unionism and ideology, and as to the rigidity with which Catholic workers

are bound by Catholic social ideals. The final chapter summarizes the analysis and presents the conclusions.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIVE: EUROPE AND AMERICA CONTRASTED

The Catholic Church and Labor

It is well known that the Catholic Church has been an important influence in European labor movements for nearly a century, and that Catholic or Christian unions are today among the strong labor organizations in many Western European countries. This historical record stands in sharp contrast to the situation in the United States, where Catholic influence in the form of sectarian unionism has been largely absent. The discussion in this chapter will attempt to provide an understanding of the reasons for this divergence in policy and practice.

Historically, the Church has singled out the laboring man for special consideration, partly because of the inherent sentiment of the Christian message, which is one of sympathy and charity toward the poor, oppressed, and the propertyless. The laboring classes have in the past been subject to exploitation and poverty which they have not had the power themselves to alleviate. Often, this has meant a turn for the worse in worker attitudes toward society and their fellow man, with consequent resort to radical solutions to conditions to which society seemed indifferent. To the Church, this meant the demoralizing of human beings and their falling away from the more conservative recommenda-

tions of the Church in favor of more radical action. The powerless masses, therefore, were in special need of the Church's guidance and encouragement.

The prominence of Catholic unionism in certain European countries, in contrast to the relative lack of it in this country, has not been due to any divergence between the European and American Catholic Church as regards this basic Christian doctrine. The Catholic attitude toward labor--while modified in various countries to adjust to differing social and political environments--has been largely and basically formed out of the spirit of the New Testament, which, with roots in the Old Testament, is the common source of all Christian thought and culture. Since the interpretation of the theological and moral implications of this common source stem from Papal pronouncements, the basic moral attitudes of Catholic hierarchy and Catholic laymen everywhere tend to be uniform. For purposes of this study this means that social questions with moral implications pertain to the worker no less than to man in general. It also means that the spirit of sympathy toward the laboring man which is part of the central Christian message permeates the universal church. Saint Thomas Acquinas, the Catholic Church's most eminent philosopher, has elaborated on this as follows:[1]

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[1]Sylvester Michael Killeen, The Philosophy of Labor According to Saint Thomas Acquinas (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1939), pp. 19, 23, 26, respectively.

> Just as there can be no true philosophy of man without there being at the same time a philosophy of the universe which contains him, so there can be no true philosophy of labor without a philosophy of man from whom all labor flows. To neglect the full significance of the nature of man in his place in the hierarchy of being is to lose completely that which is most vital to the preservation of the concept of labor. . .
>
> Labor is always human and it is ever and always a human function to labor; the latter inserts itself, as it were, into the destiny of a human personality. . .
>
> Labor is essentially useful human action, personal in its origin but social as well as person in its ends.

While Catholics universally are free to recommend and interpret social remedies for social ills (barring violence, Communism, etc.), there is a basic belief that the laborer, however lowly his task, has dignity commensurate with his ultimate purpose in life, which is to attain heaven. This belief of most Christians is further rooted in the fact that Christ was born the son of a manual worker and became, as his father was, a carpenter.[1] His apostles were laboring men and either were poor or became poor men in following Him. The parables of Christ were woven, for the most part, out of the work-a-day world about Him, humble and unsophisticated, devoid of pomp and grandeur. "The attitude of early Christendom," one study states, "esteemed labor. Converts gave up riches and lives of ease to become

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[1]For example, Frederick Mack, "Christ the Worker," Irish Messenger Office, Denmark St., Dublin, Ireland (Catholic Social Action Pamphlet), undated.

ordinary workmen."[1] Early workmen showed their pride in their work, in the Christian environment, by putting their trade on their tombstones.[2] The order of the day in the early monasteries, as in many modern ones, consisted in manual labor. As one source states:[3]

> Compared to the early Greek and Roman attitude toward work, the view in the Old and New Testament, of the early Jews and those at the time of Christ, there is a distinct contrast. None of the earlier major Gods were depicted as workers, but in Genesis God created heaven and earth, one "the work of His fingers," the other "the work of His hands" (Ps 8,4 and Ps 18,1).

The Catholic Church, therefore, whether in Europe or America, in Asia or Africa, had a certain common attitude toward the laboring man which, even if not clearly demonstrated toward all labor organizations by Church hierarchies at various times and places, was in any case fundamentally sympathetic.

The Environmental Factors and Catholic Labor Movements of Europe

Environmental Factors

Despite this common attitude of Catholics everywhere

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[1]Arthur T. Geoghegan, The Attitude Towards Labor in Early Christianity and Ancient Culture, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1945), 89.

[2]Ibid., p. 225.

[3]Ibid., p. 70; Also cf., "The Church and the Workman," Irish Messenger Office, Denmark St., Dublin, Ireland (A Catholic Social Action Pamphlet), undated; Also John Ryan and Joseph Husslein, The Church and Labor (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924); George Dougherty, The Moral Basis of the Social Order According to Saint Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941).

toward labor, there were major differences in background which affected Church activity in Europe and America. The Church was clearly more officially active in Europe. This was manifested in the formation of many Christian unions of predominantly Catholic membership. Certain environmental factors were responsible for the successful formation and growth of these unions.

To begin with, Europe had its Christian traditions--its Holy Roman Empire, famous medieval monasteries, Church scholars, and theologians--none of which had directly influenced the New World. Secondly, even after the Christian unity of the Empire no longer prevailed and capitalistic and protestant institutions formed after the breakdown of the feudal system, the Catholic Church and Catholic sentiment constituted the major force in most of Europe. France, Austria, Belgium, Italy, Spain and strong segments of the German Slavic peoples were still Catholic long after the Reformation, and remain so today.

Thirdly, industrial and political revolutions had affected Europe almost before the New World existed as an organized populous society. As a consequence, the Catholic social program in Europe evolved out of the deplorable conditions created in the average laborer's life by the revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the same time, Catholic attitudes toward Socialism, Communism, revolutionary Syndicalism, and forms of radicalism developed at this time, since these rose to combat the same problems.

The Catholic program, however, offered alternatives to social revolution and opposed the Socialists and Radicals in their efforts to overthrow governments and economic systems. Basically, it was the violence and Godlessness, or at least the anti-Catholic character of the radical programs, which brought the Church more actively into the social question. The alternative, the Church suggested, was the Industry Council Plan or Vocational Groups (discussed at length in Chapter V) which preached close cooperation among industrial groups, an end to class conflict, and peaceful solutions to the prevailing social problems. This program the Church recommended for the reconstruction of the social order.

Meanwhile, the strong Catholic tradition and population in Europe made it possible for Catholic political parties to be elected to power. Catholic majorities, whether in office or out, gave European Catholics influence in the higher halls of government. This, on the other hand, was hardly true in the United States. Catholics here have nationally always been a minority, and the Church itself has remained cautious, so as not to antagonize the great non-Catholic majority against its faithful.

Examples of the political influence of Catholics abound in the European experience. The Centre Party of Germany, for example, a Catholic Party under the leadership of Ludwig Windthorst, polled one and a half million votes in the general elections of 1874 and increased its member-

ship in the Reichstag from 60 to 90.[1] In post World War I elections, Centre Party members were one of the major constituents in the government which ratified the Peace Treaty with the Allies, and it remained as such until 1933.[2] In 1930, Heinrich Brüning of the Centre Party became Chancellor.[3] A devout Catholic (Chancellor Conrad Adenauer) has been at the head of the German government for most of the post World War II years. France had its Action Liberale, a Catholic party "less decidedly political than the Centre, but characterized like it by an interesting program of social reform inspired in this case by Albert de Mun."[4] Holland has long had a Catholic Party which "formed the nucleus of a conservative block."[5] Both Italy and Belgium have influential Catholic political parties.[6]

With the support of tradition and numbers behind them, therefore, the Catholic factions of Europe historically could rally to protect themselves through effective political

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[1]Carleton J. H. Hayes, A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe (II: New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), 445.

[2]Ibid., p. 625; Also cf., Georgiana Putnam McEntree, The Social Catholic Movement of Great Britain (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 137. In 1925 Paul von Hindenburg won a plurality though not a majority vote against the chief opposite candidate, Wilhelm Marx, leader of the Catholic Centre Party.

[3]Hayes, II, 717.

[4]McEntree, loc. cit.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., pp. 138, 140.

action against movements and trends inimical to Catholic teaching. In this sense, of course, their organizations became defensive. To quote one source: "The Catholic political parties of continental Europe have usually come into being as a defensive maneuver against anti-Catholic political activity such as that which characterized the administration of Bismarck before the exigencies of domestic diplomacy led him to play off the Black International against the Red. . ."[1]

Finally the Catholics of Europe have had to stand up against more radical economic attitudes and movements than have the Catholics of this country. These movements have sometimes taken on a violent, irreligious or anti-clerical animus. It is, moreover, common knowledge that European labor has often become philosophical or ideological in its motivation. In contrast, ideologies have been relatively unfamiliar and unpopular to the practical, business-like American spirit. In the atmosphere of Europe, therefore, Christian trade unionism has not seemed out of place. It has taken its stand beside the Socialist, Communist, Syndicalist, and other groups bearing a philosophical or ideological banner. The ultimate Papal objective of "the creation of a social order in keeping with these (Christian) principles" did not seem unusual or foreign to the European environment.

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[1] Ibid., p. 139.

Catholic Labor Movements of Europe

In this more sympathetic atmosphere, European Catholic workers engaged in Catholic action more freely and took part in the broader Social Catholic Movement, which arose to confront the industrial anarchy of the Industrial Revolution. Particularly after 1870, a network of effective groups sprang up under Catholic auspices.[1] Among the more powerful organizations before World War I, the Catholic Popular Liberal Party in France, for example, had a dues paying membership of over 250,000 and a voting strength of three quarters of a million.[2] In 1919, it won a hundred seats in the Chamber of deputies, its nearest rival winning 68. In the same year the Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens (C.F.T.C.) was formed, giving French Catholic syndicalism a national organization "embracing all categories of workers and capable of entering into competi-

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[1]Some of these were the Association of Catholic Workingmen's Clubs, the Young Men's Catholic Associations, the Popular Liberal Party, the Action Populaire, the Semaines Sociales, the Consumers' League, and others. See Thomas Parker Moon, The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France (New York: Macmillan, 1921), p. 383. "The annual study reunions which go by the name of Les Semaines Sociales. . . afford one of the best manifestations of the kind of activities which Social Christianity gives rise to everywhere. . ." [Charles Gide and Charles Rist, A History of Economic Doctrines, trans. R. Richards (2d ed.: Boston, New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1949), 528].

[2]Moon, op. cit., p. ix.

tion with the radical trade unions."[1] It has at times successfully opposed the Confederation Generale du Travail (C.G.T.) (numerically and politically the most popular labor organization in France) on the issue of the General Strike.

Although in subsequent years the Socialist elements in France became stronger, and Catholic union membership sank to 100,000 by the end of the 1920's, Catholic unions continued to be influential through the 1930's. During World War II and after, the Christian trade unions of France were as prominent as the General Confederation of Labor.[2] In 1945, the French Confederation of Christian Workers were represented in the National Council of Resistance and the Provisional Consultative Assembly.[3] In 1949, the Christian Labor movement in France, largely Catholic, claimed a membership of nearly one million.[4] In the elections of June, 1950, for workers' representatives on the Administrative

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[1]David Saposs, The Labor Movement in Post War France (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 106. French Catholic Syndicalism rejected the revolutionary theories of the more radical and perhaps more common brands of Syndicalism. It even opposed the strike as an acceptable remedial device. It was based on Christian principles of justice and charity as elaborated in Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum of 1891 (Saposs, pp. 106-107).

[2]Gerard Thormann, "Christian Trade Unionism in France" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1951), p. ii; H. Morris, "Catholic Labor and Vichy," Commonweal, September 25, 1942; D. Vignaux, "French Labor Movement," idem, December 15, 1944.

[3]Thorman, op. cit., p. 105.

[4]Ibid., p. 1.

Councils of the Social Security Boards, C.F.T.C. candidates polled 1,172,612 votes against 2,392,067 for those of the C.G.T., the "old home" of French labor.[1] The C.F.T.C., in the words of one authority, "is the most important Christian workers movement in the world."[2]

The Catholic Social Movement had its impact on Germany as well. Catholic Workingmen's organizations began in the early part of the nineteenth century.[3] As a broader movement, the Social Catholic Movement began in Germany with Baron (later Bishop) Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811-1877), who has been styled "the first and veritable initiator of the Social Catholic Movement."[4] His influence on behalf of labor spread over most of Germany, and one of his disciples, Father Christopher Moufang, became a member of the Reichstag in 1871.[5] The Catholic Social program included legislative laws protecting the right of labor to organize,

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[1]P. Vignaux, "Christian Trade Unionism since World War II," in Moody, Church and Society (New York: Arts, Inc., 1953), 205.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Franscesco Nitti, Catholic Socialism (London, New York: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1895), 183; other early German workers' groups dealt with in Philip Taft, "Germany," in Galenson, Comparative Labor Movements (New York: Prentice Hall, 1952), 258.

[4]Moon, op. cit., p. 121, as quoted from Max Thurmann Le Developpement du Catholicisme Social, p. 4. Cf. also John Joseph Laux, Christian Social Reform (Bishop William Ketteler and the Christian Social Reform Movement) (Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press, 1912).

[5]Moon, op. cit., p. 125.

restricting and regulating child and women labor, requiring better working conditions, allowing for state intervention to prevent excessive speculation in stock-exchange operations.[1] Moreover, the establishment of workingmen's compensation, social insurance and other social legislation in Germany "was in no small part due to the influence of the Center or Catholic Party."[2] The People's Association for Catholic Germany (Volksverein fur das Katholische Deutschland) was founded in 1890 and within its framework, trade union formations reached a membership of 139,204 in 1900 and 625,735 by 1913.[3] Membership in Catholic unions continued to number at least in the hundreds of thousands, up to the time of Hitler's government.[4]

While the degree of power is not important for purposes

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[1] Ibid., p. 126.

[2] Ibid., p. ix. Bismarck favored these laws as a method of undermining the Socialists. This change in national policy was wrought "with the aid of Conservatives and Centrists. . ." The movement in behalf of such a change did not, however, originate with Bismarck (Carleton Hayes, op. cit., pp. 447-449.)

[3] Marshall Dill Jr., "The Christian Trades Union Movement in Germany before World War I," Review of Social Economy, XI (March, 1953), 77. Also "Members of the Volksverein (650,000 in 1910) were an effective bulwark for the Center Party" (Mary Harrita Fox, Peter E. Dietz, Labor Priest /University of Notre Dame Press, 1953/, p. 85.

[4] "Prior to 1933 there were about two hundred national unions in Germany. These fell into three main classes (Social Democratic, Catholic, and Democratic) . . ." /Clark Kerr, "Collective Bargaining in Post War Germany," Contemporary Collective Bargaining, ed.A. Sturmthal (Ithaca: The Institute of International Industrial and Labor Relations, 1957)/, v, 179.

of this study, it is clear that the Catholic influence in the labor movement of Germany had over the years been central and strong, until Hitler put an end to all free labor unionism in the country.[1] Labor organizations were reestablished in 1945 and have been concerned with a desire for codetermination, with joint councils of employer and labor representatives working out a program of allocation of resources and price and wage setting. This desire has been supported by the Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union.[2] A meeting of the Catholic unionists at Bochum in November, 1949, approved codetermination "in social, personal, and economic affairs as a natural right" which should be realized.[3]

England, too, has been influenced by Catholic Social forces, though it is primarily a Protestant country.[4]

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[1]McConagha, W.A., The Development of the Labor Movement in Great Britain, France, and Germany (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), Ch. III for Hitler's treatment of German labor unions; also Nathan Reich, Labor Relations in Republican Germany, 1918-1933 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938).

[2]Taft in Galenson, op. cit., p. 309; for other treatments of Germany's Christian unions cf. Dill, op. cit., and E. Kurth, "Codetermination in West Germany," Review of Social Economy, March, 1953, pp. 54 ff.

[3]Taft in Galenson, op. cit., p. 309, as quoted from Herder Korrespondenz, Orbis Catholicus, October-November, 1949, p. 31; also cf. Kurth, ibid.; J.F.D. Gillen, "Labor Problems in West Germany," booklet published by the Historical Division Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, 1952.

[4]Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 356 ff; Nitti, op. cit., p. 317.

Although a Catholic minority in England has made a Catholic political party unfeasible, the same Social Catholic Movement which prevailed on the continent was in evidence on the British Isles. The Conservative wing of the British Guild Socialist Movement was "social Catholic."[1]

Aside from these evidences of Catholic influence in the industrial life of England, actual Christian trade unionism remained on a small scale. Though Saposs could say in 1933 that "even in England there are small unions of Catholic workers,"[2] these evidences of the Catholic influence never met fruition in a formidable Christian Trade Union Movement. While Catholics strongly favor joint industrial councils, which have developed to some extent in Britain,[3] there is no clear correlation between their existence and Catholic encouragement in that direction. McConagha concludes that "Christian unionism, an institution of considerable significance on the continent, never gained foothold in the British Isle."[4] In this respect, it bears some resemblance to the absence of efforts to establish Christian labor

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[1]Moon, op. cit., p. viii.; For the Social Catholic Movement in Britain cf. McEntree, op. cit.; Henry Sommerville, The Catholic Social Movement (London: Burnes, Oates and Washbourne, 1933); Idem, "Trade Unionism," Catholic Truth Society Publication, Vol. C., London, 1914; Harrita Fox, op. cit.

[2]Saposs, "The Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," op. cit., p. 227.

[3]Allan Flanders, "Great Britain," in Galenson, op. cit., p. 56.

[4]McConagha, op. cit., p. 72.

unions in the United States.

In addition to these principal countries of Europe, Catholic social action in the labor movement has been substantial in Austria, Belgium, Holland and Italy. Furthermore, even Switzerland, and the countries of Eastern Europe engaged in establishing Christian unions before Russian domination discouraged them.[1]

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[1]For references to these movements, consult Moon, op. cit., p. 130; Nitti, op. cit., Ch VIII; Adolph Fox Sturmthal, The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 210; and Gide and Rist, op. cit., p. 529. In Belgium, for example, the Socialist unions claimed 500,000 members in 1949, while the Christian unions (predominantly Catholic membership) numbered slightly more than that (Moody, op. cit., p. 305). Holland's post-war enrollment of 210,000 in the Catholic labor movement exceeded that of its pre-war numbers (Labor Leader, October 1, 1946, p. 4, as quoted from interview with P.J.S. Serrarens, General Secretary of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions). In Italy the Catholic Confederazione generale italiano del lavoro reported a membership of 3,500,000 by 1950, the largest of any labor group in Italy (John Clark Adams, "Italy," in Galenson, op. cit., p. 447). Christian Trade Unions have existed historically in Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia until Communism interfered (Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unions, Pamphlet published in New York, 1952, "We fight Against Red Tyranny." The Lithuanian Federation of Labor met in 1949 in Western Germany in order to carry on in exile the work of Christian labor organizations (Ibid., p. 9). Poland registered 259,000 members of its Christian trade unions (largely Catholic) just before World War II, as against a membership of 284,000 for the Socialists (Ibid., p. 10). Yugoslavia and Hungary each had powerful Christian trade union movements before Naziism and Communism interfered (Ibid., pp. 14-16).

On an international scale, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) is represented in the United Nations and the International Labor Organization, and collaborates for common purposes with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Cf. Thormann, op. cit., p. 224). According to one source, "The Christian International probably has ten Catholics to one Protestant among its total membership." Though smaller than the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, "its leaders claim that it has the

In contrast to this total picture of extensive Christian unionism in Europe, the orientation of the American labor movement in this direction is negligible.[1]

Environmental Factors and Catholic Influence on Labor in the United States

Environmental Factors

The reasons for the early lack of vigorous Catholic labor action in the United States are to be found in the historic development and the environment of the new continent. It is estimated, for example, that when the Peace of Paris granted independence to the Colonies in 1783, there were about 25,000 Catholics out of a population of about four million in the new nation. All of these were served by only 24 priests.[2] This was to be the pattern in the United States for a long time to come.

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only effective ideology to meet the Communist program as enunciated by the World Federation of Trade Unions." (Melvin J. Segal, "International Trade Union Organization," Review of Social Economy, September, 1953, p. 132).

[1]The American trade union movement has had contact with the International trade unions from as early as 1872, though the AFL withdrew and re-entered the International organizations several times after that date, due to divergence in policies and views (Segal, op. cit.). But neither the AFL or CIO looked with favor on International Christian union activities because of the adherence of American labor to "business unionism" and its wariness of what it believed to be the divisive possibilities of European ideologies.

[2]Francis Downing, "American Catholicism and the Socio-Economic Evolution in the United States," in Joseph Moody, Church and Society (New York: Arts, Inc., 1953), 205.

The economic environment, too, affected the efforts of Catholics in the labor movement in the United States. European Catholics, buoyed up by their majority status in most countries, joined forces to combat the evils arising out of the Industrial Revolution. These conditions did not exert pressure for reform in the United States until much later, and even then the social upheaval was far less extensive over here. There was no shortage of labor or abundance of land to ease the pressures, as was the case in this country. The whole tenor of economic life in the United States was decidedly different, and in basic factor endowment (land, labor, capital) opposite to that of Europe. These economic elements tended not only to obviate the need for Christian unions in this country, they staved off a real, sweeping advance of any industrial unionism until the 1930's. Add to this the hostile atmosphere within which the Catholic minority often found itself, and the belated appearance of any kind of Catholic Trade Unionist Movement in this country is understandable.

Even when the number of Catholics increased with the influx of immigrants after 1830, this apparent advantage was offset by prejudice and hatred of Catholics, which sometimes reached fever pitch. The burning of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown in 1834, for example, "set off a whole series of acts of violence against persons and property."[1] The cry

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[1]Downing, in Moody, op. cit., p. 846.

of "no popery" was common, and "know-nothingism" was rampant in parts of the East. "The abuse of Catholics," it was said, ". . .is a regular trade and the compilation of anti-Catholic books . . .has become a part of the regular industry of the country, as much as the making of nutmegs, or the construction of clocks."[1]

As a result of this hostility toward the Catholic Church, fired by an "aggressive nativism" displayed toward immigrants in general, the Church, its clergy, and the laity were slow to engage in organization where they felt their efforts would meet with harsh disapproval. Before the Civil War, therefore, Catholic activity in the labor movement was all but nil. As Father Browne wrote:[2]

> With regard to these various phases of the uphill struggle of American labor, no real attempt has hitherto been made to point out the contribution of the Catholic Church and its members. This is especially true of the earlier years of the (19th) century and the principal reason in this case is that there was not much to claim.

In addition to this evidence of a hostile environment--principally following the wave of immigrant radicals and socialists in flight from the abortive Revolutions of 1848 in Europe--there arose the complaints of newly founded radical newspapers and magazines. "It is not very strange," Father Browne concludes, "that during these ante-bellum days

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[1] Ibid., p. 851.

[2] Browne, Henry Joseph, The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949), 1.

the Catholic Church should, in general, have had little influence on or contact with the labor movement."[1]

As a result of this early caution on the part of the Church, occasionally violated by priests and laymen of more liberal views,[2] the feeling held by the public generally was that the clergy were either "for the rich" or, at least, were indifferent to the poor. Some clergymen preached openly against trade unions, and others were so concerned with the influx of Socialists and radicals that they had little time to encourage the organizations of workingmen.[3] While the Socialists in this country were pouring out literature in many forms concerning the plight of the workingman, it was felt that similar literature on behalf of

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[1] Ibid., p. 3.

[2] The Archbishop of Oregon, Frances N. Blanchet, for example, indicated openly that the working class should be the chief concern of pastors; a layman, Thomas D'Arcy McGee started a labor school in New York in 1849; A Jesuit, Augustus J. Thebaud of Troy, New York, showed awareness of the workingman's situation by condemning the indifference of employers toward their help; Rev. James E. Quigley, third Bishop of Buffalo, 1893-1903, took a sincere interest in workingmen's causes. The Church hierarchy, however, despite their sympathy for the laboring man, had not made any pertinent pronouncement concerning the relationship between Church and labor organizations before 1866, and these isolated instances of interest in labor which were duplicated by others, did not represent official Church policy (Cf. Browne, op. cit., pp. 4-7).

[3] The Rev. William Floyd, Congregational clergyman of New York City said: "I confess that I feel but scant sympathy for the denunciation of trades unions and workingmen's guilds which we sometimes hear from pulpits when high salaried ministers preach to selfish and pampered wealth." (The Craftsman, official organ of the International Typographical Union, June 27, 1885, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

the Church dealing with the social unrest was scarce.[1] Some social thinkers considered the welfare of workers the most important question of the times, and believed the reason for the magnitude of the problem was "largely because our leaders in Church and School and State have persistently closed their eyes to the sign of the times."[2] By way of warning to American workers, Socialistic writers made reference to the fact that although Christian trade unions existed in Europe, they had not expanded as rapidly as the Socialist unions. Speaking of Church organized labor unions in France and Germany, one American Socialist periodical states:[3]

> When confronted, during strikes and lockouts, with the necessity of either following the lead of the priests or joining forces with their brothers, Christian foundations began to totter; they realized (the workers) that their sympathies in the great economic struggle were not with the most benighted institution of all ages, the Church. . . The Church had hoped that Christian methods might drill the workingmen into servility under the banner of Capitalism, but the spirit of discontent and revolt soon proved more powerful than the hope for the Hereafter.

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[1]According to one source there were 50 Socialist weeklies and monthly papers in the United States and one daily in Chicago. "The literature of the Socialists far surpasses the literature of the Church" (Charles Stelzle, "The Spirit of Social Unrest," a series of lectures in The Social Application of Religion, Merrick Lectures, April 5-9, Cincinnati, 1908, p. 22.

[2]Ibid., p. 13.

[3]"Aim and Tactics of the Trades Union Movement," in Emma Goldman's Mother Earth, July, 1906, pp. 27-28 (J. A. Labadie Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

Reference was made to a poem called "The Silent Clergy" for their hesitant attitude toward the cause of labor,[1] and cartoons cynically playing up Church indifferences to the laboring man were common.[2] It was perhaps to be expected that Socialist and radical publications would take a stand against the Churches, but their views, even if biased, tended to represent much prevailing opinion. Indifference and inactivity of Churchmen generally on labor's behalf is admitted by some Catholic authorities (i.e., Browne, supra). One such source wrote that "even in 1878 the first American Cardinal McCloskey seemed to be more impressed by the part of the (Papal) encyclical which attacked Socialism (referring to Rerum Novarum of Leo XIII, discussed below) than by its suggestion that the bishops encourage 'Societies of artisans and workmen constituted under the guardianship of religion!'"[3]

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[1]A portion of this poem went:
"Why say 'Go Slow?' while millions moan
And, crushed beneath their burdens groan. . .
Yet ye, who pray 'Thy Kingdom Come'. . .
As God's Ambassadors, are dumb. . ."
(Justice, a weekly published in the interest of the Single Tax, Direct Legislation and Monetary Reform, Detroit, Michigan September 2, 1899, in J. A. Labadie Collection, idem).

[2]One such cartoon, for example, had the caption: "Wealthy Capitalist Talking to Bishop: 'Well, Bishop, how's business in your line?' 'I think I can well say that Christianity has greatly improved in quality if not in quantity since the war. The best people and the Church are now closer to each other than ever before.'" (The Liberator, Max Eastman, Editor, a journal of revolutionary progress, May, 1919, p. 24, in Labadie Collection).

[3]Francis Downing, in Moody, op. cit., pp. 849-850; cf. also Browne, op. cit., p. 16.

In summary, the minority Catholic position; the hostility of anti-Catholics toward the Church; the shortsightedness of many of the Church leaders; the bitter opposition to the Church expressed in many publications; the driving, outspoken, and often violent activity of the Socialists and radicals in the name of labor;[1] the bad reputation given to the labor movement by strikes and violence--all these counted in establishing the early questioning attitude of the Catholic Church toward existing union organizations, or even the possibility of Christian unions. The American scene, therefore, contrasts quite sharply with that of Europe. As summarized by Thormann:[2]

> The origin, doctrine, and development of Christian trade unionism are as yet little known outside of Europe. American observers especially, who are not accustomed to see ideological differences play a role in the labor movement of their country, are often puzzled by the very existence of labor unions that call themselves Christian or in some cases Catholic.

The effect of the differences in the background and environment of Europe and the United States was clear in its impact on Church activity in the labor field. In Europe, as we have seen, Christian unionism was widespread; in the United States it was non-existent. In Europe, Catholics could hopefully try for political power; in this country

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[1]It was said that the "courts began to see a riot in every strike and a Molly Maguire in every trade unionist." (Downing in Moody, op. cit., p. 851). Catholics "were advised by the Synod of Cincinnati in the Provincial Council of Milwaukee to abandon unions because of their alleged violent, socialistic character." (As Quoted, ibid., and note 24, p. 897).

[2]Gerard Thormann, op. cit., p. ii.

Catholic political parties even if organized would have had almost no chance of success, in the light of the hostility toward the Church just described. While the Church's influence in the United States may have been, and may be today, quite significant through Catholic individuals in the labor movement and through the clergy, it has culminated only on a very minor scale in the organization of Catholic or Christian trade unionists.

There remain, however, two other factors which tended to alienate the Catholic Church from labor's initial efforts in America. These were (1) the difficulties which arose out of the fact that some of the first labor organizations in this country were secret societies, and (2) the interpretation given by the American Church hierarchy to certain Papal encyclicals which referred to the organization of Christian and specifically Catholic trade unions.

Prior to the issuance of the labor encyclical of Pope Leo XIII in 1891 (Rerum Novarum), the traditional opposition of the Church to secret societies, in addition to the other obstacles mentioned in the above discussion, prevented full Catholic approval of labor organizations which called for an oath of secrecy.[1] Many of the early attempts to form

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[1]Catholics were warned against Secret Societies in America as early as 1794, at the first meeting of the Catholic Bishops. Later Pope Leo XIII's encyclical Humanum Genus of 1884 condemned Freemasonry and secret societies whose pledges were contrary to Catholic teaching. Cf. E. MacDonald, The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States (New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society, 1946).

fraternal worker associations were of this nature, primarily because their members feared recrimination if their affiliation were known.[1] The following discussion relates to this problem, and to other phases of the more direct impact of Catholic influence on American labor activity.

Catholic Influence on Labor in the United States

The Knights of Labor Conflict - The conflict between the Catholic Church in the United States and those secret societies which formed within the labor movement is typified in the case of the Church and the Knights of Labor. One source states that "the full account of this organization would be almost a complete picture of its times, so widespread were its interests and activities."[2] Workers who joined the Knights were required to take an oath of secrecy, presumably for protection against discrimination by their employers. The Church disapproved of Catholics taking this oath.

After a circular to the Canadian Bishops was distributed in 1884, condemning the Knights of Labor in Canada, it appeared that the Church was about to condemn the organization in the United States. The Church believed that the faithful had to be protected from the subtle and pernicious influences of secret societies, which tended to substitute

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[1]MacDonald, ibid.

[2]Browne, op. cit., p. 34.

pseudo-religious rituals for the legitimate ones of the Church.

During the early years of the Knights, however, no official pronouncement on social questions came from the American hierarchy, though bona fide labor organizations had been given sanction in the decrees of the Bishops in 1866.[1] The secrecy and the religious tone of the Knights' ritual continued to alienate priests and Bishops, even though the oath of the Order permitted Catholics to discuss all aspects of the organization in the Confessional. The Order in Canada was condemned again from Rome in July, 1886, in a year of great upheaval in the American labor movement.[2] The Canadian condemnation brought further clerical opposition to the Knights in the United States and a threat of condemnation from Rome.

The sum total of the conflict seemed to range the Church against the general principle of worker organization. It remained for Cardinal Gibbons in 1887 to put the Church firmly on the side of the workingman. In reviewing the events of this period, Downing states that "if Catholics in the American Catholic Church took righteous heed of these facts (the deplorable working conditions), they did not shout their protest from the housetops. Until Cardinal Gibbons the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy remained dia-

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[1] Ibid., p. 117.

[2] I.e., The Haymarket Affair, Radical outbursts, the Eight Hour Day Movement, with its attendant strikes.

lectical exercises uncaught by either visions or appreciation of the facts."[1]

The defense of the Knights by the Cardinal marked a turning point in the Church's attitude toward unionism in the United States. This was due to the fact that in that defense he reviewed the Church's social doctrines and argued the necessity of Catholics joining non-sectarian labor organizations.[2] On the inherent right of labor to organize he said:[3]

> It can hardly be doubted that for the attainment of any public end, association--the organization of all interested persons--is the most efficacious means, a means altogether natural and just. This is so evident, and besides so conformable to the genius of our country, of our essentially popular social conditions, that it is unnecessary to insist upon it. It is almost the only means to invite public attention, to give force to the most legitimate resistance, to add weight to the most just demands.

In another instance, arguing strongly against condemnation of the Knights by the Holy See, he stated:[4]

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[1]Downing, in Moody, op. cit., p. 853.

[2]". . .For a mixed people like ours, the separation of religions in social affairs is not possible. . .We find that in our country the presence and explicit influence of the clergy would not be advisable where our citizens, without distinction of religious belief come together in regard to their industrial interests alone. Without going so far, we have abundant means for making our working people faithful Catholics, and simple good sense advises us not to go to extremes." (The Cardinal's Defense, Browne, op. cit., Appendix III, pp. 369, 370.)

[3]John Tracy Ellis (Ed.), "Cardinal Gibbons' Defense of the Knights of Labor, February 20, 1887," reprinted in Documents of American Catholic History, The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1956, p. 464.

[4]Ibid., p. 470.

> A condemnation would be considered (by American Catholic workers) both false and unjust, and would not be accepted. . . .We might indeed preach to them submission and confidence in the Church, but these good dispositions could hardly go so far. They love the Church, and they wish to save their souls, but they must also earn their living, and labor is now so organized that without belonging to the organization there is little chance to earn one's living.

The Cardinal's Labor Memorial, as the defense came to be called, was a turning point also because it was one of the important factors which influenced Pope Leo XIII to issue the Encyclical Rerum Novarum in 1891, on the condition of labor and the rights and duties of workmen and employers.[1] Cardinal Gibbons persuaded the American Bishops and priests toward a more favorable view of labor unions before the Pope's labor encyclical appeared.[2] This encyclical, together with the Quadragesimo Anno of Pius XI in 1931, formulates the core of Catholic labor principles to the present time.

Rerum Novarum - Following Cardinal Gibbons' "Defense", Pope Leo's encyclical seemed a logical summary of labor's case. The encyclical upheld the dignity of labor and declared it a duty of the state to protect the workingman from the evils of industrialization.[3] It emphasized the workers'

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[1] Browne, op. cit., pp. 346 ff.

[2] One report, for example, states that "Archbishop Bayley's opinion that trade unions were a revolutionary conspiracy against the Social Order was shared by most bishops and priests until shortly before Leo's Encyclical appeared." (Aaron Abell, "The Reception of Leo XIII's Labor Encyclical in America, 1891-1919," The Review of Politics, VII October 1945), 464.

[3] Cf. "The Condition of Labor," in Five Great Encyclicals, (New York: The Paulist Press, 1939).

right to reasonable hours of work, the injustice of child labor and harmful or arduous work for women. It upheld the right of labor to a wage which will maintain him in "reasonable and frugal comfort."[1] Above all there is the right of men to form various associations for their mutual benefit. To quote the encyclical:[2]

> The most important of all are workmen's associations; for these virtually include all the rest. History attests what excellent results were affected by the artificiers Guilds of a former day. They were the means not only of many advantages to the workmen, but in no small degree of the advancement of art. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few societies of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone, or of workmen and employers together; but it were greatly to be desired that they should multiply and become more effective.

Historically, the Pope points out, unions have come under legal bans under the conspiracy doctrine. But as long as they are orderly and their goals and means of attaining them just, the state, according to the Pope's words, cannot rightfully prohibit them.[3]

Following a warning concerning the dangers of secret societies the Holy Father warns the Christian workmen that

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[1] Ibid., p. 22.

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

[3] In the Pope's words: "Particular societies, then, although they exist within the state, and are each a part of the state, nevertheless cannot be prohibited by the state absolutely and as such. For to enter into a society of this kind is the natural right of man; and the state must protect natural rights not destroy them; and if it forbids its citizens to form associations, it contradicts the very principle of its own existence. . ." (Ibid., p. 24:)

they "must do one of two things: either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril or form associations among themselves. . . No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme danger will hesitate to say that the second alternative must by all means be adopted."[1] Further, he advised that these associations should "look first and before all to God; let religious instruction have therein a foremost place. . ."[2]

While these remarks seem to imply strictly Catholic or, at least, Christian organizations, a qualification was made which American Catholics, ecclesiastical and laical, have emphasized in explaining the non-sectarian character of their union membership. "We do not deem it possible," said the Pope, "to enter into definite detail on the subject of organization. This must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and time. . ."[3]

It was natural, therefore, particularly in light of the differing European and American backgrounds elaborated above, that Rerum Novarum would be interpreted differently by the European and American Bishops. In Europe, the "workingmen's associations" of the encyclical were presumed by

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[1] Ibid., p. 25.

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

[3] Ibid.

the Bishops to be Catholic unions, due to the fact that most existing European associations were made up of anti-Catholic Socialists. Yet the statement: that "such associations should be adopted to the requirements of the age in which we live--an age of greater instruction, of different customs, and of more numerous requirements in daily life,"[1] was interpreted by the American Bishops to mean that these associations need not be Catholic, but that Catholics should join the labor organizations suited to the American scene. These, in fact, were non-sectarian or neutral unions.

Further elaborating on this qualification, Pope Leo in a letter to the Bishops of the United States, January 6, 1895, advised that "Catholics ought, by preference, to form associations with Catholics, unless necessity forces them to act otherwise."[2] In a letter of the Sacred Congregation of the Council to the Bishop of Lille, June 5, 1929, the "necessity" was explained in terms of "particular circumstances."[3]

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[1]Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII on "The Condition of Labor," (Rerum Novarum), Five Great Encyclicals (New York: The Paulist Press, 1939), p. 23.

[2]Husslein, op. cit., quoted from Papal letter "Longinqua Oceani," p. 218, italics supplied.

[3]Ibid. ("It is the desire of the Church that industrial associations, organized by Catholics for Catholics, should be composed of Catholics, although it recognizes that particular circumstances may compel the adoption of a different course.")

It has been the practice of Bishops and laymen in the United States to assume that the "different customs" of Pope Leo's encyclical, the phrase "unless necessity forces them to act otherwise" of his letter to the American Bishops in 1895, and the "particular circumstances" of the Letter of the Sacred Congregation to the Bishop of Lille in 1929 permitted the encouraging of Catholics to join the non-sectarian trade unions typical of this country. There seemed to be little danger that large numbers of Catholics would join Socialist labor organizations, as happened in Europe. Neither the Knights of Labor nor the American Federation of Labor had become Socialistic, and had, in fact, consciously avoided leaning in that direction.[1] And there was, finally,

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[1] Samuel Gompers, who reigned over the AFL (with the exception of one year) from 1882-1924, was critical of Socialists: "According to my experience professional Socialism accompanies instability caused by inability to recognize facts. The conspicuous Socialists have uniformly been men whose minds have been warped by a great failure or who found it absolutely impossible to understand fundamentals necessary to developing practical plans for industrial betterment." (Seventy Years of Life and Labor (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1925), p. 383.) These exceptions to the admonitions laid down by Pope Leo XIII on joining non-Catholic unions have on occasion been applied to some European countries: "Reference has been made to the difficulties in Germany between the Christian and Catholic trade unions, that called forth Pope Pius X's letter to the German bishops in 1912. The Christian trade unions, composed of Catholics and Protestants, began in Germany in 1894 with headquarters at Cologne. From the first they were recognized and supported by the Catholic Workers' Unions (Arbeivereine) of south and west Germany, but opposed by the Catholic unions of the east, particularly around Berlin. The Berlin unions objected to them on religious grounds-membership in them would endanger the faith of Catholics. This controversy heatedly involving clergy and laity, so weakened the Christian cause against Socialism that the Holy Father intervened. Although the Pope in his encyclical

the fact that Catholics were often the unpopular minority. The conclusion, therefore, was that separate Catholic unions would only weaken a labor movement which hardly had begun to grow. They would be a divisive force.

Thus even after 1891, when the Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo had specifically and officially given the Papal blessing to workingmen's labor organizations, Catholic workers did not form Christian unions, but continued to function through the existing secular unions. While Rerum Novarum was greatly appreciated by most of the American hierarchy, especially at a time when national labor federations like the Knights and the AF of L were striving for growth and strength, its application was relatively slow to take effect. ". . .It can hardly be maintained," Downing's studies concluded, "that the encyclical of Leo XIII was shouted from the housetops. Nor can it be shown that much serious attention was given--in the training of priests--to its practical implications. . . Social studies were neglected in the seminaries. . ."[1] This is reaffirmed by Husslein:[2]

> Since full acceptance of unions by 1891, Catholics have had no direct call from Rome or American Bishops to establish Catholic trade unions. What Christian principles could be applied, must be applied through Catholic leaders who were acquainted with the social principles of the Church.

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recognized the Christian or "mixed unions", he ordered Catholics to form their own trade unions wherever their numbers warranted it." (Fox, op. cit.,.pp. 84-85.)

[1]Downing in Moody, op. cit., p. 856.

[2]Ibid.

However,

> . . .American labor unionists of the Catholic faith have unfortunately seldom enjoyed in the past, the opportunity of a sound and thorough training in Christian social principles.[1]

And affirmed also by Abell:

> Catholics in the main failed to carry forward the encyclical teachings during the decade and a half following (Rerum Novarum). . . .They lacked the unity and strength to sustain an effective program of social reform. Division and disunity in the form of virulent racial dissension rent the Catholic body during the last decade of the 19th and the first years of the 20th century.[2]

Furthermore, more prominent Catholics considered the Church a conservative force and others were subservient to the rich and powerful and were "indisposed to advance the collective welfare of the laboring poor."[3] Many Catholics had climbed the ladder of success and others felt optimistic about doing so, and these did not wish their past or present association with the "laboring class" to be emphasized.

At the same time, many Catholics vaguely believed that Rerum Novarum was primarily directed against Socialists,

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[1]Husslein, Joseph, The Christian Social Manifesto, (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1931), 219.

[2]Abell, op. cit., p. 478; for another view cf. Sister Jean De Lourdes Leonard, "Catholic Attitude toward American Labor, 1884-1919" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1946): Father John Ryan, noted Catholic Economist, is quoted as saying in 1908: the ". . .great majority of our clergy in the United States has not yet begun to study systematically or take more than a superficial interest in the important social problems of their age and country." (Ibid., p. 56).

[3]Abell, op. cit., p. 479.

and did not, therefore, heed its call for positive social action. Some Catholics, missing its import completely, took the criticism of Socialists to mean that the Pope considered all workmen suspect, and in their confusion such Catholics "in appreciable numbers turned to Socialism, acquiescing in Socialist propaganda in the trade unions, joining the Socialist Party, and supporting its candidates for public office."[1]

As summarized by Abell: "Just as until the late eighties the clergy opposed social reform and hampered the laity, so now for fifteen years or more after the appearance of Rerum Novarum an influential minority of conservative laymen belittled the labor movement and restrained the clergy who were increasingly eager to apply the Leonine teachings."[2]

Despite the apathy with which Catholics in general received Rerum Novarum there is evidence that its indirect influence, at least, had been considerable. A Catholic Congress was held at Chicago, as part of the Columbian Exposition of 1893, attended by the Church's foremost ecclesiastics. The meetings, sponsored by Cardinal Gibbons, "aimed at mobilizing the whole Catholic body both lay and clerical, for progressive social action."[3] The Congress

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[1] Ibid., p. 482.

[2] Ibid., p. 484.

[3] Ibid., p. 473.

condemned "the heartless greed of capital as well as nihilism, socialism, and communism; proclaimed the right of workers to organize in unions for their mutual protection and benefit; urged the Church to mediate and the state to arbitrate, disputes between capital and labor. . ."[1]

Another example of the influence of Rerum Novarum is represented by Father Yorke who was applying the principles of the encyclical first hand in the area of San Francisco around 1900, participating in waterfront labor activities and defending labor's right to strike and organize.[2] The German Catholic Central Verein, another Catholic social group in this country, had been founded as early as 1855 to assist the laboring man and to foster social reform. The Central Verein published its own newspaper, supported legislation favorable to labor, schooled workers in labor practices, and cooperated with the AFL in other projects, such as the protecting of German immigrants who had language and cultural difficulties in adjusting to American life.[3] The Verein owed much of its success to Father Peter E. Dietz, the "organizer of the American Catholic Social Movement,"[4] who later took part in AFL conventions and

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[1] Ibid., p. 474.

[2] Cf. Bernard Cornelius Cronin, Father Yorke and the Labor Movement in San Francisco, 1900-1910 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943).

[3] Abell, op. cit., p. 487.

[4] Ibid., p. 488.

worked tirelessly "to carry Christian ethics into the trade union field."[1] Father Dietz later formed a "Militia of Christ" for social and labor union work which was ultimately integrated into the broader American Federation of Catholic Societies, designed to spread Catholic social principles. This reached a membership of 3 million by 1917,[2] but was replaced by the National Catholic War Council during World War I and, later, by the National Catholic Welfare Council (now Conference), still functioning out of Washington, D.C.

In addition to this activity in the area of Catholic social action, it is reported that between 1900 and 1918 Catholics were the largest religious group in the AFL.[3] Perlman also believed this possible, writing in 1928.[4] Another labor student reports that of the fifteen million organized workers in 1949, five million were Catholic.[5] Moreover, it is a well known fact that the AFL was composed, time and again, of predominantly Irish leadership in the

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[1] Ibid., p. 489. See also: Fox, op. cit.; Henry Browne, "Peter Dietz, Pioneer Planner of Catholic Social Action," Historical Review, January 1948; Mary Brophy, "The Social Thought of the German Roman Catholic Verein," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1941).

[2] Karson, op. cit., p. 538.

[3] Ibid., p. 528.

[4] Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement, op. cit., p. 168.

[5] Martin Mayer, "The Catholic Church and the Union Movement, "Labor and Nation, March-April, 1949, pp. 27-29.

national unions. Of the eight Vice-Presidential officers on the AFL Executive Board from 1900 to 1918, "Catholics numbered at least four during any one year."[1] The number of Catholics who were presidents of the AFL international unions in the years from 1900 to 1918, "reveals an incomplete list of more than fifty. . ."[2]

The presence of this significant number of Catholics in the labor movement results, at least, in a possible force for further application of the social principles laid down by the Popes.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the role of the Catholic Church and Catholic influence as it has affected the area of labor organization in Europe and the United States. While the Catholic Church, particularly prior to 1891, had not always been too specific in its official pronouncements relating to labor organization, its basic message has always been sympathetic to the worker.

More particularly, this perspective indicates the patterns of more direct Catholic activity in the labor movements of Europe and the United States. Such activity in Europe often culminated in sectarian unionism, which did not seem out of place in the ideological atmosphere. In this country the Catholic worker, in harmony with the American

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[1] Karson, op. cit., p. 528.

[2] Ibid.

environment, was exhorted to work through the non-sectarian union. In Europe, Catholic political parties often succeeded in carrying out their social programs through government auspices. In this country, a Catholic or even a Christian political party has had no significance historically and would, in any case, undoubtedly have little chance to succeed.

In the United States the Catholic workers, making up a substantial portion of some segments of the labor movement, have sought to align themselves with the type of pragmatic unionism the American tradition has established. Papal encyclicals have contained social doctrines which warn Catholic workers away from radical solutions to social problems and encourage associations which foster religion. The American labor movement has, itself, avoided radicalism and so provided a safe haven for Catholic labor activity. Specific Catholic associations designed to foster religion have sprouted from time to time, but have had little influence.

The Church and the Papal encyclicals have, therefore, had a contrasting impact on the labor movements of Europe and the United States, due in part to environmental factors and in part to varying interpretations of the Papal statements and encyclicals.

It seems clear, however, that Catholic teachings once pronounced and applied were not fundamentally inimical to

union organization, whether sectarian or not,[1] and that Catholic encouragement of, or direct participation in, the American non-sectarian labor movement was a logical result of the Papal teaching. While direct Church participation or encouragement was virtually non-existent even after 1891, it should be noted that Catholic influence may have been greater than is commonly believed due to the significant number of Catholics in the American labor movement, many in positions of union leadership. For purposes of this study, however, it is of particular relevance that the above evidence clearly indicates that, the European experience notwithstanding, Catholic workers or labor leaders in this country did not attempt to promote sectarian unionism.

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[1]If the Church pressed strongly for Christian unions in Europe, it was primarily due to the opposition to the philosophy of Socialism rather than opposition to non-sectarian unionism per se. (Cf. Moon, op. cit., especially Chapters I, VI; Also Saposs, op. cit., Chapter X).

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND AIMS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS

The Origins of ACTU

The organization with which this study is primarily concerned, is an outgrowth of (1) the non-sectarian tradition of labor unionism in this country, as just described, and (2) the depression of the 1930's. With regard to the first point, while the Popes had urged Catholics to form associations, the establishment of Christian unions in the American environment was seen to be unlikely. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists conforms to this tradition, in that while its formal membership is made up of Catholic workers, it is not a labor union.

With respect to point (2), the depression provided the immediate impetus to the creation of ACTU. The 1930's were turbulent years, with unemployment and insecurity threatening to create a genuine cleavage between labor and capital in the industrial life of the United States. The workers were open to the temptation of joining whatever forces arose, so long as their destitute status would be attacked vigorously with remedies. The causes of the depression, whatever they were, were lost behind the urgency of the immediate problem of widespread unemployment. Under these circumstances, radical solutions of all kinds gained substantial support from workers. If the Communists rioted for work and remedial legislation

in Washington (which they did in considerable numbers), how could they be your enemies? If the Communists insisted something was wrong with the social and economic system which permitted fifteen or sixteen millions to walk the streets for years without work and income (which they did en masse), who among the unemployed could deny the evidence which seemed to prove their claim?[1]

It was in this atmosphere of social unrest and confused loyalties that Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical letter, Quadragesimo Anno. In 1931, on the occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the encyclical of Leo XIII (Rerum Novarum), Pius XI's letter pertained to the reconstruction of the social order. In the upheaval of the time the theme hardly seemed presumptuous. Quadragesimo Anno reviewed the intentions of Rerum Novarum and the warnings of Pope Leo concerning membership of Catholics in non-Catholic or "neutral" trade unions, particularly those prone to radicalism.[2]

A further precaution was added at this time, however, which seemed to call for the organization of Catholic labor associations. "Among these precautions," the Encyclical states, "the first and most important is that, side by side

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[1]For a detailed and poignant account of the depression years see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Crises of the Old Order, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

[2]Pius X had reiterated these precautions in his Encyclical letter of September, 1912, Singulari Quadam, but they seemed particularly relevant in the turmoil of sudden depression.

with these trade unions (neutral, non-sectarian unions) there must always be associations which aim at giving their members a thorough religious and moral training, that these may in turn impart to the labor unions to which they (the unionists) belong the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct. Thus will these unions exert a beneficial influence far beyond the ranks of their own members."[1] This plea was coupled with a two-fold request that "lay apostles" be trained in Christian social principles and that the clergy give increased attention and study to "social matters."[2]

The call for organization of Catholic unionists was clear. The organizations themselves would not replace existing unions but exist "side by side" with such unions. The Pope's message of 1931 was widely known among Catholics, although The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists was not organized until 1937. Nevertheless, through the early 1930's Quadragesimo Anno provided a beacon for Catholics adrift in a time of confused and broken loyalties concerning a system which seemed to have betrayed the workers.

The Catholic Worker

The social nucleus out of which ACTU eventually did spring was the Catholic Worker Movement. This began with the issuance of the first "Catholic Worker" paper in Union Square

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[1] Five Great Encyclicals, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] "Undoubtedly the first and immediate apostles of the workingman must themselves be workingmen. . ." (Ibid., p. 166).

New York City, on May Day, 1933. Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day were its founders. The newspaper was the only nationally circulated Catholic labor paper of the time. Beginning on May Day with an issue of 2,500 copies,[1] its circulation went to 25,000 in about four months, to 100,000 in a year, to 136,000 by summer, 1936.[2] The first task of this group was to organize hospitality houses on the model of the European hospics. These, in the words of the founders, will "give to the rich the opportunity to serve the poor," and "bring social justice through Catholic action exercised in Catholic institutions."[3] The purpose of the hospitality houses was to provide a practical aid, food and lodging to the destitute, "to form a powerhouse of genuine spirituality and earnest educational and vocational work . . . and to work for the glory and love of God and His Church."[4] Houses of Hospitality were begun in many principle cities of the United States, under

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[1]"The crowds in Union Square stopped to gaze on May 1, not only at massed parades, blary bands, and various red banners, but also at the caption "The Catholic Worker" being displayed and distributed everywhere. Communists who made soap-box speeches were frankly shocked at its appearance, refuting as it did their claim that the Church is interested only in squeezing money from the people to send to Rome. Even more surprising to them was the revelation that Catholicism has a definite social program to aid the worker." (The Catholic Worker, newspaper of the movement, June-July, 1933, p. 5.)

[2]Dorothy Day, The Long Loneliness (New York: Harper Brothers, 1952), p. 221; see also idem, House of Hospitality (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939).

[3]The Catholic Worker, October, 1933, p. 1.

[4]Ibid., November, 1933, p. 7.

the guidance of the New York house, and like houses were organized in England, Australia, Canada, Italy, and Hungary. In addition to its program of immediate relief for the poor and unemployed, the Catholic Worker plan of action included aid to cooperatives, workers groups, guilds of assistance, and the promotion of social legislation.

There was no question that the Catholic Worker organization wished to improve the lot of the worker. It took part in numerous strikes and inveighed at length in its paper against unjust employers and in support of worker attempts to improve working conditions. It encouraged the organization of local neighborhood councils to spread the social teachings of the Catholic Church. It urged Catholic workers to join unions. It took part in labor disputes and negotiation (by arranging meetings with employers) on behalf of workers and marched in picket lines for their causes.

Beyond these pragmatic achievements, the Catholic Worker Movement had ultimate aims which for the most part were and are considered utopian by orthodox labor unionists. It advocated a "Green Revolution" which included breaking up of the industrial system in favor of farm Communes, and a philosophy akin to Communism in that production would follow the dictum: from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.[1] While espousing many Communist

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[1]These statements of the Catholic Worker views are taken from "Catholic Worker Positions," a mimeographed paper published by the hospitality house of New York, and from interviews at the New York house.

ideas, the Catholic Worker would seek to avoid the violence and the Godlessness of the Marxian version. Nevertheless, the Catholic Worker follows what is basically a Marxian labor theory of value in its belief that "today we have a non-producing class which is maintained by the labor of others with the consequence that the laborer is systematically robbed of that wealth in which he produces over and above what is needed for bare maintenance."[1] The factory system is condemned as inhuman, and a distributive system is advocated in which farms and villages will make up the decentralized economy, somewhat on the pre-capitalist feudal order.[2] The Catholic Worker did not believe that modern mass production methods could be reconciled with the inherent nature of human personality. In the words of its co-founder, Dorothy Day, the Catholic Worker sought a society in which there would be "ownership by the workers of the means of production, the abolition of the assembly line, decentralized factories, the restoration of crafts and widespread ownership of property. This meant, of course, an accent on the agrarian and rural aspects of our economy and a changing of emphasis from the city to the land."[3]

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[1] Ibid. Dorothy Day, co-founder of the Movement was a convert to Catholicism from Communism before her association with the Movement. Cf. her autobiography, op. cit.

[2] "Catholic Worker Positions," Ibid.

[3] Dorothy Day, The Long Loneliness (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), pp. 220-221.

Other Catholic Organizations

Also in existence in the 1930's was the "Labor Guild", and organization of men "who have been attending study classes and discussion groups and who wish to make an attempt to put into practice their theories of social action."[1] The Labor Guild advocated an amalgamation of representatives of all trades comprising capital, labor, and the consumer. And the cooperation of these would eliminate unemployment "because working hours and wages, buying and selling would be regulated by the amalgamated representatives."[2]

There was also the League for Social Action, to which most of the members of the "Labor Guild" belonged. This met at the Catholic Worker House in New York City, though the League was in existence in October, 1932, some months before the Catholic Worker was organized. The League, however, was primarily a body of Catholic men who gathered in order to pray to God "to enable them individually to live up to the Social precepts of the Gospels."[3]

The National Catholic School of Social Service also cropped up during these early years of the depression, under the directorship of Reverend Francis Haas, who was active in labor activities until his death in 1953. Schools for Catholic Action were in existence in many communities to spread

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[1] The Catholic Worker, June-July, 1933, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., October, 1933, p. 2.

[3] Ibid., September, 1933, p. 2

the word of the Social encyclicals of Leo XIII, Pius X and Pius XI.[1] The Social Action arm of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which had been created by the American bishops in 1919, was active in undertaking Catholic social action of many kinds.[2]

ACTU's Uniqueness

None of these activities in the area of Catholic social organization made a direct attempt to work "side by side," local by local, or within the American labor movement. Though many of the efforts of these different groups aided laborers with education in labor principles, social service aid and charitable assistance, these were not direct attempts to establish nuclei or caucuses which would work within specific trade unions, influencing their policies and their aims. Most workers, in fact, who took part in these organizations were not union members, since sweeping, industrial unionization had not yet been experienced in this country in the early thirties. Finally, many members of these groups were among the vast unemployed who often were seeking immediate relief from dire want.

When the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists organized in 1937, it rejected the extreme philosophy and princi-

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[1]The encyclicals, already referred to, are Rerum Novarum, 1891; Singulari Quadam, 1912; Quadragesimo Anno, 1931; to be found in "Five Great Encyclicals," op. cit.

[2]See its official publication, Catholic Action, a monthly publication, Washington, D.C. It attempts to report news of all Catholic social activity going on in the country.

ples of the Catholic Worker Movement and, in contrast to all of the Catholic groups just reviewed, sought specifically to work closely, local by local, with existing trade unions. Furthermore, when ACTU came into existence, it was in the midst of the feverish unionizing activity of the CIO, following the implementation of the Wagner Act of 1935. Labor was organizing on a grand scale, and ACTU could win favor with the union movement by helping it to organize the workers.

Thus while ACTU founders realized the seriousness of the depression in its effect on the social milieu, it believed, contrary to the Catholic Worker, that "the immediate job at hand was enough for the Association."[1] The co-founder of ACTU, John Cort, considered the Catholic Worker group "zealots" who had been "sold on the more romantic and intolerant editions of agrarianism."[2] It was Cort's belief, and that generally of the ACTU, that industrialism was here to stay, and a realistic attempt to bring the Christian spirit in the form of labor and management cooperation through Industry Councils and joint production committees was the duty and goal of Catholic social action in our time. The

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[1]Dorothy Day, loc. cit. "They (ACTU) disagreed too with our indiscriminate help in strikes where there was strong Communist influence, and our loss of the opportunity to get our own men into positions of vantage in order to influence others." It will be seen later, however, that most Actists did not believe its members should seek positions of influence, particularly within unions for fear the organization would become a political caucus within the union.

[2]John Cort, "The Labor Movement," Commonweal, October 1, 1948, p. 597.

"Green Revolution" of the Catholic Worker was, to ACTISTS, idealistic and utopian.[1] Furthermore, ACTU believed the Catholic Worker ignored the directions of the Papal encyclicals and, in fact, that the Catholic Worker group did not even accept them.[2]

ACTU believed that cooperation could resolve the conflict between labor and management, or labor and capital; the Catholic Worker believed that class war was inherent in the capitalist system and that, therefore, "the Christian aim should be the elimination of the capitalist class, not by violence, but by the workers taking over the means of production and then working towards a decentralized and deindustrialized system.[3] For the Catholic Worker group ACTU's program was not radical enough to combat the Marxist call to violence, and it ought to condemn the industrial system entirely for its "degradation of the workman into a subhuman

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[1]A protracted debate on the conflicting aims, practices, and ends of the Catholic Worker versus ACTU may be found in the pages of Commonweal, over a period of years. More recently it has flared up in the following issues: October 1, November 19, 26, December 10, 17, and 24--all in 1948; January 7, 1949. John Cort, according to one communication to Commonweal, had claimed that although he was at the Catholic Worker for two and one-half years, he had never heard of pacifism, the general strike, anti-industrialism, worker ownership of the means of production, agrarianism, the village economy, the reality of the class war. But a reply in the same issues states that: "All of these have, with varied emphasis, been part of the Catholic Worker from the beginning." (Commonweal, November 19, 1949, p. 139.)

[2]Communication of Rev. William J. Smith, S.J. to Commonweal, November 19, 1948, p. 140.

[3]Communication of Robert Ludlow of the Catholic Worker to Commonweal, ibid.

robot."[1]

Thus the divergence of ACTU and the Catholic Worker was such that one accepted the social system as it existed, and desired to Christianize it through an "industrial apostolate"; the other desired to abolish the industrial system as we know it and to "agrarianize" it. ACTU's "apostles" worked in the field, in factories, shops, on the docks, or on the road, as the industrial system set the pattern, and within the existing labor movement. The Catholic Worker "apostles" refused to deal with the industrial system and were found organizing farm communities or villages, and feeding the "victims" of urbanization in their Houses of Hospitality. The psychology of ACTU was industrial cooperation; the psychology of the Catholic Worker group was that the existing system made cooperation impossible and that harmony for the human personality could only be found in the country village, in small artanship, and on the land.

ACTU contrasted with the Catholic Worker Movement not only in its philosophy and approach to social problems, it differed from other Catholic organizations in the social field of the 1930's, in its primary aim to be an association of bone fide unionists, working <u>within</u> the labor movement.

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[1]Thomas Barry, Letter to <u>Commonweal</u>, May 19, 1939, p. 101. This discussion involved the Catholic Worker agrarians, who believed in dispensing with the industrial system in favor of a back to the land movement, "Communications," <u>Commonweal</u>, May 19, June 2, 23, 30, July 21, 1939.

The New York Nucleus

The actual origin of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists took place near New York City's China-town, at the home of the Catholic Worker Movement. Martin Wersing, now a labor mediator with the New York State Board of Mediation, and Edward Squitieri, both members of a Utility Workers Union in 1937, suggested the organization to others at the Catholic Worker hospice. The account in ACTU's first independent paper, The Labor Leader, described the origin as "a group of militant Catholic union men, following the council of the Holy Father, Pius XI, founded the ACTU . . . on the afternoon of February 27, 1937, at the Catholic Worker headquarters in New York City."[1]

The immediate reason for their desire for an organization stemmed from the concern of Squitieri and Wersing over the activities of Communists in their union, of which Wersing was President. "Why," they asked themselves, "shouldn't Catholics be as active in promoting unionism for good ends?"[2] While ACTU had other objectives and discussed the ultimate goals suggested by the Church for society, the Communist threat seemed, to the founders, the most vital immediate problem.

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[1] The Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 3.

[2] John C. Cort, "Catholics in Trade Unions," Commonweal, May 5, 1939; also interview with John Cort, Boston, December 31, 1953 and Martin Wersing in New York, March 10, 1954. Wersing had been reading Cort's articles in The Catholic Worker and later attended the discussion classes on the Papal encyclicals at the Catholic Worker home in New York.

Their initial meetings and publicity were carried on through the Catholic Worker facilities. The announcement of ACTU's formation in the Catholic Worker paper read as follows:

> A group of Catholic union men meeting around the kitchen table here at St. Joseph's House officially founded last Saturday afternoon a new organization to be known as the Catholic Association of Trade Unionists, designed to educate, stimulate and coordinate on a Christian basis the action of Catholic workingmen and women, in the American labor movement.[1]

Martin Wersing, President of the Utility Workers' Union, and John C. Cort, of the Catholic Worker were asked to draw up principles and a constitution for the second meeting on March 6, 1937.

Eight unions were represented at the first meeting: Utility Workers Union; International Seaman's Union; Newspaper Guild; Carpenters Union; International Ladies Garment Workers; Milk Driver's Union; Brushmakers Union; and the Home Relief Workers Union. Meetings were held each week, and within the first month the union representatives increased to twelve, adding the Plumbers and Steamfitters; Marine Cooks and Stewards; Civil Service Forum; Building Service Employees. The first officers were Martin Wersing, of the Utility Workers, President; John C. Cort, of the Catholic Worker, Secretary; Lawrence Delaney, of the Newspaper Guild, Treasurer; and Robert Smith of the Relief Workers, Educational Director.[2]

By May, 1938, the name was changed to the Association of

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[1] The Catholic Worker, March, 1937, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., April, 1937, p. 6

Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) rather than the Catholic Association of Trade Unionists, at the suggestion of Monsignor McIntyre (now Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles), because it was felt the initial title implied that it was a Church canonical organization. Apparently, the need for caution in associating the Church with new labor organizations had not disappeared. On the other hand, it was obvious that laymen, untrained in Catholic theology, could not be allowed to speak officially for the Church.

In June, 1937, the first official publication of the ACTISTS was issued and sponsored by the Consolidated Edison Chapter of ACTU, under the title "Power and Light." Ten thousand copies were distributed throughout the Con-Edison system.[1] Now in its fourth month, ACTU membership had increased to sixty and the number of unions represented to 17.

Since ACTU sought to carry the program of the Papal Social Encyclicals into the labor field, one of its early moves was to obtain a Catholic chaplain to assist the organization and act as its consultant in matters related to Christian social and spiritual principles. The spiritual aspect of Catholic action was not to be neglected. For this purpose Father John P. Monaghan had been approached by the Actists and was subsequently appointed to this work by Cardinal Hayes.

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[1] Ibid., June, 1937, p. 6. In this issue, the ACTU's favor of the CIO's organizing campaign was indicated. It criticized the Con-Edison company's attempt to discredit the CIO and claimed that the AFL union there "sold out" to the company. ACTU sponsored only two of these Con-Edison Editions.

In August, 1937, ACTU organized classes in public speaking and parliamentary law, designed to increase the effectiveness of union members in their respective unions.[1] Catholics and non-Catholics could attend without charge. By the third meeting, registration in the labor school had reached 221, representing 47 different unions, of which 25 were AFL, 14 CIO, and 8 were independent.[2]

Before the end of its first year, through local rallies, bulletins, its reports in the Catholic Worker and other papers, and its direct work in a number of unions, ACTU could claim members representing 22 different unions, about "half CIO, half AFL, and a few Independent."[3] In addition, a number of cities throughout the country had either begun to organize schools, discussion groups and chapters, or expressed interest in doing so.[4] The New York ACTU had started its own weekly newspaper The Labor Leader on January 3, 1938, which claimed to be "the first Catholic weekly in America devoted exclusively to union news and comment."[5]

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[1] The Catholic Worker, August, 1937, p. 3. This developed by November into a labor college at Fordham University's Woolworth Building School, with labor experts, priests, and Fordham lay faculty giving the courses (ibid., November, 1937, p. 3). More of this educational function in Chapter IV.

[2] Ibid., December, 1937, p. 4.

[3] The Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 3.

[4] The Catholic Worker, June, 1937, p. 6; August, p. 3.

[5] Ibid., January, 1938, p. 3.

In March, 1938, due to its need for more space and its growing independence of the principles and practices of the Catholic Worker Movement, as described earlier in this chapter, ACTU moved from the Catholic Worker hospice to new headquarters of its own "in a loft building that housed the local headquarters of the Communist Party below us and above us the Chinese Laundrymen's Association."[1]

A month after its move from the Catholic Worker House, in April, 1938, the Catholic Labor Defense League, a group of Catholic lawyers who were willing to give free legal assistance and advice to deserving labor cases, was formed under the auspices of New York ACTU.[2]

The Growth of ACTU

Organization In Other Cities

The first efforts in organization of ACTU were confined to local New York unions, but through personal contact, pamphlets, publicity in Catholic newspapers and periodicals in various sections of the country, calls for ACTU's constitution came from a number of cities. These included

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[1]George Donahue, National ACTU Chairman, in Proceedings, Sixth National Convention, July 30-July 1, 1951, p. 5. The debt to the Catholic Worker, however, was acknowledged. "In all this the ACTU owed, and still owes a tremendous debt to The Catholic Worker, its foster-mother, who not only fostered, but aided, abetted, supported (financially and otherwise), criticized and encouraged its struggling offspring" (The Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 3). A number of chapters in other cities found their nucleus and initial impetus at Catholic Worker hospices, even though the basic philosophy of each organization differed.

[2]The Catholic Worker, May, 1938, p. 2.

Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Worcester, Tacoma, Pontiac (Michigan), Indianapolis and Bellingham (Washington).[1] Occasionally, organizers were sent out from New York to aid in starting new chapters. Since this was a period of intense organizing activity on the part of the newly formed CIO, with the country literally teeming with union activity, ACTU's attempts met with considerable success. By March, 1938, Boston had founded Chapter 2 of the National ACTU;[2] by July, Detroit had established Chapter 3, after several years of encouragement by Rev. Sebastian Erbacher of Dons Scotus College, who spoke at labor schools, study clubs, and open forums,[3] and with much publicity and sympathy from Archbishop Mooney of Detroit. The Detroit chapter, as had the New York ACTU, set up temporary headquarters in the Catholic Worker House in Detroit, with Father Erbacher as chaplain of the organization.[4]

In Pittsburgh, the Catholic Radical Alliance, designed "for putting the Pope's encyclicals and the Gospel teachings on charity and social justice into action" was started by

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[1] The Catholic Worker, May, 1937, p. 7; and June, 1937, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., April, 1938, p. 2. This chapter also developed out of a Catholic Worker study group. "The local ACTU (Boston) is gaining momentum. It hopes to start a workers' school as soon as sufficient teachers, both lay and priests, can be found, who are able and willing to give their time to give lectures along labor and encyclical lines." (The Catholic Worker, April, 1938, p. 2.)

[3] Michigan Catholic, September 16, 1937, p. 1.

[4] Michigan Catholic, July 7, 1938, p. 1.

Rev. Charles Owen Rice in April, 1937.[1] In June, Father Rice sought information from the newly formed ACTU of New York as to founding a Pittsburgh chapter.[2] This was accomplished, finally, in August, 1938, when the Radical Alliance re-formed under the ACTU banner.[3]

On October 18, 1938, following a department-store strike in San Francisco, a meeting of 102 trade unionists was held, temporary officers were elected, the ACTU constitution was accepted, and by February 9, 1939, Archbishop John Mitty had given his approbation and appointed a chaplain for the new chapter.[4] San Francisco was listed as Chapter 6 nationally, following New York, Boston, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Ponca City, Oklahoma, which had organized Chapter 5 on January 1, 1939, but which soon lapsed into inactivity.[5]

The next chapter to organize was in Chicago, prompted again by a strike, that of the Newspaper Guild against the Hearst Newspapers.[6] Several priests, working with members

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[1] The Catholic Worker, June, 1937, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Report on file, ACTU office, New York

[4] Ibid. At the time of the strike mentioned there was technically no ACTU organization in existence, though a letter in its name was sent to Catholics who crossed the picket lines of the strikers. This caused a flurry of calls on Archbishop Mitty, denials, doubts, inquiries. It was after this incident that a group of the strikers gathered to discuss the organization of an ACTU chapter.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Rev. Joseph Oberle, "The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," (Pamphlet; New York: The Paulist Press, 1941, p. 5).

of the American Newspaper Guild, formed a nucleus around which the Chicago ACTU developed. The chapter was established in February, 1939, officers were elected in June, and a Labor School was founded the following December.[1]

Chapter 8 of ACTU was loosely associated in Akron, Ohio, on April 20, 1939, formally organized in July, sent delegates to the First National Convention of ACTU in September, 1940, but by the 1941 National Convention the group had lapsed into inactivity.[2]

Chapter 9 was formed in Cleveland in July, 1939, as a result of the Social Action Congress held there under the auspices of the National Catholic Welfare Converence. At this conference, ACTU held a sectional meeting at which plans for a Cleveland chapter were discussed.

An attempt to form Chapter 10 at Glassport, Pennsylvania in the summer of 1939 did not meet with permanent success and the chapter did not become a reality.

A chapter at Newark, New Jersey, became the eleventh chapter of ACTU in November, 1939, after several months of discussion on the part of priests and laymen.[3]

Attempts to organize an ACTU chapter in Scranton,

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[1]Report on file, ACTU, New York (undated). Chicago later withdrew as an ACTU Chapter because it believed ACTU was too active in union affairs, and it wished to be independent. It became the Chicago Labor Alliance.

[2]Ibid., and National Director's Report to the Second Annual Convention, August 31-September 1, 1941, p. 2.

[3]Ibid., and Proceedings of the First National Convention of ACTU, August 31-September, 1940, pp. 11-12.

Pennsylvania in May, 1940, with 35 people present at the meeting, did not result in a formal organization, although it was to be Chapter 12.

Chapter 13 was organized in Saginaw, Michigan, after preliminary meetings and discussions with priests and labor leaders took place in June and September, 1939.[1]

Information concerning a Chapter 14 was sent by ACTU, New York, to Los Angeles in August, 1939. A chapter did not develop, however, and Milwaukee became Chapter 15 by organizing an ACTU group in March, 1940. St. Joseph County, Indiana, organized in December, 1940, to become Chapter 16 and Trinidad, Colorado, organized in April, 1941, to become Chapter 17. Seattle had made an attempt to organize in the summer of 1939, electing a member of a Fisherman's Union as its President; a member of a Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union as Vice President; a member of a Furriers Union, Secretary. The group, however, was not given ecclesiastical approbation and "was forced to disband."[2] Seattle persisted in its efforts, however, and was given a charter as Chapter 18 on June 16, 1941.[3] Later, this chapter became inactive, since the lack of a chaplain hampered its effectiveness.

By September, 1941, over four years after the organization of the first ACTU in New York, there were eleven officially chartered members of the National ACTU; an affili-

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[1] Report on file, ACTU, New York (undated).

[2] Undated report on file at New York ACTU

[3] Ibid.

ation with the national body of twenty-three individual members in Seattle who expected to affiliate; and groups in ten other cities which had contacted the central office in New York concerning affiliation.[1]

The news of ACTU continued to reach other cities. On December 1, 1941, a committee of thirteen "representative workers" met to form a nucleus of the ACTU in San Diego, under the sponsorship of the Most Reverend Bishop Charles Buddy.[2] The group planned to hold a few meetings before offering an open invitation to the workers.

In the "capitol district of Baltimore-Washington" (sic) Archbishop Michael Curley requested the Reverend Paul Meyer, Chairman of the Commission on Social Action, to discuss the possibility of forming a chapter "within that ecclesiastical jurisdiction."[3]

Also toward the end of this same year, the Seattle group, previously mentioned, and whose status as a chapter had fluctuated since its origin, reported that after trials against "inertia and distrust on the part of Catholic workers,"

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[1]National Director's Report to the Second Annual Convention, op. cit., p. 2. The members listed were New York City, Detroit, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Newark, Saginaw, Milwaukee, St. Joseph County, Indiana, and Trinidad, Colorado. Other cities contacted were San Pedro, California; New Orleans; Cincinnati; Oklahoma City; Philadelphia; Minneapolis; Portland, Oregon; Bellingham, Washington; and Rochester, New York.

[2]The Labor Leader, December 16, 1941, p. 3

[3]Ibid.

it was finally permitted a chaplain.[1]

National and Regional Organization

The need for a national liaison to unify the activities and aims of these scattered organizations and groups was felt from almost the beginning by many members. The New York chapter, therefore, sent out an invitation to all interested groups in April, 1939, to attend a national convention in June of that year. The convention was postponed in favor of a meeting with the Social Action Congress of the National Catholic Welfare Conference held in Cleveland that summer. It was thought that this Congress would suffice for the gathering of some ACTU chapters in informal conferences for the purpose of discussing national unification.[2] Representatives of about ten chapters took part in these conferences in June. A temporary Executive Committee was elected and this body laid plans in the spring of 1940 for the First National ACTU convention.[3] The convention met at

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[1] The Labor Leader, January 17, 1942, p. 4

[2] Oberle, op. cit., p. 6

[3] The following "semi-official" decisions were reached at these conferences: (1) that the Labor Leader (the New York bi-weekly paper) be the official organ of the ACTU nationally; (2) that each chapter order 500 copies per issue to be used for propaganda and organization purposes; (3) that any chapter that so desires may issue its own regularly printed supplement into which the national labor Leader would be inserted; (4) that the various chapters consider the adoption of the New York dues schedule; (5) conferences, or chapters, by industries are recommended; (6) agreement to adopt the "Stand of the ACTU"--a body of principles concerning unions, and various "isms" (taken from Oberle's master's thesis, op. cit., p. 13).

Cleveland on August 31-September 2, 1940, with delegates present from Akron, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, New York City, Newark, and Pittsburgh. Others were either financially unable to send delegates or could not enlist members who could spare the time or personal expense.

Provisions for a national convention of ACTU chapters had been included in the first temporary constitution written in February, 1937. "It took three years," Martin Wersing, first President of ACTU said later, "to accomplish what should have taken a much shorter time."[1] Nevertheless, ACTU had achieved national recognition. It had organized labor schools or discussion groups in every city where ACTU organs functioned, established Labor Defense Leagues to enlist free legal aid for unionists, succeeded in calling its first national convention, adopting its Articles of Federation, which in turn set up the office of National Director and National Council composed of a chaplain and representative of each chapter.[2] These two offices provided the liaison with all the chapters scattered throughout the country.

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[1] Proceedings, First National Convention, August 31-September 2, 1940.

[2] Ibid., pp. 78ff. The First National Director was Victor J. LoPinto of the New York ACTU chapter. ACTU had also received recognition from the National Catholic Welfare Conference, numerous letters of encouragement from clergy in all parts of the country. "Although the work of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is new in the organization of Catholic Action Councils according to the NCCM (National Council of Catholic Men) plan, it is sure to prove a most effective addition . . . ." (Catholic Action, Monthly publication of NCWC, March, 1941, p. 25).

Despite the fact that it was believed 25 cities would be affiliated by the time the First Annual National Convention had met, on the basis of communications received requesting recognition, only eleven were in existence and just one was added by the time of the Second Convention. Some chapters or potential chapters had lapsed into inactivity between the first and second conventions, such as the Akron, Ohio, group; while on the other hand, new chapters came into existence, such as Saginaw, Milwaukee, and St. Joseph County of Indiana.

As for the actual membership in ACTU to September, 1941, accurate figures were difficult to obtain by the national ACTU office, due to inadequate reporting by the many chapters. In the words of the National Director, "any attempt therefore to give a report on the numerical strength of the National ACTU would be merely a matter of guess work or at best of probability based on per capita reports and known enrollment of a few chapters."[1] On this basis, the estimate was that national paid up membership was 1,000, and national total enrolled membership of all chapters in September, 1941, was between 7,000 and 10,000.[2] The membership was distributed mostly among six chapters in the following order of strength: Detroit, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, New York City, and Chicago. Membership in the remaining

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[1]National Director's Report to the Second Annual Convention, op. cit., p. 3.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

six chapters (Cleveland; Newark; Saginaw; Milwaukee; St. Joseph County, Indiana; and Trinidad, Colorado) ranged from 25 to 100.[1]

Due to the spread of the Associations over all areas of the country as indicated by these membership cities, it was considered necessary at the 1941 convention to authorize the National Director to set up Regional Councils to aid the National office in establishing chapters and to increase ACTU activity in the regions.[2] Four such councils were set up for this purpose: Region 1, The North Atlantic; Region 2, The Great Lakes; Region 3, The Central States; Region 4, The Pacific Coast Area.[3] Headquarter cities in each region were tentatively selected as New York City, Detroit, Trinidad (Colorado), and San Francisco, respectively. The President of each headquarter city chapter was to call meetings of all chapters within his region to devise machinery and groups to implement the plan. The rules laid down for this regional development were to take effect September 3, 1941.[4]

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[1] Ibid. A full report is as follows: New York - 768; Detroit - 2,665; Pittsburgh - 1,057; San Francisco - 891; Chicago - 622; Cleveland - 72; Newark - 88; Saginaw (no dues paid); Milwaukee - no report; St. Joseph's County (no dues paid); Trinidad, Colorado - 41; Seattle - no report.

[2] The Labor Leader, September 30, 1941, p. 2.

[3] Region 1 included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Region 2: Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota. Region 3: Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Colorado. Region 4: Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, California.

[4] The Labor Leader, September 30, 1941, p. 2.

The Regional Councils were to meet twice a year, each chapter having an equal vote in the decisions. The chapters already included in the regions as of the above date were: (Region 1) New York City, Newark, Pittsburgh; (Region 2) Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Saginaw, Michigan, St. Joseph's County, South Bend, Indiana; (Region 3) Trinidad, Colorado; (Region 4) San Francisco and Seattle.

For the most part, this development along regional lines barely got started when the war broke out in December, 1941. It has not been in regular functional operation since. The National Director remained the key national office to function continuously. During the first years of ACTU, however, it was not always easy for the National Director to get adequate data from the various chapters. Letters were constantly being sent from the National Office to the chapters seeking their cooperation in providing information on their respective numbers, organizational activities, schools, and the like. For example, one notice to chapters complained that "complete cooperation" of all chapters was vital to continued national federation. "To date such cooperation has not been forthcoming." There has been "the failure of a few chapters to supply specific information requested from time to time by this office . . . . A few chapters have not as yet even sent in their membership lists; a few have failed to elect National Council Representatives; only four chapters answered the Workers School questionnaire;

per capita reports are by no means regular, and so on."[1]

Complaints of this kind have been recurrent in ACTU reports to the present time. Some chapters, on the other hand, blamed the lack of coopération and communication on the National Office.[2]

The War and Post War Years

By the time the war broke out ACTU had, in any case, established some unity in its establishment of national conventions and a national director. But the war gradually took its toll of ACTU leadership.[3] George Donahue, ACTU's President and Labor Leader editor, John Sheehan, Chairman of the ACTU's Labor Defense League, ACTU's financial Secretary, its Chairman of the Speakers Bureau, and an "ever-increasing membership of the ACTU" entered the service.[4] In February, 1943, one of the co-founders of ACTU, and then its Executive Secretary, Martin Wersing, resigned to take a position with the New York State Mediation Board.[5]

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[1]Interchapter Memorandum No. 12, May 3, 1941.

[2]Report of Detroit ACTU for 1951-1952, Proceedings of ACTU's Seventh National Convention, 1952, no pagination: "The only correspondence Detroit has received from the National was a copy of the 1951 convention, and an announcement of the 1952 convention."

[3]"Steadily and with increasing pace the dawn of the war tragedy is engulfing the ACTU. Week-in and week-out our men are going into distant lands, away from the work they have given so much to, to answer our nation's call . . ." (Labor Leader, September 30, 1942, p. 2.)

[4]Ibid.

[5]The Labor Leader, February 17, 1943, p. 1

Still, the organization sought to extend its influence. Hopes were expressed in September, 1942, to a delegation of South American Bishops that a South American branch of ACTU would someday become a reality. On September 10, 1942, a Spanish translation of the history, aims, and purposes of the ACTU was prepared for this delegation.[1]

To quell thoughts of ACTU remaining dormant for the duration, an editorial in its national paper pointed to the activity in Hartford, Connecticut, where Father Monaghan, National ACTU chaplain, was invited to speak to the Hartford Diocesan clergy for the purpose of organizing labor schools and ACTU chapters.[2] More than twice the number expected at the gathering attended. The result of this meeting was the formation of a labor school in February, 1943.

Though real organizing activity had understandably been curtailed during the war, further efforts to expand resulted in the granting of a charter to a chapter in Oakland, California in June, 1944, as Chapter 21.[3] The group of Catholic workers in that City had been meeting since the beginning of the year. Reverend Bernard C. Cronin, an active priest on behalf of ACTU, was appointed chaplain to the Oakland chapter.

In August, 1944, a Gary, Indiana group began studying

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[1]This was reported in a later Labor Leader, March 16, 1943, p. 3.

[2]Ibid., November 30, 1942, p. 1

[3]The Labor Leader, June 30, 1944, p. 3

the encyclicals, preliminary to a formal opening of an ACTU chapter.[1] In October, 1944, two new labor schools were opened under ACTU auspices, both in Harlem, New York. New York ACTU thus had four labor schools starting in the fall of 1944. These were the ACTU school at its own headquarters, the New Rochelle labor school, and the two new Harlem schools.[2] In November, 1944, ACTU New York acquired an associate chaplain who became the director of a new "East Side Holy Name School," which opened November 24. By September, 1945, ACTU listed twelve labor schools in the New York area, though the affiliation with the Association of many of them was tenuous. ACTU provided speakers, information on its activities, and encouragement, but for the most part the labor schools, other than ACTU's own, were independent.

In addition to these organizing efforts during the war years, letters of inquiry into membership or organization were received from nearly forty cities and town located all over the country.[3]

With the war over, ACTU sought to get back to normal operation. At the first post war Annual Communion Breakfast of New York ACTU on March 31, 1946, 600 were in attendance. Speakers included John Brophy of the CIO National Office, Cardinal J. Francis McIntyre, Reverend George Higgins

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[1] The Labor Leader, August 29, 1944, p. 3.

[2] The Labor Leader, September 30, 1944, p. 2.

[3] Letters on file, ACTU, New York City.

of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, D.C.[1] At the first annual Holy Name Society rally in the Polo Grounds, New York, 4,000 copies of ACTU's Labor Leader were distributed.[2]

In the years 1945-1946, ACTU was active in the organizational drive of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union among the Wanamaker Department store employees in New York. Moreover, ACTU urged the unionization of all the large chain store workers in New York. The warehouse workers, Service Employees of the Port of New York Authority, were aided by ACTU. Workers in several other independent companies were helped and urged to organize. These activities helped to expand ACTU's ranks and increase the circulation of its paper, as did occasional aid to strikers, and the addresses given by ACTU speakers before rallies, forums on industrial problems, and college student gatherings.

The Cleveland chapter announced its post-war rejuvenation and reorganization at a public dinner, at which members of the AFL, CIO, and Independent Unions attended.[3]

In 1948, ACTU had its first post-war National Convention, its third since its beginning in 1937. Plans were laid for a renewed drive to expand ACTU's membership and activity. Attempts to align itself more with non-Catholic

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[1]"A Report on the Work of ACTU, July 15, 1945-June 30, 1946," undated, mimeographed report, ACTU, New York, p. 1

[2]Ibid., p. 7.

[3]The Labor Leader, April 30, 1946, p. 1

workers were increased, and some thought was given to instituting a paid, permanent, full-time National Director. On this tenth anniversary of ACTU, Pope Pius XII sent a congratulatory message in which its work was blessed and commended by the Holy Father. While one study claimed that "on its 10th anniversary, 2,000 dues-paying members would be an optimistic estimate,"[1] ACTU felt that many thousands more were active in the organization throughout the country.

In September, 1950, following its fifth national convention, ACTU's leadership put on a promoting campaign among the clergy, labor organizations, and leading lay Catholics. Six hundred "ACTU Associates" among these contributed sufficient funds for a time to maintain a National Director on a full-time basis.[2] The National Director (or Chairman) travelled with other Actists to a conference of Catholic business educators at Notre Dame in August, 1950, and calls for ACTU's national paper came from "some two hundred" educators at the meetings.[3]

Through 1950 and 1951, from the organizational standpoint Actists felt that "a tremendous amount of work has been accomplished . . . in Philadelphia . . . The Camden group has likewise been growing in the past year. In

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[1]Harold J. Wattel, "The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," (unpublished Master's Essay, Columbia University, 1947), p. 31.

[2]Report of the National Director to the Sixth National Convention, Proceedings, 1951, p. 5.

[3]Ibid.

Buffalo we have another instance of growth."[1]

A full-time paid National Director became a reality in 1950-1951 to increase the effectiveness of the national office in promoting and coordinating ACTU activities. Due to the lack of funds, however, the full-time position was terminated in March, 1952.[2]

By 1953's Eighth National Convention of ACTU, the following twelve chapters were in existence: New York; Detroit; Pittsburgh; Philadelphia; Camden; Oakland; San Francisco; Cleveland; Gary, Indiana; Fort Wayne; St. John's, Newfoundland; Vancouver, Canada. Other groups present at the Eighth National Convention were St. Joseph's Guild, Buffalo; the Catholic Labor Alliance of Chicago; the Catholic Labor Guild of Boston; The Catholic Committee of the South; and the Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unions.[3] The Convention pledged renewed efforts to expand ACTU activities and organization in the coming years.[4]

Of the above chapters Detroit, Pittsburgh, Gary, Philadelphia, and New York were and still are the most active.

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[1] Ibid. Although the St. Joseph's Guild of Buffalo, attempted to become an ACTU chapter early in 1951, and, in fact, called itself chapter 26, the Bishop of the diocese would not approve the ACTU name, and it has not overcome these objectives yet to become an actual chapter (communication to ACTU, March 6, 1951, New York ACTU files).

[2] Financial Report of the Seventh National Convention Proceedings, 1952, n.p.

[3] Proceedings, Eighth National Convention, July, 1953, n.p.

[4] Ibid.

Detroit boasted readership "in forty-four states and a number of foreign countries" of its own paper The Wage Earner.[1] In 1952, the Detroit Chapter completed "one of the most successful educational programs . . . especially attractive to high school and college students who were well represented."[2] In an attempt to match the activity of the main chapters, Gary boasted of its drive for broader membership and told of the encouragement given by the Most Reverend Bishop John F. Noll, who "recommended that ACTU units be organized in all city parishes."[3]

Despite these efforts, from October 1953 to February, 1954, due to deficits and lack of funds, the National ACTU had to suspend publication of The Labor Leader. It has also been plagued with internal differences (to be discussed later in this study) which have tended to dampen inter-chapter activity. The educational and spiritual functions of all ACTU chapters, on the other hand, seem recently to have increased rather than diminished, with lectures, schools, and communion breakfasts reportedly better attended than ever before.[4]

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[1] Proceedings, Seventh National Convention, July, 1952, n.p.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Gary ACTU Report, Proceedings, Seventh National Convention, July, 1952, n.p.

[4] Chapter reports, Proceedings of the Seventh and Eighth National Convention, 1952, 1953.

ACTU's Finances, 1941-1957

Another over-all picture of ACTU'S strength during the war and post-war years may be gathered from ACTU financial reports. These refer to funds received for The Labor Leader, dues, initiations, the Communion breakfast and Journal, occasional dances, and donations. In some years total receipts are given, but consolidated statements were not available from 1943 to 1945.

PRINCIPLE SOURCES OF ACTU INCOME
July 1, 1941-December 31, 1950
(National Office, New York)

July 1-December 31, 1941 (half year)

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 216.60
Labor Leader Receipts	339.35
Donations	565.00
Total Income	$ 1,645.00*

January 1-December 31, 1942

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 419.61
Labor Leader Receipts	629.59
Donations	2,463.00
Total Income	$ 4,970.00

January 1-December 31, 1943

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 351.00
Labor Leader Receipts	1,011.30
Donations	$ 4,086.35
Total Income	(not available)

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*In each case where the total income exceeds the sum of the items listed, the difference is due to the omission of income from the Annual Communion Breakfast. Sale of tickets ($3.00 apiece) and advertising and patronage space in the Communion Journal account for substantial additions to income annually.

January 1-December 31, 1944

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 337.65
Labor Leader Receipts	1,147.90
Donations	$ 297.64
Total Income	(not available)

January 1-December 31, 1945

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 274.95
Labor Leader Receipts	2,210.27
Donations	$ 614.25
Total Income	(not available)

January 1-December 31, 1946

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 548.00
Labor Leader Receipts	2,297.80
Donations	1,045.00
Total Income	$ 4,123.00

January 1-December 31, 1947

Dues and Initiation fees	$ 739.75
Labor Leader Receipts	2,958.34
Donations	1,107.25
Total Income	$ 13,583.49

(Sale of Communion Breakfast Journal significant)

January 1-December 31, 1948

Dues	$ 877.00
Initiations*	56.50
Labor Leader Receipts*	(no account)
Donations	8,204.99
Total Income	$ 15,209.87

*Dues and initiation fees separated here because previously initiation fees amounted to less than $10 and in most years to only $1 or $2. The Labor Leader receipts were not separated in the accounts.

January 1-November 1, 1949

Dues	$ 607.50
Initiation	35.50
Donations	930.40
Total Income	$ 9,408.28

January 1-December 31, 1950

Dues	$ 882.97
Initiation	33.00
Labor Leader Receipts	3,061.70
Donations	1,077.00
Total Income	$ 10,583.92

While dues and initiation fees went down some in 1943, 1944, and 1945, receipts from the Labor Leader subscriptions (which, however, need not all be from ACTU members) went up considerably, 1945 being nearly double the receipts of 1942, 1943, and 1944. The total income figures of the war years are not radically different. Nevertheless, there is a clear indication of growth, from an income of $1,645 in 1941 to a high of $15,209.87 in 1948. The increase in Popularity of the Labor Leader is also indicated by the receipts.

This account was not kept after 1950 for the reason that ACTU ceased to engage a full-time officer on a salary basis. Apparently, no one could give the time to consolidating the year's transactions. After 1950 a monthly record was kept, usually read into the minutes of the monthly meetings of the membership. From study of these records from 1950 to 1957, the monthly transactions amounted to an average of approximately $750. This would indicate an annual average of transactions of approximately $9,000. As of February 18, 1957, the organization had a deficit of $1,252.50. ACTU has always maintained that its financial support is not indication of its true strength and influence. Unionists pay dues to their unions and are reluctant to

accept further obligations of this kind, even though active in ACTU schools or discussions. Even more pertinent, however, ACTU maintains that it is not interested in quantity (numbers) as such but in the quality of its influence, believing that it spreads in time and indirectly to many more individuals than its membership roles would indicate.

The Future

Since the economic climate is no longer as conducive to organizing as it was in the late 1930's when ACTU began, ACTU will have to look for growth in less greener pastures in the future. A suggestion was made, for example, at the sixth National Convention that "over twenty million white collar workers alone are outside the trade union movement. These people are underpaid, insecure and a million miles from any industrial council plan."[1] Discussions in recent meetings have reiterated this point.[2]

Whether the ACTU, or any union efforts, will meet with more success in these endeavors will undoubtedly depend greatly upon the economic status of the white collar category in the future. This category, including clerical labor, has on the whole, maintained a certain distaste for unionization, partly due to close contact with management, partly to

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[1] Report of the National Director, Proceedings, Sixth National Convention, June 30-July 1, 1951, p. 8.

[2] At New York ACTU'S March 8, 1954, monthly meeting it was suggested that "hundreds of thousands" of restaurant, store, hotel, and other workers knew nothing of the labor movement and that ACTU should induce them to unionize (Meeting attended by the writer).

the hope of promotion to higher positions in management, partly to the temporary nature of some white collar jobs. Since powerful union organizing drives have not been successful in driving a wedge between this group and management, or dispelling their general indifference to union activity, it does not seem likely that ACTU will succeed independently of the union movement.

However, should inflationary trends, for example, create strongly felt burdens on this group, they may look with more favor upon unionization than they have in the past. Should this happen, some among this group, particularly the Catholics, may seek ACTU's aid in promoting their cause. Similarly, depression would undoubtedly facilitate this process, but neither organized labor nor ACTU would hardly wish to pay such a price for expanded membership. In summary, it might be said of ACTU that its assistance in future organizing campaigns will succeed, as it succeeded in earlier union campaigns, to the degree the union movement itself succeeds in these efforts. While this has not been the pattern universally, as far as ACTU is concerned (as Chapter IV will indicate), the periods of greater ACTU organizing activity do coincide with those of the labor movement.

The Structure and Government of ACTU

The supreme authority of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, in a real sense, lies with the Papal encyclicals, and secondly with the membership. That is the social encyclicals provide the guiding force behind the

operation of the organization. While the members are free to disagree with interpretations offered, even by the clergy, concerning the social aspects of the Papal letters, the mandate for ACTU's existence and its modus vivendi rests in the encyclicals.[1] This should not be interpreted to mean, as will later by explained, that the membership is bound, on threat of excommunication, by the social opinions of either the Popes or ACTU chaplains. It does mean that the membership strives to carry out in a spirit of good will the instructions implied in the encyclicals. There is a continual attempt to interpret and apply their meaning according to changing times and circumstances. It is in this sense only that the encyclicals are the supreme authority.

With these as the ACTU guide, the membership finds considerable room to disagree not only on social principle, but on matters of application and policy. Policy on matters affecting all of the chapters is established by the National Convention, and on matters affecting local conditions by the membership meetings and Executive Boards. ACTU's first constitution states that "between conventions the supreme govern-

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[1]These would include, for example, Rerum Novarum, 1891; Singulari Quadam of Pope Pius X, 1912; and Quadragesimo Anno of 1931. Since the encyclicals are often broad in coverage rather than particular, it requires a certain amount of interpretation by the Bishops of various countries to determine how the instructions contained in them will apply to the people of those countries. For instance, Pope Leo XIII in Rerum Novarum states, speaking of labor organizations: "We do not deem it possible to enter into definite details on the subject of organization. This must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and the scope of the work to be done . . ." (Rf. Ch. II, supra).

ing body shall be an executive board composed of the executive officers of the association and eight representatives to be elected at large by secret ballot."[1]

Although all ACTU chapters have chaplains or spiritual advisors, the organization is not a canonical arm of the Church. It is a Catholic workingman's organization and as such the responsibility for its action lies with its membership and not with the Church. The significance of this fact will be discussed later in this study.

Organization on the National Level

National Officers and Convention - The National officers of ACTU are a Chaplain, appointed by the diocesan Archbishop, a President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Secretary-Treasurer, Sergeant-At-Arms, and three Trustees "to be elected by majority vote of the membership at the convention."[2] These national officers are elected and installed at the national convention. The convention itself is governed by the Chairman, Secretary, and Rules Committee. Chapters are represented at the Conventions if they ratify the Articles of Federation of the ACTU and conform to the rules for enlisting membership. New chapters may receive charters if they are approved by chapters already existing in their diocese. While important changes in the Articles of Federation or in policies or practices affecting all the

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[1] ACTU Constitution, undated, Article V, p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

chapters must be submitted to the convention, each local chapter in the Association is an "autonomous" unit "subject to the provisions of these Articles of Federation within the diocese in which it is located."[1]

Voting power at the conventions is usually determined by payment of annual chapter dues (varying from $15 to $25 in different years), each chapter being entitled to five delegates and five votes, regardless of the extent of its membership. Delegates representing chapters which are in arrears on dues may have a voice but no vote.

Since the national convention has met infrequently in the past, and even when meeting has had an absence of chapter representation, its influence, at least between 1937-1950, was limited. In those years it met only five times (1940, 1941, 1947, 1948, 1950), though it has met consecutively since. At the 1953 convention, five of the twelve chapters were not represented.

Still, matters of import are brought up and resolved or discussed at the national conventions, and the National Chairman or Director is given sanction to carry out certain programs and policies on the national level. A typical list of matters covered at the convention, for example, would be:

1. Election of National Director
2. Setting of assessments of chapters
3. Setting of dues of chapters and members
4. Resolutions passed (on family allowances, proposed local, state, or national legislation,

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[1]Articles of Federation, as amended, 1951, p. 1

political matters, immigration policies, health insurance, etc.)
5. Reports of committees and their recommendations
6. Addresses by prominent lay and clerical persons
7. Reports of progress and activity of the various chapters
8. Any new business or problems facing national ACTU

The National Council - The National Council is made up of a representative of each chapter designated by the chapter, a Chaplain designated by the national convention, the National Director, and an Administrative Assistant designated by the National Director (or Chairman) of ACTU. The principle duties of the National Council are "to advise, direct and review the work of the National Director."[1]

The Council is directed to meet once at the National Convention and once midway between conventions, at the call of the National Director. Other specific duties of the National Council are:

1. To sit as a trial board of appeals arising from any case of discipline or expulsion of members by chapters. Such appeals are made to the Council by a plaintiff or a defendent in such case.
2. To have power to over-rule the decisions made by the Director between meetings of the National Council.
3. To bring before it any instances of chapter or member violation of the Articles of Federation recommended by the National Director, and act as a trial board, the decisions of which may be appealed to the next convention.
4. To review actions of the National Director if they require it, and to replace him by appointing a Director to fill the unexpired term.

The National Director - The National Director or Chairman is elected by the convention. His duties are to maintain liaison among chapters, gathering and disseminating informa-

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[1]Articles of Federation, as amended, 1950, Article 12.

tion, problems, policies among the chapters; to promote organizing activities and the formation of new chapters in dioceses where none exist; to accept or reject applications for charters, subject to review by the National Council; to establish Regional Councils subject to the approval of the National Council; to encourage Regional Conferences; to solicit aid, physical and financial, and to publicize the work of ACTU as widely as possible.

While ACTU has had a full-time Executive Secretary for more than half of its existence, a full-time National Director has been rare. Nearly all of the National Director's work with the ACTU at the present time is carried on in his spare time--evenings and week-ends. This is primarily due to a lack of funds.

National Committees - At the National Convention, committees are appointed which consider the national problems of ACTU. These will vary to some degree from year to year, but usually include the following: Rules, Educational, Resolutions, Financial, Publicity, By-Laws or Constitution, Organization, Spiritual Activity.[1]

The Rules Committee recommends to the convention rules for conducting the convention; the Education Committee suggests ways and means of spreading the social teachings of the Church through ACTU and its schools, speakers bureaus, student groups, and publications; the Resolutions Committee brings

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[1]Proceedings of ACTU's National Conventions.

before the convention declarations on issues relative to which it believes the ACTU membership should take an official and formal stand.

For example, the 1952 National Convention passed resolutions against Communist unions; for the development of Consumer Cooperatives and Credit Unions; for the propagation of the Social Encyclicals from parish pulpits; for encouraging the work of UNESCO of the United Nations; against the lack of good faith of the Steel Corporation in collective bargaining; a resolution to make known to Congress its opposition to school-aid bills which discriminate against Catholic schools; resolutions in favor of promoting family allowances. The Financial Committee reports on ACTU's income and expenditure and recommends ways and means for increasing income and spending available funds more effectively. The Publicity Committee reports on ACTU publicity activities and recommends methods of spreading ACTU's message through pamphlets, sympathetic newspapers, its own Labor Leader, and otherwise. The Committee on the Constitution or By-Laws considers constitutional amendments or by-law changes and recommends changes. A Spiritual Activities Committee would report on ACTU's spiritual practices locally and recommend ways of extending them.

Locus of Control in Local Chapters

Article 13 of the Articles of Federation states that "all powers not specifically granted herein to the National

Director (or Chairman) and Council are reserved to the chapters."[1]

The local chapters may have either one or two general membership meetings a month, depending on local option. Strict parliamentary procedure is usually adhered to, since most members have learned it in one of the ACTU labor schools. Every meeting opens and closes with the "Prayer of the Worker," first used by the New York ACTU in December, 1937. Though the officers of the local chapters may vary in number, they usually include: President, Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, and a Chaplain, approved by the Chancery Office of the diocese. None of these work full time in these offices. They have their own jobs, or, in the case of the Chaplain, their own parishes, and each carries on ACTU work outside of his own working day. The President acts as Chairman for all meetings and appoints all committees. The other officers' duties are indicated by their titles.

President and the Executive Board - The President is strongly guided by the Executive Board of the local chapter. This board consists of eight members in addition to the officers just listed. Between membership meetings it has general supervision of the affairs of the Association. It sets up conferences to study the problems of particular industries. The Executive Board may have non-union members, but no more than two. For example, two lawyers of the Labor

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[1]Articles of Federation, as amended, 1950

Defense League might be chosen.

All officers and the Executive Board are elected by the membership for one year.

Conferences - The conference system was originally devised within the local chapter structure to provide a means for a discussion of problems particular to the workers of the same industry or type of work. According to a National Director's Report:

> These conferences meet independently of the general membership to discuss their industry's particular problems in the light of ACTU philosophy and prepare long range programs. When any urgent situation arises, the conference decides upon fundamentals, and other workers (not necessarily Catholic) in the same industry are invited to the conference meeting to enter the discussions on technique. These have proved to be of great value wherever they were tried.[1]

Though formal conferences of this kind met some opposition in the beginning due to their similarity to the Communist cell, they became very effective in working out specific problems of ACTU'S members within their unions and industries. These meetings usually began with a period of spiritual instruction, followed by a discussion of the principles of the social encyclicals and problems and affairs of the particular union or industry the conference met to consider.[2] Sometimes the problem had to do with the industry, sometimes with a particular union. Furthermore, "the ACTU gives to these people free use of office space for meetings; plus

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[1]National Director's Quarterly Report, January 20, 1941, p. 9.

[2]Procedure of ACTIST Local Union Conferences, ACTU-Detroit, Michigan, undated mimeographed bulletin.

advice from trade unionists and lawyers and use of mimeograph machines."[1]

Members of such conferences are advised to promote the ACTU program among their union brothers, not for promoting ACTU (the name of which, they are told, need not be mentioned), but for promoting the principles of good unionism, democracy and brotherhood, for which ACTU stands. Often the ACTU chaplain, or a member of the Executive Board, would be present at the conferences.

While this device does appear to resemble the "cell" technique used by the Communists, there are important differences. The conferences are open to all union and industry members, Catholic or non-Catholic, who may be interested in the problems of the union or industry in question. There is no secrecy nor anti-democratic aspect to them. The decisions and policies evolving from open discussion are arrived at democratically in the conference itself.

The conference or "cell" system has been used thus far imformally by the ACTU. Union members and ACTU officers meet and discuss particular problems which come up, such as discrimination against a member by the union leadership, or racketeering by a union administration, or an act of firing by an employer for what is believed to be an unjust reason. But it is felt by some ACTU members that this method must be used more extensively and more effectively in the future.

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[1]Mimeographed paper on ACTU, undated, untitled, no pagination, from ACTU files, New York.

The influence of foreign Catholic labor action in this case is clear, for both the Chicago Labor Alliance and co-founder John Cort of the ACTU have made reference to the Jeunesse Ouvriere Catholique (JOCISTS) organization of Belgium.[1]

Other Local Functions

Unionists are seldom able to obtain funds for legal aid when they are in trouble with their employers or their own particular unions. For this purpose the ACTU has created a Catholic Labor Defense League to provide free legal aid to the worker. If the chapters are not large enough to form a "League," most of them, at least, have lawyer members who take part in ACTU activities and who offer their services to members of the chapter. The activities of the Labor Defense League have been described as follows:[2]

> This group, composed of Catholic Lawyers, offers its services without charge to all workers, of whatever creed, having a grievance in any case arising out of labor problems, such as discrimination, dismissals, demands for back pay, arrests for labor activities, etc., which either cannot or will not be taken up by their own unions. Only those cases are taken, naturally, where the complaining party is believed to be in the right. When the case is more than the routine legal problem, it is handled by a group of attorneys, who decide the course of the trial.
>
> It advises on fair contracts and helps union groups or individuals, interprets clauses in the union's constitution, and generally instructs particular union groups on proper parliamentary procedure.

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[1] Meeting with Edward Marciniak, President of Chicago Labor Alliance, New York, March 8, 1954; letter to author from John Cort, March 15, 1954. The Jocists use the cell technique exclusively.

[2] The ACTU, A Catholic Apostolate for Labor (New York: ACTU, 1940), p. 14.

The activities of the League have received considerable publicity, and its lawyer members have been involved in some notable union-employer disputes.[1]

In addition to the Labor Defense League, local ACTU chapters have Standing Committees, similar, in most cases, to the Committees established for the national convention.[2] These committees undertake much of the day-to-day or week-to-week work carried on by the local membership. The list of Standing Committees of New York ACTU, for example, include: Membership, Resolutions, Activities (Spiritual, Social, Other), Aims and Purposes, Finance, Education and Publicity.[3] Each of these carries on the work suggested by the titles and reports to the membership meetings, either in writing or orally. The Education and Publicity Committees keep especially active promoting new schools, for example, among the Puerto Ricans of New York City, and publicizing the work of ACTU and the conferences which decide to carry out a program within a union. The Spiritual Activities Committee might be concerned with organizing a communion breakfast, a day of recollection, or retreat for ACTU members. The Finance Committee keeps a running account of receipts and disbursements of the local chapter.

The Annual Communion Breakfast has become a regular and significant part of local structures. The attendance at these

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[1]Refer to Chapter IV on ACTU activities, infra.

[2]Constitution of ACTU, New York, Article XIII.

[3]Ibid.

usually ranges from 100 to 600 for most chapters, and prominent members of the American Labor Movement or other noted persons are often asked to address the group at the breakfast following Mass. There is created further a special "Journal" Committee which sets up and publishes a Special Communion Breakfast Journal. Other less formal committees are created from time to time to aid in this or in other social or spiritual activities.

Occasionally committees are created, as in all organizations, to study or work out particular projects, such as a program of Family Allowances.

Finally, there are ACTU labor schools, which have become an active and helpful part of the American labor movement. Labor schools have been a part of Catholic social activity for many decades in this country,[1] and ACTU was not first to start them.[2] However, ACTU gives practical application to this teaching function by bringing its fruits directly to the unionist on the job. This aspect of its work is treated in detail in Chapter IV.

In summary, the operation of ACTU, locally and nationally, is carried on by various committees, conferences, informal meetings, and the National Director. The National Director resorts to the National Council or to Interchapter Memoranda or communication when he wishes to be advised. The

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[1]Father Dietz, for example had labor schools. Mary H. Fox, op. cit.

[2]Refer also to Thomas J. Darby, Thirteen Years in a Labor School (New York: Radio Replies Press, 1953).

local committees, conferences, and other local activities would come under the guidance of the President, the Executive Board, and in the last analysis, the membership in its monthly or bi-monthly meetings. Behind the structure, however, is the ever-pervading influence of the social principles of the Church, especially as described and promulgated in the Papal encyclicals.

Principles, Objectives, Goals of ACTU

The Principles of ACTU

The principles which guide ACTU'S activity are essentially those of the Catholic Church relating to the social sphere. Man is permitted to form private societies by a right of nature.[1] More specifically, members of the working classes "assuredly have the right to unite into associations for the promotion of their interests, a right acknowledged by the Church and unopposed by nature."[2] While the Church believes that labor can have no effective voice as long as it is unorganized, it foresees some dangers to Catholic unionists who find themselves in secular unions which are susceptible to unhealthy philosophies and activities, such as Communism, anarchism, radicalism and the like.

It has already been pointed out that ACTU derives its mandate from Quadragesimo Anno. It has also been emphasized

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[1]Pope Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum, 1891, as quoted in John F. Cronin, Catholic Social Principles (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1950), p. 404.

[2]Pope Leo XIII, Longinque Oceani, 1912, idem, p. 404.

that ACTU is not a labor union but an association of labor unionists. The ACTU is specific in its opposition to the establishment of sectarian unions in this country. In its constitution, for instance, it stated:

> The ACTU shall not be a labor union and shall not infringe upon any of the functions, such as collective bargaining of the unions to which its members belong, but shall offer aid to its members in all bona-fide labor organizations.[1]

And:

> The purpose of the founders was not to organize Catholic unions.[2]

Instructions given to Detroit ACTISTS is also clear on this point:

> Will the ACTU interfere in the internal affairs of the unions? No. The ACTU will expose evil methods in a given union, and teach its members how to combat such methods. But it will leave all action relating to the internal affairs of a union to the members of that union.[3]

The ACTU holds to the following rights and obligations of workers. The Worker has a right to

> 1. A steady job. 2. A wage sufficient to support himself and family in reasonable comfort. 3. Collective bargaining through union representatives freely chosen. 4. A share in the profits after a just wage and a just return to capital have been paid. 5. Strike and picket peacefully for just cause. 6. A just price for the goods he buys, 7. Hours and working conditions suitable to human dignity and necessary for steady employment for all men.[4]

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[1] First ACTU Constitution, undated, Article II d.

[2] The Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 3.

[3] "Here It Is, the ACTU," Detroit ACTU Catechism, published by Detroit ACTU, March, 1939, p. 7.

[4] Articles of Federation of ACTU, Article 6.

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The worker has an obligation to

> 1. Join a bona fide trade union. 2. Strike only for just cause and after all other means have been exhausted. 3. Abide by agreements freely made. 4. Enforce strict honesty within the union and a square deal for everybody regardless of race, color or creed. 5. To cooperate with decent employers towards the establishment of economic democracy through a system of organized Industries and Professions giving labor a real voice in its economic destiny.[1]

ACTU sees its obligation as one of spreading, not merely to Catholics, but "among all people" the social teachings of the Church and especially the duty it feels all people have "to aid the reform of society."[2] (The nature of ACTU's "reform" is dealt with in Chapter V).

To accomplish the purposes described, ACTU was to engage in the following activities:

> 1. Enroll into membership all persons who subscribe to its principles and purposes and qualify for membership. 2. Promote and extend the benefits of unionization to all working people. 3. Establish schools and utilize other educational means to promote knowledge of Catholic social principles. 4. Work toward reconstruction of the social order through the promotion of the program outlined in the Papal Encyclicals. 5. Sponsor corporate Communions, retreats, and other spiritual activities for workers.[3]

The ACTU believes that "no Catholic can remain in a union that is run along Marxist or unChristian lines," but it insists at the same time that "no real Catholic can resign

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., Further: . . its purpose shall be to enroll members in established trade unions and to instruct them in Catholic social principles toward the end that these principles may be widely disseminated among the working groups . . . It shall not be the purpose of the Association to encourage or foster trade unions organized on sectarian lines.

[3] ACTU Constitution, p. 1

from that union, and thereby surrender it to Marxists or racketeers, until he has made every possible effort to cure the corruption of that union."[1]

The ACTU believes that it must not be primarily anti-Communist, anti-Fascist, or anti-laissez-faire, although it is opposed to all these extremes. "At all cost it must remain a positive, constructive viewpoint, pro-justice, pro-truth, pro-common sense, the attitude of men determined to clean up their own back and front yards and set their own houses in order before everything else. And it must be and do these things radically, militantly, and with staying power."[2]

ACTU is opposed in principle to violence in settling industrial disputes. In one of its first strike-supporting efforts a union leader told strikers that they should be ready to "break the neck" of any scab who crossed the picket lines. An ACTU officer present spoke and reminded the strikers "that his organization was opposed to the use of violence and that if the union adopted such a policy the ACTU would have to withdraw its support of the strike."[3] This would appear to some unionists as a clear case of ACTU infringement on union functions. However, ACTU assumption in this instance was that violent strike action is not a

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[1] The Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 1

[3] "ACTU", a brief mimeographed history of ACTU, ACTU files, New York, undated, p. 4.

function of typical American labor unionism, which is the generally accepted view.

On the other hand, ACTU believes in justified strikes:

> Investigation of both sides revealed that the strike fulfilled the requirements of justice, in as much as the strikers were fighting for basic rights to job security, a living family wage, and collective bargaining; they had exhausted all other means of gaining their just demands; and they were conducting the strike in a reasonable manner.[1]

At a mass meeting during the strike of the shipyard workers in the summer of 1937, the ACTU secretary "pointed out the superiority of persuasion over violence and abuse when arguing with scabs . . ."[2]

Ultimate Goals of ACTU[3]

The ultimate goal of ACTU is derived from the social principles of the Church. Specifically, the ultimate ordering of society should, in its view, be a grouping of employers and workers on a vocational or industry basis, with higher industry-wide and nation-wide supervisory boards over these. The Church believes a reconstruction of the social order is necessary if man is to be placed in a more proper relationship to his work and to his employer. The term

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[1] The Catholic Worker, October, 1937, p. 2. This was ACTU's publicity organ before its own Labor Leader appeared in 1938.

[2] The Catholic Worker, March, 1937, p. 1

[3] The importance of analyzing the ultimate goals of ACTU in this study will require separate consideration. The reader is referred to Chapter V for more specific detail on what the Industry Council System is and what its significance is within the context of this study.

"reconstruction" is a pre-New Deal term, however, and is perhaps strong for current use, since social legislation and legal readjustments have already altered the order considerably in this country in comparison to pre-depression days. Some Catholic views on this reconstruction, however, would be considered radical even now.

According to the encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno, in which this goal is described in general terms, each plant will have joint councils of workers and employers to bargain over and settle problems pertinent to their particular plant, while above them an industry council, with public representation, will review decisions of the lower councils as to their impact on the whole industry and the general welfare. Though there is difference of opinion among Catholic economic and social theorists as to the exact scope and function of these bodies, basically it indicates more emphasis on (1) increased worker-employer joint decision making, though the degree is a highly debatable point, and (2) the common good, which is also debatable as to meaning, but which suggests some kind of consumer or public representation in the Councils which operate and control industry policy.

ACTU's Religious Ideals

ACTU is considered by most of its members to be primarily a "religious movement." In the words of John Cort, cofounder, "it is important that ACTU members remember that it is their ambition to save souls . . . of the labor move-

ment . . . of our industrial society . . . of the individuals who make up that movement and that society. They are not a political movement but an educational and, above all, a religious movement."[1] The goal is therefore to be true "apostles", as the encyclicals advise, bringing "spiritual power" and "social justice", "Christian principles," "fraternity", and, ideally, the Mystical Body of Christ to the working man. Those who work with ACTU, therefore, are "Ambassadors of Christ," and members of his "social apostolate."[2] Thus in the minds of many of its leaders and members the spiritual aspect of ACTU, often overlooked in current references, is the core of its reason for being. This position is based on the words of Pope Leo XIII who warned that members of

> workingmen's associations . ... must pay special and chief attention to the duties of religion and morality, and that their social betterment should have this chiefly in view . . . The foundation of organizations being thus laid in religion, it is not hard to establish the relations of members to one another in order that they may live together in concord and achieve prosperity.[3]

The ACTU approach has been called two-fold: of teaching and helping. "It was a program, in a sense, of the Works of Mercy, both the corporal works of physical help for the bodies of men, and the spiritual works of assistance

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[1]"ACTU", mimeographed history, op. cit., p. 1

[2]"The ACTU," catechism published by the Detroit chapter of ACTU, March, 1939, p. 4.

[3]"Five Great Encyclicals," Rerum Novarum, op. cit., p. 27.

to their minds and souls."[1]

Of the two basic approaches to its "social apostolate," however, the founders considered the spiritual contribution the most vital. "We were a religious and educational movement fundamentally," one source states. "It was our purpose to give to American labor a Christian philosophy, a Christian soul."[2] If this spirit can be imparted, ACTU feels that many of the problems of industrial society, often created by responsible men, can be solved by them too.

Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed description of ACTU's origin, growth, structure and principles for reference and knowledge of the organization. Moreover, this account provides evidence for examining a number of pertinent issues concerning the ACTU's role in the labor movement.

Some of the issues which become more apparent from knowledge of ACTU's beginnings were of concern to the labor movement itself. In the throes of the depression of the 1930's, Radicalism, Communism, violence, unemployment and absence of union organization were among the factors which encouraged ACTU's formation. Some Catholic unionists were particularly disturbed by the danger of the Communist anti-religious bias. ACTU's opposition to Communism and violence was, therefore, manifest in its initial statements as

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[1] "ACTU",, mimeographed, op. cit., p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

an organization, in its stated principles, and in its methods of assisting at strikes, rallies, and in its advice to unionists. ACTU functioned, to whatever degree, as a catalytic agent in unifying (at least) the Anti-Communist Catholic unionist in his opposition to forces which, in the long run, ACTU believed would also harm the labor movement. As an effort on behalf of the union movement, it had refused to digress into advocating utopian schemes, as the Catholic Worker group had done. In this respect it may have helped to keep Catholics in their own unions, working for legitimate solutions to their immediate problems.

While it is evident that the organization spread to key cities throughout the country, it has never been large. Its greatest activity and extent has been manifested in large industrial centers such as Detroit, Pittsburgh, Gary, and New York City. On the other hand, since many of our largest unions are most active in these centers, ACTU influence may have been more significant than its total national membership would seem to suggest.

ACTU's structure, with its national officers and regional councils, reflects a desire for strong national influence over the chapters, where, in fact, its functioning, with the exception of a national convention and a nominal National Director, is almost entirely independently localized.

ACTU's principles and goals are taken basically from the two social encyclicals Rerum Novarum (1891) and

Quadragesimo Anno (1931). They are distinctly favorably disposed toward union organizations and toward associations of Catholic unionists. The purpose is to bring Christian ethics and morality into the working world in order to avoid the aforementioned excesses of radicalism, violence, communism and the like, in attempting to solve social problems. These principles also emphasize the worker's obligations as well as his rights in a responsible labor movement.

In addition to immediate aims, the encyclicals also recommend a reorganization of the social order on the basis of vocational orders or industry councils, which aim to orient industrial relations toward ethical, cooperative, and localized groupings, with employer, employee, and consumer or public representation functioning together under the guidance (but not control) of government social policy for the common good.

With this history of ACTU and a knowledge of its structure, principles, and the ultimate goals suggested to it by Papal pronouncements, the next chapters will be devoted to analyzing the question of ACTU'S divisiveness in the labor movement, as evidenced in its activities; secondly to dealing with the issues of ACTU as a Catholic or religious bloc in the labor movement; and then the extent to which the organization is democratically run or "dictatorially" controlled from the Vatican. In addition, Chapter V will deal with an analysis of the Industry Council System.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS

The previous chapters have provided a historical perspective for the understanding of the belated appearance of a Catholic organization among Catholic workers in this country. Chapter III has dealt particularly with the immediate causes of ACTU's establishment, and a description of its growth, structure and principles. It is of paramount significance to an analysis of this organization's role in the American Labor Movement that its specific activities in the labor field be dealt with in detail. Since a full treatment of all of these activities would involve the use of far more space than this study could devote to them, representative cases dealing with phases of ACTU activity would best serve an analysis of its work.

Accordingly, this chapter deals with instances of ACTU's involvement in (1) assisting workers in their efforts to organize, (2) anti-Communist activity in the union movement, (3) anti-racketeering activities in unions, (4) assisting individual unionists requesting aid, and (5) combatting discrimination in the labor movement. Having dealt with specific cases in which ACTU took part in each of these areas, the chapter will deal with ACTU's special function of keeping Catholic workers true to the practices of their religious faith.

In the light of a detailed analysis of ACTU's activities in the labor field, what conclusions may be drawn as to

the issues of divisiveness, Vatican or anti-democratic control of Actists, or ACTU as a Catholic bloc in the labor movement? More definitive answers to these questions will be drawn in the "Conclusions" following each area of ACTU activity, and in a final "Summary" at the end of the chapter.

Organizational Activity

It was ACTU's belief from its inception that the CIO's efforts in organizing the non-skilled workers was in tune with the encyclicals, and attempts to confine unionization to the "aristocracy" of labor was to defeat an important aim of labor, that of presenting a strong, united front in seeking recognition and improved working conditions in industrial relations. The encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno provide the basis for ACTU's encouragement and assistance in forming unions. Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum of 1891 states:

> The most important of all are Workmen's Associations; ... History attests what excellent results were effected by the Artificer's Guilds of a former day. . . Such associations should be adapted to the requirements of the age in which we live--an age of greater instruction, of different customs, and of more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few societies of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone, or of workmen and employers together; but it were greatly to be desired that they should multiply and become more effective . . .[1]

The right to organize had, therefore, been recognized by the Church long before the Wagner Act firmly established

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[1] Rerum Novarum, op. cit., p. 23

this right. Pius XI said of Pope Leo's above statement in 1931 that:

> . . .They have a still higher distinction, however, that of encouraging Christian workingmen to form unions according to their several trades, and of teaching them how to do it.[1]

The ACTU has incorporated these suggestions into its Constitution which says that the Association shall: ". . . promote and extend the benefits of unionization to all working people."[2] The right to organize and bargain collectively has become, of course, a central and basic tenet of American law and labor philosophy. In order to demonstrate ACTU's contribution in this respect, a number of cases will be analyzed.

The Consolidated Edison Case

Martin Wersing, ACTU co-founder and President of Local 1212 of the Amalgamated Utility Workers Union, CIO had been fired by the Consolidated Edison Company of New York in November, 1935, along with several others, for engaging in union activity.[3] Some of the skilled Edison workers had belonged to the AFL but had deserted it because of its ineffectiveness in dealing with a patronizing company. By 1937, while assisting in organizing the ACTU, Wersing sought to bring Edison workers into the CIO. Also

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[1] Quadragesimo Anno, op. cit., p. 133.

[2] Constitution of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, New York Chapter, Article II.

[3] Personal Interview with Martin Wersing, New York, March 10, 1954.

by that time, Harold Straub, formerly Chairman of the Bronx General Council in an older "company union" at Edison, and subsequently a member of Wersing's Local 1212 had said at a National Labor Relations Board Hearing that the AFL was completely extinct in the Consolidated Edison Company.[1] The campaign for recognition, therefore, settled down to a conflict between the Utility Workers, CIO, and the Brotherhood of Consolidated Edison Employees, Independent.

ACTU supported the CIO drive because it felt that affiliation with a national body would give the workers sufficient influence to deal effectively with a large company like Consolidated Edison. In addition, the company was alleged by ACTU to have control over the other unions, a charge which was later borne out in National Labor Relations Board investigations and upheld by the United States Supreme Court.[2] In July, 1937, ACTU put out a special paper called Power and Light and distributed 10,000 copies of this paper among the Consolidated Edison employees, publicizing the

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[1]Report of the Hearings before the NLRB in July, 1937, as recorded in Power and Light, published by Consolidated Edison Chapter of the ACTU, July, 1937, p. 2. This was also affirmed by Martin Wersing in personal interview, ibid., and personal interview with Joseph Fisher, then an official of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, and now National President of the Utility Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, July 19, 1956.

[2]Wersing interview, ibid., and United States Reports of the Supreme Court, October term, 1938, Vol. 305, "Consolidated Edison Company et al. v. National Labor Relations Board et al." (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 197ff.

advantages of national affiliation with the CIO.[1]

It then developed that the Chairman of the Board of Consolidated Edison, Floyd Carlyle, announced that he had signed a contract with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, of which Joseph Fisher was then an official. This occurred even though the AFL "had no membership among the employees,"[2] according to Wersing and Fisher, and testimony before the NLRB presented to the United States Supreme Court. John Symon, Gosta Harding, machinists, and John Young, lineman, as witnesses at the NLRB hearings in New York, presented testimony as to the coercion used by the company to pressure them into joining the IBEW, AFL.[3] In other words, the company wished to by-pass both of the unions which had signed up a considerable number of the workers as prospective unionists, and to undermine their influence by making the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, the bargaining agent for the Edison employees. The company then engaged in organizing activity itself in order to give effect to the IBEW, AFL, secretly signed contract.

By the end of 1938, the United States Supreme Court had acted on the appeal by the Company to the decision of the NLRB, which had previously heard sufficient evidence to

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Power and Light, op. cit., p. 2; also U.S. Reports, loc. cit.

[3] Ibid.

decide against Consolidated Edison in 1937. In this action, the discharge of Wersing and others in 1935 for union activity was condemned, and they were ordered by the Court to be reinstated with back pay.[1] In addition, the following statement of the Supreme Court indicates the guilt of the company in its unfair practices:

> The Court is satisfied from the evidence of the case that the order of the Board (NLRB) in so far as it required employer companies to desist from certain discriminating and coercive practices, and to reinstate certain employees, with back pay, and to post notices assuring freedom from discrimination and coercion, rested upon findings sustained by the evidence and that the decree of the Court of Appeals enforcing the order in these respects should be affirmed.[2]

The Court did not set aside the contract the company had signed with the IBEW, AFL, since the order to desist from certain actions on the part of the company was considered remedial, not punitive. The AFL remained the bargaining agent in law. But the opinions of the NLRB and the Supreme Court had cast the Edison-IBEW contract in a bad light.

ACTU continued to publicize these developments in its paper and the special utility workers paper, Power and Light. Eventually, the AFL employees became suspect of the IBEW, AFL's effectiveness as a bargaining agent for all Edison employees, and they began to desert that union. By 1940, the old AFL union had been replaced by the Brotherhood of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 200.

Consolidated Edison Employees, Independent, but this union was run by the same leadership which had led the defunct AFL union. It was, therefore, nearly as suspect a company union as was the IBEW, AFL, which preceded it. The ACTU had opposed both groups from the beginning of the organizing campaign, and had consistently favored affiliating not only the skilled but all of the Edison workers with the Utility Workers Union, CIO. This reflected the basic conflict between the AFL and the CIO at that time.

By Spring, 1940, the investigations of the NLRB and the subsequent Federal Supreme Court decision handed down in 1938 had brought pressure for a legitimate election, held on April 3 and 4, 1940, between the Independent Brotherhood and the Utility Workers, CIO. ACTU again supported the Utility Workers for the same reason: on grounds that affiliation of all workers with a national body would increase its effective bargaining position with the company. To the surprise of ACTU, the Independent Brotherhood won this election by a margin of slightly more than three to two.[1]

By 1945, however, the Edison workers were becoming dissatisfied with the ineffectiveness of the Independent Brotherhood and decided to hold another election in July of that year. At this time, Allen Haywood, Director of Organization for the CIO, requested ACTU's support for the CIO

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[1]The Labor Leader, April 22, 1940, p. 1

affiliation of the Consolidated Edison employees.[1] According to George Donahue, Haywood's request stemmed from the fact that ACTU continuously adhered to the claim that national CIO affiliation was in the best interest of the workers. Present at a meeting with the late Allen Haywood was Joseph Fisher, now National President of the Utility Workers, CIO, and Patrick McGrath, an official in the Utility Workers.[2] ACTU distributed 15,000 leaflets during this campaign urging affiliation with the CIO.

This time the Utility Workers Union won the election by better than a three to one margin.[3] The only consistent organized assistance to the CIO group from 1935 to 1945 had come from the ACTU.

In this case, while the ACTU's efforts were not sufficiently effective to bring quick results, the pattern of events did indicate, as ACTU had alleged, that neither the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, nor the Brotherhood of Consolidated Edison Employees, was effective in representing the employees. The NLRB hearings and the opinion and decision of the United States Supreme Court indicated that these two unions could not cope with the

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[1]Letters exchanged between Haywood (now deceased) and ACTU, ACTU files, New York and Personal Interview with George Donahue, July 19, 1956.

[2]Ibid. Also personal interview with Joe Fisher, July 19, 1956.

[3]The vote was 8,555 to 2,843 (The Labor Leader, July 25, 1945, p. 1).

paternalistic and other anti-labor practices of the company. The Utility Workers, CIO, would include the unskilled as well as the skilled, and could command more influence with its national affiliation than could the Independent Brotherhood. Joseph Fisher, National President, Martin Wersing, then President of Local 1212, and Allen Haywood, formerly Director of CIO Organization, considered ACTU's contribution definitely constructive rather than divisive.

The Case of Local 475, IUE (CIO)

In another typical case, in the spring of 1956, ACTU leaders brought non-union workers into contact with a union and assisted in signing them up for the union. Signing them up consisted in presenting them with a card of the union, which was Local 475 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, CIO. This card indicated that if an election were held in the company in question, these workers would vote for the union as the bargaining agent.

The opportunity for this action came about while Robert Mozer, Executive Secretary of the ACTU, New York, had been instructing Puerto Rican workers at a labor school. One of the workers present was employed at the Russ-ell Lamp Company in Yonkers. He informed Mozer that none of the fifteen employees of the company belonged to a union, but thought that they should. Mozer told the Russ-ell employee that all of the workers there were welcomed to come to ACTU

headquarters and discuss organization.[1] Mozer then contacted Local 475 of the IUE, and obtained union cards from the local which were subsequently signed by the 15 employees and mailed to the local.[2]

Following this, meetings were held at the Union headquarters on Fordham Road, attended by the workers, Mozer and officers of the Local Union, including William McCue, President, Joseph Vicinanza and Leonard Sedettucati, business agents.[3] The signees were then instructed to contact the employer and ask for recognition as the bargaining agent for the employees, a right guaranteed to them under NLRB regulations. The union promised the Russ-ell workers jobs elsewhere should they be fired by the employer. The workers struck the company. During the ten day strike the employer was reported to have bribed one of the workers to return to work with a promise of promotion to foreman. This defection, and fear of the consequences of losing the strike and their jobs demoralized the workers into breaking the strike and returning to work.

The case was then filed by the union with the National Labor Relations Board and an NLRB agent visited the employer to ask for his explanation in refusing to recognize. Accord-

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[1]Interview with Robert Mozer, Executive Secretary of ACTU, July 22, 23, 1956.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Interviews with Joseph Vicinanza, Business Agent of Local 475, IUE, July 22, 1956; October 1, 1957; February 4, 1958. Sedettucati is now President of the Local.

ing to the report of the business agent of Local 475, the NLRB agent reported to him that the employer was an extreme radical who, when the agent suggested that workers had a right to certain holidays with pay, including Labor Day (September), considered the true Labor Day to be May 1st, the International Communist Labor Day.[1] The agent believed that forcing this employer to comply would be a lengthy legal process. The workers, however, were given NLRB certification,[2] which gave Local 475 the right to act as the bargaining agent, and to seek redress through litigation.

In this case, though the company was a small one, ACTU's assistance was considered "very important" and it had helped "quite a bit" with publicizing this campaign in its Labor Leader.[3] The fact that the workers do not have a contract has been due to the intransigence of the employer, and the unwillingness of the workers to press, admittedly over a considerable period of time, for decisive court action. Nevertheless, through its labor school and direct assistance, the employees of the Russ-ell Company had been shown exactly what to do, and had gained certification by the NLRB. Mozer insisted, however, that once the cause of the workers had

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Letter of Certification to Local 475, IUE, from Second Regional (New York) NLRB, dated March 29, 1956, Local 475 files, New York.

[3] Vicinanza Interview, supra.

been turned over to the local further probing on ACTU's part would risk interference in the union's affairs.[1] Thus, the following-through process is in the hands of the IUE, not the ACTU. Neither the union nor the workers considered the work of ACTU ulterior in its motivation, or Church-directed. ACTU's role in this case had been to instruct Russ-ell employees concerning the advantages of organization, and then to have assisted in their gaining certification from the National Labor Relations Board. Its unique role in this respect had been in educating Catholic Puerto Rican workers, who speak little English and understand little of their rights, in how they might unionize for their own improved welfare and protection.

The Charleton Bindery Case

Before January, 1939, the Charleton Bindery, one of New York City's largest open shop binderies, had been paying wages to the non-union unskilled and semi-skilled far below those paid in other printing shops located throughout the city.[2] While the skilled employees of this company belonged to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, AF of L, there were unskilled and semi-skilled mechanics and other workers who were not unionized. These last were consider-

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[1]Mozer Interview, supra.

[2]Interview with John Sheehan, Attorney with ACTU's Catholic Labor Defense League, July 24, 1956; Interview with Edward Mills, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 119 of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, July 24, 1956.

ably at the mercy of the employer.

In December, 1938, a movement was begun by Local 119 of the Paper Cutters and Bookbinders Union, which was affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, AFL, to organize certain employees of the Charleton Company, exclusive of the unskilled. This was due to the fear that the unskilled, which represented a majority of the employees, would control the union and seriously undermine the status of the skilled.[1] Edward Dillon, who was President of the local at that time, believed that ACTU's interference in this case aggravated the situation by favoring incorporation of all the workers, including the unskilled, in the Charleton Bindery into Local 119.[2] In the strike which followed, Local 119 favored organizing only some of the semi-skilled. The company fought both aims. ACTISTS carried banners in the picket line outside the bindery and publicized the cause of the unskilled. The union fought the company vigorously, by stipulating that ". . . work must be stopped from going into that plant,"[3] while ACTU fought the company and continued to urge Local 119 to include the unskilled in its organizing drive.

After a month of effort by Local 119 and ACTU, a closed

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[1]Personal interview with Edward Dillon, then President of Local 119, July 27, 1956.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Local Union 119, Minutes of the Local Union 119 and Executive Board, January 1938 to December 1938, December 9, 1938, p. 6.

shop contract was signed with the company in January.[1] Local 119 signed up all of the Charleton employees out of fear that the CIO might intervene and organize the unskilled separately and, with such a beginning, might then force the AFL out.[2]

According to the Secretary-Treasurer of Local 119, Edward Mills, who took part in the organizing campaigns in 1939 for the local, the ACTU assistance was the predominating and key factor in stirring the local into accepting the broader basis of organization which has since become known as industrial unionism.[3] The training some of the local's members received at ACTU's labor school contributed to the final acceptance of Local 119 of the unskilled into its membership, even while the local leadership itself, including the President, was skeptical.

Although it is true that this organizing campaign consisting of a majority of Catholic workers, who would tend to favor the ACTU's role, any charge of divisiveness based on ACTU's opposition to the policies of the union which was organizing the bindery workers, could not be supported. The basic battle between the CIO and the AFL, which this case exhibited on the local level, has been resolved in favor of inclusive rather than exclusive unionization. Both time and

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[1] Ibid. (January 1939 to December 1939), January 13, 1939, p. 8

[2] Interview, supra, (Edward Mills, July 24, 1956).

[3] Ibid.

the leadership of Local 119 which took part in the bindery situation now declare in favor of inclusion of the unskilled in given plants, rather than otherwise. The recent AFL-CIO merger itself also reflects acceptance of this principle.

Moreover, in the bindery case, while the President of the local engaged in the organizing campaign was a Catholic, ACTU adhered to a principle which it believed was in the interest of the unskilled workers and to the labor movement in general, rather than to any narrow religious bias.

The Schrafft Case

In this case, Local 11 of the Chain, Service, Restaurant Employees, AFL sought to organize the employees of the Schrafft Company's chain of 37 restaurants in New York City. The campaign began late in 1951. At that time some Schrafft employees had called ACTU, requesting information on Local 11. After investigating the union as to its leadership--whether Communist, racketeering, or undemocratic--the ACTU Secretary-Treasurer's report to an ACTU meeting read as follows:

> The Chain Service Restaurant Union Local 11, AFL is engaged in an organizing drive in Schrafft's Stores. Seven labor-management students from Manhattan College are employed on Local 11's organizing staff. During December, I visited the offices of Local 11 and discussed ways and means of assisting the organizing drive. Two employees working in Schraffts had called the ACTU asking for information on Local 11. The Labor Leader also carried a story in its last issue. I would recommend that we support this Schrafft organizing drive.[1]

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[1]Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Secretary-Treasurer's Report, December, 1951.

During the course of the first scheduled election on December 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1952, the union charged the Schrafft Company with 100 unfair labor practices.[1] Some of these included refusal of the company to permit organizers to see employees on their off-time while at the restaurants; tearing up union literature; threatening employees who read such literature; charging union officials with Communist affiliation; and spreading other "lies" about the union.[2] The Schrafft Company also sought to hold the election inside the company restaurants in order (according to the union President) to intimidate the employees into voting against union recognition. This was all reported on the front page of ACTU's Labor Leader of December 12, 1952. After investigation by the National Labor Relations Board into the charges brought by the union and finding it necessary to safeguard the election process, elections were finally arranged for October 5, 1953 to be held outside of company property.[3]

In its own investigation of this organizing drive, ACTU's conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. That the 44 hour week prevailed at wages below those in other restaurants.
2. That part-time waitresses were receiving an hourly wage below the (then) 75 cent minimum wage per hour demanded by law for workers engaged in inter-state trading.
3. That meal periods were kept short rather than an

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[1] New York Times, December 2, 1951, p. 19.

[2] Personal interview with Fred Ferrara, President of Chain, Service, Restaurant, Luncheonette and Soda Fountain Employee's Union, Local 11, July 26, 1956.

[3] The New York Times, loc. cit.

hour.
4. That transfers of employees from one restaurant to another took place without consulting the employee.
5. That choice of their own meals was left to management rather than the employee, who was not allowed to choose from the guest menu.
6. That no seniority rules prevailed, and that employees were often brought in from other restaurants instead of channeled through seniority.
7. That the pension, welfare, and insurance provisions for the employees were grossly inadequate.[1]

These were similar to the charges of the union.[2] The union blamed this condition on the fact that 90 to 95 percent of the restaurant employees were women.[3] The union also specif-

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[1]The Labor Leader, December 12, 1952, p. 1; also September 30, 1953, p. 2

[2]Ferrara interview, supra.

[3]It was well known, for example, that in nearly all categories of employment of women in the retail industries of New York the average and median hourly wages of women were well below adequate standards. For example, of the 600,000 employed in the retail trade in New York State, 230,000 were women and 50 per cent of these were employed in New York City. While the New York State average of hourly earnings for all workers in the retail trade was $1.36 an hour, for women it was $1.14. Five per cent of the women employed earned less than 75 cents an hour, 22 per cent earned less than 90 cents, and 31 per cent earned less than $1.00 an hour. Median weekly earnings of all workers, men and women, in New York State were $56.92 in 1955, while for women working the same number of hours it was $41.79. On the other hand, the median hourly wages for waitresses was much worse than wages in other categories like clerks, stenographers, sales, etc. For waitresses, for example, in the New York City hotel restaurants the average hourly wage was 60 cents an hour in 1953, when the Schrafft organizing attempt was being made. This rate was 15 cents below the minimum hourly wage set by the Federal law covering workers employed in interstate trading. /New York State, Division of Research and Statistics, Wages and Hours in the Retail Industry in New York State, 1955 (there is no comparable study for 1953) Publication no. B-86, February, 1956, pp. vii, viii, ix; also Ibid., Wages and Hours in All-Year Hotels, April, 1953, Publication No. B-73, May 1954, Table 2, p. 10./

ically contended that Schrafft wages were the "lowest in New York City."[1] The average hourly rate paid Schrafft waitresses, according to an impartial source was slightly above the rate paid to waitresses working in hotel restaurants, but still below the minimum hourly wage rate set by Federal law for workers employed in interstate trading.[2] Nevertheless, these low wages tended to prevail in restaurants, since competition in New York City is extremely keen. Women's wages were, therefore, low by any objective standard. The union sought to organize these employees in order to remedy these differentials. ACTU concurred in this effort. The Labor Leader publicized the campaign and urged strongly that the Schrafft employees organize.

When the election was finally set by the NLRB (for October 5, 1953), ACTU put out a "special Schrafft issue" of its Labor Leader, devoting almost the entire edition of September 30 to the organizing campaign of Local 11. Its headline of that issue read:

> Association of Catholic Trade Unionists Fully Supports Local 11 in Schrafft's -- Urges All Employees Vote Yes, October 5th.

It said in support of Local 11:

1. Local 11 is an honest and legitimate trade union
2. Local 11 is an anti-Communist union
3. Local 11 deserves the full support of every Schrafft employee.[3]

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[1] Ferrara interview, supra.

[2] Wages and Hours in All-Year Hotels, April, 1953, op. cit.

[3] The Labor Leader, September 30, 1953, p. 1

It listed the union program for Schrafft employees, should the union be chosen their bargaining agent. The election on October 5th took place as scheduled, after both company and union had campaigned vigorously.

The election did not conclude favorably for the union, but Ferrara, President of the union, attributed this to the apathy and distrust of the women toward unions in general, and to the fact that working married women require status less.[1] The issue here is not necessarily whether ACTU brought success in organizing, but whether its efforts in assisting organization in the labor movement is a divisive or a constructive force. Since the encyclicals clearly encourage unionization, any efforts by the management (which in this case is Catholic) to prevent organization or discourage it would have been contrary to the spirit of the encyclicals.

As for ACTU's contribution in this case, the union involved, whose President is non-Catholic, believed ACTU was "tremendously helpful" and did a "wonderful job for us."[2] In evidence of appreciation of ACTU assistance over the long duration of this campaign, Local 11 at one time sent the following communication to ACTU on official union stationery:[3]

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[1]Ferara interview, supra.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Letter to ACTU dated February (day not given), 1953.

In appreciation for all the assistance you have given us, in particular the contribution of Mr. John Sheehan to our work, we hope this will help continue the publication of the Labor Leader.
Our check for $25. is enclosed.

Fraternally yours,
(signed) Fred Ferrara
General Organizer (now President)

The non-Catholic leadership of Local 11, in which Catholics are a minority, was strong in its praise of ACTU's aid in this campaign and in the labor movement generally.[1]

Other Cases

In another instance of ACTU's contribution to workers' efforts to organize, John Sheehan of the Labor Defense League spoke at a mass meeting of the Plumbers and Helpers Union of Queens County, Long Island, urging them to organize. Sheehan told this meeting of 300 plumbers and helpers that those who refuse to join a union were keeping the wages of all down.[2] While this statement may be subject to critical evaluation in strictly economic terms the plumbers would doubtless be influenced by such an argument. In any case, ten months of activity in this situation, with ACTU publicizing the need for organization among the plumbers, brought eventual affiliation as Local 2 of the Plumbers, Steamfitters and Helpers, AFL.[3] While the extent of ACTU's influence is difficult to ascertain, its contribution to the eventual signing

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[1]Ferrara interview, supra.

[2]The Labor Leader, May 15, 1939, p. 3; also interview with John Sheehan, supra.

[3]Interview, ibid.

up of the Plumbers as Local 2 is reasonably certain to have had a constructive rather than divisive effect.[1]

The Packing House Workers Local 69, CIO, of Detroit also received ACTU support in organizing, which was acknowledged by that union in the following Resolution:

> Whereas, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists endorsed our campaign for recognition, and
> Whereas, the ACTU rendered us invaluable assistance by furnishing speakers and publicizing our cause, and
> Whereas, their help did much toward aiding us in getting a signed contract, therefore
> Be it Resolved, that we extend our whole-hearted thanks and appreciation to all officers and members of the Detroit chapter of ACTU.[2]

ACTU's positive contribution to legitimate union organization is clear in this case.

When the employees of General Dye Warehouse Corporation sought to obtain union representation in 1952, they visited the ACTU offices and were put in touch with the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Union, CIO, which subsequently signed them up as members. With the legal assistance of ACTU's Labor Defense League they filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board for an election.[3] The election was subsequently held and the employees won recognition. In appreciation for the aid given by ACTU a representative of the

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[1]Interview, ibid.

[2]Michigan Labor Leader, October 20, 1939, p. 3. This was Detroit ACTU's first independent newspaper, named after the New York ACTU's Labor Leader, but later called the Wage Earner.

[3]Interview with Attorney John Sheehan, July 24, 1956.

employees union wrote as follows:

> Enclosed kindly find a check in the sum of $40.00. The Warehousemen of General Dyestuff Corp. sincerely hope that this money will help you carry on the good work of the association, which we as a small group uphold very highly.
>
> In behalf of the warehousemen, I wish to thank you for the aid given to us in the past.
>
> Yours respectfully,
> (signed) John Scott
> Shop Steward[1]

Local 474 of the National Food and Chain Store Employees, CIO, also received ACTU assistance in an effort to organize the Atlantic and Pacific Company's clerks. The CIO had tried to organize this group for fifteen years,[2] but practices of the company, according to the union, prevented success. This seems to have been borne out by the fact that the National Labor Relations Board finally set aside an election in September, 1950, on the grounds that the refusal of the company to carry out "application of the rule prohibiting union activities in the store during working hours constituted interference with the election, and the undersigned recommends this objection be sustained and the election set aside . . . ."[3] The members of Local 474 were put in touch with the Catholic Labor Defense League, whose attorneys later became regular counsel to that union.[4]

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[1]Letter to ACTU dated November 17, 1952.

[2]Cf. Labor Leader, November 13, 1939, p. 1

[3]U. S. National Labor Relations Board, Second Region, Case No. 2-RC-2119, March 29, 1951, New York, p. 10.

[4]Interview with John Sheehan, July 24, 1956.

In the election scheduled by the NLRB for March, 1953, George Donahue of ACTU gave advice on matters of publicity, using newspapers and other media, and ACTU's own Labor Leader publicized this cause. A course call "Labor Problems of the Supermarket" was given at the Xavier Labor School in New York City, and members of this union were informed of this course by Patrick J. Reape, President, and Thomas Closter and William Coleman, Business Agents, all of whom attended. This effort was finally successful and the clerks elected to be organized. At one phase of this long campaign Local 474 wrote to ACTU as follows:

> Please accept the enclosed donation from the Officers and Members of Local 474. We have listed the names and addresses of a few of our Board Members to be placed on the mailing list for the Labor Leader.
> With every good wish for the continuance and success of the Labor Leader.
>
> Sincerely
> (signed) Patrick Reape
> Business Manager[1]
> (now President)

This union clearly did not consider the work of ACTU divisive.

Cases of this kind are too numerous to consider in detail, but in order to indicate the scope of ACTU's activity, other cases may be mentioned. For example, ACTU's first action in the labor field was to join a picket line in front of the Woolworth Store on 14th Street, New York City in the spring of 1937. The ACTISTS carried a placard which read:

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[1]Letter to ACTU dated October 16, 1952.

> Babs (Hutton) gave 11 million to charity. But "the worker is not to receive as alms what is his due in Justice"--Pope Pius XI[1]

In addition, organizing support was given to workers at Long Island Darby Press, Todd Shipyards, Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Weisbecker Grocery Stores, Hershey Company in Pennsylvania, and others.[2] In the Brooklyn Eagle newspaper case, which was settled after fourteen weeks, ACTU members had picketed ten times, marched in two parades supporting the cause, spoke at two meetings of strikers and five open air meetings in support of the organizational strike.[3] By January, 1940, all of these were organized.[4] The full extent of ACTU's influence in these cases is not known, but the publicity given by ACTU would have had some effect on the outcome of the organizing campaigns. In any case, the assistance of publicity for each of these causes would not likely have been considered divisive by the unions involved. Detroit ACTU, similarly, claimed to engage in organizing assistance continually, especially in the early years when the great campaigns were being conducted to organize the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The Great Lakes Steelworkers, CIO; American Lady Corset Company Workers; Parke-Davis and Gelatin Products Workers, attached to the Chemical Workers, CIO; the Detroit

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[1] The Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The Catholic Worker, January, 1938, p. 3.

[4] The Labor Leader, March 11, 1940, p. 2.

News Workers attached to the Newspaper Guild, CIO; the Bell Telephone Workers of the Communications Workers Union, Independent, were recipients of assistance of some kind--advice, publicity, picket support, and so on.[1]

Gary ACTU became involved in a contest at the Bear Brand Company over the "vicious acts of coercion" practiced by leaders of the Company toward union members. According to a Gary ACTU report, "race baiting, visits to homes of workers by the foremen, firing for union activity, (were) only a few of the practices used by the company."[2] The workers at this company were not organized. In January, 1950, organizers of the Textile Workers of America "approached the ACTU members for aid, whereupon it was voted to comply with this request."[3] The organizers met with ACTU officers to plan strategy and ACTU members made contracts with the workers and offered speakers to persuade them to organize. ACTU distributed leaflets at the plant gate and helped to collect evidence against the employers in case the workers lost the NLRB election. The company's anti-Negro hiring policy was recorded and ACTU, through its chaplain, Father Zenz, alerted the pastors of parishes in which the Bear Brand workers lived, to encourage the workers to vote

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[1]Norman McKenna, "The Story of ACTU," The Catholic World, March, 1949, p. 455.

[2]Annual Report of Gary Chapter to Sixth National Convention, Proceedings, 1941, n. p.

[3]Ibid.

for the union in the coming election. The company was using nearly all the devices known to the history of bad anti-labor practice in order to discourage workers from voting union.[1] In response to ACTU's appeal to the pastors, announcements were made from pulpits and meetings held advising the workers to vote for the union. One pastor, after talking about the letter from ACTU the Sunday before the NLRB election, asked that in their own just interest "all Bear Brand Workers . . . . please vote for the union."[2] According to the Gary report, "there was an immediate rise in morale on the following morning throughout the whole plant."[3] Three days later, the workers won the election by a vote of 250 to 160. The ACTU had concentrated on basic issues in this case--that of organizing, and the unfair practices and discrimination of the employer.

In another instance, while not essentially a question of organization, a contract had expired for an insurance agent's local, and the union's status was in question due to its affiliation with the known Communist-dominated United Office and Professional Workers Union, which later was expelled from the CIO. The insurance agents went on strike against the company, the Prudential Life Insurance Company, in November, 1951, when the company refused to sign a new

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

contract. The ACTU investigated, found the leadership of the local to be honest and non-Communist.[1] The local pulled out of the UOPWU and became Local 19 of the Insurance Agents International Union, AFL. The ACTU put out releases and publicity and urged the company to sign a new contract with Local 19. The strike lasted 81 days, but a contract was finally signed.

In this campaign the union leadership gave ACTU high praise, not only for its assistance in this situation, but for its "contribution to good unionism."[2] In the view of the President of Local 19, Joseph Pollack, "ACTU's contribution to the American labor movement can't be underestimated." He would send all unionists to learn Christian social principles, because he felt they were the basic principles of American labor. He made the statement that "there is no better aid to the labor movement than that given by a labor priest."[3] Moreover, this union leader, whose union is only one-third Catholic, could not understand why anyone who knew the Catholic social principles could seriously object, unless he were prejudiced. "They tell you to join a union, be honest, don't be a Communist, love your fellow man, and seek justice in your dealings with other people. Who could

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[1]Notes in Insurance Agents folder, ACTU files, New York.

[2]Personal interview with Joseph Pollack, President of Insurance Agents International Union, AFL, Local 19, July 25, 1956.

[3]Ibid.

be against that?"[1]

In all his experience with ACTU over several years, Pollack said that he had never found religion injected as a political or power tool. Pollack's union took a table at ACTU's Communion Breakfast, and, although Jewish himself, he said he always attended these breakfasts because he thought the speakers were good and what they taught was "wonderful." In this union's dealings with ACTU, therefore, there is no evidence of its divisiveness. Catholics are in a minority among the membership, which obviates any reason why the leadership, which is non-Catholic in the Presidency, should try to curry favor by using ACTU.

Conclusions As To ACTU's Organizing Activity

ACTU's organizational activity was especially extensive from 1937 to 1940, when labor generally was unionizing rapidly. Yet, even at present it carries on its efforts in this area. The above cases represent but a small number of the cases on record in which ACTU played some part. In these cases the contribution of ACTU in the labor movement was considered constructive. That this contribution was not judged on prejudiced grounds is indicated by the non-Catholic leadership of some of the unions mentioned. While in the Consolidated Edison, Local 475, of the IUE, and the Charleton Bindery cases, the union leadership was

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[1]Pollack interview, supra.

Catholic, in the Schrafft and Insurance Agents cases, the union leadership, though highly praising ACTU's aid, was non-Catholic. All of these cases, chosen at random from ACTU files, indicate that the ACTU's role in this area of activity, at least, appears to be constructive.

ACTU's contribution in many cases is difficult to evaluate, both as to its effectiveness in bringing about organization and in its effect on all individuals who came in contact with it. The weight of the evidence, however, supports the test cases described above in that ACTU's efforts on labor's behalf in promoting unionization is in harmony with labor's own interests.

Anti-Communist Activity

This has been one of ACTU's most active areas of endeavor in the labor movement. In order to analyze its specific contribution, two cases will be treated in considerable detail, and other cases will be mentioned briefly. Again, the purpose will be to determine whether this contribution has been a divisive or constructive force in the labor movement.

The United Electrical Workers (CIO) Case

One of the most prominent cases of ACTU anti-Communist influence in union activity was its work within the United Electrical Workers, CIO. The pro-Communist leadership of this union, consisting of Albert Fitzgerald, Julius Emspak, and James Matles, issued a pamphlet entitled "The Members Run

This Union," in which ACTU is bitterly attacked for its "undemocratic and authoritarian" character and its "attempts to impose its program and policies upon labor unions by 'capturing' key personnel."[1] ACTU, in fact, had been keeping a file on Communist members, using government investigative material, and other dependable sources to determine who was Communist. The United Electrical Workers had been singled out and its elections watched. In 1941, James B. Carey was voted out of UE office for supporting a resolution designed to put the UE on record as an open opponent of Communists, Nazis, and Fascists. The Resolutions Committee, headed by Albert Fitzgerald, helped defeat the resolution and with Communist support Fitzgerald went on to defeat Carey for the leadership of the union. It was Carey's opinion that this defeat was due to his refusal to curry favor with the Communists.

The ACTU's Labor Leader repeatedly fought the UE:

> The only CIO union under Communist control is the powerful United Electrical Workers. Under the leadership of Emspak and Matles they solidified their control of that union at the Convention just held in New York. The reason for the Commie success in UE is the lack of leadership in the predominantly right-wing membership. James Carey, the former UE President is not generally trusted by rank and filers. The Commies ousted him and easily found an Albert Fitzgerald to take his place as a convenient front...[2]

Fitzgerald was elected to office again in 1944. Meanwhile, ACTU continued to assist in organizing opposition and claimed

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[1]As quoted in the Wage Earner, April 11, 1947, p. 8.

[2]The Labor Leader, September 30, 1943, p. 2.

that in the 1944 campaign they had gained ground.[1] To this point ACTU's activity consisted largely of articles in its newspaper and advice to those members of the UE who were interested enough to write or inquire at ACTU. Carey had written ACTU for information on Communist-dominated organizations.

This struggle at the top was reflected at the local level. For example, in Local 453 of the UE, in Yonkers, New York, John Page openly sought ACTU's assistance in 1946.[2] Though not a Catholic, Page had heard of ACTU through an ACTIST in his union. Page, with others, agreed to seek ACTU assistance in ousting local UE leadership, which they believed to be Communist-dominated. Starting with six the group soon expanded to twenty. The UE leadership has been repeatedly voted in, despite the fact that it was Communist dominated, and despite the fact that the great majority of rank and filers were not Communists. The Page group formed a slate of its own to replace, through elections, the Executive Board and top leadership of Local 453. In 1945, they ran a President and others for the Executive Board and though the top office was lost, eleven of the twelve men the ACTU supported for the board were elected. The men ACTU supported were bona fide unionists seeking to rid their union

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[1] Ibid., September 30, 1944, p. 3.

[2] The discussion which follows is taken largely from Rev. Thomas J. Darby, Thirteen Years in a Labor School (New York: Radio Replies Press, May, 1953) and interview with Father Darby, New York, June 6, 1956.

of Communist leadership.

In January, 1946, the newly elected members took office and board meetings were called. Since none of the new members were familiar with parliamentary procedure, every attempt to raise the Communist issue was thwarted by parliamentary maneuvering. Page approached the ACTU again, and the new slate arranged to set up a labor school to teach, among other things, parliamentary practice.

In addition, John Page was advised by ACTIST George Donahue. At a meeting on March 3, 1946, Donahue suggested:

1. They plan a membership drive, since new members were not likely to be Communist.
2. They plan action for every election, including shop steward elections.
3. They confer with other locals which might have similar problems.
4. They make sure before labeling the opposition "Communist."[1]

Later, Father Darby of the ACTU received an invitation from the Executive Board of Local 453, through the influence of the newly elected members, to speak at a general meeting with representatives of other schools, for the purpose of selecting a labor school for the local. This meeting was held March 15, 1946, and other schools represented were the Jefferson School, Booker T. Washington School, and Sarah Lawrence College. The ACTU School was selected by the union representatives.

In time, Father Darby's activities in fighting Communist influence spread to a number of other UE locals. On

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[1]A. Wattel, op. cit., p. 90; interview with George Donahue, New York, July 19, 1956.

March 31, 1946 ACTU held its Annual Communion Breakfast at which members of all the UE Locals in District Four (453, 419, 456, 404, and 1237) were present. After the breakfast Father Darby arranged to have an informal meeting with these men at which the following approach was agreed upon:

1. The fight against Communism in the UE would be a fight within the union--not a movement to secede or destroy.
2. More locals should be contacted.
3. Each member should keep up the fight in his own local.
4. Meetings should be held every two weeks.

The group also decided to publish a paper called The Searchlight, sponsored by the UE Committee for Rank and File Democracy--the group's official title.

At the next meeting on April 27, Bart Enright of Local 456 and members of the rank and file group told how Scanlon, President of 456, had been ousted by the membership. According to Enright, Scanlon admitted that he was a Communist Party member and that at the last meeting of all UE locals within District Four, he had supported a motion that the District go on record supporting the Daily Worker. Enright and Ruggirilo, both of whom had taken part in the ACTU school program and had been urged through this medium to assist in driving out Communists from within unions, provided the leadership in the local's drive to oust Scanlon. Reasons for his ouster were given as: (1) Communist Party affiliation, (2) his voting in District Meeting on important issues without consulting the local. Scanlon was then ousted by vote. It is noteworthy from this study's emphasis that

ACTU's local by local action had motivated and unified the opposition to Communist leadership and succeeded in ousting it.

District Four was not the only UE region having Communist trouble, so that the significance of this kind of activity could have had widespread consequences. Hartford, St. Louis, Baltimore, Providence, Milwaukee, Chicago, Albany, Schenectady, Pittsburgh, Detroit--all had written to the UE Committee for Rank and File Democracy on red infiltration.[1]

Thus ACTU had responded to requests for assistance against Communist infiltration in the UE by educating the rank and file on a local level, training untried leaders to act effectively, publicizing Communist activities of those who were known Communists or Communist sympathizers. That it was on the side of American labor seems evident by subsequent developments. At the CIO's Eleventh Constitutional Convention in November, 1949, the UE was expelled from the CIO and the IUE, the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, CIO, was chartered and given the blessings of Philip Murray. Later Matles was cited for contempt of Congress (1951) and proceedings were begun to deprive him of his citizenship. The same James B. Carey, ousted by the Communists in 1941, now became President of the new IUE. It is also interesting to note that even Carey

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[1]For example, Local 203 of Bridgeport, Connecticut; Local 475, District Four (New York Times, December 2, 1946, p. 20; The Labor Leader, December 27, 1946, p. 1; New York Times, September 9, 1946, p. 1).

had to deal with ACTU anti-Communist vigilance at one time. As Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO Carey was taken to task by the ACTU for speaking before the American Youth Congress and the League for Peace and Democracy. These organizations were labeled "transmission belts for the CP" (Communist Party) by ACTU.[1] Carey wrote to the ACTU that "I am anxious to have a list of the organizations the ACTU considers United Front in order to be guided in accepting or rejecting invitations."[2] The fact that Carey later became the leader of the opposition in the struggle against pro-Communist leadership is an indication that ACTU was on the right side in so far as labor's interest was concerned. It may be noted, also, that ACTU insisted that unionists remain within their unions as long as there was a chance of reforming them. They did not suggest separate unionization attempts.

The Transport Workers Union

Another instance of ACTU's activity on behalf of better labor unionism developed in the Transport Workers Union in New York. Michael Quill, International President of the Union was attacked by ACTU for being a member of the Communist Party and having Communists in other top positions in the union despite the predominantly Catholic membership of

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[1]From an exchange of letters between John Cort, George Donahue of ACTU and James B. Carey, beginning February, 1939, through summer, 1940, ACTU files, New York. Also The Labor Leader, February 6, 1939, p. 1.

[2]Carey to Cort, April 3, 1939.

the union. This attack culminated in a bid for a "rank and file" ticket to overthrow what was reported to be Quill's "iron rule". In opposition to Quill, ACTU supported John Gallagher who was called "an ACTU stooge" by Quill.[1] At the 1939 convention of the TWU at Atlantic City, Quill dubbed the ACTU members "rats", "company stooges," and "union busters" and denied his affiliation with the Communist party.[2] That Quill was sympathetic to the Communists is beyond doubt. That he was a member of the Communist Party has never been legally proved, but there are labor experts who claim to know that at least he had been, as sources below indicate. One study describes the TWU situation as follows:

> Despite sporadic outbursts against "red baiting" the leadership of TWU never rid itself of charges of Communist origin, help and influence. These were incessantly directed against it, and not merely in the tradition of reactionary managements crying "radical" at any realistic union leadership. They were seriously meant and sustained charges. To deny them effectively, if untrue, would have been greatly to the union's advantage--at least around its tenth birthday. . .(1943)[3]

The TWU had also been subject to investigation by the government's Dies Committee. This same study reports that:

> Exhibits of the Dies investigation subsequently showed considerable connection between the Communist Party and TWU leadership. The very first President was said to have been appointed by the party without membership election. . . the first wholesale organizing efforts under

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[1] The Labor Leader, October 16, 1939, p. 1.

[2] The Labor Leader, October 2, 1939, p. 1. Cf. also Chapter I.

[3] James J. McGinley, S. J., Labor Relations in the New York Rapid Transit Systems 1904-1944 (New York: King's Crown Press of Columbia University, 1949), pp. 316-317.

> TWU's banner were closely related to the July, 1933, "concentration" policy of the Communist Party of the United States. . . . The American Labor Party, as of 1939, gave an ultimatum to TWU's international president, as Councilman, with regard to condemnation of Communists as a result of the Soviet-Nazi pact. It later withdrew endorsement of Quill because he refused to comply. Participation in May Day Parades, borrowing matter from the Daily Worker, influential party personnel in the ladies auxiliary, and a special interest in Alaska--these were all brought out in the Dies hearings amid a froth of circumstantial evidence.[1]

One labor expert, Rev. Philip Carey, S. J. founder of the well-known Xavier Labor School in New York, has had contact with ex-Communists who became converts to Catholicism, and who attest to Quill's membership in the Communist Party.[2]

Although Quill had never been proved a Communist, his dealings with pro-Communist groups can hardly be questioned. In this case, ACTU worked among the rank and file membership to oppose the possibility of Communist domination and anti-democratic leadership of an important and powerful union. Meetings were held at ACTU quarters in New York to plan

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[1] Ibid., p. 317, taken from United States Congress, House of Representatives, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 77th Cong. 1st Sess., on H. Res. 282, Appendix-Part V, "Transport Workers Union" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 1630-1721.

[2] Interview with Rev. Philip Carey, S. J., May 31, 1956. Also for Quill's attendance at Communist caucuses cf. Max Kampelman, The Communist Party vs The CIO, Frederick Praeger, New York, 1957, p. 18. This was brought out in CIO Hearings to investigate the ILWU (the International Longshormen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO), May 17, 18, 19, 1950, Washington, D.C., pp. 395, 396.

strategy and encourage an opposition slate in the elections. No one has yet been able to oust Quill, a fact that has been explained on the grounds that Quill's fiery leadership brings practical results, which is all the membership expects.

The fact remains that the TWU has a bad name in the Labor movement due to the "red tinge", even though specific charges have never been officially, formally, or legally proved. Opposition groups in elections, even at present, play up the "Red Quill" slogan in their campaign literature. ACTU believed, in keeping with the improvement of the American labor movement, that TWU' s reputation should have been purged by cleaning out the Communist-sympathizing, undemocratic leadership. ACTU provided a nucleus of opposition and instruction for the rank and file and to some extent helped to make membership aware of this important internal problem in their union. Such a role could not reasonably be called divisive.

Other Anti-Communist Activities

While the above cases are illustrative of ACTU's activities along this line, several other notable ones may be mentioned. ACTU's Detroit chapter was instrumental in the spring of 1946 in defeating the leftist Thomas-Addes-Leonard ticket against Walter Reuther at the CIO convention.[1] One report states that "Indeed, ACTU's support of Walter Reuther against the Thomas-Addes-Leonard slate was a major factor in

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[1]*Wage Earner*, May 17, 1946, p. 8

the outcome of the recent UAW elections."[1] Addes, though a Catholic, attacked ACTU because he did not believe there should be any organized groups, "tightly knit factions . . . " operating within any union.[2]

UAW's President R. J. Thomas was widely known to be left wing in his sympathies. One neutral source reported, "Mr. Thomas has the open support of all of the extreme leftists in the union, including the Communist faction . . ."[3] The same source reported on another occasion, "Mr. Reuther, it was said, is prepared to offer documentary proof in an effort to prove that Mr. Thomas has followed the party line and has refused to take his presidency seriously."[4] Reuther won the Presidency in the 1946 election and this was hailed as a trend, already begun in other union quarters, toward ousting Communist Party members.[5] Addes remained extreme left wing and in office until the elections of November, 1947, when Reuther's anti-Communist ticket won.[6]

ACTU, countering criticism by the UAW (under Addes) that it was a disruptive force, accused that union of promoting factionalism within its own ranks, since the UAW members

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[1] Fortune, "The Upright Spirit," November, 1946, p. 188. Also labor economist Philip Taft, Economics and Problems of Labor (New York: Stackpole and Heck, Inc., 1948), p. 722.

[2] Fortune, loc. cit.

[3] The New York Times, March 27, 1946, p. 20.

[4] The New York Times, March 22, 1946, p. 12.

[5] The New York Times, March 28, 1946, p. 31.

[6] Wage Earner, November 14, 1947, p. 6.

were split between allegiance to Reuther, Thomas, Addes, Frankensteen, and Leonard--top chieftans who struggled among themselves to control union affairs. In ACTU's view, "it is this foolish factionalism, dividing a great union into violently competing personal satrapies, that enables such compact little machines as the Communist Political Association to operate. Alone, and on a basis of their announced policies, the Communists would amount to little. But by playing one leader off against another, and keeping personality factionalism alive, they are able to create, and sometimes control considerable blocks of political power."[1]

The ACTU in this case was again found to be in tune with the anti-Communist house-cleaning later conducted by the CIO. Though Reuther's opposition may not have been Communist Party members, their complacency made it possible for Communists to exert an influence in UAW affairs. The ACTU recognized this, and some quarters, as noted above, gave the organization credit for being a "major factor" in assisting Reuther, a non-Catholic, to victory over Communist sympathizers who were, at least nominally, Catholic.

Also in the Detroit area, UAW Ford Local 600 had been notorious for its Communist orientation. It was the largest local in the world, but thoroughly controlled by the Communists.[2] One of the local's first Presidents was Paul

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[1] Wage Earner, February 2, 1945, p. 6.

[2] Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther (New York: Random House, 1949), p. 157.

St. Marie, who was also active in Detroit's ACTU chapter almost from its inception. When the Communists took over the local, the ACTISTS met to fight them. According to one report, efforts of ACTU in Ford 600 by 1945 were such that in the election of that year the membership swept nearly all the Communists out.[1] In the 1946 election in the same local, the ACTU was the chief object of the pro-Communist attack.[2] This election was lost to the Communist faction, but Reuther's victories over the leftist faction in the UAW, previously discussed, in which the ACTU played a part, made it possible eventually to clean up Ford 600. As one source put it: "For a few years it (Ford 600) was controlled by pro-Stalinist officials, but since the victory of the Reuther group in the union that is no longer the case."[3] Detroit ACTU's newspaper, the Wage Earner, was mentioned by Fortune as a potent enemy of the "party-line" leadership of Ford 600.[4]

All ACTU chapters have been engaged in the anti-Communist battle within their respective unions. For example, the Philadelphia chapter reported that "during the past year, we have had almost physical contact with the left wing element in the UE (United Electrical Workers, CIO, expelled by the CIO in 1949), during the elections in the Westinghouse

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[1]John Cort, "The Fight for Ford 600," Commonweal, March 22, 1946, p. 576.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Howe and Widick, op. cit., p. 106.

[4]Fortune, October, 1952, p. 94.

and General Electric Plants."[1] The Cleveland chapter has waged constant battle with Communists within the union locals in that area.[2] ACTU convention Proceedings carry the story of the annual persistent struggle against the Communists within the unions, to which ACTU members belong.

In the Camden, New Jersey, chapter of ACTU, a conference was established in Local 103 of the International Union of Electrical Workers to defeat the pro-Communist administration running the local in 1951-1952.[3] Camden ACTU engaged in another spirited campaign to oust alleged pro-Communist leadership in Local 80 of the Packing House Workers in Camden in the spring of 1952. The following letter was sent to Philip Murray on May 26, 1952, relating to this situation:

Dear Sir:

> The Camden chapter of the Assn. of Catholic Trade Unionists wishes to call your attention to the deplorable conditions in the Packing House Local 80, which is on strike against the Campbell Soup Co. The strike was called without proper authorization from the membership, namely a two-thirds majority on a secret ballot which is required under the Taft-Hartley Act. A voice vote was taken to notify the Labor Relations Board of the intention to call a strike in sixty days. The meeting was held in a hall with a maximum capacity of approximately three hundred people. The membership is about forty-five hundred.
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> At a regular membership meeting in the same hall, the entire treasury was voted as a defense fund for several

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[1]Annual Report of the Philadelphia chapter to the Sixth National Convention (of ACTU), Proceedings, 1951, n. p.

[2]Ibid., Cleveland Report, for example.

[3]ACTU Seventh National Convention, Proceedings, Camden Report, 1952, n. p.

officials under indictment for violation of their non-Communist oath, which is definitely against CIO policy.

We feel that this is a political strike and that it has been called without exhausting every means to prevent it. Therefore, we would like to prevail on you to have an investigation made of this situation.

Very truly yours,
Rev. George Sharkey, Chaplain
James A. Kennedy, President[1]

In response to this letter the National body of the Packing House Workers set up a three-man committee to investigate the situation. The ACTU claimed that despite the known pro-Communist leadership of this local, elections continued in favor of the Communists because of the tactics used during the elections. In one election, some anti-administration workers "claimed that the election committee did not allow sufficient time for all the workers to vote and that the ballots were not adequately guarded."[2] Both the NLRB and the Federal Bureau of Investigation eventually investigated, and Anthony Valentino, a Business Agent for the local was convicted for signing a false non-Communist affidavit. But in his appeal, and in the case of a Secretary in the union office, both he and the Secretary turned State's evidence. The union was still left wing in late 1956, however, and was considered by ACTU to be a recruiting center for the Communist Party.[3] In this case, ACTU had publicized what

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Newspaper clipping (title of paper not included) Camden file, New York ACTU office, no date.

[3] Interview with Rev. George Sharkey, July 21, 1956.

was obviously Communist leadership in the union and had contributed toward bringing this to light.

Pittsburgh ACTU, in an effort to oust Communist leadership in unions, organized within the Communist dominated locals and sought to set up anti-Communists slates at union elections, not necessarily of ACTISTS, but of unionists with leadership qualities who were trusted by the members. Between 1945 and 1950, Pittsburgh ACTU "conducted a number of anti-Red campaigns."[1]

Conclusions as to ACTU Anti-Communist Activity

ACTU's activities against Communist-domination of unions to which ACTISTS belong do not seem to indicate disruptive or divisive tendencies in cases of the kind just discussed. The strength of ACTU's influence is not the central issue, but rather whether the organization divides the labor movement on religious or factional grounds. In the UE, TWU, and UAW cases, the ACTU influence appears to have been strong as well as constructive. The pro-Communist leadership of each of these powerful unions directed specific attacks against ACTU in pamphlets, at conventions, and in their respective union papers and journals, thus showing that this source of opposition was recognized. But more than this, disinterested reports give ACTU considerable credit in

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[1]Letter from Father Rice, June 11, 1954: "I worked with Phil Murray in secret against the UE leadership for several years."

these anti-Communist drives.[1] In the Reuther victory, most observers agree that ACTU's role was a potent factor working against the leftist faction.[2] That ACTU was in harmony with legitimate labor's interest seems evident from UE's expulsion from the CIO, and the leadership of James B. Carey (an ACTU sympathizer) of the new International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), CIO.

The above cases are but a few of the many in ACTU files which illustrate ACTU's activity, not on the plane of abstract ideology, but on the practical level, where often it was difficult for rank and filers to determine who were legitimate unionists and who were Communists. Thus, one of the important roles of an inter-union group like the ACTU, as ACTU sees it, with members who are trained in the labor schools by competent instructors, is to help the unionists to recognize extreme leftists when they are confronted with them, even when such groups strive for immediate objectives beneficial to the rank and file. By exposing the Communists and racketeers who use legitimate issues for ulterior motives

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[1] Howe and Widick, op. cit., p. 156; This is supported by another labor writer: "The cold war between the United States and Soviet Russia encouraged the Catholic unionists to greater exertion. . . By 1946 they had not only formed an informal alliance with the anti-Communist Protestants and Jews but gained the active support of such Catholic leaders as James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, and David J. MacDonald, Secretary-Treasurer (now President) of the United Steel Workers, both intimates of Murray" (Charles A. Madison, American Labor Leaders, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950, p. 327).

[2] Howe and Widick, ibid., chapter 7; Fortune, op. cit., November, 1946, p. 188; The New York Times, March 22, 27, 28, 1946; Taft, op. cit., p. 722.

ACTU feels that it provides the labor movement with a measure of discriminating judgment. In its own words;

> Communism, coated as it is in economic freedom, readily gained the respectful hearing of many of our workers--the same workers who would not knowingly accept a Communist. So, too, if racketeers came along and gave these workers some sort of economic security they close their eyes to the thefts and outrages committed in their names.[1]

This condition is similarly described by Philip Taft:

> Lacking experience and resources, the newly organized workers frequently turn to leftist groups for aid in their struggles. Aid has usually been furnished, but, at least to the Communist, these occasions represent an opportunity to work with large masses in the hope of winning them to a particular cause. The aid unstintingly given is frequently responsible for the orderly and disciplined conduct of a strike and the presentation of the issues to the public. Under the cover of that aid the political group has often been able to gain influence and even control within the union.[2]

Taft concludes his study with the view that ACTU helps to give leadership "that would not subordinate union functions to ulterior political ends."[3]

From the previous historical detail of the organization, and from a review of the cases just described, there is substantial evidence that ACTU's role was constructive rather than divisive in so far as its origin and activities responded to a legitimate need of the labor movement. The need was for some guidance as to method and avoidance of radicalism

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[1] The Labor Leader, "Editorial," February 28, 1942, p. 2.

[2] Taft, op. cit., p. 210.

[3] Ibid., p. 218.

in solving serious social ills. Here again, it is not a question of the extent of the influence of ACTU, but of its non-divisive contribution to the labor movement, however potent or minor that influence may have been.

Anti-Racketeering Activity

ACTU has consistently sought to encourage its members to fight racketeering and corruption in their respective unions. The educational training in parliamentary procedure, labor history, and labor ethics at the ACTU labor schools was, after all, designed to instruct unionists in methods by which their unions might be improved. If corruption or racketeering prevailed, ACTISTS as union members were schooled to feel obligated to strive toward cleaning up the union. Again it becomes a matter of determining what ACTU's specific role was in this regard - whether constructive or otherwise.

The case of the International Longshoreman's Association is dealt with at considerable length not only to determine ACTU's contribution with respect to anti-racketeering, but because it indicates the range of its activities within one union. Rackets, Communism, and the threat of government-sponsored registration of dock workers and other controls--all threatened organized labor on the waterfront. Nevertheless, it will be apparent that most of the ILA's problems stem from the corruption within the union and in the union leadership. To assist in ridding the union of

racketeering, therefore, constitutes ACTU's main effort.

ACTU and the International Longshoreman's Association

The New York waterfront has long been a trouble spot in the labor field. Autocratic and conniving leadership, corrupt and criminal bossism at all levels, nationality conflicts and violence--all have been part of the routine of handling the New York port's tremendous volume of cargo. The over 30,000 longshoremen of the New York port--Italian, Irish, German, Negro, Filipino, Puerto-Rican--are nearly 100 per cent unionized workers, who, however, take little interest in the operation of their union, unless the union is involved in a battle over working conditions or wages.

Joseph Patrick Ryan became President of the International Longshoreman's Association, AFL, in 1927, and was voted life-time president of the Association in 1935. Since the method of conducting an election is anything but democratic, election results have always been predictable in the ILA. The crime and corruption on the New York waterfront has been the object of numerous investigations and widespread publicity. The following list summarizes some of the findings of the New York State Crime Commission Report:[1]

1. The ILA has failed in its obligations as the bargaining agent of the dock workers.

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[1] Fourth Report of the New York State Crime Commission (Port of New York Waterfront) to the Governor, the Attorney General and the Legislature of the State of New York, May 20, 1953.

2. Ryan and many ILA organizers are "demonstrably unfit" for their posts. Ryan is known to have used enormous sums for pleasure, cadillac cars, clothes, personal insurance payments, golf dues, and other luxury items--all made possible by his method of acquiring payments from improper sources.
3. The ILA has failed to supervise its locals.
4. Known criminals are in control of important ILA locals and of key waterfront areas (the Report lists a number of these).
5. Serious instances of extortion were established.
6. The financial affairs of most of the locals have been loosely and irresponsibly conducted-funds misused and records destroyed.
7. Undemocratic procedures keep criminals in union power.
8. Unnecessary locals are created to keep unfit leaders in power, thus imposing added dues on longshoremen.
9. Corrupt labor leaders use their office for the promotion of private business interests, often illegal.
10. The shape-up and the forcing of undesirable hiring foremen on the employers are basic evils-"a vicious antiquated system."
11. The public loading racket is a serious drain on the port, since companies are required to hire loaders whether needed or not.
12. The pier operators have no control over loaders and are forced to supply services without charge on the threat of work stoppages.
13. The dual employer-union status of the public loaders is an evil.
14. The loaders have used coercion and extortion.
15. Although collecting millions of dollars annually, the public loaders keep no records.
16. The proceeds from public loading are largely siphoned off by union leaders and known criminals.
17. Public loading has resulted in serious loss to the port and shipping industry, because struggles among union bosses for control of loading at piers often resulted in costly work stoppages and lack of fair rates for unloading. This has caused exporters and importers to ship through other ports.
18. Thefts in the port cost the consumers millions of dollars every year. Watchmen are discouraged from and even reprimanded for reporting thieves.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 59. According to one report "Theft and pilferage in the post-war peak years amounted, so far as

19. ILA leadership is a serious burden to the watchmen.
20. The ILA has opposed efforts by steamship companies to improve the watchmen system.

The steamship companies, themselves, have taken part in the conspiracy against the dock workers. All in all, according to the Report

> improper payments by steamship and stevedoring companies to union officials during the period 1947 through 1951 which the Commission was able to uncover exceeded $190,000. It is believed that this is only a small part of the total amounts actually paid. The important fact, however, is. . .the tragic spectacle of the betrayal by union officials of the workers they purport to represent.[1]

That the ILA was ridden with racketeering is clear from this evidence. Of interest to this study is the question: What did the rank and file do to rid the ILA of these conditions and this reputation? And, specifically what did the ACTU do to promote better unionism on the waterfront in the New York area, without inviting state control? Was the ACTU contribution divisive to labor's best interests?

It is the paradox of the waterfront problem that most of the rank and file are average family men, interested in steady work and good pay. The majority, in fact, are practicing Catholics.[2] They are usually husky, sometimes drink too much, but otherwise as anxious to avoid gun play or

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insurance companies know, to sixty million dollars a year" (Fortune, June, 1951, p. 89).

[1]Commission Report, ibid., p. 16.

[2]Interview with Rev. John E. Byrne, June 6, 1956. Father Byrne has been an ACTU chaplain and closely associated with the waterfront situation for years.

violence as workers anywhere. Nevertheless, it has always been difficult to start opposition since single individuals or groups who might lead an opposition would be beaten up, threatened, permanently maimed, or even murdered.

The first link between the ILA and the ACTU was George Donahue, member of the ILA Local 1346 of the Checkers Union. He had criticized the interference of Thomas Gleason and George Daggert, two Ryan men, in local affairs. Donahue openly complained of the racketeering within his union. He was soon approached by several men, threatened, and then badly beaten and told he'd be "blown up" and "thrown in the river" if he didn't cease his complaints of ILA racketeering.[1] Donahue recognized the men who had assaulted him, and had one of them, Robert Baker, arrested through the offices of ACTU's Labor Defense League.

Donahue was fired and blacklisted on what he described a s trumped up charges. ACTU sought to have Donahue's job restored, and publicized the Donahue case at length. Although Donahue was not reinstated, ACTU's name had circulated among the dock men, and from this time on the ACTU kept up a steady flow of articles, pamphlets, and meetings in opposition to the Ryan regime and all it stood for on the New York waterfront. According to Donahue, ACTU was the only agency at that time (1938) which sought to bring unity and strength

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[1]Interview with George Donahue, March 15, 1956; The Labor Leader, August 15, 1938, p. 1

to the opposition forces.[1]

Some years later (1945) a new element injected itself into this battle, stemming basically from the corruption of the ILA leadership. Harry Bridges, Communist leader of the West coast longshoremen, stepped in to back a rank and file movement for certain changed in wages and working conditions.[2] There had been a walk-out over the size of the sling load and while on strike, the workers formulated other grievances. Ryan urged the workers to return to their jobs by promising to get what they wanted. When he failed to keep his promise, amidst suspicion of collusion with the employers, the workers conducted a wildcat strike. It was at this point that Bridges publicly supported the workers' stand against the employers and against Ryan, their own union President. That the Communist threat was real seems to have been borne out by other evidence. Judge Jonah J. Goldstein stated that he believed the dock strike was actually fomented by Michael Quill, Harry Bridges, and Joe Curran.[3] William E. Warren, leader of the wildcat rebellion said that the Communist-led National Maritime Union poured $25,000 into the hands of the "insurgents" during the 18 days

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[1]Donahue interview, ibid. None of the investigations- private or public- had been conducted before 1940.

[2]This included a forty hour week, a lighter sling load, and a wage increase of 10 cents an hour (Cf. The New York Times, October 25, 1945, p. 3).

[3]The New York Times, October 17, 1945, p. 13.

of the strike.[1] Warren claimed that even his own lawyer had "Communist tendencies" which he did not recognize at first. This fact seems to have validity in that Nathan Witt, the lawyer in question, was on the Dies Committee list of suspects as a member of the Communist "transmission belt" League for Peace and Democracy.[2]

It might have been quite natural for the striking unionists to take advantage of the Communist assistance in this battle against Ryan's autocratic control of the union. But ACTU entered this controversy by claiming that Bridges' maneuvering was more dangerous to the Longshoremen's interest at the moment that Ryan's corrupt leadership. While ACTU had fought Ryan since 1937, when it was organized, it stated here that the cause of decent unionism would not be served by a successful revolt against Ryan only to have the Communists replace his rule. This meant that for a time ACTU actually urged the striking longshoremen to suspend their "oust Joe" movement until the Communist threat was thwarted. It urged, instead, that Ryan remain in office, but be forced to work through the negotiating committee, rather than carry on his dealings with the employers alone, as was his practice. Eventually, Ryan was restrained from signing a contract without the consent of the membership, by

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[1]Editorial, New York Daily Mirror, October 22, 1945.

[2]The New York Times, October 21, 1945, p. 2; and Congressman Keefe in New York Journal American, October 22, 1945, p. 2.

Justice Walter on October 25, 1945.[1] Ryan finally gave in to government mediation of the dispute.[2]

In the long run, it was Ryan's rule and corruption that ACTU most persistently fought in the ILA, since it felt that basically the longshoremen themselves, at least on the East Coast, were anti-Communist. The crucial point was to prevent organized and supported Communist activity from seizing control of the election machinery. Barring this, corruption, it felt, was the root cause of the ILA's problems.[3] The difficulty was in getting Ryan out through legitimate union election processes. Even after Ryan and his ILA had been expelled from the AFL by the AFL Executive Council on September 21, 1953, Ryan could not be defeated. The AFL had emphasized to no avail in the election of May, 1954, that it was the first time in history a union had been ousted from the Federation,[4] and it had allocated hundreds

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[1] The New York Times, October 26, 1945, p. 1

[2] Ibid., October 27, 1945, p. 16.

[3] Another aspect of the ILA problem was the effect of corruption on the New York Port. Official reports pointed to the higher costs of handling cargo and consequent loss of business to the port. In 1931 New York handled 25 per cent of the United States export-import tonnage, but by 1951 it handled only 15 per cent. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Orleans were capturing more. This was certain to have a significant indirect effect on working conditions. /Cf. John M. Murtaugh, Commissioner of Investigation for New York City as reported in Fortune, December 1951, p. 48. Also The Nation, December 1, 1951, p. 474; and Letter of Rev. John M. Corridan, S.J., (Waterfront priest) to Senator Ives of New York, August 9, 1949 (from ACTU files, New York)./

[4] The New York Times, September 21, 1953, p. 1; Report of the Executive Council of the AFL to the 72nd Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, September 21, 1953, p. 59.

of thousands of dollars to defeat Ryan. Still, the rank and file re-elected him. The victory, as in the past, was attributed to fear, behind the scenes control of the election machinery, threat of violence or loss of favor with the bosses, ad skepticism over the motives of the opposition.

ACTU backed the AFL-ILA slate by issuing special editions of its paper,[1] and was later thanked by the AFL for its assistance.[2] The difficulty of ousting Ryan seemed to rest largely on finding a leadership the longshorement felt they could fully trust and then by eliminating the obstacles (fear, bossism, gangsterism, etc.) that blocked his chances of election. On this ACTU could point to a test case in the ILA to demonstrate how reform could take place on the rank and file, local by local level. This would be the method most acceptable to a democratic labor movement, if it could be shown to work under the waterfront conditions. This test case was provided by Local 895, covering the lower West (Hudson River) side of Manhattan.

ACTU and Local 895 of the Longshoreman's Association

A few World War II veterans, back on the docks as members of Local 895, sought to oust the gangster leadership of

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[1]The ACTU issued special editions of the Labor Leader under the title "The Longshoremen's Labor Leader. For example "Waterfront Mob Rule Faces Judgment Day," Labor Leader, May 21, 1954, p. 1.

[2]Letter of Ace Keeney, Executive Director of New York AFL-ILA campaign, to ACTU (ACTU files, New York), April 28, 1954.

that local, led by the Thompson brothers.[1] John Dwyer became leader of an opposition group which demanded regular meetings and a new election of officers. When Dwyer came forward, the local had not had an election in twenty years.[2] Constant drumming on this theme got the rebels an election; however, when the regular longshoremen arrived for the voting they found the hall crowded with several hundred men reportedly brought in from Brooklyn to pad the ballot boxes for the Thompson ticket. The mobsters were "elected" again to their old posts. But the winter of 1945-1946 saw the rebels out of work for supporting the non-Thompson ticket.

The Dwyer faction, however, refused to give up. At this juncture the rebels turned to the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Roger Larkin, Executive Secretary of ACTU sent a letter to Joseph Ryan protesting the "fake" election.[3] When nothing was done, a "Longshore Conference" of the ACTU was called on January 18, 1946, in St. Veronica's Parish Hall. Among the speakers was Reverend Edwin Bergin, assistant ACTU chaplain, and Mr. Edward Scully, a lawyer in

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[1] The following account is taken from several sources unless otherwise specifically indicated: Raymond Allen, Waterfront Priest, (New York, Henry Hold and Company, 1955), pp. 76ff; Budd Schulberg, "How One Pier Got Rid of the Mob", New York Times Magazine, September 27, 1953. In order to avoid as much bias as possible, all references to accounts by ACTU in its Labor Leader, which were many, will be indicated. Nearly the entire account, however, is taken from non-Catholic sources.

[2] Allen, op. cit., p. 76.

[3] Letter from Larkin to Ryan, December 12, 1945, ACTU files, New York.

the ACTU Labor Defense League. The pastor of the Church was "abused and threatened" for permitting the meetings in his parish hall, and the New York Chancery Office (of the Cardinal) was told that the meeting was backed by Communists. On March 14, 1946, with most of the rebels still out of work, Mr. Scully, as counsel for the group, brought suit in the New York Supreme Court to have the election in Local 895 declared void. One hundred men signed that petition to the court. Meanwhile, due to the end of wartime activities, Pier 45 had been idled by the withdrawal of the United States Navy. The Alcoa Steamship Company and McGrath Stevedoring Company sought to hire longshoremen through Thompson to reactivate the pier. Nominally, Thompson forces were still in charge of the local. But neighborhood sentiment had swung toward the rebels and the pier was picketed. During the summer of 1946, Justice Henry Clay Greenberg appointed Professor Milton Handler of Columbia University to supervise a new free election.

The Alcoa Steamship Company and the McGrath Stevedoring Company now turned to Dwyer (August, 1946) and asked him to be the hiring boss. Dwyer knew the danger involved, with the enmity of the Thompson gang facing him, but he took the job. By agreement reached in court, the Local 895 officials chosen in the "fake" election of 1945 all resigned. A new election date was set for November 26, 1946. The agreement was signed by Louis Waldman, ILA attorney, and

Edward Scully the ACTU counsel for the rebels.[1]

In the election, when for the first time in the local's history the secret ballot was used, the rebels won three of the seven posts. One of these was the key office of Secretary-Treasurer. In various quarters this was hailed as "one of the worst lickings of his (Joe Ryan's) career by a small but solid force of rank and file rebels in Local 895."[2] The victory was sufficient to keep Dwyer on as hiring boss.

What this rank and file victory on the local level did to working conditions on Pier 45 is indicative of what could be done, ACTU contended, in all the locals and on all New York waterfront piers. Although the shape-up was still official ILA policy, approved by the shipping interest and too customary to get rid of overnight, Dwyer brought fair play and sound judgment to the hiring system. Regular gangs were formed from men who were reliable workers, and the work was rotated. Dwyer tried to reward old timers--men who had been on the docks for twenty or thirty years--with jobs as sweepers or with relatively easy work in the pier loft. Principles of seniority began to be observed. "The pier became known as a good one to work on" because the union and hiring boss acted humanely toward their numbers' problems and needs.[3]

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[1]"Phony Election Voided in Jolt to Joe Ryan," PM, October 9, 1946, p. 9.

[2]Ibid., and The New York Times, October 26, 1945, p. 1.

[3]Allen, op. cit., p. 79.

Ultimately, the new slate made other changes. Three of these were: (1) an increase in safety precautions which cut down danger to the men; (2) the election of a bone fide shop steward, which was non-existent under the mob rule, and (3) the infusion of an ethical code which reduced pilferage "to an almost invisible minimum."[1]

The significance of this local by local approach may be seen by the fact that if Local 791 and Local 1258 joined with Local 895, which was deemed possible by the fact that these two locals were sympathetic to 895 and had democratic elements, these together "could stop work on every pier along the North River from Fulton Street on the south to 23rd Street on the north. If supported by Local 808 in Brooklyn they could together tie up the whole harbor."[2] This is, at least, an indication of the power a rank and file movement could muster.

Local 895 had begun with a desire on the part of honest labor unionists to conduct an orderly relationship between the union and management. ACTU had been asked to assist in this fight. It acted as a catalytic agent by offering instruction on labor practices, parliamentary procedure, and the moral right of the longshoremen to insist on reform. It had also offered the facilities of its Labor

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[1]Schulberg, op. cit., p. 59. The previous evidence mentioned showed pilferage to reach fantastic proportions on mob rule piers.

[2]Allen, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

Defense League to win in court the rank and file case for honest elections. The evidence in this instance indicates a constructive role within the ranks of organized labor.

ACTU and the Government Threat to Control Longshoremen

In 1951, a wildcat strike persisting for 20 days, idling 20,000 men, 136 piers, 104 ships, and 3,600 railroad cars, brought the threat of Federal control to the New York Longshoremen. Federal mediation and a plea from President Truman had failed to persuade the strikers to return to work.[1] Finally, a State Board of Inquiry was established. It was the first time in history that a government board had listened to testimony concerning the ILA and condemned it officially after listing the evils prevalent on the waterfront.

ACTU entered this phase of the waterfront problem by opposing strongly the control of the docks by the state. In its words:

> As a cure for the ills of the waterfront the Commission recommends the strangulation of the patient with the red tape of State Monopoly. It proposed to make the right of a longshoreman to work or continue to work at his trade subject to the most bureaucratic complex of forms, regulations, investigations and judgments yet devised . . . we are 100 per cent opposed to such legislation as all must be who believe in the working man and his trade union.[2]

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[1] Final Report to the Industrial Commissioner, State of New York from Board of Inquiry on Longshore Industry Work Stoppage, October-November, 1951, Port of New York, January 22, 1952, pp. 1-3.

[2] The Labor Leader (Editorial), May 30, 1953, p. 1

In the hearings before the New York State Crime Commission the ACTU gave its views and recommendations, based on its sixteen years of experience with conditions inside many ILA locals. While complimenting the Crime Commission "on the great public good that has been accomplished by the recent public hearings," the ACTU "thoroughly opposed the methods recommended by the Commission to achieve admittedly worthwhile objectives."[1] According to ACTU the Commission report was too sweeping, indicting even locals which were not too bad, and more important, that "within the framework of a free society, there are other and better ways of meeting the situation existing on the longshore."[2] The ACTU reminded the Commission that conditions similar to those in the ILA and the waterfront industry once plagued the garment industry, the restaurant industry and their respective unions, but that those two fields eliminated criminal elements without resorting to the "extraordinary" measures recommended by the Commission.

In its counter-proposals, the ACTU emphasized the twofold nature of the waterfront conditions: crime and union-industry relations. For crime, ACTU insisted that law enforcement was the democratic means accepted in every other

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[1] "The Views of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists on the State Crime Commission's Waterfront Report," given by James J. Conroy, Executive-Secretary of the New York Chapter of ACTU before the New York Crime Commission Hearings on June 9, 1953, p. 2.

[2] Ibid.

walk of life and should be applied in this case. For union-industry relations, which were admittedly corrupt, the ACTU emphasized union democracy brought about by rank and file participation. While agreeing with the Commission that this would not be easy, ACTU suggested that the New York State Board of Mediation could assist. The official position of the mediator, "his prestige, and training and his ability to focus public attention on the situation can induce the parties to improve their own house, on a local union, regional council, and International Union basis."[1] The ACTU further proposed that:

1. Waterfront companies regularize employment, instead of promoting casual labor practices which are to their advantage.

2. That the shape-up hiring method be replaced by a seniority system on the gang, pier, or local union basis. This will eliminate the power of the bosses and keep out "raiders" (bosses often hired unemployed workers from the Garment Industry, in order to keep the supply of longshoremen elastic).

3. The Public Loading system should be abolished. This operation should be the responsibility of the ship operators as it is in other ports. The charge for loading should be charged to the shippers. The loading service should be performed by regular longshoremen, hired by the steamship or stevedoring company. This would eliminate the independent public loader, over whom no one has control, and who therefore can charge what the market will bear.

4. The facilities of the port should be modernized, co-ordinated and fully developed. The crowding and the waiting to be serviced has encouraged "hurry-up" fees and other types of corruption.

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[1] Ibid., p. 15.

5. The trade union problems should be cured from within, with the assistance of a state mediator.

It is noteworthy that ACTU's stand promoted the principle of subsidiarity, which recommends retaining controls at the local level rather than by higher state bodies. Even Father Corridan, whose recommendations to the Commission ACTU did not agree with, but which were largely adopted, had conceded that

> The basic problem in this harbor is not crime. It's how to get a decent labor-management setup, free from the control of racketeers. The problem is not law enforcement. It's how to make law enforcement on the water-front possible by stripping the racketeers of their false union coloration. The ILA in this harbor is a racket union. We have slave labor today because the men have no voice in their union.[1]

And yet, Father Corridan believed the cure was to be found in a Bi-State Waterfront Commission which would make it possible for the rank and file reforms to develop in an orderly atmosphere. State control, however, would be the means of bringing this about. ACTU opposed state control for the dock workers, as did the AFL. As stated by George Meany:

> Spelled out in a word you've got crime. You've got pilferage and you've got bribery. But the Crime Commission's recommendations that all dock workers be registered smacks strongly of totalitarianism. It smacks strongly of a system of regimentation.[2]

Therefore, it can be said that ACTU's opposition to State control of the docks as a method of combatting racketeering proved, from organized labor's viewpoint, to be

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[1] As quoted in Raymond Allen, op. cit., p. 208.

[2] Ibid., as quoted, pp. 206-208.

constructive and in apparent harmony with labor's best long run interests. A free labor movement ordinarily is not served by submitting its democratic functions to government bodies. If the courts are used to back legitimate union clean-up campaigns, initiated by unionists eager to improve their union, the labor movement will retain its independent character. It is, of course, quite possible that the waterfront situation needed a temporary strong hand from without to spur reforms. The point is here that organized labor did not think so, and ACTU's views harmonized with those of organized labor.

Conclusions As To ACTU's Anti-Racketeering Activity

The ILA case provides a number of issues by means of which ACTU's activities in the labor movement can be examined. The issue of racketeering, however, seems to be at the root of them all. ACTU had been among the first agents to recognize and campaign openly against the ILA in 1938. It had demonstrated in Local 895 in 1945 and 1946 that reform can take place on the rank and file level, provided honest men are encouraged and given the instruments society has provided for redress. When the public press, city government, the AFL itself, and ultimately the state and federal governments had seen fit to intervene in the interests of the New York port, the ACTU fought with labor to oppose rigid state control. In its place, it pointed to the legitimate methods used in the Local 895 situation to

bring about a clean-up, through rank and file participation. Since 90 per cent of the longshoremen are Catholics, the Communist issue was not crucial. But when it was introduced by the Party from the outside, as in the case of the 1945 revolt against Ryan, the ACTU saw the Communist danger and instructed the longshoremen through its newspaper and conferences.

It is, above all, noteworthy that with all the government investigations and establishment of a Bi-State Waterfront Commission, the Local 895 victory stands out as the only clear evidence of reform carried to an effective conclusion in the entire waterfront picture.[1] When asked about his part in the fight against gangsterism on the New York waterfront, Father Corridan could only conclude that it had been lost. In his words:

> You can't close this story with any happy ending . . . The mobsters won. They're still on the docks. The more unscrupulous elements within the shipping industry won. They still try to maintain that surplus working force, insecure and dependent for daily bread on the daily favor of the man who blows the morning whistle. They're trying to push the old degrading shape-up into the new job information centers.[2]

The ACTU had hewn to the central issue of local union

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[1]Pier 45 and Piers 42 and 46, where Local 895 operated have since been closed due to rental increases and loss of government war-time business. The ACTU and longshoremen in the area sent letters and resolves to May O'Dwyer to get the idle piers re-activated, but without results. Since then, the companies using those piers have moved toward upper Manhattan.

[2]Allen, op. cit., p. 260.

democracy, while reform from above thus far has had only mixed if not disappointing results.

Other Assistance to Unionists

ACTU has received a steady flow of requests for assistance from individual unionists who claimed mistreatment from their own union leaders. Dozens of letters from union members are received weekly requesting information as to how to obtain assistance or what strategy to use against abuses by union leadership.

The Reilly Case

One of the principle cases for ACTU in 1942, for example, concerned the expulsion of Patrick Reilly from the Transport Workers Union for his opposition to the union's leadership in an election campaign. Reilly had been brought before the Union's Trial Board for allegedly "slandering the union," during the campaign. He was expelled by the Board from the union, after working as a conductor on the Fifth Avenue busses for seventeen years. He was over fifty years old and due to the expulsion from the union found it impossible to find similar work. Reilly, an ACTU member, sought aid of ACTU's Labor Defense League, since he could not afford to hire legal council for what might be an extended case. The case was heard by the New York Supreme Court.[1] After hearing witnesses, the ACTU defense won the

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[1]Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, Report of Cases, Vol. 264, 1942, p. 855.

case and the Court ordered the union to reinstate Reilly and the company to pay him $2,131 in back pay.[1] The efforts of the ACTU for over a year and a half had brought a noted victory for the right of unionists to express themselves against the opposition in their own unions. Justice Collins held that the union trial was unfair and that Reilly had been punished for opposing the leadership rather than for slandering the union.[2]

The Gallagher Case

Michael Gallagher, a member of Lodge Number 2125 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, also sought ACTU's assistance when he was expelled from the union for openly opposing its leadership. ACTU had published a mimeographed sheet in which charges were made against a local officer of the union. Gallagher helped to distribute the pamphlet on order of the International President, George Harrison, Gallagher was tried and expelled. This also deprived him of his job. In addition to this, the trial of Gallagher by the Union Trial Board was held in Cincinnati, while the local to which Gallagher belonged was in New York. Gallagher would have had to travel at his own expense to Cincinnati and provide his own counsel there.

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[1] The Labor Leader, January 31, 1942, p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

ACTU urged Gallagher to take the case to court to restrain enforcement of the order by the union President. ACTU offered the free services of its Labor Defense League. The court held that the Grand President had no right to expect the member to undergo the expense of travelling to Cincinnati. In its decision the Court declared the expulsion to be "repugnant to elementary principles of justice and fair play," and that the Grand President had violated the "natural principles of justice to the prejudice of plaintiff's right to a fair hearing and his right to a proper opportunity to present his defense."[1]

In this instance, ACTU provided protection for an individual who would not have known how to defend himself against an injustice at the hands of his own union leaders.

The Slacta Case

The Catholic Labor Defense League also defended an "innocent" teamster, Alex Slacta, who had participated in a practice of the Teamsters Union whereby trucks were met at the tunnel entrances to New York City by local teamsters who proceeded to drive them to their destination. Each truck was required, in other words, to take on a city driver, who received a day's pay according to a rule imposed by Local 807 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, AFL-CIO. To

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[1] Gallagher v. Monaghan, 58 NYS 2d 618, November 2, 1945, p. 619.

enforce its own rule Local 807 engaged in gangster tactics against drivers unwilling to permit city drivers to take their trucks. The Local was indicted by the United States Government for conspiring to violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the Anti-Racketeering Act of 1934.[1] The defendents "conspired and acted in concert to obtain the payment of money and other valuable considerations from shippers, operators, etc. of over-the-road motor trucks by the use of and threat to use force, violence and coercion. . ."[2] As a teamster, Slacta engaged in this practice, but not in the criminal acts. Nevertheless, he was indicted along with the members of Local 807. Slacta then appealed to ACTU. ACTU defended him because it believed that though he participated in this practice of taking out of town trucks into the city, it was Local 807's arrangement maintained by threat and force. Slacta was a trustee of his own Local 205 and did not approve of Local 807's rules. Attorney Anthony Graziano of the Labor Defense League obtained Slacta's release in his custody from Judge Vincent Liebell on June 9, 1938 on the basis of the above facts.[3] Slacta was never recalled, the assumption being that his case was

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[1] United States vs Local 807 of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America, AFL, United States District Court of U.S., "Indictment", C102-394-395, New York, May 31, 1938.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

[3] Ibid., as per Bench Warrant, dated June 9, 1938.

nolle prosequi,[1] while about one-third of the members of Local 807 stood trial over the next several years and were sentenced to from one month to two years' imprisonment.[2] The union itself (Local 807) was also fined $8,000.[3] While Slacta might have been released ultimately anyway, ACTU's assistance saved him from many months of litigation and concern.[4]

Other Instances of Assistance

ACTU's specific role in other varied situations where individuals sought and received assistance is illustrated in the following representative instances.

ACTU fought "single handed" and won through its Labor Defense League a case for eleven women cafeteria workers at Teachers' College, Columbia University. These workers had come to Father Monaghan, ACTU's first chaplain for assistance[5] when they were laid off, after having worked there for an average of twelve years.[6] The court decision gave them each approximately $2,000 in severance pay.

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[1]Interview with Anthony Graziano, August 26, 1957

[2]United States vs Local 807, op. cit., as sentenced by Judge Murray Hulbert, June 19, 1940.

[3]Ibid.

[4]In fact, other members of the Teamsters who were nolle prosequi did not obtain judgments until December 14, 1942.

[5]Interview with Father John Monaghan, supra.

[6]Labor Leader, January 3, 1938, p. 2.

Letters and interviews provide further indication of ACTU's scope in this regard. A busy day at ACTU has been summarized by one student of labor as including the following typical (hypothetical) interviews:[1]

> I am a business agent of Local 3. When I attended Hayes Labor School, your teachers told me that workers had the right to strike for a just wage. We have just gone on strike. Will you publicize our case? Perhaps you can spare a few pickets? We would like one of your chaplains to speak at our strike meeting.

Or:

> I am a member of Local 100. I attended Sacred Heart Labor School. You told me that trade unions were organized to help the workers. I have just been fired because I criticized my union President.

Or:

> Our union is controlled by Communists. They are forcing us to go out on strike against our will. They are spending our money on Soviet causes--what can we do about it?

Among letters that might be received in a day, the following are typical:[2]

> A friend just gave me your address. I am a Catholic and a lot of the other fellows are too. You are in New York and probably know something about the Fur and Leather Workers Union. Will you tell us what you know about them and if you think the CIO is right when they say they are pro-Communist?

ACTU replied to this letter that "there is no doubt that the Fur and Leather Workers Union, Independent, is Communist dominated." This was clear from the fact that Ben Gold was

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[1]George Kelly, "The ACTU and Its Critics," Commonweal December 31, 1948, p. 299.

[2]These letters are taken from ACTU files with replies attached, dated respectively: June 6, February 23, February 20, 1953.

the President of the ". . . generally Communist-run International Fur and Leather Workers . . . ."[1] Gold was convicted on April 2, 1954, for having falsely denied in an affidavit that he was a Communist Party member and supporter of its policies.[2] He was later sentenced to from one to three years by a federal judge.[3]

In another instance the following exchange took place between a union member and the ACTU office in New York:

> A worker in a plant in International Falls, Minnesota belonged to the International Woodworkers of America, CIO, but the workers have been trying to make the United Paper Workers of America, CIO the bargaining agent in the plant. They didn't believe they were under the right jurisdiction with the IWA, since they were "paper and insulite" workers and IWA jurisdiction is largely in logging camps, sawmills, etc. According to the worker, IWA had commies in it whereas UPA did not. At the same time AFL people were at hand to take advantage of the mix up in jurisdiction. Some of the workers began to talk of setting up an "Independent." They posed this question to ACTU: "Do you think that the problem of 'dual unionism' could arise here--by us pushing an 'Independent move'?" or "if you think this is perhaps a hasty step--advise us such. If you have any other course of action for us to follow--this too will be considered." P.S. Many of us here are wondering about him (Walter Reuther)--just what kind of a guy is he?

ACTU's reply to this letter was as follows:

> The CIO Executive Board maintains the right to decide which union is to organize a particular plant. If there is a dispute about the matter it can be referred to the impartial arbitrator chosen by the CIO to decide such questions . . . . Experience has shown that in most

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[1] Fortune, October, 1951, p. 85.

[2] The New York Times, April 3, 1954, p. 7.

[3] The New York Times, May 1, 1954, p. 10.

cases unions goind independent become less effective in their dealings with the employers. While this is not 100% so, it is more often true than not.

In two other instances, a union member of a Longshoremen's local had charged an applicant an initiation fee of $500 with the understanding that he would be given work. When, after six months, the union member had obtained only three week's work, he came to ACTU for help in securing the return of his money. "Several letters and telephone calls elicited from the union officials and promise to refund the $500--a promise which was redeemed within the week."[1] In another instance, eight women employees of the Greyhound Bus Company, members of the Streetcar and Bus Employees Union, who were fined $75 each "for failing to restrike their job when their International Union legalized a previously illegal strike of the local union."[2] ACTU intervened and had the fine reduced to $20, payable over a period of four months, instead of in a lump sum as originally stipulated. In each of these cases, the ACTU had shown itself a positive force for rectifying or modifying wrongs done.

The number of requests for personal help or inquiry to ACTU from various unions and union members of all races, colors and creeds would require many pages to reproduce. The above are representative of ACTU's response to these.

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[1] Mimeographed Summary on ACTU, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Ibid.

Conclusions on ACTU's Assistance to Unionists

While unionists have recourse to the courts, whether ACTU assists them or not, these cases illustrate, at least, the non-discriminatory nature of the aid given by ACTU to unionists who might not otherwise have been able to afford the legal counsel, or who would not have known what action to take at all. Letters and requests for aid indicate that unionists are anxious for information from an organization they believe has their interests as unionists and as human beings at heart. In addition, while the results of ACTU's efforts are not always clearly determinate as to their effect on union activities, most of the cases mentioned indicate, by reason of the final action taken, that ACTU's contribution was constructive.

Anti-Discrimination Role

ACTU's Position

Since ACTU's principles are based on those of Christian social behavior, racial discrimination of any kind would be opposed by the organization. The Papal encyclical Mystici Corporis of Pius XII specifically forbids as sinful racial discrimination. A resolution on job discrimination taken at the Eighth National Convention of ACTU reads as follows:

> **Whereas,** the ACTU has always firmly concurred in the statement of Pope Pius XII when in 1942 he said: "A fundamental personal right is the right to work as an indispensable means toward maintenance of family life."

> Whereas, because of the denial of the basic human right to work, minority groups are denied an opportunity to provide for their family-spiritually and materially;
> Whereas, by this denial of a fundamental right to work men have been deprived of their right to a living wage and also their right to property;
> Whereas, we as members of the Mystical Body of Christ believe such discriminatory conduct to be an offense against God and a crime of base turpitude;
> Therefore, be it resolved that all the officers and members and chaplains of every ACTU chapter strongly encourage legislation on a local, state and national level, to halt this desecration of human beings;
> Be it further resolved that we favor a bill recently introduced by various Congressmen that would make it an unfair labor practice to discriminate against a person in employment or promotion, because of his race, creed, color, national origin or sex.[1]

This was further developed when the Ninth National Convention passed a resolution in praise of the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in the public schools, and asked that working men and women in America strive to attain harmony between the law and their actions.[2] That this policy of ACTU is in line with the American labor movement needs no lengthy proof, since it is known that while discrimination occurs the labor movement itself continually strives to eliminate it.

In its action, ACTU has attempted to live up to these principles. The Detroit ACTU, for example, has publicized the names of candidates for union or public office with records of racial prejudice, Jim Crowism, Anti-Semitism, or Anti-Catholicism. When anti-Negro riots occurred in the

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[1]The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Proceedings of the Eighth National Convention, 1953, New York, "Resolution on Job Discrimination," n.p.

[2]Ibid., Ninth National Convention, 1954, Cleveland, Attachment No. 49, n.p.

Detroit area during the war, only three white men were invited to speak before Negro meetings on how to cope with the situation, one of them representing the ACTU.[1] The riots were condemned as the work of "cowardly hoodlum elements of both races." ACTU's Detroit paper, the Wage Earner, said that "at the bottom of it all, we insist, is the damnable psychology of 'keeping the Negro in his place.' It is this assumption that the Negro has a 'place'--an inferior 'place'--that underlies the whole explosive situation."[2]

In another instance, a letter to John Cort, an ACTU founder and former Executive Secretary, from George B. Murphy, Jr., of the Publicity Department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Murphy said:

> Let me tell you how happy we are to welcome your help in the Association's fight against discrimination within labor unions.[3]

Another Negro leader worked closely with ACTU in anti-discrimination work. Judge Harold Stevens, Association Justice of the Court of Appeals, State of New York, taught at ACTU labor schools and became President of the Catholic Interracial Council, an organization which combats discrimination and promotes harmony between races.

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[1]Norman McKenna, "The Story of ACTU," The Catholic World, March, 1949, p. 455.

[2]Gary ACTU Chapter, Annual Report to the Sixth National Convention, Proceedings, 1951, n.p.

[3]Dated September 13, 1938, ACTU files, New York

Phillip Jiggetts, now a New York Negro lawyer, was at one time a Vice-President of ACTU, and speaking in Harlem urged his race, "To fight first to get into the unions and there let their voices be heard and their demands felt."[1] Plans were initiated at this meeting to "mass picket" stores and companies who served Negroes but did not hire them as a matter of policy. In Jiggetts' view, ACTU's contribution to ridding New York locals of racial discrimination was "potent."

Conclusions on ACTU's Anti-Discrimination

The above instances illustrate ACTU's position on racial discrimination. It may be difficult to assess the significance of ACTU's contribution in improving industrial relations along this line, but there is no question concerning the fact that any attempts to rid the labor movement of discrimination represent a positive rather than a divisive contribution.

Educational Activity

Article II of ACTU's Constitution stresses the role of ACTU as an educational force in the labor movement. While ACTU's labor schools have been referred to in the previous chapter, it is pertinent to consider the nature of the educational matter taught by ACTU in order to determine its con-

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[1] The Labor Leader, April 30, 1938, p. 1; and interview with Phillip Jiggetts, July 20, 1956.

structive or divisive role in this respect.

Background of Labor Schools

From its inception, as Chapter III indicated, the organization has held classes of instruction in the history of labor, the social doctrines of the Church, parliamentary procedure, and other subjects pertinent to the labor field. A few months after ACTU was organized, the Fordham labor school in the Woolworth Building in New York City was begun, and professors from Fordham University taught some of the labor courses. Another school began in the same year at Manhattan College, another at St. Mark's parish in Harlem.[1] Every ACTU chapter is expected to set up its own labor school. Attendance is open to all who are interested, without restrictions as to race, color, or creed. While the ACTU chapters have organized schools of their own, they have also sponsored many schools set up by colleges and parishes all over the country. The St. Mark's school just referred to, was a parish school, as was the East Side Labor School, St. Monica's Labor School, Incarnation Labor School, St. Michael's Labor School, and many others. Teaching at these schools is a representative selection of college professors, lawyers, union officials, labor consultants, labor journalists and writers, members of National and State Labor Relations and Mediation Boards. Among the students were unionists from nearly fifty different unions.

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[1] The Labor Leader, April 30, 1938, p. 1.

Shortly after ACTU began it also affiliated with forty-one labor schools in the archdiocese of Detroit, under the Reverend Raymond Clancy, Chaplain of ACTU.[1] Similarly in Chicago, twenty parish labor schools with which ACTU was affiliated were organized. In each of these schools, the courses offered varied in content and number, some of which will be discussed below.

One of the ACTU's notable contributions to its recent educational function in New York has been the instruction of Puerto Rican working men who have come into New York in vast numbers in the post war years. Since these do not speak English well, ACTU has undertaken to "teach teachers" among the Puerto Ricans themselves, who will then undertake to teach other Puerto Ricans.[2] This drive followed an earlier appeal by Reverend Joseph Fitzpatrick at ACTU's eighth National Convention that "it is upon you that a great responsibility will rest of welcoming these newcomers in the love and charity of Brothers in Christ."[3] The Puerto Ricans are taught the history and philosophy of the American Labor Movement and of the Catholic Social Encyclicals. Lessons are written in English at ACTU and translated into Spanish by capable Puerto Ricans working in the New York area.

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[1] Rev. Joseph Oberle, The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, (pamphlet) (New York: Paulist Press, 1941), p. 25.

[2] The Labor Leader, September 14, 1953, p. 1.

[3] ACTU's Eighth National Convention, Proceedings, July, 1953, n. p.

This is an invaluable assistance to a new and numerous element in some of our big cities, which finds itself confused, often discriminated against, and exploited[1] in its new environment.

For those taking the ACTU courses, the fees charged are nominal or non-existent. Some of the schools charge fifty cents for each course taken, usually meeting one evening a week for ten weeks, though this varies from one school to another. Other schools simply charge a flat fee of two dollars. Since most of the schools limit their courses of instruction to only a few, the analysis will deal with Labor History, Christian Social Ethics, Parliamentary Procedure, and The ACTU and Its Role. These were found to be the courses most commonly taught.

Labor History - In teaching labor history, the ACTU schools use some standard treatment. One New York school, for example, has used Brief History of the American Labor Movement, made available by the United States Department of Labor as Bulletin Number 1000. In addition, the history of Catholic activities in the American labor movement would also be reviewed, somewhat in the manner of Chapter II of

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[1]Reference has already been made (Chapter I) to the testimony of an Actists before a Senate Investigating Committee on the exploitation of Puerto Rican workers by New York Employers (New York Times, August 3, 1957, p. 1). Two of those who testified were Puerto Rican Unionists who had attended ACTU's labor school.

this study.[1] The ACTU stresses particularly the failures of the "rugged individualism" philosophy, which nurtured the "Robber Baron" type of business enterprise. It criticizes class warfare and violence which spotted eras of labor history in this country. It deals briefly with the Christian social movements of Europe, and stresses the different American environment and the Pope's encouragement of the unionization of American workers into "neutral" (non-sectarian) unions as the best approach in this country. Cardinal Gibbons' defense of this kind of unionism for American Catholics is sometimes emphasized.

It is therefore difficult to show definitively, except perhaps in given instances, whether ACTU's instruction in this area would or would not act as a divisive force in the labor movement. There is nothing overt by which such a charge could be substantiated. On the contrary, by using standard sources and dwelling on the rise of labor unionism as it is generally taught in the American schools, interspersed with emphasis on the role of the Church and some Catholic personalities in espousing unionization along neutral-union lines, it is difficult to label instruction anything but a constructive educational force. ACTU has been commended for this particular function by many labor

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[1]Interviews with Robert Mozer, Executive Secretary of ACTU, New York; Rev. Thomas Darby; Rev. John Monaghan, National Chaplain of ACTU; Rev. John Byrne of New York; Rev. Karl Hubble of Detroit, ACTU.

experts,[1] and persons within and outside the labor movement.[2] On religious lines, the ACTU has not taught separateness or disunity, but the essential harmony of all workers and owners in the common task of improving the material welfare of all, so that poverty, which often affects both the family and morality, will be abolished.

Christian Social Ethics - The teaching of Christian Social Ethics as already stated, stems largely from the two Papal encyclicals Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII (1891) and Quadragesimo Anno of Pius XII (1931). There has been widespread support of the principles of social ethics laid down by the encyclicals--not only from Catholic sources but otherwise. Letters from Walter Reuther of the CIO to ACTU on the occasion of its annual convention are indicative of non-Catholic support of this teaching.[3] There is also, for example, a full page spread by Max Steinbock, Editor of the Record, official paper of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union (RWDSU), AFL-CIO, entitled "Great Labor Documents." This praises the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pius XI and prints pictures of the two pontiffs.

> . . . the emphasis in both encyclicals on the need for an ethical basis for labor relations, the conduct of the labor movement and the passage of social and

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[1]For example, Taft, op. cit., p. 218, Reisel, loc. cit.

[2]Rf. also to Chapter I.

[3]ACTU files, New York, for example June 21, 1954, on the occasion of ACTU's Ninth National Convention.

> labor legislation, make them, in the eyes of millions, great labor documents. Non-Catholics in the labor movement join with their Catholic fellow members in hailing the anniversary of the two encyclicals which have helped to stimulate the growth of free and democratic unionism everywhere.[1]

The RWDSU is a predominantly Jewish union. The Editor of its paper and the author of this article are, for example, Jewish unionists, which is an indication of some of the non-sectarian support for the social principles taught in the ACTU labor schools.

Parliamentary Procedure - The purpose of this course in the ACTU schools is to encourage unionists to make their voices heard in union affairs. It teaches unionists the techniques of getting the floor at union meetings when the tactics, for example, of corrupt, dictatorial, or Communist leadership attempt to quiet opposition. Together with public speaking, this course acts as a strong stimulant to union democracy and intelligent functioning of union membership. The standard methods of parliamentary procedure are taught and ACTISTS are told to use what they have learned to improve their union, not along any specific political lines, but toward "better" unionism, meaning unionism free from racketeering, Communism, or dictatorial control. If the ACTISTS have on occasion used what they have learned by way of parliamentary knowledge to force a religious bloc or Catholic political bloc into the union

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[1]Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union's Record, May 27, 1956, p. 11.

meeting, there is nothing in ACTU's history, principles, or ultimate goals which has advised such an effort. In such cases, it would be a misuse of technique rather than the proper use of it, according to what this study has indicated ACTU's history, principles, and goals to be. In any case, there is basically nothing in the teaching of this course itself which is foreign to the general improvement of union democracy in the labor movement of this country, since standard parliamentary procedure is taught. The previously described activities of ACTU do not reveal a pattern of misuse of this teaching.

The ACTU and Its Role

In the teaching of ACTU's history, principles, and functions in the labor movement, the purpose is to show, first, the need which existed in the 1930's for an ethical force in the labor movement to oppose the radical solutions offered by many for the social ills which plagued the economy. In the beginning, ACTU fought two principal battles: (1) to organize the unorganized workers into their respective unions, and (2) to guide union organization and unionists away from Communist philosophy. ACTU's facilities, newspapers, and speakers, whatever their extent and potency, were given to achieving these immediate objectives between 1938 and 1945. After that, the organizing effort became less necessary, though the anti-Communist drive continued. These two objectives are, of course, not in themselves divisive in the labor movement.

Conclusions on ACTU's Educational Activity

From what is taught in the ACTU labor schools, there appears to be considerable evidence that its contribution is a constructive one in the labor movement. The schools are open to all who wish to participate, regardless of race, color, or creed, and the subject matter taught by ACTU is either in harmony with the principles of the American labor movement, or, if debatable, is no more so than other issues which the labor movement deals with in specific contexts. ACTU newspapers as an educational force have also contributed information and knowledge of labor issues in ways which have sometimes been controversial, as the previous analysis has shown, but not necessarily divisive. One labor authority, in fact, in listing five competently edited labor papers in the United States, includes the Labor Leader and the Wage Earner, two ACTU papers.[1] Every ACTU chapter is, in addition, prolific in putting out leaflets, pamphlets, and other material which assists in the education of unionists. If ACTU's principles, activities, and teachings are acceptable in the labor movement, it is likely that what these publications produce will tend to be also.

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[1]Philip Taft, Economics and Problems of Labor, op. cit., p. 530. Both of these papers are micro-filmed at the New York Public Library, which determines the acceptance of such papers in its catalogue on the basis of their "significance," "wide distribution", or "good quality" (personal interview with Edward DiRoma, Labor Librarian in Economics Division, New York Public Library, July 23, 1956).

ACTU's Religious Activity

The basis of ACTU's religious activities in the labor movement lies, naturally, in the social principles of the Catholic Church, as stated in the Papal encyclicals. Pope Leo XIII stated that:

> It is the opinion of some, which is caught up by the masses that the "social question" as they call it is merely "economic". The precise opposite is the truth, that it is first of all moral and religious, and for that reason its solution is to be expected mainly from the moral law and the pronouncements of religion.[1]

In his specific reference to labor organizations this theme is evident in the following statement from Rerum Novarum:

> Workmen's Associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his conditions to the utmost, in body, soul, and property. It is clear that they must pay special and principal attention to piety and morality, and that their internal discipline must be directed precisely by these considerations; otherwise they entirely lose their special character and come to be very little better than those societies which take no account of religion at all. What advantage can it be to a workman to obtain by means of a society all that he requires, and to endanger his soul for want of spiritual food?[2]

Therefore, "let our associations. . .look first and before all to God; let religious instruction have therein a foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what to believe, what to hope for, and how to

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[1] Rerum Novarum of Leo XIII, 1891, as quoted in the Catholic Worker, July-August, 1933, p. 1.

[2] Rerum Novarum, in "Five Great Encyclicals," p. 27.

work out his salvation...Let the workingman be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of religion. . ."[1] And finally, "the foundations of the organization being laid in Religion, we go next to determine the relations of the members one to another, in order that they may live together in concord, and go on prosperously and successfully."[2]

These suggestions from Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo in 1891 were echoed and re-emphasized by Pope Pius XI in 1931: "In order to bring back to Christ these whole classes of men who have denied Him, we must gather and train from amongst their very ranks auxiliary soldiers of the Church, men who know their mentality and their aspirations. . . valiant soldiers of Christ, who strain every thew and sinew to preserve the human family from the dire havoc which would befall it were the teachings of the Gospel to be flouted, and a social order permitted to prevail which spurns no less the laws of nature than those of God."[3]

These ideals are brought close to unionists who belong to ACTU through the following prayer which is repeated at every meeting, rally, or Communion Breakfast:

> Lord Jesus, Carpenter of Nazareth, you were a worker as I am, give to me and all the workers of the world the privilege to work as You did, so that everything we do

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quadragesimo Anno, Pius XI, 1931, op. cit., pp. 166, 167.

> may be for the benefit of our fellowmen and the greater glory of God the Father. Thy Kingdom come into the factories and into the shops, into our homes and into our streets. Give us this day our daily bread. May we receive it without envy or injustice. To us who labor and are heavily burdened send speedily the refreshment of Thy love. May we never sin against Thee. Show us Thy way to work, when it is done, may we wish all our fellow-workers rest in peace. Amen.

To implement the above religious ideals ACTU carries on certain religious activities. In its first recommendations for spiritual activity, a committee headed by Father Bartko, Chaplain of Cleveland ACTU in 1940, gave the following list for consideration of the National Convention:

> 1. Corporate communions quarterly or at least annually; 2. Annual retreats or missions; 3. membership in Holy Name Societies; 4. Annual ACTU novenas to the Holy Ghost immediately before Pentecost; 5. City-wide monthly Holy Hours; 6. Personal devotion to the Holy Ghost daily; 7. Daily recitation of the Prayer to Christ the Worker; 8. Prayer "Come Holy Ghost" to be said at the beginning of all ACTU meetings, rallies, classes and conventions before prayer to Christ the Worker.[1]

The work of an ACTIST is, therefore, not wholly that of assisting in the improvement of conditions of work or seeking recognition for workers or even of educating the rank and file union men to labor history, labor law and ethics, and parliamentary procedure. It is fully as much that of seeking and striving for personal salvation on the part of each member of the association as a Christian laborer. In the words of ACTU's long-time chaplain, Father John Monaghan:

While the ACTU has benefited thousands of workers in

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[1] Proceedings, First National Convention, 1940, p. 63.

> New York and throughout the nation, it benefited its own membership most. Those ACTISTS who became the hands and the head of the needy and the oppressed received more than they gave. They were ambassadors of Christ on the waterfront, in the union halls, on the picket lines, and in the court room. He transfigured their lives so that they can never be bourgeois again. We have known the ultimate sociology, namely, that any hand stretched to help the worker which is not strong in Christ is a withered hand, a hand that merely signals but can never serve.[1]

Moreover, all of the above practices are spread to as many Catholic union members as ACTU can reach. Success is not always widespread in getting Catholic union members to these various religious observances. But the Annual Communion Breakfasts in most ACTU chapter cities are attended by from 300 to 600 Actists and ACTU friends. Some Catholic unionists have had unusual success in promoting these observances among the members of their own particular unions. For example, "Dan Laughlin, ACTU teamster launched a move in his local for a teamster communion breakfast. In short order the idea spread and over 3,000 teamsters went to the altar rail and gathered in a New York Hotel later."[2]

The combination of this desire to inspire the soul of the Christian worker and the desire to spread the Christian social principles through the labor movement has sometimes been manifest in ACTU's attitude toward employers they felt were living up to what ACTU believed to be their Christian obligations. On one occasion ACTU extended "the sprig of

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[1] The Labor Leader, February 28, 1942, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., March 25, 1940, p. 3.

holly to Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company for its announced plan of vacations with pay for 3,500 of its hourly rate employees."[1] On another, ACTU sent "compliments (to) GM and the UAW for the pledge of peaceful negotiations just made."[2] In still another instance, ACTU wrote that "it is happy to see the hundreds of corporations and companies throughout Michigan who have joined in the spirit of Christman and given their employees bonus checks for the holiday season. ACTU knows that just wages come before charity, but it is sure that many employers are trying to play square with their employees in justice and charity."[3]

Part of this reflects the basic opposition of the ACTU and of the Catholic Church to the class conflict view of industrial relations. The Christian message, ACTU holds, must spread harmony and cooperation when and where possible so that men may provide, in the dignity of their persons and their work, the needs for their families in an atmosphere of brotherly love under the Fatherhood of God. The "divine plan" which if followed "will introduce sound and true order" into economic life "places God as the first and supreme end of all created activity, and regards all created goods as mere instruments of God, to be used only in so far as they

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[1] Michigan Labor Leader (predecessor to Detroit ACTU's Wage Earner), December 22, 1939, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

help towards the attainment of our supreme end."[1]

The impact of ACTU's religious aspect upon the labor movement is not open to exact determination. It may be said, however, that since Christian doctrine is opposed to class conflict, violence, radicalism, and the like, that the unionists who are subject to this teaching tend to exert a more conservative and stabilizing influence on their respective union activity. Whether Actists would conduct themselves differently due to participation in the religious function of ACTU is a question which is elusive of verification, just as the influence of any person's religious life on his social activities is a moot point. In any case, that adherence to a religious creed does not give definite reason to conclude that such adherence necessarily implies bias in union matters. On the contrary, religious training is generally encouraged in this country as a constructive rather than a disruptive force.

Summary

This chapter has sought to examine ACTU's direct activity in the labor movement in specific cases and on specific points. In organizational activity, the representative cases examined seem, from organized labor's viewpoint, to offer clear indications of ACTU's non-discriminatory and helpful role. Praise for the organization's work and assistance came from the labor leaders involved. The issues

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[1]Papal Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, op. cit., p. 163.

of "Vatican control", "clerical influence", "religious bias", or "factionalism", if they entered the cases at all, were not considered significant in the light of the central issues involved.

Similarly, while, as might be expected, the above issues were played up by pro-Communist and racketeering labor unionists, praise for ACTU's assistance against Communists and corrupt union leaders in the labor movement came from numerous non-Catholic and disinterested labor sources, including well-known labor authorities. ACTU's role in the International Longshoreman's Association remained consistently close to the job-site--in advocating local union reform, through support of legitimate unionists in local offices. It did this despite strong pressure from many quarters--except from organized labor--for authoritarian control of the waterfront workers by an outside government agency.

In the case of individual unionists seeking aid, either against their own union leaders, or for other legitimate reasons, the evidence does not reflect discrimination on ACTU's part. In cases of wronged unionists, unable to gain redress on their own or through their unions, the ACTU offered free legal aid to all, of whatever creed, and carried many cases through the courts to their proper legal conclusions. In these cases, as in innumerable others which this study could not record in detail, the ACTU's headquarters had been open for any unionist seeking advice or

redress in what, in the representative cases above, appeared to be, from labor's point of view, just causes.

In instances of ACTU instruction to unionists, whether on labor history, parliamentary procedure, Catholic social principles or religion, it was seen to be highly doubtful that these posed obstacles to the promotion of the labor movement's better welfare. ACTU did not appear to act in these cases as a proseletyzing agent for the Church. The organization's promoting of religious practices among Catholic unionists, and moral and ethical practices among all unionists, could hardly be deemed harmful labor activity.

The criticism that ACTU introduces divisive action in the guise of an intra-union caucus, while always theoretically possible with organizations of this kind, does not find substantiation in ACTU's activities within the important areas dealt with in this chapter. Nor has evidence of religious bias in ACTU's labor activity been found. It may be, of course, that it does exist, but does not come to the fore. There is, however, no clear pattern in this regard. In some instances, moreover, ACTU supported non-Catholics against Catholics, as in the case of Addes versus Reuther, when it deemed it beneficial to the union involved. Other instances of non-Catholic praise for ACTU's work add considerable weight to ACTU's non-biased operations in the labor movement. What was right according to their stated aims and principles seemed more important to the Actists than whom they supported.

There was no conclusive evidence of ACTU's attempt to maneuver its own members into positions of power in the unions. This may be one of the organization's unique aspects; it engaged in these many phases of direct union activity without seeking (certainly not manifestly) to place itself in a position of power. This is undoubtedly what has attracted unionists (not necessarily Catholic) to it--its apparent disinterestedness and genuine concern for unionists and better unionism in general. Whether its ultimate aims are consistent with this judgment remains for Chapter V to investigate.

The cases described reveal only a very small percentage of the total volume of activity engaged in by ACTU, though they may be considered representative of the nature of its work. There is, in fact, much ACTU activity which does not get recorded,[1] as, for example, its consultation role for countless unionists who visit its offices for personal and other reasons. Space limitations prevent elaboration of more cases or areas of ACTU activity. From those dealt with, however, as well as from those written up in ACTU papers, and those discussed between Actists and the

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[1]As determined from numerous interviews with Actists and those in some way connected with its work, some of whom have been acknowledged in connection with specific instances in this study, others of whom conversed with the writer on other occasions. On numerous visits to ACTU offices, there were always unionists present, either discussing their union or seeking information or advice. Puerto Rican workers are frequent visitors in the New York headquarters, since ACTU provides volunteer translators.

writer, the weight of the evidence seems clearly to indicate this organization's beneficial influence in the labor movement.

CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF ACTU FUNCTIONS AND CHURCH AUTHORITY

There are a number of issues concerning the activities of ACTU which require further consideration. Basically, these have to do with the nature of ACTU's relationship to the Catholic Church. Is the ACTU a "Catholic Bloc"? If so, is this necessarily inimical to the American labor movement? Does Catholic action of this kind also imply control from the Vatican? To what extent does this control, to whatever degree it may exist, condition the conduct of ACTU members? In other words, is there involved any implied dictatorship of minds in social or economic questions which is out of place in the democratic American environment? Does the Church dictate to Actists the ultimate goals society must seek?

To deal with these questions, the following discussion will be concerned with (1) the pattern of ACTU's opposition and support, (2) ACTU and the charge of sectarianism in the labor movement, (3) ACTU as a non-democratic organization, and, finally (4) the ultimate goals of ACTU. All of these issues are woven around the basic serious criticism of ACTU that it is a religious bloc, controlled through its priest chaplains from the Vatican; which control binds the minds and actions of Actists (hence Catholic unionists) to purposes not in harmony with American labor's best interests.

The Pattern of Opposition and Support

In the cases studied in Chapter IV, it was seen that ACTU did not discriminate on religious grounds in its efforts to aid unions or unionists. However, in order to appraise the criticism that ACTU represents a "Catholic Bloc" in the labor movement, it will be pertinent to examine on a broader basis the evidence of opposition and support concerning the organization. Does the opposition or support, by its uniformity, suggest a clear religious bias as to the work of the ACTU? In a democracy, it is expected that different groups and individuals will react in varied ways to positive social programs and policies. Do reactions to ACTU depart from this pattern?

Opposition from Labor

Almost from its inception ACTU was criticized by some labor leaders and other groups interested in workers' causes. Michael Quill of the Transport Workers Union (AFL-CIO) has said of ACTU that "no decent Catholic would belong to it."[1] At the annual Convention of the Transport Workers Union in the summer of 1939, Quill attacked "the handful of rats which the ACTU is harboring," and accused Actists of being "company stooges" and "union busters." ACTU demanded proof of these charges or a public apology, but Quill did not explain or retreat from his position. He disclaimed his

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[1]Taft, op. cit., as quoted from The Teamster, July, 1947; also Mike Quill, "As I Was Saying," Leaflet reprint from The Teamster Bulletin, January-February, 1947.

Communist affiliations, but ACTU remained critical of his undemocratic hold over the TWU.[1]

John H. Harmon, Secretary of Section 302 of the TWU, New York, was threatened with charges of "treason" before the Union's Executive Board for distributing ACTU's newspaper Labor Leader which was considered "subversive literature."[2]

Daniel Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters considered ACTU a danger to the labor movement, saying: "I have repeatedly advised our membership that under no circumstances should we allow religious cliques of any kind within the organization of labor."[3] He forbade by decree any of his union members joining religious groups paralleling union organizations. Also Local 807 of the New York Teamsters, discussed in the previous chapter, accused ACTU of interference, mishandling of its own funds, and using "commie" methods.[4]

In another instance, Joseph McCoy, Executive Board member, and Raymond Bishop, shop steward of Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, AFL, were removed

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[1] Labor Leader, October 2, 1939, p. 1. The TWU was discussed at some length in the previous chapter.

[2] Labor Leader, November 13, 1939, p. 4.

[3] Daniel J. Tobin, "Keep Religion Out of Unions, Tobin Orders," The International Teamster, XLII (January, 1945), 26.

[4] "The Wedge," A mimeographed publication of Local 807 Caucus, New York City Teamsters, February, 1954. Also Norman McKenna, "The Story of ACTU," The Catholic World, March 1949, p. 454.

from their respective offices and banned from attendance at union meetings for seeking "outside" advice from ACTU's Catholic Labor Defense League. The reason they consulted the CLDL was to satisfy themselves as to the validity of the contract negotiated by an arbitrator.[1]

In 1950, Detroit ACTU's Wage Earner was severely blasted as "an Apostle of Reaction," and for its "degeneration into a dishonest, incompetent, bungling, smear sheet."[2] In this instance, the Educational Director of the Michigan CIO Council had travelled through Europe and written articles in the Michigan CIO News praising the German Socialist unions and parties while condemning the German Christian unions and parties. In ACTU's view:

> The point here is that the American Labor Movement can do without it (the attempt to compare German Parties) and we detest the attempt to make the difference between the Christian and Social Democrats of Germany relevant to American unions.[3]

Criticism of ACTU was the subject of a pamphlet published by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE-CIO).[4] In the pamphlet, James Matles, Educational Director for the UE, said of James B. Carey that he was the "puppet of outside forces vastly more intelligent, subtle

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[1]Labor Leader, November 13, 1939, p. 1

[2]Michigan CIO News, September 14, 1950, p. 1

[3]Wage Earner, October, 1950, p. 3. August Scholle, Michigan CIO Council President was a member of the Americans for Democratic Action and ACTU claimed this left wing affiliation damaged the reputation of the CIO Council in Michigan.

[4]James J. Matles, "The Members Run This Union," UE Publication No. 94, March 1947.

and patient than himself." The ACTU, Matles said, was "an organization devoted to capturing control of unions to establish its own kind of domination. Success in this aim would not only take control of the union away from its membership, but by fomenting division along religious lines, whether intentional or not, would destroy the union." The ACTU was considered "undemocratic and authoritarian in the last degree," and "it operates to impose its program and policies upon labor unions by 'capturing' key personnel and favors the extension of undemocratic methods in trade unions to perpetuate the power of ACTU puppets, and through them, the domination of the ACTU over the unions."[1]

In another instance, ACTU has been attacked for labelling as Communist, union men "whose progressive thought doesn't go beyond the Wagner Act."[2] The author of this article blames ACTU pressure on labor leaders for the resignation of many "capable" professional members of various union staffs. Clinton Golden and Harold Ruttenburg resigned in "dismay", this source alleges, at what they believed was happening in the CIO when the Communist purges set in.[3] And

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[1] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

[2] James Higgins, "How Long Can He Compromise," New Republic, October 20, 1947, p. 14.

[3] This statement, however, appears to be inaccurate, since Ruttenburg as Director of the Department of Education and Research, CIO, wrote ACTU on May 15, 1953, offering information on the CIO program for the expulsion of Communist unions. (Letter from Ruttenburg to James J. Conroy, Execu-

> When Dave McDonald's (then Secretary of the Steel Workers, CIO) enmity scorches the relationship between Pressman (Lee Pressman, General Counsel for the Steelworkers and the CIO) and Murray, when ACTU-directed stones from all over the CIO are daily flung at the general counsel, it is possible that Pressman, too, will become a victim of a situation in which Murray as CIO President, is a buffeted and puzzled figure.[1]

These allegations were bitterly attacked by MacDonald as "dreamed up notions" and "lies" and the hint that Murray was confused was labelled a "deliberate insult."[2]

Finally, The Communist Daily Worker, too, has been one of ACTU's most consistent enemies. It criticized the Detroit ACTU for its work against the Communist dominated United Automobile Workers' Local 51, and criticized the Reverend Owen Rice, Chaplain of the Pittsburgh ACTU chapter when he helped to lead the Pittsburgh chapter's fight against Communist dominated unions in the city's East Side.[3] The Communists also charged ACTU with harboring "clerical fascists" and with maintaining a grip on the CIO hierarchy "in behalf of the Catholic Church."[4] In connection with a meeting of Westinghouse Local 601 of the United Electrical

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tive Secretary of ACTU, May 15, 1953, ACTU files, New York). Moreover, Ruttenburg is still in that position (March, 1958).

[1]Higgins, loc. cit.

[2]McDonald to Higgins, New Republic, November 24, 1947, p. 36.

[3]The National Director (of ACTU), Report to the Second Annual Convention, August 31-September 1, 1941, p. 152.

[4]Philip Taft, op. cit., p. 218, as taken from Daily Worker, July 28, 1947; September 12, 1947; April 5, 1948.

Workers in Pittsburgh, the Daily Worker stated:

> There was time. . .for the officers, dominated by the association of catholic trade unionists, to ram through a resolution condemning the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty and charging the leaders of the American Communist Party, who are on trial in New York for their opinions, with "stalling" the proceedings. . . The day of the meeting the priests of St. William's Catholic Church in Turtle Creek during the Mass warned their congregations that it was the duty of every Catholic member of the local to attend the union meeting and vote for the ACTU recommendations. . .[1]

This Communist paper has devoted articles too numerous to review in detail on ACTU, especially between 1948 and 1950 when ACTU was giving much publicity to fighting Communist dominated unions in the CIO.[2] Pro-Communist labor leaders, too, were constant in their attacks on ACTU. The attack of George Addes, former International Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, has already been mentioned. He accused ACTU of creating "factionalism" in the union.[3] He also accused ACTU of being one of those "tightly knit factions" which use unions to achieve ulterior goals.[4]

These are typical of the opposition ACTU receives from within the labor movement. Where ACTU members oppose certain union leadership on suspicion of corruption or undemo-

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[1] Daily Worker, March 2, 1949, p. 1

[2] George Morris, "Spotlight on the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," Political Affairs, March 1947, pp. 252-263.

[3] United Automobile Workers of America, Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention, Buffalo, 1941, p. 85. Walter Reuther at the same meeting criticized Addes for making this statement, Ibid., p. 690.

[4] Ibid.

cratic or Communist tendencies, it is inevitable that it should receive that leadership's opposition. These references, though unfavorable to ACTU, may be an indication of the organization's influence in the labor movement.

Opposition from Catholic Clergy

The Catholic clergy has been as critical of ACTU as almost any other group or individual. It may be recalled from Chapter II that the clergy's opposition to the Knights of Labor due to its alleged secrecy oath and to the atmosphere of violence created by such groups as the Molly Maguires, and such actions as the Haymarket bomb throwing of 1886, was not easy to overcome, even after Cardinal Gibbons had openly supported the organization. "Some of the Archbishops," it was said, "were by no means ready to part with their doubts as to the order. Even the enlightened (Archbishop John) Ryan was difficult to convince. . ."[1]

The opposition of certain Church leaders pressed Terrence Powderly, President of the Knights and a Catholic to say that:

> the Pope is too far away and does not understand our conditions as well as we do. . . The Pope will not and cannot restore your wages or in any way lighten your burden. Stick by the Knights of Labor and you'll stand a far better chance of improving your lot than by dividing on religious lines.[2]

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[1]Allen Sinclair, op. cit., p. 327.

[2]Powderly, The Path I Trod, p. 333.

Powderly believed that the church hierarchy for the most part did not identify themselves with the interests of labor, and their opposition to the Knights embittered him toward the Church the rest of his life.

The formation and growth of ACTU since 1937 has found critics among the clergy too. At its very beginning ACTU was requested to change its name from the Catholic Association of Trade Unionists to the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists,[1] before a chaplain would be assigned to it by the New York Chancery. This was to avoid giving the connotation that it was a Church canonical organization. Similar experiences were met in other ACTU chapter cities. Detroit's ACTU, in its first significant action in the labor field, met the opposition of Father Charles E. Coughlin when ACTU supported the UAW Chrysler strike, which Father Coughlin called "anti-Christian" and "anti-American."[2]

When Seattle ACTU tried to function, the opposition of Church dignitaries was sufficient to stifle it entirely. In a letter to ACTU, it was stated that the chapter, struggling to get established, was under an "interdict" because its "credentials are not in order."[3] The Seattle group complained that no publicity was given to their efforts in the

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[1]Cf. Chapter III

[2]Michigan CIO News, "Back to Work Move Supported by Coughlin Flops," November 20, 1939, p. 5.

[3]Letter to ACTU, October, 1941, ACTU files, New York (Names withheld).

Catholic diocesan paper and that the Chancery was "reactionary". The group insisted that it was impossible to spread ACTU's influence as long as the group was "under a cloud." People "sense that there must be something wrong with us, and even our own members have largely quit attending meetings. The inactivity is killing us off."[1] The lack of a chaplain, which the Bishop refused to assign to Seattle ACTU, because he believed some of the ACTU leaders were non-practicing Catholics, prevented it from carrying out any of its purposes, including its educational function. "A worker's school is also out of the question under these circumstances, at least until we get a chaplain. The appointment of a chaplain would indicate that we have been 'accepted'. Without the Chancery taking such action we are 'outlaws'. It is almost as if we had ecclesiastical leprosy."[2] To National ACTU's suggestion that the group continue to try, the answer was, "There are no indications whatever that there will be any action from the Chancery. If the chapter dies or becomes the puppet of the Chancery, we'll have to carry on the work of ACTU by some other vehicle--without the name of Catholic on it, so that it will be out from under the Bishop's jurisdiction."[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

The ACTU efforts in San Francisco, Buffalo, Chicago and Boston met with similar difficulties. Buffalo has not become an ACTU chapter as yet (1957), due, at least in the beginning, to the opposition of the Church to "Catholic" in the ACTU title, which makes it appear a Church organ. In other cities, approbation for the organization was slow in coming. In Chicago, the ACTU chapter, early in its brief period of existence before the war, had succeeded in mediating a dispute at one of the large department stores only to have the management go back on its word. This caused considerable trouble and the Archbishop "was pretty sour on ACTU as a result of it."[1]

In other instances clergymen disagreed with some phase of ACTU principle or practice. One Jesuit, for example, said, "I cannot see a theological justification for the second mandate of the ACTU, that 'the worker has a duty to join a bona fide trade union.'"[2] Another was critical of ACTU's journalism in its national paper, The Labor Leader, saying "in general it seems to me that you are leaning too far toward negation. . . We have had too many broad accusations and condemnations. These don't educate people but simply make them 'sore' or desperate or distrustful. . . You might lean a little more to the positive and

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[1]Letter from Ed Marciniak of the Chicago Catholic Labor Alliance, May 15, 1954.

[2]Letter Rev. William J. Smith, S.J. to John Cort, Commonweal, May 19, 1939, p. 101.

hopeful side."[1]

Father George C. Higgins, also of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, criticised ACTU as follows:

> I know of more than one instance in which Catholic organizations of the type desired by Cort (John Cort, ACTU co-founder) have officially--if only through the medium of their newspapers--interfered in local disputes in which the issues were not patently as black-and-white as they were alleged to be. We cannot afford to be doctrinaire, even from the best of motives, in dealing with matters which are as complicated as current labor problems admittedly are. . . If Catholic organizations acting as organizations, insist in doctrinaire fashion on their solution as the unique solution in the practical application of their admittedly excellent principles, they may expect to be charged with sectarian factionalism.[2]

The Rev. John Cronin, Assistant Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, some years ago felt that despite its eleven years in existence ACTU cannot be fully and openly accepted as yet, even among Catholics, concluding that "probably in this matter, the best attitude is not to attempt a premature judgment."[3] Another clergyman, Father George A. Kelly, took this to be a misrepresentation of ACTU, in that it "leaves the impression that the ACTU must be looked upon with suspicion, even by Catholics. . ."

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[1]Letter Rev. John Hayes, NCWC, to Editor, Labor Leader, November, 1942.

[2]Letter of Rev. George Higgins to the Editors, Commonweal, April 21, 1944, p. 14.

[3]Rev. John Cronin, Catholic Social Action (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1948), p. 115. "It has been argued that outside intervention, whether by clergy or by ACTU, is an unhealthy innovation. The reason cited is that these activities, however well intentioned, give color to the charge that we are forming a Catholic bloc within unions." (Ibid.)

and that the Church leaders, in general, are skeptical about ACTU.[1]

Father Higgins, in rebuttal to Father Kelly pointed out that "some of the most intelligent critics of ACTU are humble priests and laymen who are just as close to the people and just as allergic to the blandishments of affluent labor leaders as even the most heroic member of ACTU could reasonably hope to be."[2]

Support from Labor

While those who have opposed ACTU have been sometimes strong in their criticism of it as a divisive force in the labor movement, support for the organization seems to have been at least equally as enthusiastic.

On its tenth anniversary in 1949 the Detroit ACTU received congratulations from Philip Murray, the late President of the CIO and Maurice J. Tobin, then Secretary of Labor. Said Murray: "In its ten years of existence the Wage Earner (Detroit's ACTU newspaper) has frequently demonstrated its deep attachment to the ideals upon which our unions are founded. I hope in the years ahead your excellent paper will continue to provide this service of enlightenment to its reading public."[3] Philip Murray has been

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[1]George A. Kelly, "The ACTU and Its Critics," Commonweal, December 31, 1948, p. 298.

[2]Letter Rev. George Higgins to Editors, Commonweal, January 21, 1949, p. 374.

[3]ACTU files, Detroit, and as quoted in Wage Earner, September, 1949, p. 6.

the guest speaker at several ACTU Communion breakfasts, and endorsed ACTU's goal for Industry Councils.

John L. Lewis, without making direct reference to ACTU, said,

> ". . .there is nothing in the Catholic philosophy of economics that would condemn our program of industrial organization. . .I have read the encyclicals and use them too, but I don't dare advocate workers' sharing in management (the Pope's Plan) just now. It would create a great furore and I would surely be put down as a Communist. (But) labor sharing in management is our next step.[1]

Walter Reuther received ACTU support in the Reuther-Addes elections (Cf. Chapter IV) and has responded in a friendly manner to ACTU's letters of congratulations on his elections. He has written congratulatory letters to ACTU on the occasions of their National Conventions.[2] James B, Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO has sought information and guidance from ACTU on occasion and heartily commends ACTU's educational role in the labor movement, while warning against the ambitions of some of its members.[3] Harry Read, Administrative Assistant to Carey in the CIO, spoke at Detroit ACTU's 1952 Annual Communion Breakfast.

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[1]As reported from interview with Most Rev. Robert Lucey, Bishop of Amarillo, Texas, Labor Leader, May 25, 1938, p. 3.

[2]For example, Letter from Reuther dated June 21, 1954, on the occasion of ACTU's Ninth National Convention. It was pointed out previously that ACTU was defended by Reuther as early as 1941 (UAW Proceedings, loc. cit.)

[3]Letters on file, ACTU office, New York, and Letter to R. Ward, May 17, 1954.

David McDonald, also a Catholic, and now President of the United Steel Workers, has been friendly to ACTU.[1]

A representative of the CIO and the AFL spoke at ACTU's annual communion breakfast in New York, April, 1954, while Robert Wagner, Mayor of New York, in the major speech praised its work.

One well known non-sectarian periodical made the statement that every chapter has "union and employer offices in which ACTU gets respect and even admiration."[2]

ACTU has received greetings and good wishes at its National Conventions from the following individuals and unions in the labor movement:[3] The Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unionists; from Catholic Italian Workers Unions (ACLI); from R. J. Thomas, former President of the United Automobile Workers of America-CIO; Frank Grillo, General-Secretary Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America; Samuel Wolchok, President of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America; S. H. Dalrymple, President of the United Rubber Workers of

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[1]Madison, American Labor Leaders (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 327. "By 1946 they (ACTU) had not only formed an informal alliance with the anti-Communist Protestants and Jews but gained the active support of such Catholic leaders as James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, and David J. McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steelworkers, both intimates of Murray," (Madison, p. 327)

[2]Business Week, July 18, 1953, p. 122.

[3]These are taken from the Proceedings of ACTU's National Conventions from 1940-1953. The offices which the individuals listed now hold may in many cases have changed since the date of the greeting or message to the Convention.

America-CIO; Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America; Jacob S. Potofsky, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; from John Green, President of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union; O. A. Knight, President, Oil Workers International Union; Frank Rosenblum, Executive Vice President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Morris Muster, International President of the United Furniture Workers of America; Arthur Dunn, President, and Leonard Geiger, Business Manager of Local 1 of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; Rocco Capuzzi, President of Local 302, United Cigar Workers-CIO; A. F. Whitney, President of the Grand Lodge, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Frank Gillmore, International President of the Associated Actors and Artists of America; Rev. John P. Boland, Chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board.

These greetings note ACTU's "rightful place in the ranks of American labor"; its "good work" in the interest of labor; its "support of these ideals" (Democracy, Unity of Labor) and "the sincerity of purpose displayed by the members of the ACTU."[1] Jacob Potofsky, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers said of ACTU: "Your course over the past four years has been marked by firm adherence to the principles of sound and contructive trade unionism by

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[1] Ibid., Samuel Wolchok, Second National Convention, August 30-September 1, 1941, n. p.

vigorous intelligent support of enlightened causes and by courage and idealism."[1] Another greeting congratulates ACTU for "the fine work that you are doing." Still another labor leader, sending best wishes of "the quarter million" workers of the Clothing Workers said: "Labor has need at this time of the wise counsel and energetic support which the ACTU has ever been ready to offer."[2] Frank Grillo of the United Rubber Workers said: "We of the United Rubber Workers are in accord with you in your concept of the fundamental relationship between Religion and Labor--to wit that Religion must concern itself with the spirit and purpose of Industrial Relationships."[3]

A letter from Walter Reuther to ACTU dated June 21, 1954, commended ACTU's work as follows:

> I take the opportunity afforded by the Ninth Annual Convention of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists to commend once again the tremendous contribution that the Papal Social Encyclicals, notably Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno, have made to the present strength of the free labor movement throughout the world. Both of these encyclicals were proclaimed at times in history when desperation caused by hunger, poverty and unemployment gravely tempted workingmen to trade freedom for bread.
>
> Man cannot solve his problems through exclusive reliance on materialism. Neither can he solve them by blind opposition to materialism. His approach must be full and positive application of moral and spiritual values which are his birthright. His real mission is to make the world better, not merely to prevent it from becoming worse.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., Frank Rosenblum, Executive Vice President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

[3] Ibid.

> For a society to be orderly, as two great Popes have said, it must be an organized society; and that organization must come from the free deliberation and decision of free men intent upon the common good.
>
> (Signed) Walter Reuther,
> President, CIO

A letter from H. D. Jacobs, President of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local 225, May 21, 1945, says: "Words are inadequate to express our deep appreciation for your endeavor to arouse public sentiment in behalf of the Postal Worker."

These and others already mentioned in Chapter IV[1] are typical of many letters received by ACTU during its existence. Unions and individual union members have sent letters of appreciation and often donations in attempts to repay for aid received from ACTU.

Other Sources of Support

ACTU has received commendation from a number of quarters not directly associated with labor unions. For example, the Detroit Patriotic Council representing the American Legion and other groups "has voted to advise its membership that 'ACTU is carrying on a most constructive program which should receive the support of every patriotic

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[1]For example, Letters to ACTU on February 25, 1953, November 17, 1952, and October 16, 1952 from Fred Ferrara of the Restaurant Workers, John Scott of the Warehousemen, and Patricke Reape of the Chain Store Employees respectively (Cf. Chapter IV for quotations).

American.'"[1]

Judge Paul E. Krause of Recorder's Court, Detroit, commending Detroit ACTU on its tenth Anniversary said: "To my mind the Wage Earner has filled a great need in reporting objectively, accurately and vigorously, news dealing with the American labor front. . ."[2]

ACTU was praised for "shrewdly" analyzing Walter Reuther's strike program with General Motors, wherein he differed with Philip Murray on the "ability-to-pay theory". This was with reference to the Improvement Factor in which the company and the union divided the fruits of annual productivity increases. ACTU sided with Reuther because it believes in encouraging programs which tend toward profit sharing and cooperative production.[3]

In its battle against Communists in labor unions, ACTU has been recognized as a strong force. The Labor Editor of the New York Post referred to ACTU's work in this way:

> Since Phil Murray, Slim Jim Carey and Walter Reuther in the CIO, and partly George Meany and little Matt Woll in the AFL are successfully crushing the Commie's labor apparatus throughout the world and there's more fighting to come, the comrades are now being told that it's all a Catholic plot to capture the working man's outfits. . . .The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is accused of directing the plot and of sheltering Father Coughlin's most active followers. Words like "clerical fascists" are thrown at priests who have walked the

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[1] Michigan Labor Leader, December 22, 1939, p. 7.

[2] Wage Earner, September, 1949, p. 7.

[3] Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther (New York: Random House, 1949), pp. 146-147.

> picket lines, fed hungry strikers and lent spiritual aid to the nation's top union chiefs--like Phil Murray, for example. . . If the ACTU is going to capture America's 50,000 unions it'll have to get some manpower for its staff. Right now the national ACTU headquarters employs two paid men--and they aren't exactly living on Park Avenue in Comrade Gromyko's style.[1]

ACTU has been commended by some prominent students of labor. According to Philip Taft, for example, "by espousing decent and progressive unionism and by opposing racketeering and abuses within unions, ACTU is helping to give leadership to the forces that believe in more intelligent and better administered unions--leadership that would not subordinate union functions to ulterior political ends."[2]

An article in a popular magazine had this to say of ACTU:

> The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, an organization of lay union members, is becoming a more and more important factor in American unions. It often swings the balance of political power at union conventions. Without ACTU's support, Walter Reuther probably would not have won the United Auto Workers' election in 1946. Nor could tough Mike Quill have cleaned up the Transport Workers Union last March (1948). . .It is growing in importance in New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Cleveland.[3]

Despite ACTU's war against Communists in unions, on one occasion a pro-Marxist group felt it was to its advantage to associate itself in part with ACTU aims. The National Chair-

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[1]Victor Riesel in his column, New York Post, January 9, 1948, p. 64.

[2]Philip Taft, "The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," op. cit., p. 218.

[3]Victor Riesel, (then) Labor Editor, New York Post, Aaron Levenstein, Labor Editor, Research Institute of America, "Labor Priests," Look Magazine, March 1, 1949, p. 36.

man of the Trotskyite Workers Party said that "we of the Workers' Party and others cooperate with members of ACTU, have done so in the past and undoubtedly will do so in the future, on practical questions before the trade unions."[1]

In November, 1953, after submitting an application, ACTU was granted "Special Observer" Status at the United Nations, as a party among Non-governmental Organizations which could be helpful to the work of that body.[2] This status gives ACTU officers the privilege of attending open and closed meetings of various international labor federations.

In 1957, after John McNiff, Executive Secretary of ACTU gave testimony before the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field on the exploitation by unions and management of New York's Puerto Rican workers, he and the ACTU were commended by various Senators as follows:[3]

Senator Patrick McNamara, Democrat, Michigan:

> I think the young man has made a marvelous presentation and I am sure overall it is of great help to the committee and I want to compliment him on coming here and cooperating with this committee. . .I think that you are to be commended for doing this job and I for one,

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[1]Max Schachtman, "Marxism vs Catholicism," The New International, January, 1949, p. 11.

[2]Interview with Frank Andolina, National Director of ACTU, July 28, 1956, and consultation with United Nations Information Bureau.

[3]Mr. McNiff's testimony before this committee was based entirely upon ACTU records concerning Puerto Rican workers who had appealed to the organization for assistance.

speaking for myself, appreciate your appearance.[1]

Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican, Arizona:

> Mr. McNiff, I want to join my colleagues who have complimented you on this report. I think it is by far the most outstanding one I have listened to in nearly five years of labor hearings. I want to compliment you on it not only for your organization's sake, but for the work you, yourself, put in it.[2]

Senator John L. McClellan (Chairman), Democrat, Arkansas:

> The Chair joins with the other members of the committee in expressing appreciation and commending you for your testimony.[3]

These statements represent the views of Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

Finally, on the occasion of its Twelfth National Convention in New York City, ACTU received commendatory telegrams from Governor Harriman of New York, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, and President of the United States Dwight D. Eisenhower. Governor Averill Harriman congratulated the ACTU for its "educational programs which are helping to build the kind of sound and democratic trade unionism that all of us desire."[4]

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[1]Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, United States Senate, Hearings, August 2, 1957 (Stenographic Transcript), Vol. 3, Washington, D.C., pp. 451, 453.

[2]Ibid., p. 460.

[3]Ibid., p. 485. Similar statements were made by other members of the committee including Senators Carl Curtis, Republican of Nebraska; Karl Mundt, Republican of South Dakota; John F. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts.

[4]Telegram to Twelfth National Convention of ACTU, dated July 3, 1957, ACTU files, New York.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell said: "In furthering the observance of religious principles in the daily activities of the trade union movement," the ACTU is "performing a commendable service to our nation. You have my best wishes for continued success."[1]

President Dwight D. Eisenhower said: "As your organizations helps carry forward the social teachings of your faith, the American labor movement continues to make progress. The active principle of inspired service to neighbor brings strength to the national community."[2]

Support of the Catholic Clergy

Members of the Catholic Clergy have not always, as seen above, come to the support of labor unions, or of associations which invoke the Catholic name. Personal conviction, circumstances, temperament, and judgment have all played a part in forming any particular clergyman's attitude toward organizations of ACTU's character.

This does not necessarily mean that some priests accept the words of the Holy Father as stated in the encyclicals while others reject them. It is rather than in particular circumstances there is doubt in the clergyman's mind as to whether the organization in question is, in fact, interpreting the encyclicals correctly. In some cases it is

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[1] Ibid., dated July 5, 1957, ACTU files New York.

[2] Ibid., dated July 5, 1957, ACTU files New York.

lack of knowledge of the organization in question which has withheld approbation. In other cases, caution has played a part. In still others, lack of prudence or excessive rashness or bad justment on the part of individuals associated with either the organization or the church has set the relationship off to a bad start.

For example, not all Catholic clergy believe that workers are morally bound by duty to join a union, as ACTU believes, on the ground that this should be the case only if the "common good" is thereby served. And there is room for differences of opinion as to when the common good is being served.

Despite these disputed areas of interpretation, which have brought some clerical opposition, ACTU's strongest and greatest support, financially and otherwise, has come from the clergy.

ACTU has in its files many letters of praise from the American hierarchy. Edward Cardinal Mooney of Detroit has been especially lavish in his praise and assistance to Detroit ACTU from its very beginning. In his 1949 message to Detroit ACTU, on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, Cardinal Mooney "heartily commended" the Detroit ACTU's Wage Earner "not only to Catholic Unionists but to all whose thinking will in the end constitute an enlightened public opinion."[1]

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[1] Wage Earner, September, 1949, p. 7.

Financially support from the clergy has, at times, been crucial to ACTU's existence. Archbishop Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York has sent his good wishes accompanied by checks of $2,500 and $3,000 on numerous occasions.[1] Donations of sums from $10 to $500 from clerical individuals and groups including nuns have been a regular part of ACTU's finances from the beginning.[2]

In 1950-1951, under George Donahue as full-time permanent National Director, ACTU carried on a renewed drive for support among the clergy and other labor groups and leading Catholics. The promotion resulted in obtaining "the support of six hundred odd people known as ACTU Associates and they have given us the wherewithal to function as a National Organization on a sound financial basis."[3] These associates, largely clergymen, were responsible for nearly three-fifths of ACTU's total reported income in the fiscal year 1951-1952, while the contributions of individual chapters amounted to about one-sixth of the total income.[4]

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[1]Letters on file, ACTU, New York, indicate at least the following contributions from the Chancery Office: 1945-$2,500; 1946-$2,500; 1947-$3,000; 1948-$3,000. Cardinal Spellman and ACTU differed in the matter of the Cemetery Strike in 1949, which may offer an explanation of the absence of similar contributions after that year. This case is discussed below.

[2]Determined from Proceedings and copies of letters of appreciation in the ACTU files, New York.

[3]Proceedings, Sixth National Convention, Philadelphia, 1951, p. 5.

[4]Proceedings, Seventh National Convention, Gary, Indiana, 1952, Financial Report of the National Office, n. p.

ACTU has occasionally received greetings from Catholic labor groups and clergymen associated with foreign Catholic labor associations in Canada, England, Australia, Italy, Belgium, Holland, India, and Germany.[1]

Finally, the ACTU has on several occasions received recognition and approval from Pope Pis XII. After a bound record of ACTU's work had been presented in person to the Holy Father in Rome by Frank Andolina, National Director of ACTU, and member of the Garment Workers Union, the Special Apostolic Blessing was received for the organization.[2]

The Issue of ACTU's Bias Pattern

The opposition and support which ACTU has received, and of which the above is but representative, indicates the variety of opinions prevailing about the organization. There is, in addition, much opposition and support, expressed and unexpressed, which has been "off the record," anonymous, or unrecorded.[3] This is partly due to the fact

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[1]There is a long list of these supporters which can be gathered from letters in ACTU files, New York, or cf. ACTU Proceedings, 1940-1953.

[2]Special Apostolic Blessing to ACTU, September 16, 1950, in ACTU files, New York. The organization has received this blessing officially on a number of occasions, i.e., Letter dated June 26, 1957 from Vatican City to ACTU on the occasion of its Twelfth National Convention, New York, July, 1957 (Also reprinted in The Labor Leader, July-August issue, 1957, p. 1).

[3]ACTU files have numerous letters anonymously signed. This also confirmed in interviews with ACTU chaplains in New York and Detroit and in letters of inquiry sent out in connection with this study, in an attempt to collect these opinions.

that leaders of some unions, while opposing such an organization as ACTU, do not wish to antagonize their Catholic members. Such leaders may act to nullify ACTU influence, but they do not wish to let their Catholic rank and file know openly what their opinions of ACTU are. On the other hand, some who favor ACTU have cooperated with the organization's principles, followed ACTU advice, praised it for its work, but have refrained from making public statements so as not to antagonize their non-Catholic rank and file.[1] Letters written in connection with this study have confirmed this tendency. It may, therefore, be assumed that the volume of both opposition and support is, in fact, considerably greater than is indicated in the elaboration above.

But more important than the volume of opposing or favorable opinions expressed concerning the ACTU is the fact of the diversity of origin of those opinions. The opposition as well as the support has come from sources within as well as outside the labor movement, and from within as well as outside the Catholic Church. Furthermore, there is no definite pattern of religious bias evident in the sources of opposition or support. Protestants, Jews and Catholics have both favored the ACTU and opposed it, been helped by it or found it obstructive. Among the unionists included in the above treatment, seven who favored ACTU were

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[1] Ibid.

Jewish, nine were Protestant, six were Catholic.[1] Nor is there any pattern discernable as to political origin of the opposition or support. Finally, even the blessings of high Church authority, including the Pope, has not given the ACTU automatic approbation by Catholics everywhere. Local conditions engender local reactions, which is common to all democratic environments.

All this implies that the ACTU has not conducted a program which reveals, at least on the surface, any particular uniform prejudices. If those who supported the ACTU were all within the Catholic fold or sphere of influence, and those who opposed it all outside that sphere, ACTU's bias would appear evident. Or if ACTU's support came largely from those outside of the unions while the opposition came largely from unionists, clear implications might then follow. But the sources of opposition and support have been so heterogeneous as to defy any set pattern, and the analysis of the organization must, therefore, be chiefly concerned with its place in the labor movement, its activities, and ultimate objectives. To say that the organi-

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[1]Determined from Who's Who in Labor (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946). These represent only a cross-section of the religious affiliations of those who have expressed an opinion on ACTU. In come cases, opinions solicited for this study were accompanied by mention of religious affiliation. For example ". . .ACTU (and I say this as a non-Catholic) was extremely helpful to the Textile Workers Union in the North Jersey region in the early days of struggle and we are eternally grateful" (Letter from Al Barkin, now Assistant Director, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C., August 3, 1956).

zation represents a unified religious bias is not borne out by this evidence.

The ACTU and Sectarian Unionism

There is the issue, related to that of religious bias, which is concerned with an association of Catholics creating or planting the seeds for sectarian unionism in this country. Since the Pope in Rome is the spiritual leader of Catholics everywhere, ACTU has been accused of being an agent of outside forces which will divide the labor movement on religious grounds. For example, ACTU was vigorously attacked by one writer in a pamphlet called "No Friend of Labor," in which he describes ACTU as an agent of a foreign and international power, lodged in the Vatican, which was "fascistic" and "un-American."[1]

An earlier article in Nation spoke critically of "Labor's Catholic Bloc." While admitting ACTU's aid to unions and union members in many causes, this author found the introduction of religious issues into labor affairs disturbing, saying that

> Religious splits have contributed to the ruin of whole labor movements in other countries, and the ACTU, although it is not a dual union, is the first large scale attempt to set up a religious grouping within the national labor organizations. The introduction of any religious issues divides authority and always brings reaction among partisans of other faiths. Already

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[1]James Morton Freeman, "No Friend of Labor," Pamphlet No. 1, Fulfillment Press, New York, as discussed by Rev. George Higgins, Assistant Director of Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in "The Yardstick," NC Features, January, 1949.

> there is talk in many Protestant circles of combating the influence of Rome with an Association of Protestant Trade Unionists. In such a case, the United Hebrew Trades, which never extend beyond strictly Jewish neighborhoods and has been dormant for years, might be revived. Such division would bring subdivision and the result might well be unions built along religious lines and the virtual Europeanization of the American labor movement.[1]

The argument has also been made that "Catholics, like Communists, are often controlled by forces beyond the vision of most Americans; Rome, like Moscow, has its own interests. . ."[2] Furthermore, it is charged that "Catholics and Communists look to goals far in the distance, and the ends of both are so grandiose that almost any means seems justified for their attainment."[3] Rovere contends, also, that ACTU has been opportunistic, making "alliances no less cynical" than the Communists.

Similar fears were expressed by others. One labor student expressed the view that

> . . .a great many non-Catholics continue to be suspicious of the ACTU. While admitting the good that ACTU has done to this point, they express the fear that its growth and the temptations such growth would put before the leadership of the ACTU and the hierarchy of the Church are almost certain to change the character of the enterprise. The "area of freedom" exists only until a subject is determined in Rome: and then it disappears. Should the ACTU become powerful in the American Labor Movement, there should always be the possibility that its current leadership would assume a different attitude or be supplanted by another ready

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[1]Richard Rovere, "Labor's Catholic Bloc," The Nation, January 4, 1941, p. 13.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

to give priority to the greater interests of the Church.[1]

Another critic spoke of ACTU's allegiance to Rome, while labor in this country owes its allegiance to the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. "Rome," he goes on to say," is the authority of ACTU. The democratic concept of life governs the CIO."[2]

The Protestant Churches have registered protests against Catholic labor organizations. One such source refers to Dan Tobin's warning to his Teamsters "to keep religion out," with added assurances that Protestants were not among the groups to which Tobin directed his criticism. "The fact is," this report states, "that Mr. Tobin is really complaining about the activities of ACTU. . .who are organized for the purpose of infiltrating into the unions."[3]

In the light of these criticisms of some of ACTU's opponents, it is pertinent to this study to consider the charge that ACTU is a "Catholic Bloc" or a sectarian union force operating in the labor movement. Opponents of the organization have pointed out that while it carries on the battle against the Communists on a down-to-earth basis, in terms of elections and daily criticism of pro-Communistic

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[1]Martin Mayer, "The Catholic Church and the Union Movement," Labor and Nation, March-April, 1949, p. 29.

[2]Higgins, New Republic, op. cit., p. 36

[3]"Catholic Infiltration Disturbs Union," Christian Century, May 9, 1945, p. 573.

unionists, it is, in fact, an agent of the Church, working for Catholic ends. This would be as inimical to the American labor movement, so these critics charge, as Communism or any other alien force.

ACTU's Avowed Aims

The ACTU itself has been strong in its insistence that it is neither a religious clique nor a separate sectarian union effort in the labor movement. In its constitution, for example, it is stated that:

> The ACTU shall not be a labor union and shall not infringe upon any of the functions, such as collective bargaining of the unions to which its members belong, but shall offer aid to its members in all bona-fide labor organizations.[1]

And again:

> The purpose of the founders was not to organize Catholic unions.[2]

Instructions given to Detroit ACTISTS are also clear on this point:

> Will the ACTU interfere in the internal affairs of the unions? No. The ACTU will expose evil methods in a given union and teach its members how to combat such methods. But it will leave all action relating to the internal affairs of a union to the members of that union.[3]

The ACTU was even critical of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin's "Workers' Council for Social Justice" on grounds

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[1]First ACTU Constitution, Article II d (undated).

[2]Labor Leader, January 3, 1938 (its first issue), p. 3.

[3]"Here It Is, the ACTU," Detroit ACTU Catechism, published by Detroit ACTU chapter, March, 1939, p. 7.

that it sought to establish separate and distinct Christian unions:

> The most important difference is that the ACTU is not a new union, whereas the Workers' Council for Social Justice is in full competition with the AFL, the CIO, or any independent or company union that might happen to be in the field.[1]

Edward Cardinal Mooney of Detroit, speaking in behalf of the ACTU, said as follows:

> The ACTU is not a Catholic clique in the labor movement that aims to gain control of unions for any secret or questionable purpose. It holds no threat to union leaders except such as work for selfish or subversive ends. It need stir no alarm in industrial management that is forward-looking, fair and democratic. . . The ACTU covets no power except the power of conviction working on open minds.[2]

Furthermore, although ACTU chaplains have not hesitated to advise membership to oust Communist union leadership when they faced it, they refrain from taking sides in normal union elections. Just as the Catholic Church does not favor one form of government over another per se,[3] so "Churchmen are enjoined not to form pressure groups in order to take part in partisan politics or to use the pulpit or the Catholic press to stigmatize candidates and make their hearers vote as a block."[4] This is elaborated further

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[1] The Catholic Worker, July, 1937, p. 5.

[2] Quoted in Taft, op. cit., p. 216.

[3] The Encyclicals Immortale Dei, Graves de Communi, and Libertas Praestantissimum of Leo XIII affirm this principle.

[4] William Agar, "Where Do Catholics Stand," America in a World at War, Series No. 4 (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941), p. 8.

by the Reverend Raymond Clancy, chaplain of Detroit ACTU in 1941:

> Just as I should personally resent any attempt on the part of an ACTU member to tell me how I should say Mass or preach a sermon, so in like manner would an ACTIST be justified in resenting on my part to tell him how he should vote in a union election.
>
> No non-unionists has any right to dictate to union members about strictly union matters and by the same token any unionist who accepts such outside direction is not a good unionist.
>
> It is in recognition of this fact that wise unionists will be careful to keep from positions of union authority all who are not free to work at all times for the interests of the union, but must in blind obedience promote the special interests of some political party. Wise unionists will be distrustful of all who consistently follow the party line of such a minority group.[1]

ACTU's newspapers have repeatedly made it clear to ACTU members that they should carefully avoid getting involved in union politics. One such report stated:

> ACTU positively does not intend to get down into the dirt and double-crossing of union politics. . . It backs only the ACTU program and ACTU principles.[2]

In answer to the repeated charge that ACTU interfered as an outside force in union affairs and as a tool of the Vatican, the Wage Earner, Detroit's ACTU paper again expressed the ACTU position:

> The ACTU differs from both the other groups (the Communists and Socialists) in important respects. It is non-political, running no candidates for office either in civil government or in union elections. To a greater degree even than the SP (Socialist Party), it leaves to its members in the unions all determination of policy for their own unions. It has no "party line." Adherence to the broad social principles laid down in Papal encyclicals on labor and social problems, binds the

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[1]Quoted in Taft, op. cit., p. 216.

[2]Paul Weber, past President of Detroit ACTU, in the Michigan Labor Leader, October 6, 1939, p. 4.

organization together.[1]

The ACTU leadership has repeatedly attempted to correct the impression that it is a Catholic political bloc in the labor movement. When Life magazine published an article called "Detroit Is Dynamite"[2] and lumped the ACTU with other blocs within the UAW, the New York ACTU, in a letter to the editor, summarized its protest by saying that "the ACTU protest took particular exception to this characterization of Catholics as a bloc within the UAW. 'If the Catholic group is, as you bluntly label it, a bloc, then certainly it is a very broad-minded bloc, since the heads of the UAW with a 50% Catholic membership under them are not themselves Catholics,' the letter declared."[3]

At the outset of its career, the Michigan Labor Leader (now Wage Earner) said:

> ACTU is not a "Catholic Bloc." It has no motive or ambition to "take over" the unions or to "use" them for any purpose. It has no foreign government to which it owes service and allegiance, like the Communists. It has no clever, mechanical, unworkable economic solution to promote, like Socialism. Its only solution is the day-to-day practice of Christianity, by all men, all day, and every day in the week . . . Nobody will ever see a "Catholic Machine" on the floor of a union meeting.[4]

ACTU members have, on the contrary, been criticized for not

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[1] Wage Earner, May 28, 1943, p. 11.

[2] "Detroit Is Dynamite," Life, August 17, 1942.

[3] Labor Leader, August 21, 1942, p. 1.

[4] Michigan Labor Leader, September 8, 1939, p. 2.

accepting responsibility when union office seemed open to them. "If we don't accept opportunities for some responsible union or civic office, which have been offered, we are taken to task again, because 'Well, don't you advocate the acceptance of responsibility?'"[1]

To the question: Will an ACTU working within the union movement split labor unions on religious lines and cause further disciplinary problems, a noted non-Catholic labor economist replied in the negative saying,

> It would be unrealistic to close one's eyes to this danger. However, while such a result is theoretically possible, the record of ACTU lends no warrant for such a view. ACTU has attacked labor officers of the Catholic faith. It has supported candidates for union office who were Socialists and Protestants against Catholic aspirants when the ACTU was convinced the interests of the Union were better served thereby.[2]

The New York ACTU catechism, using question and answer form, poses the same question:

> Does ACTU urge support of only Catholic leaders in the unions? Absolutely not. The principles, integrity, experience and leadership qualities should determine the worth of the candidates in any union election. Several Catholic leaders in Detroit unions became ex-members of ACTU because they expected but were refused ACTU support against qualified non-Catholic candidates.[3]

One of ACTU's founders, John Cort, discussing this important aspect of ACTU, reasoned as follows:

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[1]Letter from Stanley F. Jonusas, Sr., President of Gary ACTU chapter, July 28, 1954.

[2]Philip Taft, op. cit., p. 218.

[3]From office copy of ACTU catechism (undated), files of New York ACTU, New York.

> We had a discussion. . .on the dangers of the ACTU getting too involved in union politics--the business of throwing the Commies out, or the racketeers out, and putting the good guys in. ACTU work sometimes got confused with "Catholic guys," and the love of justice sometimes got confused with the love of power. This was the charge.
>
> I don't think the ACTU has ever been so stupid as to confuse good guys with Catholic guys. The record is too loaded with Jews and Protestants, Agnostics and unbelievers who received some form of ACTU blessing for their work in trying to clean up various unions. But politics, in unions or elsewhere, is a dangerous field for Catholic activity. . . Whether. . . good Catholic trade unionists will be leaders, whether they will be elected to office, these things are secondary.[1]

Letters to various ACTU newspapers from non-Catholics support these views. Typical of these is the following from a Jewish unionist:

> I have been fighting Communists in trade unions for a good many years because of their un-American creed and tactics, and I have found the ACTU as the foremost, most consistent and most fearless of all who are conducting the same fight for the betterment of trade unions in the interest of their rank and file members. Although the name "Association of Catholic Trade Unionists" may sound very sectarian, nevertheless as a Jewish trade unionist, who has been helped by your organization, I can attest to the non-sectarian nature of your action and your Principles--Yours in appreciation
>
> (signed) Joseph Regelson.[2]

In the record of ACTU's activities, as seen in Chapter IV, there is much evidence to support the neutral position of ACTU in the political and religious aspect of its program. The number of ACTU members who aspire to the leadership of unions is almost nil. Proof of religious bias

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[1]John Cort, "Lay Apostles in the Field," Commonweal, July 20, 1951, p. 356.

[2]Labor Leader, February 17, 1942, p. 3.

or prejudice, anti-semitism or discrimination because of creed, as a core or by-product of its program, has been impossible to establish from this study. Though some members may have been guilty of these practices, it remains a serious sin in the eyes of the Church, with whose sanction the organization functions in the "lay apostolate", for a Catholic to be guilty of these attitudes. From an analysis of ACTU's activities it was seen that in the ILA and TWU cases, the union leadership was Catholic, yet forcefully opposed by ACTU on the basis of the issues. Walter Reuther, a Lutheran, was supported by ACTU in his campaign for leadership of the UAW against a Catholic, George Addes, whom ACTU believed to be too left wing. ACTU worked closely with the Jewish leadership of the Insurance Agents International Union, AFL, and was praised by that leadership for its assistance. One of ACTU's Vice-Presidents, Philip Jiggetts, was a negroe and negroes have taught at ACTU schools. Instances of this non-biased, non-sectarian approach of ACTU are numerous.

In view of this, the question was once posed of ACTU: Why, then does the organization take Catholic unionists apart into separate meetings? The ACTU paper has answered this as follows:

> The answer is simply that as Catholics, we have a special responsibility toward our unions. The instruction of the Popes, of our Bishops, and the whole body of Catholic tradition impose upon us a responsibility which we cannot ask non-Catholics to share. Our meetings are religious meetings because unionism is part of

> our religion. . . We assure all honest labor leaders of our friendship and support, whether they be Jew or Gentile or Protestant, white or colored.[1]

It is unquestionably true that the labor movement does not consider disruptive of its own interests the instruction of individuals in common moral and ethical codes of behavior in the social sphere. Dishonesty, premeditated violence, bribery, extortion, threat, any form of tyranny or racketeering, etc., the American labor movement abhors as does ACTU or any responsible social organization. However, ACTU's unique role in this respect may be two-fold. First, the moral and ethical aspects of social life are given special emphasis and promotion by Church pronouncement and authority. This appeals to the strong Catholic segment of the labor movement to assist actively in exposing and eliminating what ACTU activities have shown to be (Chapter IV) bad labor practices. In effect, ACTU is an appeal to Catholic workers to apply their religious principles to their daily working lives. Non-Catholics are welcomed and invited to apply this policy, but cannot be expected to seek encouragement and motivation in the religious practices of the Catholic Actist.

Secondly, local unions and particular situations and conditions in the local union picture are often overlooked by those in higher positions in the labor movement who could control and guide local union activity. By giving

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[1] Michigan Labor Leader, September 8, 1939, p. 2.

special attention to the moral and ethical problems of union activity, the ACTU may bring reforms which the labor movement as a whole would agree have been needed, but which have for various reasons escaped the upper echelons of union authority.

The labor movement in this country has no controversy with the teaching of religion or morality to any group, per se. Unions are composed of members of all religious creeds. On the other hand, when matters which pertain to the instruction of the morality of social principles or action affect union activity, the issues must be clearly defined and the effect distinguished, if possible, from other influences.

Since the Catholic Church holds that man in his social life is no less a moral being than in any other phase of his life, it feels that it has a right to defend and instruct persons where moral consequences are involved. On these grounds, the issues on which the Catholic Church believes any Church has a right to speak might include:

The inherent right of man to organize for his own welfare.
The justness of wages, prices, profits as they affect living standards and hence the family
The ethics and morality of activities in the social sphere, such as racketeering, exploitation which perpetuates the evil conditions mentioned above: irresponsible individualism, unreasonable or violent strikes, personal greed, dishonesty, lust for power for its own sake.
The evils of atheistic Communism
The evils of selfish materialism
The evils of class conflict

The evils of religious bigotry, intolerance, or racial prejudice
The kind of society in which all of these evils might be minimized.

The difference between the Church and the labor movement in regard to these evils is primarily a matter of approach. The labor movement would deplore the presence of any of the above evils, but few unions have the time or knowledge to undertake the moral, religious or ethical training of unionists, which strikes at the root of these evils. The Church believes its role to be in harmony with the labor movement in that it trains the individual conscience of unionists to choose what is regarded as right from a broader view, while unions, particularly locals, are largely preoccupied with achieving practical gains, with little regard for the moral effect on personal or general welfare.

To hold, therefore, that a Catholic group, by the inherent nature of its creed, is an alien force within the labor movement, is not self-evident. Such allegations must be substantiated by concrete fact and evidence, rather than by opinion or prejudice. To argue that the teachings or activities of ACTU <u>might</u> cause religious division is one thing; to argue that they <u>have</u> caused such divisions to the detriment of the labor movement should be subject to careful substantiation. It is conceivable, as with any organizational endeavor, that individuals or groups <u>might</u> abuse the principles and methods laid down by ACTU in its

Constitution and papers, in order to promote selfish or ulterior motives. But the best of organizations and crusades have been subject to such exceptions. Purely on matters of principle there is no a priori proof for assuming that religious groupings in the labor movement must inevitably be divisive. The weight of the above evidence concerning the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists indicates, on the contrary, a constructive influence.

ACTU as Anti-Democratic

The Role of Church Authority

To what extent does the Vatican, Pope, or priest control an association of this kind? Are its members uniformly bound by the dictates of the Church and clergy on social questions? Does the organization operate in a democratic way?

To begin with, Catholics are bound by Church dogma, so long as they wish to remain within the Church, only on moral questions or on matters of faith. Such pronouncements are official ex Cathedra statements made by the Popes from the Holy See in Rome. When such a statement is pronounced, it is made very clear that it is dogma and that the members of the Church are bound to observe its import or risk being barred from the sacraments of the Church. However, this does not mean that the Pope and the clergy should not express views on social questions which affect the moral lives of its members. Poverty and social upheaval may have roots

in economic maladjustments, but their consequences are often moral--in, for example, family disintegration, juvenile delinquency, or communism. Therefore the Catholic Church believes that all ministers of God have a right to speak of the economic and social conditions which promote these moral problems. Where moral questions are clearly not involved, the Church believes it should be silent.

The significance of the Church's position for purposes of this study is seen in a statement of Pius XI:

> Indeed the Church believes that it would be wrong for her to interfere without just cause in such earthly concerns; but she can never relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed in technical matters, for which she has neither the equipment nor the mission, but in all those that have a bearing on moral conduct. . .For though economic science and moral discipline are guided each by its own principles in its own sphere, it is false that the two orders are so distinct and alien that the former in no way depends on the latter. The so-called laws of economics, derived from the nature of earthly goods and from the qualities of the human body and soul, determine what aims are unattainable or attainable in economic matters and what means are thereby necessary, while reason itself clearly deduces from the nature of things and from the individual and social character of man, what is the end and object of the whole economic order assigned by God the Creator.[1]

It is, nevertheless, important to emphasize that encyclical letters of the Popes bearing on social questions are not ex Cathedra or infallible pronouncements regarding faith or morality. These are often opinions, recommendations, suggestions, exhortations. The matter of interpre-

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[1] Quadragesimo Anno, in "Five Great Encyclicals," op. cit., p. 136.

tation as to when bad social conditions exist, when unjust wages are being paid, or what precisely may be done about them or how they are to be remedied is open to democratic determination. Pope Pius XI has indicated the need for interpreting the encyclicals within the framework of particular environments:

> Although the Church has never proposed a definite technical system (in the sphere of social-economics), since this is not her field, she has nevertheless clearly outlined the guiding principles which, while susceptible of varied concrete applications according to the diversified conditions of times and places and peoples, indicate the safe way of securing the happy progress of society.[1]

Furthermore, the Church's priests are not the only individual Catholics who are competent to give their views in applying remedies to social ills in accordance with Papal guidance. It is not a question of "dictates" or binding authority in these matters, but one of interpretation. The ACTU is founded on the advice and spirit of Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum and Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno, but its members are free to interpret these according to particular circumstances. That these private interpretations may differ as between lay Actists and clergy has already been shown earlier in this chapter.

Freedom to interpret the social encyclicals applies also to the views of Catholics (hence Actists) toward the Industry Council plan of the Church. A Catholic (or

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[1]Pius XI, Divini Redemptoris, in Five Great Encyclicals, op. cit., p. 190, emphasis supplied.

Actist) could, in fact, argue that Industry Councils, as an ultimate social goal of the Church or ACTU, are completely unsuited to the American environment. One authority refers to Catholic rejection of Church social pronouncements as follows:

> I would therefore be a mistaken point of view as to the value of the encyclicals to regard them as documents that are intended to proclaim, in an infallible manner new truths of faith. Their particular teaching is not proposed to us as the object of divine faith and the one who would refuse to accept it would not be guilty of heresy.[1]

However, Catholics who oppose, for example, industry councils or labor unions per se have an obligation to explore thoroughly (1) the actual and potential evils in the present organization of society as they pertain to man's moral life, and (2) what the proposed organizations do for man's moral existence. Since the Church considers itself best able to determine what social factors affect the moral lives of persons and families, and what social arrangements are best suited to improve man's moral existence the Catholics whose motives are supernaturally inspired, the Church would argue, would arrive at conclusions similar to those of Church authorities. The moral suasion for Catholics to follow the Pope's suggestions is considerable, since for them he is Christ's Vicar on Earth. While the

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[1]Reverend Daniel A. O'Connor, C.S.V., Catholic Social Doctrine, (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), pp. 57-58. This book has the nihil obstat and imprimatur, which are official declarations by responsible Church hierarchy that the content is free of doctrinal and moral error concerning Catholic faith.

Popes may speak <u>infallibly</u> only on matters of faith and morals, he speaks <u>authoritatively</u> on any subject which indirectly affects faith or morals.[1] For Catholics (or Actists) to reject Catholic social ideas categorically would be considered by the Church "an attitude. . .rash and contrary to obedience and prudence."[2] The Church would say that "man cannot develop fully, even on the strictly human plane, without supernatural help."[3] Therefore, in determining the relationship between his social and supernatural existence man should respect the aid of his spiritual superiors.

This attitude applies to the role of ACTU chaplains who are constantly concerned with the moral affect of working conditions on the laborer. If, on the basis of concrete information the chaplain declares that certain conditions are detrimental to the moral welfare of workers, Actists or Catholic workers generally would be "rash" or "imprudent" to reject his appraisal. They could, however, differ with his suggestions as to how such conditions may be remedied.

It should be noted that organizations generally have rules that must be accepted by members who wish to remain

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[1]". . .Even when the Pope does not speak in an infallible manner, he is nevertheless the most authoritative interpreter of the divine teaching, and we can have the highest moral certitude that his teaching is exempt from error" (O'Connor, <u>Ibid</u>., p. 58).

[2]<u>Ibid</u>.

[3]Ibid., p. 65.

in good standing. Is it a measure of an organization's undemocratic nature to encourage compliance with such rules? It is rather to what extent these rules affect the rest of society and in what way they are imposed. The Catholic Church feels that its social doctrine provides guidance for all people, not only for Catholics. But its social doctrine is not absolutely binding. Nor is it apparent that the Church uses undemocratic means for implementing these social doctrines.

ACTU's Internal Government

In addition to the right of Actists to deliberate freely on matters of Church social principle, the practices within ACTU itself reflect the flexibility of opinion as to what is the proper solution to particular social problems. It has been correctly stated that "some of the most serious criticism of ACTU comes from ACTU members within a given chapter or from one ACTU chapter which happens to disagree with another."[1] This is common to all democratic organizations. As ACTU co-founder John Cort stated: "In a decent union you may find ACTU men in opposing camps. . . I believe ACTU men on both sides were working for a common end, for the common good."[2]

Letters from ACTU members on innumerable issues are published in the ACTU papers criticizing the organization.

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[1]John Cort, Commonweal, July 20, 1961, p. 357.

[2]Ibid.

Criticisms for its activity or lack of it, its conservatism or radicalism on particular issues, its bluntness or vagueness, its leadership or lack of it, its policies or lack of them, are the type of internal criticism to which every organization operating in the labor field is subject. Every national convention and local chapter meeting of ACTU like the national and local meetings of unions, produce differences of opinion and controversy among ACTU members and chapters as to action and policy.

The Detroit ACTU chapter, for example, has often been critical of the National Office in New York for its alleged lack of coordinating ability among the chapters. While not a question of principle, this indicates the democratic nature of its internal affairs. In the words of Detroit's Report to the National Convention:

> Lack of correlation of information by the national, lack of contact by the national with the chapters, absence of reports throughout the year on finances, activities of the self-styled 'National Director', functions of the so-called 'Committee for the National office', and an apparent completely self-determined program by the National Director is the cause of concern to the Detroit ACTU. . . Because of the lack of over-all planning, cooperation, and exchange of ideas and because of the continued departure by the National Office from the letter and spirit of the Articles of Federation, Detroit holds to the resolution passed at its 1951 convention reaffirming the autonomy of local chapters and disassociating itself from the unsanctioned activities of a National Director.[1]

This followed from Detroit's refusal to approve the maintenance of a National Director on a full-time basis.

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[1]Detroit, Report to the Seventh National Convention, July 4-6, 1952, n.p.

Detroit's ACTU has always maintained a rather independent attitude toward what it sometimes felt was the encroachment of a national office, printing its own independent newspaper and pursuing policies of action and principle which differ from those of other chapters. Part of the reason for this reluctance to support a national organization, it is felt by those in ACTU who favor national federation, is that the opposition finds its source in the Church. The Church, it is argued, functions on a parish basis and hesitates to support a "Catholic" organization which cuts across parish (not to mention state) lines. The chances of a national organization becoming powerful and using the Catholic title perversely is held to be too great to warrant blanket approval from Church hierarchy. This, again, is a matter of interpreting <u>how</u> social problems are to be approached for solution.

Another instance of internal differences of opinion in interpreting the social encyclicals of the Popes occurred when the Chicago ACTU differed from the other chapters in its interpretation of the encyclicals. The Chicago Labor Alliance was formed in 1943 about two years after the Chicago chapter of ACTU had ceased functioning. It has continued to remain separate from ACTU because (1) it does not believe in ACTU's restrictive membership and prefers to admit as full members Protestants and Jews, (2) it prefers to admit non-trade unionists, including employers, while ACTU at present refuses membership (but not assistance) to

both, and (3) it does not want "to get involved with the ACTU-conference caucus technique."[1] Chicago has considered applying the technique of the Jociste movement, popular among the Belgian Catholic workers. The emphasis is on the individual's role as an apostolic Christian, rather than on the organization. The Jocist, according to Father Cronin, "seeks to determine the influences in daily life which are adverse to Christian living and strives to work, both individually and in an organized manner, to replace those with sound institutions."[2] The Jocist worker attempts to perfect himself spiritually so that he may then influence other workers. The Jocist technique, however, is not confined only to workers. Employers, farmers, and other groups are exhorted to spread spiritual and moral virtues among their own colleagues, as well as to cooperate in raising their living standards. The Chicago group therefore, concentrates more on the inner elevation of the person toward God, while the ACTU engages in more external activities in labor relations.

While it is true that the Chicago group no longer constitutes an ACTU chapter, the Alliance continues to attend ACTU conventions officially and Edward Marciniak as editor

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[1]Letter from Edward Marciniak of the Chicago Labor Alliance, May 15, 1954. Also Raymond Maly, "The Catholic Labor Alliance: A Laboratory Test of Catholic Social Action," (unpublished Masters Essay, University of Notre Dame), 1950.

[2]Cronin, op. cit., pp. 586 ff.

of Work, the Chicago Labor Alliance newspaper, still speaks at ACTU meetings on occasion.

John Cort, co-founder of ACTU and the Labor Leader, has occasionally criticized the national paper for its views, particularly when it has been "long on name-calling and ill-tempered abuse, but very short on facts."[1] Often irresponsible articles are written, Cort complained, giving "examples of the kind of blundering interference they (unions) object to. . . No witnesses are quoted to support the sweeping charges made. It isn't even clear what the strike was about. A sloppy story, sloppily written, and probably shouldn't have been written at all. I'm afraid we have just got to lay off inserting ourselves into internal union situations unless the facts are clear and thoroughly supported to the effect that a union is either Communist-dominated or hopelessly racketeer."[2]

ACTU chapters have been criticized by their own chaplains when they believed the chapter was wrong. By and large, this has been a healthy and constructive criticism. On the other hand, an ACTU chaplain tendered his resignation to the Chancery Office in the spring of 1954 because of differences of opinion with ACTU leadership.

Father John Monaghan, who was the first chaplain of

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[1]Letter from John Cort to ACTU, April, 1954, ACTU files, New York

[2]Ibid.

New York ACTU in 1937, believed that the leadership of the chapter had become too static, and that the old blood should resign and allow new blood to take over. George Donahue, John Sheehan, Edward Scully, Roger Larkin and others had been ACTU's leaders in New York for years. Father Monaghan believed that this was in violation of the spirit of the organization and that some members had become "power conscious" and had "used" the organization for self advancement. In his view "all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Therefore, those who, by sheer tenure, had achieved this control over ACTU were blocking the training of new and younger personnel and had used ACTU's "moral power" as a political tool.[1] These fears about ACTU had been expressed by a number of labor leaders. Nevertheless, ACTU acquired another chaplain and carried on. As new leadership infiltrated Father Monaghan resumed as New York ACTU's Chaplain.

Thus, the internal control and operation of ACTU is not autocratic or despotic; rather, its democratic structure permits and facilitates self-criticism which has ranged from the mild to the bitter, and has originated from Catholic, non-Catholic as well as non-Christian sources.

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[1]As determined by interview with Rev. John Monaghan April 21, 1954, Staten Island, New York. On the other hand, George Donahue, who has been with ACTU almost from its first days, believes that "new blood"--younger personnel in ACTU--has always been one of his pet projects. He points to the many young people who head ACTU's committees and run its paper and even act as Executive Secretary (Interview with George Donahue, May 27, 1954, New York).

To the criticism that Actists are ordered about by priests in their union activity, one source said that". . . unless all the men involved are deliberately lying, interviews with more than two hundred Catholic trade unionists have failed to produce a single example of a priest's ordering union members to follow any course of action."[1] In fact, one economic historian believed "that clergymen and other church leaders have not sufficiently utilized the strength of their union members for good in the labor movement."[2]

In order to appreciate the nature of a difference of opinion between ACTU and Catholic clergy on a social question, the following particular case is elaborated.

The Cemetery Strike

One of New York ACTU's biggest involvements in post war labor activities was its support in 1949 of the CIO Cemetery Workers Union of the Cemeteries of the New York Archdiocese, in a strike for a forty hour week without reduced weekly take-home pay. For weeks "management" refused to negotiate with representatives of the Union on the grounds that it was a Communist dominated union.[3] The

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[1]Jules Weinberg, "Priests, Workers and Communists," (What Happened in New York Transit Workers Union), Harper Magazine, November, 1948, p. 52.

[2]Broadus Mitchell, "Labor Unions and Churches," The Christian Century, November 13, 1946, p. 1369.

[3]Cf., for example, "Will CIO Split Apart," Business

Catholic Labor Defense League of ACTU provided counsel for the workers, while the ultimate control of the Calvary and Gate of Heaven Cemeteries (the two Catholic cemeteries involved) rested with the Catholic Chancery Office and Archbishop Francis Cardinal Spellman. After two months of picketing, Cardinal Spellman told the press that he would lead the seminarians of Dunwoodie through the picket lines of Calvary in order to bury "over 1000" bodies that had accumulated. At the smaller Gate of Heaven Cemetery, supervisors and more seminarians were doing the burial work.[1]

The Cardinal deemed the strike "against the Church" and an "anti-American, anti-Christian evil."[2]

ACTU's legal aid to the strikers pointed to the repeated attempts of the strike representatives to seek a peaceful settlement through negotiation, while management "refused to sit down with the union and discuss the issues."[3] The counsel for management offered to submit the moral question of the strike to an "impartial board of three distinguished theologians outside the Archdiocese

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Week, October 15, 1949, p. 107. The Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America, CIO, is listed among the left wing unions threatening to form a separate federation.

[1]Labor Leader, March 14, 1949, p. 1, a reprint from an article in Commonweal.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

of New York."[1] This board was to determine the moral justification of the strike (which ACTU often has had to do before supporting one) and whether it met the five requirements of a just strike: (1) reasonable demands, (2) exhaustion of all other means, (3) reasonable chances of success, (4) that the evil effects do not outweigh the good to be gained, and (5) the use of just means in pursuit of the strike. Again, the matter of interpretation of these terms is open to debate, not dogmatically asserted by Church law.

Management offered to deal with the union if Local 293 would disaffiliate from their Communist dominated International, the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, CIO; if a new negotiating committee for the union was set up; and if the union would accept the advice of the impartial board. The proposal was not accepted because the union, in countering, asked that the management of the cemeteries be changed also.

The strike dragged on, achieving national publicity and attention, until it was settled on March 11. The workers got an 8 per cent increase in wages as against the 2.6 per cent originally offered; all strikers were taken back; Local 293, which was not itself Communist, withdrew from the Communist dominated International and became Local 365 of the Building Service Employees, AFL; and a

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[1] New York Times, February 11, 1949, p. 13. Also issues of March 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 12.

committee was set up to study the shorter work week.

The significance of the Cemetery Strike was that it was the first time ACTU had found itself in a case in which Church authorities were, in a sense, the management. Did this mean that the Church at large was opposed to such an organization in principle? Were ACTU chaplains acting in defiance of their ecclesiastical superiors? These would be rash conclusions.

The answers, however, require further elaboration. While the workers in this strike were victorious in obtaining their wage increases, it remained to determine, (1) whether the local was Communist dominated and (2) whether a shorter work week with the same pay was a "just" and feasible demand in the type of work in question. The local was not Communist dominated and since the workers were offered the 8 per cent increase in wages, it seems to indicate that either a money increase or a decrease in hours of work with the same pay was justified and that, therefore, ACTU was justified in taking the workers' side. Later the workers received the shorter work week also.

On the other hand, the allegation of the Church authorities was true that the International to which Local 293 belonged was Communist dominated, and "management" was success in disaffiliating the local from it.

The divergence in attitudes in this case may have stemmed primarily from misunderstanding, and in some instances, lack of prudence. In the first place, if all the

facts had been known to both parties, the conflict and bitterness might not have been present to all. If ACTU had advised the local to take an early stand on its affiliation with a Communist dominated International;[1] and if "management" had known that the local was not Communist dominated, a more cooperative and conciliatory footing would have been established. Secondly, had the representatives of ACTU consulted their Chaplain, Father John Monaghan, on this case, some of the name-calling and imprudence might have been avoided.[2] Finally, the decision to strike was a "rank-and-file" decision, based on the workers' belief that, having tried to contact negotiators several times and failing, mediation was of no avail.[3] Both Joseph Manning, President of Local 293 and John Sheehan, ACTU's representative of the Labor Defense League, had urged the workers "to delay strike action,"[4] which they refused to do.

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[1]John Sheehan, Counsel for the workers said, however, that since he had become counsel in July 1947, he had negotiated three contracts with Calvary Cemetery management, "and at no time was the question of affiliation of the Cemetery workers raised by any spokesman for management." (The Wage Earner, April 1949, p. 6; and Interview with John Sheehan, supra). In fact the management indicated by letter that it would negotiate with Local 293 "providing the Cemetery workers accepted the management terms" (Ibid).

[2]Interview with Father John Monaghan, Staten Island, April 21, 1954.

[3]Labor Leader, March 28, 1949, p. 3.

[4]Ibid.

Since this strike, ACTU has met with some disfavor among the clergy, not so much as an organization,[1] but in its personnel, which has been accused of being "politically minded" and prone to misuse, or use ACTU power for personal gain and publicity.[2]

ACTU continues to function with the same mixed reaction from all sources. The above case shows that a non-canonical organization such as ACTU operates as freely as any other organization in this country. By occasionally opposing the social views of ecclesiastical authorities, ACTU runs the risk of criticism, but this is inevitable when a social program is being tested in the complex milieu of industrial relations. In the above situations personality clashes and contrary interpretations as to what was true justice in the case did not subject the ACTU members themselves to Church penalties of any kind. The questions were not religious but social. In view of the evidence presented, proof as to ACTU's alien "control" from Rome, or the Church's "dictatorial" rule over the minds of Catholics on social matters or as a "Catholic bloc" seems very difficult to establish.

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[1]For example, Cardinal Spellman sent his Paternal Blessings to the Twelfth National Convention of ACTU in 1957.

[2]Father Monaghan Interview. Additional sources on the Cemetery Strike: John Cort, "The Calvary Cemetery Strike, Commonweal, February 18; March 18, 1949; Brooklyn Tablet, March 1949; New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, March, April, 1949. As was indicated previously in this study, Father Monaghan has resumed his position as the National Chaplain of ACTU.

The remaining issue concerns the ultimate goals of ACTU based on Catholic social doctrine, and to what degree these goals are obligatory on Catholics and alien to the American environment.

The Ultimate Goal: Industry Councils

Since the long run goal of the ACTU is the Industry Council or Vocational order advocated by the Popes,[1] the task of this section will be to describe that order, to determine to what degree Actists or Catholic workers are bound to accept ultimate aims established by Church social doctrine, to inquire as to whether ACTU's espousal of it is divisive to the labor movement, and briefly to refer to similarities to it in American experience. Whether such a plan would be acceptable or adaptable to the American scene, or in harmony with labor's interests, depends to some extent upon the interpretation given to the generalized statements of this order in the Papal encyclicals. In any case, ACTU holds to this goal because it feels that its obligation goes beyond criticism and assistance to the labor movement. Criticism without the suggestion of a practicable plan to obviate the ills would, the organization feels, seem hollow.

Some Catholic social theorists have given extreme interpretations of the Papal plan which would eliminate most

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[1]The Papal Plan was briefly described in Chapter III.

most of the characteristics of the competitive system as we now know it. Others give mild interpretations which, without many basic disruptions to our present collective bargaining mechanism, could be adapted to our competitive system.

Granted, however, the debatability of the acceptance of this ultimate goal of ACTU in American life, the emphasis in this study will be on whether ACTU's advocacy of such a program supports the criticism that the organization is a divisive or anti-democratic element in the American labor movement. Does the evidence reveal that the Industry Council or Vocational Order is (1) open to legitimate debate and ~~even~~ opposition among Catholics, and (2) familiar to the American experience and acceptable to organized labor? The criticism concerning ACTU's factionalism, or the authoritarian control of Catholic laborers can better be answered after these questions have been investigated.

The Industry Council Plan and Its Presentation

The Catholic social program is derived from Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno. The English title given to this encyclical is The Reconstruction of the Social Order. An order based on self interest and class conflict, or upon fascistic, totalitarian or Communistic ideals is strongly opposed by the Popes.[1] To cure society of these ills or potential

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[1]Both Pope Leo XIII and Pius XI, in their labor encyclicals make this clear. The class conflict "is so abhor-

evils there must be a new social responsibility. Rugged individualism and laissez-faire are inadequate to provide an environment in which man may live and work harmoniously with his fellow man for the good of society and his own well being. Social organizations must be devised, say the Popes, which will (1) look to the common good, (2) eliminate class conflict, (3) maintain freedom from excessive government control, while counting on its guidance and help, and (4) have legal status in order to enforce restraints and obligations. All of economic society should be organized so as to achieve these aims.

To promote such a social order the Popes recommend vocational or industrial groups, associations, or councils. Pius XI said:

> The aim of social legislation must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups. . . For as nature induces those who dwell in close proximity to unite into municipalities, so those who practice the same trade or profession, economic or otherwise, combine into vocational groups. These groups. . .if not essential to civil society at least (are) its

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rent to reason and truth that the exact opposite is true /that laissez-faire serves man best/; for just as in the human body the different members harmonize with one another, whence arises that disposition of parts and proportions in the human figure rightly called symmetry, so likewise nature has commanded in the case of the state that the two classes mentioned (labor and capital) should agree harmoniously and should properly form equally balanced counterparts to each other. Each needs the other completely. . . (Pope Leo XIII in Five Great Encyclicals, p. 8). These objectives are repeated by Pius XI: "First and foremost, the state and every good citizen ought 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." (In Five Great Encyclicals, p. 148).

natural development.[1]

This ultimate order of industrial life is sometimes called "guild society," "corporativism" or "co-determination" in Europe, though "industry council" has become the usual phrase in this country. It may be said the industrial council represents the particular "vocational group." Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno in the original version uses the Latin "ordines", meaning orders, while the Latin for guilds is "corporationes."[2] The term "corporate state" has sometimes been used, but this implies an over-all political arrangement on the state level, such as prevails in fascistic states. The industry council system is not a state system affecting the structure of government. The vocational groups or industry councils are non-political, functional, organic bodies. The entire industrial fabric would be made up of these councils representing the various trades, industries, or professions. They would not be forced into being by the State, but rise naturally in response to man's inherent instinct to form organizations which give order to his means of earning a livelihood. The state, however, should foster their creation without interfering with their

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[1] Five Great Encyclicals, p. 148. Article II, Section (c) of ACTU's first Constitution reads: "The ACTU shall aim, in all its policies and programs, at the re-establishment of vocational groups, as the ultimate objective of Catholic social action, and the true end of labor organization."

[2] Miller, op. cit., p. 161.

internal government.[1]

The Detroit ACTU includes in every issue of its Wage Earner the following "Principles of Economic Democracy":

1. Our economic system will not run itself, and competition alone is not adequate automatic governor. Production and distribution must be planned and organized for the primary purpose of the common welfare.
2. This planning and organizing is not a proper function of the government. Centralizing economic controls in the hands of the government tends to destroy freedom. New agencies to govern industry must be found.
3. These new agencies can be found by recreating the basic natural partnership of capital and labor (workers and owners).
4. The labor partner to the economic process has been ejected from the partnership and denied a voice in the major economic decisions. The true aim of organized labor should be to recover its position as an equal partner with capital.
5. The first step in this direction is to establish in each major industry a joint "Industry Council" composed of representatives of organized workers and organized owners in that industry together with a government or other public representative. This Industry Council should undertake the planning and organizing of its industry for the common welfare.
6. The precise character and functions of each Industry Council must be determined by the people who are members of that industry.
7. The industries thus organized should choose a National Economic Council, likewise representing capital, labor and government. This National Council should undertake the planning and organizing for the entire national economy.

This program is more detailed than the Pope's on this subject. As Miller has stated, the Pope's system "is not a

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[1]Charles P. Bruehl, The Pope's Plan, (New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1939) p. 219. As an interpretation of Catholic Social Doctrine this book has Church approval (Nihil Obstat and Imprimatur) and is, therefore, free of doctrinal error.

minutely detailed blueprint; it lays down the broad rules of right and wrong for labor-capital relations, but allows variations of technical application."[1]

Though the Encyclicals did not elaborate on the specific functioning of these industry councils, ACTU co-founder John Cort has tried to describe how this long range plan would work:

> Ideally, under the industry council plan, you would have a national council representing the United Steel-Workers, CIO, the Iron and Steel Institute (Employers), and the Public. . . You would also have regional and local councils and councils for various sub-divisions of the industry. And in the individual plants you would have plant councils, also known as joint production committees.[2]

Private interest, irresponsible competition, bitter conflict between capital and labor, excessive government regulation of life--all these should be obviated by the new orders. Just as the medical, legal, or teaching professions are primarily dedicated in their respective codes of ethics to the service of the community and man, so should the various vocational industrial goups be. Just as municipalities have codes, laws, regulations which those who live within them must obey, so should the vocational group feel obligated to obey the codes, rules, obligations laid down by its representative council. Similarily, just

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[1]Miller, op. cit., p. 162.

[2]John Cort, "Before You Walk You Crawl," Commonweal, July 3, 1953, p. 321. Also Commonweal issues of November 12, October 1, December 31, 1948.

as in the medical profession or in the municipalities money is a secondary motivation to the service of man and the community, so in business life the common good should be served before private gain or vested interests.[1] No single group--owners, laborers, or managers--would be allowed to use its power or influence for private advantage to the detriment of society. Even the capitalist's money must be channeled into uses which serve the common good. Funds for capital formation are, in the present system, permitted to flow almost anywhere in response largely to profit considerations only. In the industry council order, the entrepreneur belongs to the industry group also, and more attention must be given, it is believed, to putting finance to the service of the public weal rather than solely to profit making. It is not, in other words, agreed by Catholic social theorists (nor by non-Catholic social theorists) that the pursuit of profit will automatically result in bettering the common good in all instances.

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[1]Bruehl, op. cit., p. 225. "When we have real corporative organization, all activities are organized for service in such a manner that the individuals belonging to a particular service group realize this purpose whether they consciously and deliberately accept it or not. Of course, this implies in a community of individuals and persons who are bent on private interests a limitation and restriction from without. The function is socialized, and because of this socialized structure it cannot be perverted to private and selfish ends. (However). . .the public government does not do everything, but leaves to the organized groups all that can be accomplished without direct reference to the common good. This arrangement. .. economizes effort and safeguards liberty. It leaves a wide range both to the various groups and to the members comprised in the groups." (Bruehl, p. 221).

It is this elevation of all segments of industrial and business life to the common good and to a moral status, at which the Popes feel the vocational or industrial council idea aims. The advantage of this system, as Catholic social doctrine sees it, is that unlike the existing pattern of bilateral collective bargaining, it eliminates the element of conflict between labor and employers and promotes social responsibility without requiring excessive beauocratic government control. As one study summarizes it:

> Occupational organization overcomes, on the one hand, the evils of excessive individualism by reasonably binding men together in the economic enterprise, and, on the other hand, prevents collectivistic or socialistic control of industry. It would limit the freedom of the few, thereby securing the freedom of the many.[1]

This will suffice as a brief elaboration of the principle aspects of the Papal social program which is espoused by ACTU. It has already been established previously that Catholics are not bound to accept the social recommendations of the Popes. It was pointed out that although there is much moral suasion to accept the authority of the Pope on what kind of society would best serve man's moral well being, the program above elaborated may be rejected by Catholics (and, therefore, Actists). This is all the more true when it is a matter of applying these recommendations to actual conditions in this country at the present time. It might well be "rash" and "imprudent" of anyone to say that

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[1] Ibid., p. 252 .

it would not be acceptable under some future conditions.

The Divergence of Views as to the Function of the Industry Councils

Catholic social theorists are by no means uniform in their response to the appeal of the Popes to implement vocational or industrial bodies. One example of an extreme position with regard to this is a statement issued by a group of Australian Bishops, in which the functions of the Industry Councils were very inclusive. To determine wages and industrial conditions, prices, dividend rates, the timing, quantity and quality of production, marketing policies, the number of firms in the industry, "in general to exercise complete control over the policy and development of the industry, including, in the case of a secondary industry, the supply of raw materials to other enterprises"--all this was to be the function of Councils.[1] A statement by a group of American Bishops in 1919 also contained some strong recommendations for labor's joint determination with management on:

> the control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of employees; hours of work; rates of pay; bonuses, etc; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade unions; the establishment of shop committees. . .[2]

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[1]Quoted in Cronin, op. cit., p. 208. There are other points in the Bishops' program, but these represent the more extreme points.

[2]National Catholic Welfare Conference, Bishops Program of Social Reconstruction (pamphlet), Washington, D.C., May, 1950, p. 24. The late Bishop Haas of Grand Rapids, Michigan, also held the strong view (F. J. Haas, "The Economic Needs of

Catholic economists and social writers differ widely on all of the above points. Father John F. Cronin, a Catholic economist of the Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, has proposed milder reforms and would not accept the program of the Australian Bishops, nor the more extreme proposals of the American Bishops' statement.[1] To him social betterment comes about in an evolutionary rather than a near revolutionary manner. Suggestions for improvement, he believes, must fit existing practices, and must be practical recommendations for change.

Monsignor John A. Ryan, who was a prominent Catholic economist and at one time close advisor to Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930's, was cautious in his view toward the function of Industry Councils in 1916, and more positive in 1935. In 1916 he said:

> Labour sharing in management does not mean that labour should immediately take part in either the commercial or the financial operations of business. Such activities as the purchase of materials, the marketing of the product, the borrowing of money and many others of a commercial and financial character are at present beyond the competence of the great majority of wage earners.[2]

In 1935, however, Monsignor Ryan would give industry councils distinct powers. Then he interpreted the Papal intent as to

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the 1880's and 1940's," Ecclesiastical Review, December, 1947).

[1]John F. Cronin, S.J., Catholic Social Principles, Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1950, p. 231.

[2]Monsignor John A. Ryan, Distributive Justice, MacMillan and Co., (2nd Edition), New York, 1927, p. 383.

industry councils by saying that these councils should;

> . . .be empowered by law to fix wages, interest, dividends, and prices, to determine working conditions, to adjust industrial disputes and to carry on whatever economic planning was thought feasible.[1]

To such a radical position, doubtless engendered by the extreme seriousness of the depression, Father Cronin takes exception:

> The Papal encyclicals do not call for such a drastic interference with economic life; once prices are controlled, all economic life must be regulated in detail; central regulation of economic life, even by representative groups, involves an intolerable bureaucracy; and detailed study of concrete problems shows that such groups would need autocratic powers to enforce their regulations.[2]

Another criticism of the extreme view toward the industry council order is expressed by Rev. Edward A. Keller of the University of Notre Dame. The Pope, in his view:

> not merely condemns Socialism, but even warns against the present-day trend toward an all-embracing socialization which some Catholics not merely accept but contend is demanded by the social teachings of the Church.[3]

Monsignor George C. Higgins of the National Catholic Welfare Conference follows this up in the same vein:

> . . .that there is not a single practicing Catholic in the United States who holds that the wage contract is essentially unjust and therefore must be replaced, in the name of commutative justice, by com-

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[1]Monsignor John A. Ryan, A Better Economic Order, Harper Brothers, New York, 1935, p. 179.

[2]Cronin, op. cit., p. 237.

[3]Rev. Edward A. Keller, Christianity and American Capitalism, The Heritage Foundation, Chicago, 1953, p. 16.

pulsory co-management or co-determination.[1]

Father Higgins felt, on the contrary, that American Catholic social scientists, unlike those of Europe, "are almost completely indifferent to co-determination in the generally accepted sense of the term. . ."[2]

For purposes of this study the above views indicate the divergence of opinion in Catholic circles, even among the clergy, as to the exact function and scope of the industrial councils representing the vocational order prescribed by the Popes. Nearly every discussion on this matter within Catholic groups will generate differences of opinion as to what the function of industry councils should be, though there may be general understanding as to the meaning of vocational or industrial groups referred to by the Popes.[3] Since Papal encyclicals apply to Catholics the world over, they allow for differences in economic, cultural and political circumstances.

While it is true that the prevailing view in American Catholic social literature is toward the moderate interpretation, it should be emphasized here that Actists, though

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[1]National Catholic Welfare Conference Press Release, February 8, 1954.

[2]Ibid.

[3]For further evidence of divergent opinion among Catholics see Cronin, op. cit., Chapter VII; Jeremiah Newman, Co-Responsibility in Industry, Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1955; Daniel A. O'Connor, C.S.V., Catholic Social Doctrine, (Maryland: Newman Press, 1956); Rev. J.P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., "The Industry Council Plan as a Form of Social Organization," The American Catholic Sociological Review, October 1953.

they may be unwise to ignore, they are not bound to accept Church opinion on the "ultimate goal" question. This is a social question rather than strictly a matter of faith or morals.

For its part, American labor has not been active in attempting to implement co-management. However, the CIO industry council plan, with representatives of labor, management and the government jointly handling industry problems,[1] implies the compulsory establishment of co-management. In other words, controversy as to the extent of worker sharing in management is a warmly debated concept, not merely within the confines of Catholic social thought, but within the ranks of American labor. Since similar debates on the same questions of labor-management prerogatives are common within the labor movement, ACTU's position can hardly be deemed rigidly authoritarian, or harmful to the labor movement on that account alone.

Granted ACTU's right to present the Industry Council plan in accordance with the freedom of practicing Catholics both within and outside of the organization to differ in part or in whole with it, there is the question of how alien such proposals are to American life. While the following does not attempt to argue favorably or unfavorably on the industry council system as a mechanism for operating our industrial life, it is pertinent to this study to indicate

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[1]The CIO plan was created in 1940 and is discussed below.

that such a plan, to whatever degree mild or radical in function, has had some precedence in recent American history. Moreover, these precedents were acceptable and encouraged by organized labor.

Industry Councils and American Experience

Some Catholic social theorists include among the precedents mentioned organizations with only limited similarities to the industry council idea. One study, for example, likens the Railroad Industry's Adjustment Board, the National War (World War I) Labor Board, and the Industry Committees set up under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to the function and spirit of the industry councils.[1] Another study compares the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and cooperatives to the Papal plans.[2] Still another study compares the industry councils to the NRA operations.[3]

For purposes of illustrating the existence of precedents to the Papal vocational or industry council order in American life, the CIO Industry Council Plan, the National Recovery Administration's program, and the Bituminous Coal Acts have been singled out for brief comparison.

The CIO and Industry Councils - The late Philip Murray,

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[1]Joseph David Munier, Approximations to Pius XI's "Industries and Professions", (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1943).

[2]Raymond J. Miller, op. cit.

[3]Wattel, op. cit.

as principal speaker before ACTU's fifth anniversary breakfast in New York City, endorsed publicly the Industry Council plan of the Papal encyclicals.[1] This was shortly after he had, in fact, proposed a similar plan to the Roosevelt Administration for the operation of industrial relations during World War II. The plan submitted to President Roosevelt and his cabinet, and to the National Defense Advisory Commission in December, 1940, was called the "CIO Defense Plan," and was designed "to protect and advance the welfare not only of labor but of the whole nation in the present crisis."[2] Murray presented the plan as follows:

> The President of the United States shall establish a council for each major basic and vital defense industry. Each council shall consist of an equal number of representatives of management and of the labor unions in the industry, together with one government representative, the latter to serve as Chairman. Each council shall be known as an Industry Council; for example the Steel Industry Council, etc.[3]

The purpose of these councils was to promulgate the aims and scope of the National Defense Program in each respective industry, in consultation with the National Defense Board. The Board was to coordinate the work of the Councils.[4] The councils were to ascertain the defense requirements and

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[1]Speech by Philip Murray, reprinted in The Labor Leader, March 16, 1942, p. 3.

[2]Philip Murray, The CIO Defense Plan, Congress of Industrial Organizations Publication No. 51, Washington, D.C., p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 4.

[4]Ibid., p. 6.

coordinate and expand production when necessary. They would also control hiring and training of workers, eliminate bottle necks derived from technical requirements. Included in their broader aims was the desire to promote a better standard of living through a more equitable distribution of national income, in order to avoid the possibility of a breakdown of the post war economy.[1]

It is clear that the prime object of this plan was to serve the common good during the war emergency, and at the same time to improve living standards. The "whole nation" was to be served, while at the same time all parties--labor, management, the public--were to be represented in the industrial process. The CIO plan was never put into practice and, therefore, the councils did not attain legal status. Nevertheless, that such a plan was not divisive to the American labor movement, is supported by the fact that the CIO Convention endorsed it. Resolution 51 of the eighth Convention of the CIO in 1946 resolved: "That this convention reiterate its forthright support of the Murray Industry Council Plan."[2]

The National Industrial Recovery Act - The industrial organizational set-up under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 also "bears some resemblance to a modern Guild

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[1]Summarized from the Murray report, ibid.

[2]Proceedings, Eighth Constitutional Convention of the CIO, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 18-22, 1946, Resolution No. 51, p. 258.

System" and "might have developed into such a system, had not the Act been declared unconstitutional."[1] The National Recovery Administration sought to set up codes of fair competition for each industry,[2] while the industries were in turn to reorganize in such a way as to implement the codes and the spirit of cooperation which they were designed to promote.[3] There was to be more joint determination of prices and fair wage standards, with the assistance and guidance of the National Recovery Administration.[4] The Administration and the respective industries for which codes were set up were to arrive at decisions after careful statistical compilations and other pertinent information indicated solutions which would promote the interests of labor, the industry and the national welfare.

Under the NRA, labor would gain recognition under the

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[1]Harold Francis Trehey, Foundations of a Modern Guild System (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1940), p. 173.

[2]U.S. National Recovery Administration, Codes of Fair Competition, as approved with supplemental codes, amendments, executive and administrative orders, June 16, 1933-July 30, 1935 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1933-35).

[3]U.S. National Recovery Administration, An NRA Primer, compiled and issued by Ohio State Compliance Director (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1934); U.S. National Recovery Administration, What is the NRA, a Guide for Study and Discussion, compiled under Direction of Charles F. Horner (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1934).

[4]U.S. National Recovery Administration, Tabulation of Labor Provisions in Codes Approved by August 8, 1934 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1935).

famous Section 7a of the Act,[1] consumers would be represented in the Consumers' Advisory Board, employers would assist in formulating the codes for their respective industries. Labor, the consumer, and the employer assist the Administrator of Codes in representing and protecting the interests of the parties affected as well as the interests of the general welfare.

The NRA was a law of the land which gave the bodies created by it legal status. Hundreds of codes were established in which employers, labor, the consumer and the government had the legal right to representation.[2] In collective bargaining as now constituted, the corporation and the labor unions have legal status as separate and distinct bodies with apparently divergent interests.[3] Under the NRA and the Papal or ACTU plan the trade association would be a legal entity in which owners and workers would act as one

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[1]Herbert J. Tily, "Codes and Consumers," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1934. "The statutory provisions sanctioning collective bargaining are in all codes" (p. 108). Also see Whiting Williams, "The National Recovery Administration and the Worker," Ibid., pp. 64 ff. Voluminous literature on the NRA is readily available.

[2]During 1933, about 175 codes representing as many different industries or trades were approved by the government (Cf. for a list of these, Mayers, op. cit., pp. 439-442).

[3]For example, in the steel industry strike of July, 1956, a New York Times editorial "Steel Wages and Prices," reported the conflicting claims and the lack of consideration for the public good: "Unfortunately, the third and most important part at interest in the steel negotiations--the public--has only the conflicting statements of the disputants to go on" (July 25, 1956, p. 28).

in the common interest as well as in their own.

The above program was not looked upon as "alien", "un-American", "divisive", or harmful by the American labor movement. John L. Lewis, Leo Wolman and Sidney Hillman, strong voices of labor, for example, wrote of the NRA's contribution to American industrial life.[1] Although considerable criticism was directed at the NRA for the absence of actual labor and consumer representation in establishing and administering the codes,[2] this was not due to the failure in the intent of the Act.

While the NRA was declared unconstitutional in May, 1935, because it vested too much power in the President (not for economic reasons)[3] it was said by labor theorists that it was "too blithely optimistic"[4], which implies that

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[1] The Annals, op. cit.

[2] "The Consumers' Advisory Board. . .was neither well organized nor fully articulate" (Work Materials, U.S. National Recovery Administration, Statistical Materials, No. 1-463, Industry Statistics Unit, NRA (Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1935-36); Also Munier, op. cit., p. 15. Hillman complained that though the law intended that labor be strongly represented in the administration of the codes, "in not more than a dozen of the two hundred approved codes are there provisions for labor representation on the code authorities. . .It is necessary that proper representation be given to labor on the code authorities." (The Annals, op. cit., p. 73).

[3] "It is not the province of the Court to consider the economic advantages or disadvantages of such a centralized system. It is sufficient to say that the Federal Constitution does not provide for it": Mayer Cohen (ed), Selected Supreme Court Decisions (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), p. 265.

[4] Alexander Feller and Jacob Hurwitz, How to Deal with Organized Labor (New York: Alexander Publishing Co., Inc.,

its proper functioning might have been beneficial. In the coal industry "operators representing 60 per cent of the bituminous tonnage were in favor of turning to special legislation to obviate a return to the chaos of the past."[1] Much of what the original code for the industry provided in the way of joint regulation and operation of coal production and other matters pertaining to the industry was carried over into subsequent methods of stabilizing the industry.

The Bituminous Coal Industry - It has been said of this industry that it "exemplifies in a remarkable manner Pius XI's criticism of modern economic society, and also his remedial principles and plan for reconstruction."[2] The industry had been plagued by the disastrous effects of uncontrolled competition within the industry. Moreover, following 1920, coal began losing markets to oil, natural gas, and water power, while efficiency in producing coal increased, thus aggravating the situation. Surplus capacity led to cut-throat marketing and pricing arrangements, which kept much of the industry in a state of chronic insolvency. Due to the fact that labor constituted 60 to 70 per cent of the total costs, it took the brunt of the industry's efforts

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1937), p. 172.

[1]Report of the Committee for Mineral Policy, National Resources Board, December, 1934, Part IV, pp. 402-403.

[2]Munier, op. cit., p. 58.

to reduce costs in order to compete.[1] The scope of the Industry's problems is indicated in the following summary:

> The immobility of labor and capital has prevented that free and automatic adjustment of labor and capital to the relative demand for coal which supposedly is characteristic of a freely competitive industry. Due to overhead costs and an inelastic demand, coal cannot be left to free enterprise when overcapacity exists. In such a situation free enterprise is synonymous with chaos. From no standpoint can it be said that industry has performed its material task satisfactorily. These conditions under business enterprise have been prejudicial to a proper functioning of the industry from a socio-economic standpoint. On the distributive side, we find that operators have not received an income comparable with that of industry in general; investments have hardly been secure; consumer's have been uncertain as to a continuous supply of coal, and as to prices; and laborers have received incomes insufficient to maintain a minimum of health and efficiency and have been insecure in their civil rights. The plight in which we found the coal industry in the early thirties can largely be ascribed to the malfunctioning of laissez-faire enterprise.[2]

The Bituminous Coal Act of 1937 set up a National Bituminous Coal Commission with seven members appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of four years.[3] Two members of the Commission were to be experienced coal producers, but neither could retain any active or profitable part in the industry once appointed to the Commission. Below the

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[1]National Recovery Administration, Bituminous Coal Statistics, December 1933-April, 1934-January, 1935 (sic), Division of Research and Planning (Washington, D.C., Govt. Printing Office, 1934-1935).

[2]Glen Parker, The Coal Industry (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), pp. 175-176.

[3]Munier, op. cit., p. 69.

Commission there were to be District Boards, made up of coal producers and employee representatives. The District Boards could propose prices and prescribe other standards in the industry, but the Commission was empowered to approve, disapprove or modify any of these. In addition, there was established a Consumers' Counsel of the National Bituminous Coal Commission, appointed by the President and paid by the government to act in the interests of the consuming public before the Commission. Thus the bituminous employers and employees and the consumers of bituminous were all in on the industry's problems, while the government, represented in the Commission, stood by to see that an industry so vital to the nation's welfare and economic stability was properly guided. The industry offers, therefore, another example of a program which, though it did not succeed,[1] differs significantly from the common operation of business operation of business enterprise in this country, yet functioned with the cooperation of labor.[2]

Thus, while ACTU's espousal of the industry council plan of the Popes may be a highly controversial aspect of its program, there seems little justification for declaring the organization "alien", or guilty of promoting "unAmerican"

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[1]The failure of the councils to work effectively was not considered the weakness of the plan. The National Bituminous Coal Commission was transferred to the Secretary of Interior because "personnel factors" prevented its effective operation (Munier, op. cit., pp. 82-83).

[2]Ibid.

goals for labor.

Summary

This chapter has dealt with a number of issues pertinent to the operation of a sectarian group within the American labor movement. With respect to the pattern of opposition and support of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, it was seen that no particular bias pattern was evident. Labor unionists of various creeds reacted favorably or unfavorably to ACTU, according to the dictates of particular situations and points of view. No uniformity in religious affiliation of these sources was indicated. Some opposition to ACTU was evident, in fact, from some Catholic clergy, while in some cases the ACTU has supported non-Catholic labor leaders against Catholic opponents. The volume of this mixed reaction from all sources seemed clearly to minimize the criticism, sometimes made against the organization, that it sought to promote sectarian strife in the labor movement. Prominent non-Catholic labor leaders and labor authorities have expressed views which indicate that the organization is impartial in its activities. It is possible that ACTU could promote a sectarian bloc within the labor movement, but that it has should be a carefully substantiated fact. While the ACTU name has sectarian implications, this study does not indicate that the organization has been sectarian in its policy or practices.

That ACTU is undemocratic because its members must ac-

cept the "dictates" of Catholic clergy, hierarchy, and Pope is a charge often based on a misunderstanding of the role of the Church in the social sphere. Catholics, workers or otherwise, are bound by Church or Papal official (ex Cathedra) pronouncements on matters of Faith or Morals, but Catholic workers may reject ACTU, unions, or the ultimate social goals of the Church without Church disapprobation. Papal social encyclicals, for example, must be interpreted according to time and particular circumstances, which vary from one country to another. However, since the economic environment clearly has an impact on man's moral well-being, the Church believes it has the right to speak on economic and social questions. In such cases, Catholics respect the authority of Papal opinions, but may interpret their applicability according to time and place.

This flexibility in outlook is reflected in the internal government of the ACTU, in that meetings are democratically conducted and issues freely debated. In the New York archdiocese Cemetery strike of 1949, ACTU's Labor Defense League actually supported the CIO Cemetery Workers Union against the Catholic Chancery Office, which in this case was the "management". It was seen that personality clashes and contrary interpretations between Actists themselves, and between Actists and Church hierarchy as to what was the course of justice did not subject ACTU members to Church penalties of any kind, since the question was social not religious.

In the light of this evidence, allegations as to ACTU's "alien control" from Rome, or as to the Church's "dictatorial" rule over the minds of Catholic workers was seen to lack substantiation.

Finally, the treatment of the Papal Plan for the social order has shown the divergence of views among Catholic social writers and thinkers concerning this order, and noted several institutional programs for industrial organization which are similar to the Papal vocational or industrial council plan. The purpose has been in this case to examine the issues of ACTU as a "bloc" of Catholics acting in unison in response to "Vatican control", or advocating a program for American workers which could only divide the labor movement on religious or other grounds.

It was indicated that the proposal of Pius XI did not seem rash in the atmosphere of the 1930's. The espousal of an industry council order by ACTU did not mean that Catholics were "dictated to" or "bound" by the Popes either in their obligations to accept the recommendations of the social encyclicals or in their interpretations of its application to the American environment. Actists have a right to propose ways and means for solving social problems in the democratic tradition, as does any group or individual, whether in the labor movement or not.

Moreover, it was seen that plans similar in various respects to the ACTU proposals have existed and been promoted by organized labor in the past. While none of the plans

noted had permanency the right to implement them was questioned only in the case of the NRA codes. The NRA was not declared unconstitutional on the basis of its economic impact, but largely because the commerce power of Congress had been "stretched unreasonably" and the Act had been too free in delegating powers of the legislative branch to the President.

In so far as the goals established by the precedents described had much in common with those of ACTU's ultimate goals for society, the Papal plan cannot be deemed harmful or "alien" to organized labor, since these precedents were promoted by labor. It is true that an actual implementation of the Papal plan has never been tried, and may, in fact, be unacceptable to the country in general. This study does not attempt to imply that such a system would or should be adopted, or that it would necessarily serve the best interests of the labor movement. The analysis does indicate, however, that ACTU's espousal of forms of industry council ordering of the social framework is merely an alternative one, subject to democratic controversy, and not entirely foreign to American experience.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, as an ethical and moral force in the American labor movement, has received considerable notice from individuals and organizations associated and concerned with labor problems. Yet, a complete study of its significance has been lacking. This analysis has attempted to deal more fully with the backgound, nature, philosophy, and activities of this organization of Catholic unionists in order to determine the nature of its role in the trade union movement.

The ACTU has been the object of much critical as well as favorable comment reflecting many points of view. Some charge that its name and its work promote religious dissension or sectarian unionism within the labor movement, rendering it a harmful religious bloc. Others have felt that it promotes factionalism and intra-union strife, even though it is not a union, but an association of unionists. Some critics considered an organization with the Catholic label an attempt by the universal Church, from the very beginning of the sweeping organizational efforts of the CIO, to rule or subvert the American labor movement. In this regard, the ultimate social goals of the organization, which are strongly affected by those of the Catholic Church, have been questioned.

In order to deal with these important issues concerning such an organization, this study has undertaken to determine more accurately its role in the American labor movement, by weighing the available evidence in a number of important areas of endeavor in which the ACTU operates and by evaluating the significance of its principles, Church affiliation, and ultimate goals. The areas chosen for elaboration were briefly as follows: the background and experience relative to sectarianism in the labor movements of Europe and the United States; the environment and detail surrounding ACTU's origin, history and growth; the structure and principles of ACTU; the activities of the organization in select cases and areas of activity; the reaction to ACTU from various sources; and the nature of ACTU's affiliation with the Catholic Church and its social doctrines.

The evidence in each of these areas has cast some light on the validity of the criticisms referred to above. It was shown, for example, that sectarian or Christian unionism was extensive in European labor movements, while it was non-existent in this country. This would lead logically to the question: Did Catholic workers or ACTU promote the European type of sectarianism in the American labor movement? The evidence of Chapters II and III seemed clearly to reject such a conclusion. Chapter III also described the immediate environment and reasons surrounding ACTU's origin in the late 1930's in order to learn of its actions,

purposes, and aims, relative to those of the unions which were forming so rapidly at the same time. While the Association organized in numerous cities, and took part in many widely publicized labor activities, it was obvious that in membership it remained a small organization, its size sometimes in disproportion to its influence. Chapter IV dealt with cases in a number of areas of activity in which the ACTU engaged in the labor field. It took part in organizing efforts and drives; fought Communist infiltration in unions; promoted anti-racketeering campaigns within the unions; opposed racial discrimination; helped individual unionists, in difficulty with their unions or employers, to seek justice in the courts; and conducted labor schools for all unionists in various labor subjects.

Chapter V described the nature and to some degree the extent of the response to ACTU within and outside the labor movement. Support and opposition was seen to come from many sources, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. This chapter also dealt with the ultimate goals of ACTU, as taken from the social pronouncements of the Popes. It was recorded here that while the Popes clearly implied an industrial system in which the interests of labor, management, and the common good would find more harmonious coincidence, there was difference of opinion among Catholics as to how the Church's ultimate goals would be implemented. The authoritarianism of the Church over Catholic workers' beliefs and actions in the social sphere was analyzed. Catho-

lics--workers or otherwise--are bound by the pronouncements of the Church on matters purely of faith or morals, but are not bound in the same way on social questions. It would be considered "rash" and "imprudent" of Catholic workers to refuse to consider Papal views on social questions, but they may, for example, reject the ultimate goals proposed by the Church without incurring Church disapprobation. Finally, the Papal plan was briefly compared to precedents of recent American history in order to draw inferences concerning its compatibility with the American environment.

Conclusions

Considering the above activities of the ACTU, certain conclusions seemed evident. On the question of religious dissension or sectarianism, it was seen (Chapter II) that while Christian unions were prominent in the European labor movements for reasons noted, in this country the Church (as exemplified, for example, in Cardinal Gibbons' defense of the Knights of Labor) had encouraged workers to join and function within the characteristically nonsectarian union movement of this country. It was hoped this would promote within neutral unionism constructive, ethical standards. Even when the ACTU originated (in the late 1930'), it did not try to divert Catholic unionists toward the vagaries of an impracticable utopianism, as, for example, the Catholic Worker Movement, the Socialists, or Communists did. Moreover, it seemed reasonably clear from

an analysis of ACTU activities, its support and opposition, and its principles and goals (Chapters IV and V) that the organization did not manifest religious bias. It supported non-Catholics against Catholics when the issues seemed to warrant it, and sources of praise as well as criticism of the Association exhibited no one-sided pattern of religious favor or disfavor.

As for the term "Catholic" in the ACTU title, ACTU's explanation seemed valid; it is used primarily because the organization engages in various spiritual exercises, in which it cannot expect non-Catholics to participate, such as Holy Mass, Communion, The Rosary Prayer, Benediction, and the like. But these are religious ceremonies which all Catholics engage in, whatever their walk of life, and as such are a personal affair. The Actists are not schooled in teaching religion or in converting their fellow workers. Nor are they instructed to do so, though by their actions they may hope to attract workers to the Church. This, however, is not the central function of the ACTU.

On the issue of ACTU's dissipation of labor's unity, it is not evident that the Association sought to put Catholics into positions of control in unions, but only men of acceptable ethical standards. These standards, moreover, refer to criteria to which all men of good will could agree, irrespective of their racial or religious convictions. ACTU favored and assisted union organization; it favored unionists who were opposed to Communism, racketeering, dis-

crimination and abuse of the rights of individuals. ACTU favored programs for educating unionists in Labor History, Parliamentary Procedure, Labor Law, and Christian Social Ethics, and it favored giving increased attention to the spiritual welfare of workers. While methods of application of some of the concepts contained in the above might be debatable, it seemed evident that the labor movement considered these activities and ideals constructive to its own purposes.

In its belief in union organization, for example, the ACTU implemented a Church social policy which antedated the Wagner Act of 1935 by nearly half a century, with Cardinal Gibbons' Defense and with the encyclical Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII. In this respect, ACTU's belief, manifested in practical organizing assistance to workers, was that forming unions would aid workers in improving their status in life. In several representative cases, it was shown that ACTU's publicity and other aid in assisting unionization was overtly appreciated (i.e., contributions to ACTU) by the unions involved, the leadership of which was often non-Catholic. A unique aspect of ACTU's contribution in this regard, as in all of its work, is to appeal to workers on moral gounds; that is, the appeal to organize seemed to suggest a moral obligation, based on the need to improve the workingman's status. Coming from the Papal messages, this appeal would have special significance for Catholic workers. Moreover, ACTU's early rapid growth, and the found-

ing of new chapters and newspapers in many areas of the country in an era of considerable unrest and confusion, seemed to indicate a need for the organization, at least in so far as its principles answered many questions about unionization for Catholics (Chapter III).

In ACTU's anti-Communist and anti-racketeering activity, the representative cases dealt with in Chapter IV seem clearly to indicate a constructive role on ACTU's part. ACTU's anti-Communist campaigns, through its newspapers, speakers, and other activity were especially numerous in the late 1930's and early 1940's, when both the ACTU and the CIO were engaged in their initial organizing drives. In the United Electrical Workers Case, the work of Actists in UE locals to oust Communist leaders in favor of legitimate ones met with some success. That this union was Communist dominated was evident in that both leaders of the locals dealt with and those of the international were proven Communists. The International was expelled by the CIO and its leaders indicted by the government. In ACTU's anti-racketeering activity, the International Longshoreman's Association illustrated the persistent campaign tactics of the ACTU against the corrupt boss rule of that union. This case also illustrated the ACTU's work at the local level, with its considerably publicized role in the clean up of Local 895, ILA. The ACTU also opposed, as did the AF of L leadership, State regulation and control of the dock workers. Again, in these activities, ACTU's unique appeal to

the Catholic workers may have been on moral grounds. In any case, the constructive nature of these activities seemed apparent from the evidence of these representative cases.

In cases where the organization offered help to troubled unionists, providing free legal aid, the final court decisions seemed to bear out the justness of the cause in which the workers were involved. In these cases, individual unionists were being punished for offenses of which they were not guilty. In cases of union expulsion, for example, the unionists had little recourse except through prohibitively expensive legal processes. Even for a non-union offense, the union does not provide funds for the legal assistance of its members. The ACTU offered these defenseless persons free legal assistance through its Labor Defense League, and the cases described illustrate the justness of the worker and ACTU appeals.

As for its labor schools, speakers, and newspapers, these have received praise from many sources, and the subject matter taught at these schools would seem rather to enlighten than to subvert the unionists who have attended. This seems particularly true in the light of the generally constructive nature of the organization's activities, which should be a reflection of the training received.

That ACTU is "controlled" from the Vatican by dictates it has no right to oppose, or that the Catholic labor unionists who belong to ACTU must, under threat of some kind, per-

form in puppet fashion in response to "orders" from Catholic priests, was seen to be unwarranted criticism (Chapter V). While the authority of the Popes and the hierarchy is highly respected by Catholic unionists, social questions are freely debated and interpreted.

Finally, the Industry Council ordering of society, the ultimate goal of ACTU, was shown (Chapter V) to be open to considerable controversy and discussion concerning interpretation of the intent of the Popes. Catholic unionists might even reject this system as unsuited to the American environment. It was seen, furthermore, that matters of interpretation are a continuous problem in labor relations as well as in other fields. While the Industry Council system suggests more consideration for the public welfare, an end to the class conflict which it believes is inherent even in the current collective bargaining mechanism, it was not the intent of the Papal encyclicals to recommend government control of the industrial process. The ordering, in fact, is from below, at the local or industry level, as it was partially designed to be in the Murray Industry Council Plan, the bituminous coal District Boards, and in the operation of the NRA's Codes of Fair Competition. The government was to "stimulate", "restrain", "urge", "guide", but not control. These experiences in American industrial relations, supported and promoted by organized labor, were shown to resemble, in various ways, the Industry Council ordering of society conceived by the Popes. Therefore, ad-

vocacy of this ultimate though not pressing goal of ACTU, while debatable on many points, could not rightly be called a divisive aspect of their program.

Some of the most persistent opposition concerning the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, it might be well to note in concluding, has often come from sources which are generally recognized as of little credit to a democratic labor movement. If Associations of this kind, with their desire for more ethical, moral, and suitable ideological foundations for industrial relations in our economy, are to be catalogued as harmful to labor, warrant for such labeling would seem to require careful substantiation. Recent developments in the American labor movement, calling for widely publicized government investigations of corruption and other unfair labor practices, clearly indicate a need for more ethical and moral emphasis in the operation of unions at all levels. The AFL-CIO, for example, in recognition of such a need, has itself established an Ethical Practices Committee. The ACTU attempts to instill into the individual unionist a sense of moral rectitude which would be reflected in the daily functioning of the unions. From the evidence this study was able to bring to bear, the work of this organization appears to offer constructive, even if peripheral, assistance to the union movement of the United States.

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