

THE ALMIGHTY
AND
THE DOLLAR

Reflections on
Economic Justice for All

Mark J. Allman, editor



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In memory of Monsignor John A. Ryan (1869–1945) and
Monsignor George G. Higgins (1916–2002),
staunch advocates of economic justice for all.

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INTRODUCTION

Serving Two Masters?

Mark J. Allman

“No man can serve two masters. He will either hate one and love the other, or be devoted to one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon.” (Mt 6:24)

The Catholic bishops of the United States in the 1980s produced two prophetic and challenging statements: *The Challenge of Peace* (1983), which focused on the ethics of war and peace, and *Economic Justice for All* (1986), which focused on economic ethics.¹ Both of these statements, called pastoral letters, are addressed to all Christians. They garnered significant attention in the church community² and in society at large because the bishops made ethical judgments about some of the most contentious political and economic issues of the day. These letters thrust the bishops into the center of political and economic life in the United States and injected Christian perspectives into the larger debate about domestic and foreign policy. On the tenth anniversaries of these pastoral letters, the bishops reissued each document along with additional statements intended to update their perspectives and apply Christian ethical principles to the contemporary context.³

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of *The Challenge of Peace* in 2008, however, with the United States embroiled in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as fighting the so-called global war on terror, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) made no official statements marking the peace pastoral's anniversary. Similarly, on the silver anniversary of *Economic Justice for All* (*EJA*), while the United States was experiencing the worst economic downturn

¹National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference (USCC), 1984) and *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy* (Washington, DC: USCC, 1986).

²When “church” is not capitalized in this text, as here, it refers to all Christian churches. When “Church” is capitalized it refers to a specific community, e.g., the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the Episcopal Church, etc.

³See *The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace: A Reflection of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on the Tenth Anniversary of The Challenge of Peace* (1993) and *A Decade after “Economic Justice for All”: Continuing Principles, Changing Context, New Challenges* (1995), as well as a shorter statement, “A Catholic Framework for Economic Life” (1986).

since the Great Depression, with unemployment rates hovering around 10 percent, again the bishops chose not to mark the occasion. All of which begs the question, Why would the bishops ignore the anniversaries of arguably the two most influential statements they have ever issued, especially when the topic of each letter was immediately applicable to the current political and economic situation? Why would they choose not to exercise their role as moral teachers, especially in these times of crisis?

This book *The Almighty and the Dollar: Reflections on Economic Justice for All*, began when the peace pastoral's anniversary passed seemingly unnoticed by the bishops. Fearing the same would happen on the anniversary of *EJA*, and recognizing that the responsibility for teaching in the larger church community rests not only on the shoulders of bishops, but upon theologians as well, I invited prominent scholars to reflect on challenges and promises of the current economy in light of *EJA*. The original economic pastoral letter is both theoretical and practical. It draws on Scripture and Christian ethical norms to articulate the demands of social justice in the context of the contemporary economy (in 1986). While the application portions of the pastoral letter are now largely outdated, the portions of the letter that articulate Christian principles of economic justice are timeless.

The first part of this book reprints extensive excerpts from *EJA*. Following these, part II includes reflections by Christian ethicists on some of the ethical principles and norms expressed in *EJA* as well as the bishops' call for a "New American Experiment." Part III includes reflections by Christian ethicists on contemporary issues and challenges to economic justice. In essence, this book attempts to recreate the original focus of the letter by revisiting its ethical principles and norms and then applying them to the current context. A few key caveats need to be made:

1. The authors in this volume do not speak for the whole church, nor do they speak as a unified group. Each chapter contains the opinions of the individual author.
2. This is not an attempt to supplant or undermine the teaching authority of the bishops; it is an exercise of the vocation of theological ethicists.
3. This is not intended to be a comprehensive ethical analysis of the economy. That would be impossible. The chapters are intended to offer ethical analysis of *some* aspects of the economy, indeed a major lacuna in this collection is the absence of chapters focusing on women in the economy, ecology and the economy, and the role of global finance, although these concerns are raised in a number of the chapters.

Economic Justice for All sparked a nationwide conversation about Gospel demands and economic justice. This volume is intended to serve as an aid in reviving that conversation. Before one dives into that conversation, understanding the history and reaction to the original letter should prove helpful.

■ HISTORY AND REACTION

The Catholic bishops in the United States have nearly a century of speaking in one voice on matters of economic justice, dating back to 1919 and the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which ultimately became the USCCB.⁴ Prior to the 1960s the bishops issued statements on industrial relations, defended organized labor (unions), advocated for decent wages for laborers, and warned against the dangers of communism. The 1960s proved to be a watershed period for the US church. In the early twentieth century, the Roman Catholic Church tended to be suspicious of modernism, even going so far as to require all clergy and seminary professors to swear an Oath Against Modernism.⁵

By the middle of the century, however, modern and secular ideas (in biblical studies, theology, philosophy, and ethics) began to influence Catholic intellectuals and members of the clergy. In the midst of the sociocultural revolutions of the age (the sexual revolution, civil rights movements, and political independence movements across the globe), Pope John XXIII (1958–1963) called for an ecumenical council (the Second Vatican Council or Vatican II), which was to be an *aggiornamento* (Italian for “an updating”) of the Church. Vatican II (1962–1965) resulted in the Church taking a less defensive stance toward the modern world and calling for greater popular participation in the Church’s life (in worship, service, and teaching). One of the signature documents of Vatican II, *The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* (*Gaudium et spes*), was written to “to explain to everyone how it [the Church] conceives of the presence and activity of the Church in the world of today.”⁶ The document opens with these words: “The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ.”⁷ With Vatican II, the Catholic Church renewed its interest in Scripture study and liturgy (worship), changed its approach to how the Church relates to the modern and increasingly secular world, and granted greater authority and autonomy to national conferences of bishops, who were encouraged to carry on the Church’s “duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the

⁴This history of the document’s formation is drawn principally from Charles Curran, “The Reception of Catholic Social and Economic Teaching in the United States,” in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes and others (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), and Rembert Weakland’s accounts of the process where noted below.

⁵Modernism was a movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that challenged traditional theology by applying critical literary and historical studies to Scripture and doctrine. It emphasized the human element in Scripture and the influence of historical and cultural contexts on Church teaching, thereby challenging notions that Church teachings were timeless, universal, and unchanging.

⁶*Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, no. 2, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_cons_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.

⁷*Ibid.*, no. 1.

Gospel.”⁸ The US bishops in the 1980s, with their prophetic and challenging pastoral letters, were responding directly to the Vatican II call for renewal and Pope Paul VI’s (1963–1978) demand that “it is up to the Christian communities to analyze with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country”⁹ in light of Gospel values and the social teachings of the Church.

The US bishops were also inspired by the process at Vatican II. Drafts (called *schemata*) of the council documents were circulated in advance and commentaries from experts were solicited, including laypeople, and members of other Christian denominations and other religions. The final documents were then revised based on these consultations. In November 1980, during a debate about a pastoral letter on Christianity and Marxism, the US bishops decided they should also write a letter on Christianity and capitalism. Archbishop Rembert Weakland, OSB, of Milwaukee was appointed chair of a five-bishop committee that also included a staff and consultants.¹⁰ Three drafts of the pastoral letter on economics were published, with the committee soliciting responses from theologians, economists, sociologists, business leaders, union leaders, community organizers, and congressional staff. Special sessions with the World Council of Churches and Jewish scholars and rabbis were held and listening sessions across the country were hosted, from which ten thousand written commentaries were received. On November 13, 1986, the final draft was adopted by the bishops’ conference by a vote of 225 in favor and 9 opposed.¹¹

The drafting committee decided early on that the economic pastoral should not be a theoretical analysis of capitalism because capitalism has no single philosophy or approach. Instead the economic pastoral explores Scripture and ethical norms drawn from the Church’s social justice tradition (see Principles

⁸Ibid., no. 4.

⁹“A Call to Action on the Eightieth Anniversary of *Rerum novarum*,” no. 4, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19710514_octogesima-adveniensi_en.html.

¹⁰The committee included Archbishop Thomas Donnellan (Atlanta, GA, who replaced Bishop Joseph Daley of Harrisburg, PA, due to illness), Bishop George Seltz (St. Cloud, MN), Bishop William Weigand (Salt Lake City, UT), and Auxiliary Bishop Peter Rosazza (Hartford, CT). The committee was also aided by Rev. Michael Lavelle, SJ, and Sister Ann Margaret Cahill, OP, who represented men and women religious; members of the US Catholic Conference (Thomas Quigley, Rev. Bryan Hehir, Ronald Krietemeyer, Rev. William Lewers, CSC, and Msgr. George Higgins); and a host of other invited consultants including Dr. Donald Warwick (Harvard University Institute for International Development), Dr. Charles Wilber (Dept. of Economics, University of Notre Dame), Rev. David Hollenbach, SJ (Weston School of Theology), Rev. John Donahue, SJ (Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley), and two Nobel laureates in Economics: James Tobin and Lawrence Kline. See Rembert Weakland, “Report by Archbishop Rembert Weakland, OSB . . .” *Origins* 13, no. 26 (December 1, 1983), Rembert Weakland, *A Pilgrim in a Pilgrim Church: Memoirs of a Catholic Archbishop* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 273–93, and Bishop Ricardo Ramirez, CSB, “The U.S. Bishops Pastoral Letter ‘Economic Justice for All’ Twenty Years After.” University of St. Thomas Social Justice Summer Institute, June 2, 2006, http://www.dioceseofascruces.org/includes/tiny_mce/jscripts/tiny_mce/plugins/filemanager/files/spcb/bp_sp_16.pdf.

¹¹Ramirez, “The U.S. Bishops Pastoral Letter ‘Economic Justice for All’ Twenty Years After.”

of Catholic Social Teaching at the end of this introduction) and applies them to four areas: employment, poverty, food and agriculture, and global poverty. In their ethical analysis of economic justice in the United States, the bishops stressed the preferential option for the poor, participation, the common good, solidarity, and subsidiarity.

Because the drafts were widely distributed, the final letter garnered significant attention. Business media, such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *Forbes*, and *Business Week*, criticized the letter for being antibusiness, anticapitalist, and advocating for a planned economy (in which a central authority, typically government, makes decisions regarding production, pricing, and investment). A *Wall Street Journal* editorial asked, “What does any of this have to do with ‘Catholic matters?’”¹² For those who believe that churches should concern themselves only with “spiritual matters,” this foray into the public square seemed out of place and possibly a violation of the long-cherished American belief in the separation of church and state. In the eyes of many bishops, however, such comments revealed a lack of understanding of the role of the church. Against this criticism, Weakland said, “The church . . . does not accept that political and social issues are without ethical or moral consequences. Moreover, the church distinguishes between state and society and does not see the church as separate from society.”¹³ Other popular media (the *New York Times* and many local newspapers) reacted favorably and were enamored of the bishops’ transparent and dialogical process for writing the letter.

Critics of the consultative process worried that seeking input from a wide variety of people would weaken the teaching authority of the bishops because it might imply that the bishops were unable to teach on their own. Weakland responded, “The [teaching] model adopted by the U.S. conference believes that the Holy Spirit resides in all members of the church and that the hierarchy must listen to what the Spirit is saying to the whole church.”¹⁴ Questions on the authority of the statement were also raised. Weakland explained the different levels of authority in his letter:

Distinctions must also be made concerning the nature of the material taught. If a bishops’ conference is reiterating truth held by the universal church and proposed as such, it carries more weight. . . . General principles carry with them more certitude when taught by bishops than practical applications of these same principles.¹⁵

¹²“On Disagreeing with Bishops,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 17, 1986, 1.

¹³Weakland, “Developing a Pastoral Letter on the Economy: Action and Reflection,” *Origins* 13, no. 46 (April 26, 1984). Archbishop John J. O’Connor of New York made similar comments in his 1984 Labor Day statement, in which he said the Church “is seeking to make clear the human and moral consequences of the technical choices we make as a nation” (quoted in Hugh J. Nolan, ed., *Pastoral Letters of the United States Catholic Bishops, 1983–1988*, vol. 5 [USCC, 1989], 274).

¹⁴Weakland, “Developing a Pastoral Letter.”

¹⁵*Ibid.*

Thus statements about general ethical and biblical principles are considered to be more authoritative than statements applying those principles to particular situations (e.g., employment, wages, agriculture, legislation, public assistance programs, etc.).

The most strident criticism of the economic pastoral came from Catholic neoconservatives such as Michael Novak, Richard John Neuhaus, and George Wiegand. Under Novak's leadership a lay group published *Toward the Future: Catholic Social Thought and the U.S. Economy* prior to the first draft of the pastoral letter being distributed.¹⁶ The neoconservative critics of the bishops' approach claimed that the bishops (1) place too much emphasis on the distribution of resources and ignore the positive role and effect of wealth creation; (2) tend to view the poor as victims and fail to stress personal responsibility; (3) do not take human sinfulness seriously and naively assume that wealth and prosperity is natural and poverty is abnormal; and (4) endorse the notion of economic rights (e.g., the rights to work, to a living wage, to collective bargaining, social safety net programs, etc.), which runs contrary to the American ideal of a limited role for government. Novak, in particular, emphasizes the importance of "equal opportunity for all" as opposed to a host of economic rights that government is to provide.

Criticisms of the pastoral were not limited to those from the right. Progressive Catholics lamented that the pastoral letter did not offer a robust criticism of capitalism nor did the US bishops follow the lead of the Latin American and Canadian bishops' conferences, which had produced more radical statements about capitalism in light of the preferential option for the poor.¹⁷ Rev. Charles Curran, for example, a prominent progressive American Catholic moral theologian, criticized the pastoral for (1) focusing on Catholic social *teaching* (which includes official teachings by members of the magisterium only) but ignoring the wider category of Catholic social *thought*, which includes scholars as well as the experience of grassroots efforts within the Church that work for economic justice (e.g., Catholic Campaign for Human Development, Catholic Relief Services, Catholic Worker movement); (2) ignoring fundamental issues in the US economy, such as the profit motive, the role of markets, and the dehumanizing aspects of technology; (3) strongly focusing on the need for structural change, but failing to adequately address personal and spiritual matters (e.g., the need for a change of heart and the responsibilities of the baptized in matters of social justice); and (4) not acknowledging the role of power. For Curran, the letter appeals to the "reason and good will . . . of the elite and leaders to put into practice the principles proposed,"¹⁸ but does not consider that change can also come from the

¹⁶ Michael Novak and Michael Joyce, *Toward the Future: Catholic Social Thought and the U.S. Economy* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985).

¹⁷ Gregory Baum, "A Canadian Perspective of on the U.S. Pastoral," *Christianity and Crisis* 44, no. 22 (January 21, 1985): 516–8.

¹⁸ Curran, "The Reception of Catholic Social and Economic Teaching," 483.

bottom up. In Curran's estimation, "The pastoral letters of the U.S. bishops in the 1980s on nuclear war and deterrence and the economy had a greater effect on the American public in general and the Catholic Church in the United States than any other documents coming from the U.S. bishops,"¹⁹ which returns us to the question asked earlier: why were the bishops such public participants in debates on war and economics in the 1980s—willing to take controversial positions based on the Gospel—but today, as a collective group, remain silent on these issues?

For Curran the effect and influence of these letters were due to the process used to write them, their quality, and the timing. As to why "nothing the bishops have done since 1986 has come close to the impact made by their pastoral letters on peace and the economy,"²⁰ Curran cites three reasons: (1) an attempt to write a pastoral letter on the role of women in the Church using the same transparent consultative process ended disastrously in the early 1990s; (2) a shift in the global Roman Catholic Church that downplays the role of national bishops' conferences, placing greater emphasis on the Vatican, coupled with cardinals exercising more influence on the local/national level; and (3) the appointment of more conservative bishops during the pontificate of John Paul II, a group that tends to believe open consultative approaches to teaching weakens the authority of bishops.²¹ To this list one must now add the national clergy sexual abuse scandals, beginning in the early 1990s, which weakened the bishops' teaching authority, especially on morality. None of this should suggest that the bishops have done nothing in terms of advocating for social justice since 1986. The USCCB continues to exert pressure in Washington, DC, and nationwide on a host of economic issues including welfare reform, health care, immigration, and the minimum (living) wage. But the bishops continue to be criticized for focusing most of their attention on two issues, abortion and same-sex marriage, while largely ignoring other questions of social justice.²²

One of the greatest successes of *Economic Justice for All* was that it generated an intelligent national conversation about economic justice and the demands of the Christian faith. Even if one disagrees with the letter's views, one must wrestle with its perspectives and arguments. In the opening paragraphs of *Economic Justice for All*, the bishops explain why they wrote the pastoral.

We are believers called to follow Our Lord Jesus Christ and proclaim his Gospel in the midst of a complex and powerful economy. . . . Our

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 484.

²¹ Ibid., 484–5.

²² See Francis X. Doyle, "For U.S. Bishops, Economic Justice Isn't on the Agenda," *Baltimore Sun*, November 14, 2011, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2011-11-14/news/bs-ed-bishops-20111111_1_catholic-bishops-catholic-leaders-catholic-lawmakers and Patricia Zapor, "Debate Fresh 25 Years after 'Economic Justice for All,'" *NCRonline.org*, December 9, 2011, <http://ncronline.org/news/debate-still-fresh-25-years-after-economic-justice-all>.

faith calls us to measure this economy not only by what it produces, but also by how it touches human life and whether it protects or undermines the dignity of the human person. (no. 1)

. . . We write to share our teaching, to raise questions, to challenge one another to live our faith in the world. (no. 4)

Their words reflect why this volume was published as well.

■ PRINCIPLES OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

In *EJA* and in the chapters in parts I and II of this volume, the authors frequently refer to Catholic social *teaching* and Catholic social *thought*. Catholic social teaching refers to a collection of writings by popes and bishops over the centuries on matters of social, political, and economic justice. Catholic social thought is a larger body of writings that includes all of Catholic social teaching and the reflections of theologians, philosophers, other scholars, and people involved in grassroots advocacy and acts of charity on the same issues.

While there is no official list of what constitute Catholic social teaching, most scholars focus on the papal social teachings since the Industrial Revolution (often found in statements called encyclicals) and the teachings of bishops' conferences. In these documents, certain themes, principles, or norms emerge. The following list of principles in Catholic social teaching is provided as an aid in reading the rest of this book, especially for those who are unfamiliar with this tradition.²³

Dignity of the Human Person. All human beings are made in the image and likeness of God and are redeemed by Christ, which grants them an inherent and inviolable dignity. From this comes the defense of all human life, which is considered sacred. This principle informs the Church's opposition to abortion, capital punishment, euthanasia, as well as the Church's work to enhance the life and dignity of the poor.

The human person is the clearest reflection of God's presence in the world; all of the Church's work in pursuit of both justice and peace is designed to protect and promote the dignity of every person. For each person not only reflects God, but is the expression of God's creative

²³There are many lists of key principles of Catholic social teaching, including those in Catholic Charities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, "Major Themes of Catholic Social Teaching" <http://www.ccsfm.org/page.aspx?pid=436>; William J. Byron, "Ten Building Blocks of Catholic Social Teaching," *America*, October 31, 1998, http://www.americamagazine.org/content/article.cfm?article_id=11297; and USCCB, "Seven Themes of Catholic Social Teaching," <http://usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/catholic-social-teaching/seven-themes-of-catholic-social-teaching.cfm>.

work and the meaning of Christ's redemptive ministry. . . . God is the Lord of life, and so each human life is sacred.²⁴

Human Rights and Obligations. Basic rights (food, clothing, shelter, and health care) refer to the minimum needs of all human beings. In addition to basic rights, all people enjoy a host of social, political, and economic rights. Typically it is the responsibility of government to safeguard these rights (see subsidiarity). All rights come with concomitant duties, including the recognition that all others enjoy the same rights and the obligation to exercise one's rights in the name of the common good. Some of the rights that figure prominently in Catholic social teaching are the right to life, the right to private property, the right to work, the right to a living wage, and the right to religious liberty.

Indeed, precisely because he is a person he has rights and obligations flowing directly and simultaneously from his very nature. And as these rights and obligations are universal and inviolable so they cannot in any way be surrendered.²⁵

The Common Good. Because human beings are social animals, the wide array of human relationships (interpersonal, family, and communal) is necessary for safeguarding human dignity. Society must organize its various institutions (social, political, economic, judicial, educational, recreational, etc.) in ways that promote human sociality and the good of society as a whole.

[The common good is] the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily.²⁶

Preferential Option for the Poor. The moral measure of any society is how it treats its weakest and most vulnerable members. This is not an option against the rich, rather it holds that all social, political, and economic decisions and programs ought to be evaluated first by the impact they have on the poor and vulnerable.

The obligation to evaluate social and economic activity from the viewpoint of the poor and the powerless arises from the radical command to love one's neighbor as one's self. Those who are marginalized and whose rights are denied have privileged claims if society is to provide justice for *all* (*EJA*, no. 87, italics in the original).

. . . The way society responds to the needs of the poor through its public policies is the litmus test of its justice or injustice (*EJA*, no. 123).

²⁴ National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace*, no. 15.

²⁵ Pope John XXIII, *Peace on Earth* (1963), no. 9.

²⁶ Vatican II, *The Church in the Modern World*, no. 26.

Solidarity. Best described as a virtue, solidarity is the commitment to the good of all. It is an expression of neighborly love that extends beyond immediate relationships to encompass the entire world. Solidarity is a commitment to seeing every person as a brother or sister and then acting accordingly. As such it requires sacrifice.

[Solidarity] is not a feeling of vague compassion or shallow distress at the misfortunes of so many people, both near and far. On the contrary, it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good; that is to say to the good of all and of each individual, because we are all really responsible for all.²⁷

Participation. Because all human beings have an inherent dignity and because they are social animals, all human beings have a right and a duty to play an active role in the social, political, and economic life of society.

[B]asic justice demands the establishment of minimum levels of participation in the life of the human community for all persons. The ultimate injustice is for a person or group to be treated actively or abandoned passively as if they were nonmembers of the human race. To treat people this way is effectively to say they simply do not count as human beings (*EJA*, no. 77, italics in the original).

Work. The modern Catholic social teaching tradition began during the Industrial Revolution. In that crisis, Pope Leo XIII defended the right of workers to collective bargaining, unionization, a living wage, and humane work conditions. Like all rights, labor rights come with obligations. Work is seen as essential to human dignity because it is how people provide for themselves and their families, a principal means of human sociality, how most people contribute to the common good, and a participation in the creative activity of God. Work is not reduced to simply employment it includes any activity.

Awareness that man's work is a participation in God's activity ought to permeate . . . even "*the most ordinary everyday activities*. For, while providing the substance of life for themselves and their families, men and women are performing their activities in a way which appropriately benefits society. They can justly consider that by their labour they are unfolding the Creator's work, consulting the advantages of their brothers and sisters, and contributing by their personal industry to the realization in history of the divine plan."²⁸

²⁷John Paul II, *On Social Concern* (1987), no. 38.

²⁸John Paul II, *On Human Work* (1981), no. 25. Internal quote from Vatican II, *The Church in the Modern World*, no. 34 (italics in the original).

Subsidiarity and Government. The purpose of government is to safeguard the common good, promote human dignity, and secure the rights of all. Government is also responsible for enabling citizens to participate in society. The principle of subsidiarity affirms that the tasks of governance should be carried out at the lowest (most local) level possible, so long as it can be carried out properly.

Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do. For every social activity ought of its very nature to furnish help to the members of the body social, and never destroy and absorb them.²⁹

Development. The purpose of economic activity is not merely the generation of wealth. The purpose of economic activity is to serve human beings. True development is not measured by the size of an economy but by whether the economic, political, and social structures enable people to live authentically human lives. While underdevelopment plagues poorer nations and prevents their peoples from living in a state worthy of a human being because of hunger, lack of clean water, and disease, wealthier nations are often plagued by super-development wherein people are seduced or distracted by materialism, consumerism, and technology, and confuse *having* with *being*.

[T]he mere accumulation of goods and services, even for the benefit of the majority, is not enough for the realization of human happiness . . . side-by-side with the miseries of underdevelopment, themselves unacceptable, we find ourselves up against a form of superdevelopment . . . [both are] contrary to what is good and to true happiness.³⁰

Peace. Peace is not simply the absence of war, it is the result of justice; or as Paul VI said, “If you want peace, work for justice.”³¹ When society is rightly ordered, when the individual liberties of all are guaranteed and all are working for the good of all, then peace will ensue.

Peace is not merely the absence of war. Nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies. Nor is it brought about by dictatorship. Instead, it is rightly and appropriately called “an enterprise of justice” (Is. 32:7). Peace results from that

²⁹ Pius XI, *On the Fortieth Year* (1931), no. 79.

³⁰ John Paul II, *On Social Concern* (1987), no. 28.

³¹ Paul VI, *If You Want Peace, Work for Justice*, Day of Peace message (January 1, 1972).

harmony built into human society by its divine founder, and actualized by men as they thirst after ever greater justice.³²

Stewardship. Ecological stewardship concerns the proper use of and care for the environment. Creation is understood as a gift from God for the benefit of all. While stewardship of creation is a recent focus of Catholic social teaching, the idea that the goods of the earth were intended by God to be used by all (traditionally called the “universal destination of goods”) has enjoyed a long standing and is often addressed in conjunction with the right to private property.

Stewardship—defined in this case as the ability to exercise moral responsibility to care for the environment—requires freedom to act. Significant aspects of this stewardship include the right to private initiative, the ownership of property, and the exercise of responsible freedom in the economic sector. Stewardship requires a careful protection of the environment and calls us to use our intelligence “to discover the earth’s productive potential and the many different ways in which human needs can be satisfied.”³³

A final note about Catholic social teaching: Many people first struggle with Catholic social teaching because they try to categorize it as either liberal or conservative. But Catholic social teaching is neither. Sometimes described as a “third way” or “middle way” theory, it espouses and condemns positions that are commonly considered liberal or conservative. For example, Catholic social teaching condemns abortion and the death penalty; it supports the right of workers to form unions and defends the right to private property; it warns against the evils and excesses of both Marxism and capitalism; it defends pacifism and notions of justified war. What unifies Catholic social teaching is its commitment to the inherent dignity of every human being and its affirmation of the social nature of the human person. All of the principles of Catholic social teaching rest on this foundation.

³²Vatican II, *The Church in the Modern World*, no. 78.

³³USCCB, “Global Climate Change: A Plea for Dialogue, Prudence, and the Common Good” (2001), no. 16. Internal quote from John Paul II *Centesimus annus*, (On the Hundredth Anniversary of *Rerum novarum*) (1991), no. 32.



ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR ALL

*Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching
and the U.S. Economy*

Excerpt with Parts I, II, IV, and V

United States Catholic Bishops, 1986

A Pastoral Message: Economic Justice for All

Brothers and Sisters in Christ:

1. We are believers called to follow Our Lord Jesus Christ and proclaim his Gospel in the midst of a complex and powerful economy. This reality poses both opportunities and responsibilities for Catholics in the United States. Our faith calls us to measure this economy, not by what it produces but also by how it touches human life and whether it protects or undermines the dignity of the human person. Economic decisions have human consequences and moral content; they help or hurt people, strengthen or weaken family life, advance or diminish the quality of justice in our land.
2. This is why we have written *Economic Justice for All: A Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy*. This letter is a personal invitation to Catholics to use the resources of our faith, the strength of our economy, and the opportunities of our democracy to shape a society that better protects the dignity and basic rights of our sisters and brothers, both in this land and around the world.
3. This pastoral letter has been a work of careful inquiry, wide consultation, and prayerful discernment. The letter has been greatly enriched by this process of listening and refinement. We offer this introductory pastoral message to Catholics in the United States seeking to live their faith in the marketplace—in homes, offices, factories, and schools; on farms and ranches; in boardrooms and union halls; in service agencies and legislative chambers. We seek to explain why we wrote the pastoral letter, to introduce its major themes, and to share our hopes for the dialogue and action it might generate.

■ WHY WE WRITE

4. We write to share our teaching, to raise questions, to challenge one another to live our faith in the world. We write as heirs of the biblical

prophets who summon us “to do right, and to love goodness, and to walk humbly with your God” (Mi. 6:8). We write as followers of Jesus who told us in the Sermon on the Mount: “Blessed are the poor in spirit. . . . Blessed are the meek. . . . Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for righteousness. . . . You are the salt of the earth. . . . You are the light of the world” (Mt 5:1–6, 13–14). These words challenge us not only as believers but also as consumers, citizens, workers, and owners. In the parable of the Last Judgment, Jesus said, “For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink. . . . As often as you did it for one of my least brothers, you did it for me” (Mt. 25:35–40). The challenge for us is to discover in our own place and time what it means to be “poor in spirit” and “the salt of the earth” and what it means to serve “the least among us” and to “hunger and thirst for righteousness.”

5. Followers of Christ must avoid a tragic separation between faith and everyday life. They can neither shirk their earthly duties nor, as the Second Vatican Council declared, “immerse [them]selves in earthly activities as if these latter were utterly foreign to religion, and religion were nothing more than the fulfillment of acts of worship and the observance of a few moral obligations” (*Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, no. 43).
6. Economic life raises important social and moral questions for each of us and for the society as a whole. Like family life, economic life is one of the chief areas where we live out our faith, love our neighbor, confront temptation, fulfill God’s creative design, and achieve holiness. Our economic activity in factory, field, office, or shop feeds our families—or feeds our anxieties. It exercises our talents—or wastes them. It raises our hopes—or crushes them. It brings us into cooperation with others—or sets us at odds. The Second Vatican Council instructs us “to preach the message of Christ in such a way that the light of the Gospel will shine on all activities of the faithful” (*Pastoral Constitution*, no. 43). In this case, we are trying to look at economic life through the eyes of faith, applying traditional church teaching to the U.S. economy.
7. In our letter, we write as pastors, not public officials. We speak as moral teachers, not economic technicians. We seek not to make some political or ideological point but to lift up the human and ethical dimensions of economic life, aspects too often neglected in public discussion. We bring to this task a dual heritage of Catholic social teaching and traditional American values.
8. As Catholics, we are heirs of a long tradition of thought and action on the moral dimensions of economic activity. The life and words of Jesus and the teaching of his Church call us to serve those in need and to work actively for social and economic justice. As a community of believers, we know that our faith is tested by the quality of justice among us, that we can best measure our life together by how the poor and the vulnerable are treated. This is not

a new concern for us. It is as old as the Hebrew prophets, as compelling as the Sermon on the Mount, and as current as the powerful voice of Pope John Paul II defending the dignity of the human person.

9. As Americans, we are grateful for the gift of freedom and committed to the dream of “liberty and justice for all.” This nation, blessed with extraordinary resources, has provided an unprecedented standard of living for millions of people. We are proud of the strength, productivity, and creativity of our economy, but we also remember those who have been left behind in our progress. We believe that we honor our history best by working for the day when all our sisters and brothers share adequately in the American dream.
10. As bishops, in proclaiming the Gospel for these times we also manage institutions, balance budgets, meet payrolls. In this we see the human face of our economy. We feel the hurts and hopes of our people. We feel the pain of our sisters and brothers who are poor, unemployed, homeless, living on the edge. The poor and vulnerable are on our doorsteps, in our parishes, in our service agencies, and in our shelters. We see too much hunger and injustice, too much suffering and despair, both in our country and around the world.
11. As pastors, we also see the decency, generosity, and vulnerability of our people. We see the struggles of ordinary families to make ends meet and to provide a better future for their children. We know the desire of managers, professionals, and business people to shape what they do by what they believe. It is the faith, good will, and generosity of our people that gives us hope as we write this letter.

■ PRINCIPAL THEMES OF THE PASTORAL LETTER

12. The pastoral letter is not a blueprint for the American economy. It does not embrace any particular theory of how the economy works, nor does it attempt to resolve disputes between different schools of economic thought. Instead, our letter turns to Scripture and to the social teaching of the Church. There, we discover what our economic life must serve, what standards it must meet. Let us examine some of these basic moral principles.
13. Every economic decision and institution must be judged in light of whether it protects or undermines the dignity of the human person. The pastoral letter begins with the human person. We believe the person is sacred—the clearest reflection of God among us. Human dignity comes from God, not from nationality, race, sex, economic status, or any human accomplishment. We judge any economic system by what it does *for* and *to* people and by how it permits all to *participate* in it. The economy should serve people, not the other way around.

14. Human dignity can be realized and protected only in community. In our teaching, the human person is not only sacred but social. How we organize our society—in economics and politics, in law and policy—directly affects human dignity and the capacity of individuals to grow in community. The obligation to “love our neighbor” has an individual dimension, but it also requires a broader social commitment to the common good. We have many partial ways to measure and debate the health of our economy: Gross National Product, per capita income, stock market prices, and so forth. The Christian vision of economic life looks beyond them all and asks, Does economic life enhance or threaten our life together as a community?
15. All people have a right to participate in the economic life of society. Basic justice demands that people be assured a minimum level of participation in the economy. It is wrong for a person or a group to be excluded unfairly or to be unable to participate or contribute to the economy. For example, people who are both able and willing, but cannot get a job are deprived of the participation that is so vital to human development. For, it is through employment that most individuals and families meet their material needs, exercise their talents, and have an opportunity to contribute to the larger community. Such participation has a special significance in our tradition because we believe that it is a means by which we join in carrying forward God’s creative activity.
16. All members of society have a special obligation to the poor and vulnerable. From the Scriptures and church teaching, we learn that the justice of a society is tested by the treatment of the poor. The justice that was the sign of God’s covenant with Israel was measured by how the poor and unprotected—the widow, the orphan, and the stranger—were treated. The kingdom that Jesus proclaimed in his word and ministry excludes no one. Throughout Israel’s history and in early Christianity, the poor are agents of God’s transforming power. “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, therefore he has anointed me. He has sent me to bring glad tidings to the poor” (Lk. 4:18). This was Jesus’ first public utterance. Jesus takes the side of those most in need. In the Last Judgment, so dramatically described in St. Matthew’s Gospel, we are told that we will be judged according to how we respond to the hungry, the thirsty, the naked, the stranger. As followers of Christ, we are challenged to make a fundamental “option for the poor”—to speak for the voiceless, to defend the defenseless, to assess life styles, policies, and social institutions in terms of their impact on the poor. This “option for the poor” does not mean pitting one group against another, but rather, strengthening the whole community by assisting those who are the most vulnerable. As Christians, we are called to respond to the needs of *all* our brothers and sisters, but those with the greatest needs require the greatest response.
17. Human rights are the minimum conditions for life in community. In Catholic teaching, human rights include not only civil and political rights but also

economic rights. As Pope John XXIII declared, “all people have a right to life, food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, education, and employment.” This means that when people are without a chance to earn a living, and must go hungry and homeless, they are being denied basic rights. Society must ensure that these rights are protected. In this way, we will ensure that the minimum conditions of economic justice are met for all our sisters and brothers.

18. Society as a whole, acting through public and private institutions, has the moral responsibility to enhance human dignity and protect human rights. In addition to the clear responsibility of private institutions, government has an essential responsibility in this area. This does not mean that government has the primary or exclusive role, but it does have a positive moral responsibility in safeguarding human rights and ensuring that the minimum conditions of human dignity are met for all. In a democracy, government is a means by which we can act together to protect what is important to us and to promote our common values.
19. These six moral principles are not the only ones presented in the pastoral letter, but they give an overview of the moral vision that we are trying to share. This vision of economic life cannot exist in a vacuum; it must be translated into concrete measures. Our pastoral letter spells out some specific applications of Catholic moral principles. We call for a new national commitment to full employment. We say it is a social and moral scandal that one of every seven Americans is poor, and we call for concerted efforts to eradicate poverty. The fulfillment of the basic needs of the poor is of the highest priority. We urge that all economic policies be evaluated in light of their impact on the life and stability of the family. We support measures to halt the loss of family farms and to resist the growing concentration in the ownership of agricultural resources. We specify ways in which the United States can do far more to relieve the plight of poor nations and assist in their development. We also reaffirm church teaching on the rights of workers, collective bargaining, private property, subsidiarity, and equal opportunity.
20. We believe that the recommendations in our letter are reasonable and balanced. In analyzing the economy, we reject ideological extremes and start from the fact that ours is a “mixed” economy, the product of a long history of reform and adjustment. We know that some of our specific recommendations are controversial. As bishops, we do not claim to make these prudential judgments with the same kind of authority that marks our declarations of principle. But, we feel obliged to teach by example how Christians can undertake concrete analysis and make specific judgments on economic issues. The Church’s teachings cannot be left at the level of appealing generalities.
21. In the pastoral letter, we suggest that the time has come for a “New American Experiment”—to implement economic rights, to broaden the sharing of economic power, and to make economic decisions more accountable to

the common good. This experiment can create new structures of economic partnership and participation within firms at the regional level, for the whole nation, and across borders.

22. Of course, there are many aspects of the economy the letter does not touch, and there are basic questions it leaves to further exploration. There are also many specific points on which men and women of good will may disagree. We look for a fruitful exchange among differing viewpoints. We pray only that all will take to heart the urgency of our concerns; that together we will test our views by the Gospel and the Church's teaching; and that we will listen to other voices in a spirit of mutual respect and open dialogue.

■ A CALL TO CONVERSION AND ACTION

23. We should not be surprised if we find Catholic social teaching to be demanding. The Gospel is demanding. We are always in need of conversion, of a change of heart. We are richly blessed, and as St. Paul assures us, we are destined for glory. yet, it is also true that we are sinners; that we are not always wise or loving or just; that, for all our amazing possibilities, we are incompletely born, wary of life, and hemmed in by fears and empty routines. We are unable to entrust ourselves fully to the living God, and so we seek substituted forms of security in material things, in power, in indifference, in popularity, in pleasure. The Scriptures warn us that these things can become forms of idolatry. We know that, at times, in order to remain truly a community of Jesus' disciples, we will have to say "no" to certain aspects of our culture, to certain trends and ways of acting that are opposed to a life of faith, love and justice. Changes in our hearts lead naturally to a desire to change how we act. With what care, human kindness, and justice do I conduct myself at work? How will my economic decisions to buy, sell, invest, divest, hire, or fire serve human dignity and the common good? In what career can I best exercise my talents so as to fill the world with the Spirit of Christ? How do my economic choices contribute to the strength of my family and community, to the values of my children, to a sensitivity to those in need? In this consumer society, how can I develop a healthy detachment from things and avoid the temptation to assess who I am by what I have? How do I strike a balance between labor and leisure that enlarges my capacity for friendships, for family life, for community? What government policies should I support to attain the well-being of all, especially the poor and vulnerable?
24. The answers to such questions are not always clear—or easy to live out. But, conversion is a lifelong process. And, it is not undertaken alone. It occurs with the support of the whole believing community, through baptism, common prayer, and our daily efforts, large and small, on behalf of justice. As a Church,

we must be people after God's own heart, bonded by the Spirit, sustaining one another in love, setting our hearts on God's kingdom, committing ourselves to solidarity with those who suffer, working for peace and justice, acting as a sign of Christ's love and justice in the world. The Church cannot redeem the world from the deadening effects of sin and injustice unless it is working to remove sin and injustice in its own life and institutions. All of us must help the Church to practice in its own life what it preaches to others about economic justice and cooperation.

25. The challenge of this pastoral letter is not merely to think differently, but also to act differently. A renewal of economic life depends on the conscious choices and commitments of individual believers who practice their faith in the world. The road to holiness for most of us lies in our secular vocations. We need a spirituality that calls forth and supports lay initiative and witness not just in our churches but also in business, in the labor movement, in the professions, in education, and in public life. Our faith is not just a weekend obligation, a mystery to be celebrated around the altar on Sunday. It is a pervasive reality to be practiced every day in homes, offices, factories, schools, and businesses across our land. We cannot separate what we believe from how we act in the marketplace and the broader community, for this is where we make our primary contribution to the pursuit of economic justice.
26. We ask each of you to read the pastoral letter, to study it, to pray about it, and match it with your own experience. We ask you to join with us in service to those in need. Let us reach out personally to the hungry and the homeless, to the poor and the powerless, and to the troubled and the vulnerable. In serving them, we serve Christ. Our service efforts cannot substitute for just and compassionate public policies, but they can help us practice what we preach about human life and human dignity.
27. The pursuit of economic justice takes believers into the public arena, testing the policies of government by the principles of our teaching. We ask you to become more informed and active citizens, using your voices and votes to speak for the voiceless, to defend the poor and the vulnerable and to advance the common good. We are called to shape a constituency of conscience, measuring every policy by how it touches the least, the lost, and the left-out among us. This letter calls us to conversion and common action, to new forms of stewardship, service, and citizenship.
28. The completion of a letter such as this is but the beginning of a long process of education, discussion and action. By faith and baptism, we are fashioned into new creatures, filled with the Holy Spirit and with a love that compels us to seek out a new profound relationship with God, with the human family, and with all created things. Jesus has entered our history as God's anointed son who announces the coming of God's kingdom, a kingdom of justice and peace and freedom. And, what Jesus proclaims, he embodies in his actions.

His ministry reveals that the reign of God is something more powerful than evil, injustice, and the hardness of hearts. Through his crucifixion and resurrection, he reveals that God's love is ultimately victorious over all suffering, all horror, all meaninglessness, and even over the mystery of death. Thus, we proclaim words of hope and assurance to all who suffer and are in need.

29. We believe that the Christian view of life, including economic life, can transform the lives of individuals, families, schools, and our whole culture. We believe that with your prayers, reflection, service and action, our economy can be shaped so that human dignity prospers and the human person is served. This is the unfinished work of our nation. This is the challenge of our faith.



The Church and the Future of the U.S. Economy (nos. 1–27)

1. Every perspective on economic life that is human, moral, and Christian must be shaped by three questions: What does the economy do *for* people? What does it do *to* people? And how do people *participate* in it? The economy is a human reality: men and women working together to develop and care for the whole of God's creation. All this work must serve the material and spiritual well-being of people. It influences what people hope for themselves and their loved ones. It affects the way they act together in society. It influences their very faith in God.¹
2. The Second Vatican Council declared that “the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the people of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ.”² There are many signs of hope in U.S. economic life today:
 - Many fathers and mothers skillfully balance the arduous responsibilities of work and family life. There are parents who pursue a purposeful and modest way of life and by their example encourage their children to follow a similar path. A large number of women and men, drawing on their religious tradition, recognize the challenging vocation of family life and child rearing in a culture that emphasizes material display and self-gratification.
 - Conscientious business people seek new and more equitable ways to organize resources and the workplace. They face hard choices over expanding or retrenching, shifting investments, hiring or firing.
 - Young people choosing their life's work ask whether success and security are compatible with service to others.
 - Workers whose labor may be toilsome or repetitive try daily to ennoble their work with a spirit of solidarity and friendship.
 - New Immigrants brave dislocations while hoping for the opportunities realized by millions who came before them.

3. These signs of hope are not the whole story. There have been failures—some of them massive and ugly:
 - Poor and homeless people sleep in community shelters and in our church basements: the hungry line up in soup lines.
 - Unemployment gnaws at the self-respect of both middle-aged persons who have lost jobs and the young who cannot find them.
 - Hardworking men and women wonder if the system of enterprise that helped them yesterday might destroy their jobs and their communities tomorrow.
 - Families confront major challenges: dwindling social supports for family stability; economic pressures that force both parents of young children to work outside the home; a driven pace of life among the successful that can sap love and commitment; lack of hope among those who have less or nothing at all. Very different kinds of families bear different burdens of our economic system.
 - Farmers face the loss of their land and way of life; young people find it difficult to choose farming as a vocation; farming communities are threatened; migrant farm workers break their backs in serf-like conditions for disgracefully low wages.
4. And beyond our own shores, the reality of 800 million people living in absolute poverty and 450 million malnourished or facing starvation casts an ominous shadow over all these hopes and problems at home.
5. Anyone who sees all this will understand our concern as pastors and bishops. People shape the economy and in turn are shaped by it. Economic arrangements can be sources of fulfillment, of hope, of community—or of frustration, isolation, and even despair. They teach values—or vices—and day by day help mold our characters. They affect the quality of people's lives; at the extreme even determining whether people live or die. Serious economic choices go beyond purely technical issues to fundamental questions of value and human purpose.³ We believe that in facing these questions the Christian religious and moral tradition can make an important contribution.

■ A. THE U.S. ECONOMY TODAY: MEMORY AND HOPE

6. The United States is among the most economically powerful nations on earth. In its short history the U.S. economy has grown to provide an unprecedented standard of living for most of its people. The nation has created productive work for millions of immigrants and enabled them to broaden their

freedoms, improve their families' quality of life, and contribute to the building of a great nation. Those who came to this country from other lands often understood their new lives in the light of biblical faith. They thought of themselves as entering a promised land of political freedom and economic opportunity. The United States *is* a land of vast natural resources and fertile soil. It *has* encouraged citizens to undertake bold ventures. Through hard work, self-sacrifice, and cooperation, families have flourished; towns, cities and a powerful nation have been created.

7. But we should recall this history with sober humility. The American experiment in social, political, and economic life has involved serious conflict and suffering. Our nation was born in the face of injustice to native Americans, and its independence was paid for with the blood of revolution. Slavery stained the commercial life of the land through its first two hundred and fifty years and was ended only by a violent civil war. The establishment of women's suffrage, the protection of industrial workers, the elimination of child labor, the response to the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the civil rights movement of the 1960s all involved a sustained struggle to transform the political and economic institutions of the nation.
8. The U.S. value system emphasizes economic freedom. It also recognizes that the market is limited by fundamental human rights. Some things are never to be bought or sold.⁴ This conviction has prompted positive steps to modify the operation of the market when it harms vulnerable members of society. Labor unions help workers resist exploitation. Through their government, the people of the United States have provided support for education, access to food, unemployment compensation, security in old age, and protection of the environment. The market system contributes to the success of the U.S. economy, but so do many efforts to forge economic institutions and public policies that enable *all* to share in the riches of the nation. The country's economy has been built through a creative struggle; entrepreneurs, business people, workers, unions, consumers, and government have all played essential roles.
9. The task of the United States today is as demanding as that faced by our forebears. Abraham Lincoln's words at Gettysburg are a reminder that complacency today would be a betrayal of our nation's history: "It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work . . . they have thus far nobly advanced."⁵ There is unfinished business in the American experiment in freedom and justice for all.

■ B. URGENT PROBLEMS OF TODAY

10. The preeminent role of the United States in an increasingly interdependent global economy is a central sign of our times.⁶ The United States is still the

world's economic giant. Decisions made here have immediate effects in other countries; decisions made abroad have immediate consequences for steelworkers in Pittsburgh, oil company employees in Houston, and farmers in Iowa. U.S. economic growth is vitally dependent on resources from other countries and on their purchases of our goods and services. Many jobs in U.S. industry and agriculture depend on our ability to export manufactured goods and food.

11. In some industries the mobility of capital and technology makes wages the main variable in the cost of production. Overseas competitors with the same technology but with wage rates as low as one-tenth of ours put enormous pressure on U.S. firms to cut wages, relocate abroad, or close. U.S. workers and their communities should not be expected to bear these burdens alone.
12. All people on this globe share a common ecological environment that is under increasing pressure. Depletion of soil, water and other natural resources endangers the future. Pollution of air and water threatens the delicate balance of the biosphere on which future generations will depend.⁷ The resources of the earth have been created by God for the benefit of all, and we who are alive today hold them in trust. This is a challenge to develop a new ecological ethic, that will help shape a future that is both just and sustainable.
13. In short, nations separated by geography, culture, and ideology are linked in a complex commercial, financial, technological, and environmental network. These links have two direct consequences. First, they create hope for a new form of community among peoples, one built on dignity, solidarity and justice. Second, this rising global awareness calls for greater attention to the stark inequities across countries in the standards of living and control of resources. We must not look at the welfare of U.S. citizens as the only good to be sought. Nor may we overlook the disparities of power in the relationships between this nation and the developing countries. The United States is the major supplier of food to other countries, a major source of arms sales to developing nations, and a powerful influence in multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United Nations. What Americans see as a growing interdependence is regarded by many in the less developed countries as a pattern of domination and dependence.
14. Within this larger international setting, there are also a number of challenges to the domestic economy that call for creativity and courage. The promise of the "American dream"—freedom for all persons to develop their God-given talents to the full—remains unfulfilled for millions in the United States today.
15. Several areas of U.S. economic life demand special attention. Unemployment is the most basic. Despite the large number of new jobs the U.S. economy has generated in the past decade, approximately 8 million people seeking work in this country are unable to find it, and many more are so discouraged they have stopped looking.⁸ Over the past two decades the nation has

come to tolerate an increasing level of unemployment. The 6 to 7 percent rate deemed acceptable today would have been intolerable twenty years ago. Among the unemployed are a disproportionate number of blacks, Hispanics, young people, or women who are the sole support of their families.⁹ Some cities and states have many more unemployed persons than others as a result of economic forces that have little to do with people's desire to work. Unemployment is a tragedy no matter whom it strikes, but the tragedy is compounded by the unequal and unfair way it is distributed in our society.

16. Harsh poverty plagues our country despite its great wealth. More than 33 million Americans are poor; by any reasonable standard another 20–30 million are needy. Poverty is increasing in the United States, not decreasing.¹⁰ For a people who believe in “progress,” this should be cause for alarm. These burdens fall most heavily on blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. Even more disturbing is the large increase in the number of women and children living in poverty. Today children are the largest single group among the nation's poor. This tragic fact seriously threatens the nation's future. That so many people are poor in a nation as rich as ours is a social and moral scandal that we cannot ignore.
17. Many working people and middle-class Americans live dangerously close to poverty. A rising number of families must rely on the wages of two or even three members just to get by. From 1968 to 1978 nearly a quarter of the U.S. population was in poverty part of the time and received welfare benefits in at least one year.¹¹ The loss of a job, illness, or the breakup of a marriage may be all it takes to push people into poverty.
18. The lack of a mutually supportive relation between family life and economic life is one of the most serious problems facing the United States today.¹² The economic and cultural strength of the nation is directly linked to the stability and health of its families.¹³ When families thrive, spouses contribute to the common good through their work at home, in the community, and in their jobs; and children develop a sense of their own worth and of their responsibility to serve others. When families are weak or break down entirely, the dignity of parents and children is threatened. High cultural and economic costs are inflicted on society at large.
19. The precarious economic situation of so many people and so many families calls for examination of U.S. economic arrangements. Christian conviction and the American promise of liberty and justice for all give the poor and the vulnerable a special claim on the nation's concern. They also challenge all members of the Church to help build a more just society.
20. The investment of human creativity and material resources in the production of the weapons of war makes these economic problems even more difficult to solve. Defense Department expenditures in the United States are almost \$300 billion per year. The rivalry and mutual fear between superpowers

divert into projects that threaten death, minds, and money that could better human life. Developing countries engage in arms races that they can ill afford, often with the encouragement of the superpowers. Some of the poorest countries of the world use scarce resources to buy planes, guns and other weapons when they lack the food, education and healthcare their people need. Defense policies must be evaluated and assessed, in light of their real contribution to freedom, justice and peace for the citizens of our own and other nations. We have developed a perspective on these multiple moral concerns in our 1983 pastoral letter, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*.¹⁴ When weapons or strategies make questionable contributions to security, peace, and justice and will also be very expensive, spending priorities should be redirected to more pressing social needs.¹⁵

21. Many other social and economic challenges require careful analysis: the movement of many industries from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt, the federal deficit and interest rates, corporate mergers and takeovers, the effects of new technologies such as robotics and information systems in U.S. industry, immigration policy, growing international traffic in drugs, and the trade imbalance. All of these issues do not provide a complete portrait of the economy. Rather they are symptoms of more fundamental currents shaping U.S. economic life today: the struggle to find meaning and value in human work, efforts to support individual freedom in the context of renewed social cooperation, the urgent need to create equitable forms of global interdependence in a world now marked by extreme inequality. These deeper currents are cultural and moral in content. They show that the long-range challenges facing the nation call for sustained reflection on the values that guide economic choices and are embodied in economic institutions. Such explicit reflection on the ethical content of economic choices and policies must become an integral part of the way Christians relate religious belief to the realities of everyday life. In this way, the "split between the faith which many profess and their daily lives,"¹⁶ which Vatican II counted among the more serious errors of the modern age, will begin to be bridged.

■ C. THE NEED FOR MORAL VISION

22. Sustaining a common culture and a common commitment to moral values is not easy in our world. Modern economic life is based on a division of labor into specialized jobs and professions. Since the industrial revolution, people have had to define themselves and their work ever more narrowly to find a niche in the economy. The benefits of this are evident in the satisfaction many people derive from contributing their specialized skills to society. But the costs are social fragmentation, a decline in seeing how one's work serves the whole community, and an increased emphasis on personal goals and

private interests.¹⁷ This is vividly clear in discussions of economic justice. Here it is often difficult to find a common ground among people with different backgrounds and concerns. One of our chief hopes in writing this letter is to encourage and contribute to the development of this common ground.¹⁸

23. Strengthening common moral vision is essential if the economy is to serve all people more fairly. Many middle-class Americans feel themselves in the grip of economic demands and cultural pressures that go far beyond the individual family's capacity to cope. Without constructive guidance in making decisions with serious moral implications, men and women who hold positions of responsibility in corporations or government find their duties exacting a heavy price. We want these reflections to help them contribute to a more just economy.
24. The quality of the national discussion about our economic future will affect the poor most of all, in this country and throughout the world. The life and dignity of millions of men, women and children hang in the balance. Decisions must be judged in light of what they do *for* the poor, what they do *to* the poor, and what they enable the poor to do *for themselves*. The fundamental moral criterion for all economic decisions, policies, and institutions is this: They must be at the service of *all people, especially the poor*.
25. This letter is based on a long tradition of Catholic social thought, rooted in the Bible and developed over the past century by the popes and the Second Vatican Council in response to modern economic conditions. This tradition insists that human dignity, realized in community with others and with the whole of God's creation is the norm against which every social institution must be measured.¹⁹
26. This teaching has a rich history. It is also dynamic and growing.²⁰ Pope Paul VI insisted that all Christian communities have the responsibility "to analyze with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country, to shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words and to draw principles of reflection, norms of judgment, and directives for action from the social teaching of the Church."²¹ Therefore, we build on the past work of our own bishops' conference, including the 1919 Program of Social Reconstruction and other pastoral letters.²² In addition many people from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish communities, in academic, business or political life and from many different economic backgrounds have also provided guidance. We want to make the legacy of Christian social thought a living, gorging resource that can inspire hope and help shape the future.
27. We write then, first of all to provide guidance for members of our own Church as they seek to form their consciences about economic matters. No one may claim the name of Christian and be comfortable in the face of hunger, homelessness, insecurity, and injustice found in this country and the world. At the same time, we want to add our voice to the public debate about the directions in which the U.S. economy should be moving. We seek the cooperation

and support of those who do not share our faith or tradition. The common bond of humanity that links all persons is the source of our belief that the country can attain a renewed moral vision. The questions are basic and the answers are often elusive; they challenge us to serious and sustained attention to economic justice.

Endnotes

1. Vatican Council II, *The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, 33. [Note: This pastoral letter frequently refers to documents of the Second Vatican Council, papal encyclicals, and other official teachings of the Catholic Church. Most of these texts have been published by the United States Catholic Conference; many are available in collections, though no single collection is comprehensive. See selected bibliography.]

2. *Pastoral Constitution*, 1.

3. See *ibid.*, 10, 42, 43; Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation* (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1986), 34–36.

4. See Pope John Paul II, *On Human Work* (1981), 14; and Pope Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971), 35. See also Arthur Okun, *Equality and Efficiency: The Big Tradeoff* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1975), ch. 1; Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), ch. 4; Jon P. Gunnemann, “Capitalism and Commutative Justice,” paper presented at the 1985 meeting of the Society of Christian Ethics.

5. Abraham Lincoln, Address at Dedication of National Cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863.

6. Pope John XXIII, *Peace on Earth* (1963), 130–131.

7. Synod of Bishops, *Justice in the World* (1971), 8; Pope John Paul II, *Redeemer of Man* (1979), 15.

8. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Employment Situation: August 1985* (September 1985); Table A-1.

9. *Ibid.*

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Series P-60*, 145, *Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1983* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984), 20.

11. Greg H. Duncan, *Years of Poverty, Years of Plenty: The Changing Economic Fortunes of American Workers and Their Families* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1984).

12. See John Paul II, *Familiaris Consortio* (1981), 46.

13. *Pastoral Constitution*, 47.

14. National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response* (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1983).

15. Cardinal Joseph L. Bernardin and Cardinal John J. O'Connor, Testimony before the House Foreign Relations Committee, June 26, 1984, *Origins* 14:10 (August 10, 1984): 157.

16. *Pastoral Constitution*, 43.

17. See, for example, Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York: Vintage, 1974).

18. For a recent study of the importance and difficulty of achieving such a common language and vision see Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Stephen M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1985). See also Martin E. Marty, *The Public Church* (New York: Crossroads, 1981).

19. Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* (1961), 219; *Pastoral Constitution*, 40.

20. Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1984); Pope Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971), 42.

21. *Octogesima Adveniens*, 4.

22. Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council, *Program of Social Reconstruction*, February 12, 1919. Other notable statements on the economy by our predecessors are *The Present Crisis*, April 25, 1933; *Statement on Church and Social Order*, February 4, 1940; *The Economy: Human Dimensions*, November 20, 1975. These and numerous other statements of the U.S. Catholic episcopate can be found in Hugh J. Nolan, ed., *Pastoral Letters of the U.S. Catholic Bishops*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1984).