



LOCAL-GLOBAL COMMUNITY UNIONS
Challenges for Church & Labor in the New Stage of Global Capitalism

Background Paper for a Dialogue Session on
The Changing Experience of Church & Labor in the United States
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CATHOLIC SCHOLARS FOR WORKER JUSTICE

Promoting Catholic Social Doctrine on the Indispensable Role of Unions for Every Profession

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This essay is dedicated to the memory of the more than 1100 workers killed and many others injured by the Rana Plaza factory building collapse on 24 April 2013 in the Dhaka District of Bangladesh, and to the memory of the 14 workers, fire-fighters, and townspeople killed and more than 160 injured in the West Fertilizer Company explosion on 17 April 2013 in West, Texas. All were injured or killed because workers' human right to a safe workplace was not honored in either place. And both tragedies occurred in locations of strong employer hostility to the right of workers to organize themselves into a democratic union.

Through the middle years of the 20th Century, both the Catholic Church and the Labor Movement within the United States stood as strong institutions and warm partners working together to defend workers' rights and their unions, all within the social-welfare reforms of the national stage of Modern Industrial-Colonial Capitalism. But that is no longer the case. For that once mutually enhancing church-labor alliance has eroded, and both institutions now face serious membership crises and serious cultural crises.

SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL CHANGES

Today, the following historical changes indicate that both labor and church are in a fundamentally different and difficult historical period. Within these changes, both church and labor are called to undergo deep structural and strategic transformation.

1. **New Stage of Global Capitalism.** Since the last third of the twentieth century, Modern Industrial-Colonial Capitalism has evolved into a new and vicious *global stage* which is *boldly anti-labor*, both within the United States and across much of the globe. This new *Global Capitalism* is arising from the Electronic Revolution and it is supported by the emerging national-security form of the modern liberal state. This global stage is replacing the preceding stage of *National Capitalism*, which arose from the Machine Revolution and was reformed by the social-welfare version of the modern liberal state. That national stage in turn had replaced the still earlier stage of *Local Capitalism*, which had arisen from the Factory Revolution and had been made feasible by the early *laissez-faire* form of the modern liberal state.¹
2. **Attacks on the Labor Movement.** With the rise of the new Global Capitalism, the Labor Movement in the United States has been severely weakened by *intellectual, corporate, and governmental attacks*. As a result it has lost significant *membership* and has also lost significant *cultural support*.

3. **Weakening of the Catholic Church.** Similarly, with the rise of the new Global Capitalism, the Catholic Church in the United States has in recent decades experienced significant *membership losses*, as well as diminishment of *cultural respect* for its bishops and priests.
4. **Anti-Union Bias of Many Catholic Leaders.** Also, since the rise of Global Capitalism, many Catholic leaders in the United States today – that is, many Catholic bishops, priests, and religious, many executives and trustees of Catholic institutions, many Catholic business executives, many Catholic political officials, and many influential Catholic intellectuals – frequently *oppose workers' unions*, especially in their own institutions, despite the continuing strong support of Catholic Social Doctrine for workers' unions.
5. **From Catholic Labor Schools to Catholic Business Schools.** In addition, within the United States the *more than 150 Catholic labor schools*, created by visionary Catholic leaders during the first half of the 20th century, have all but disappeared.² Instead, today most US Catholic colleges and universities have *only business schools or business programs*, which typically do not promote the pro-union teaching of Catholic Social Doctrine and, still worse, may sometimes teach hostility to unions.

Again, within the United States, following the rise of the new Global Capitalism, both the Labor Movement and the Catholic Church have experienced a membership crisis and a cultural crisis, and simultaneously a severe weakening of the once strong alliance between the two institutions.

NEW CHALLENGE ON THE LABOR SIDE

Thus, we are now coming to the end of one era of labor history, and entering a new and more dangerous era, though one not yet fully understood by anyone. As mentioned earlier, this still emerging new era follows two past historical stages of Modern Industrial-Colonial Capitalism and of the Labor Movement. Overall, the three stages of each may correlatively be described as follows.

1. **Local Capitalism & Local Trade Unions.** In the first stage of *Local Capitalism*, arising from the *Factory Revolution*, the main form of labor organizing was the *local trade union*. Still limited by the *laissez-faire liberal state*, trade-union power was based on the monopoly of local skills in a particular craft, and its main weapon was the local strike. In the United States, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) within the AFL-CIO is heir to this tradition.
2. **National Capitalism & National Industrial Unions.** In the second stage of *National Capitalism*, arising from the *Machine Revolution*, the leading form of labor organizing became

the *national industrial union*. Its power was rooted in the mass national economic base of semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers, supported by the mass national political base of the pro-labor Democratic Party. Its weapons included both the national economic strike and the national political reforms of the pro-labor *social-welfare liberal state*. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) within the AFL-CIO is heir to this tradition.

3. **Global Capitalism & Local-Global Community Unions.** Now, in this third stage of *Global Capitalism*, arising from the Electronic Revolution and increasingly supported by a neoliberal and anti-labor *national-security liberal state*, a new model of *local-global community unions* is beginning to emerge, but only as the first sprouts of small seeds.

LOCAL-GLOBAL NETWORKS OF COMMUNITY UNIONS

The potential power of this new form of community unions, which spreads from local to global and spans the producer and consumer sides of social life, is based on the following two expressions of the *networking principle* – the organizational principle which in the wake of the Electronic Revolution is becoming central to the emerging new philosophical-scientific paradigm, and which is key for the creativity of organizational structures and processes.³

1. **Creating Networks of Local Community.** The first labor-union expression of this principle would give priority to *networking workers within the local community* – across their producer and consumer sides, across all trades and industries, and across rural and urban sectors, while reaching out to include the unemployed and under-employed.⁴ In addition, it would see local human communities as rooted within their *wider bioregional ecological communities*, and, therefore, also defend the integrity and sustainability of those ecological bioregions on which human communities depend for their own sustainability.
2. **Creating Networks of Global Solidarity.** The second labor-union expression of this principle would give priority to *networking local communities of workers in global solidarity* – across nations, and again across trades and industries, urban and rural sectors, and the employed, under-employed, and unemployed sectors. It would also situate all humanity communities and their bioregions within the integrity and sustainability of the global ecosystem, which the late Thomas Berry called the *Earth Community*.⁵

Again, in this new stage, rooted local human community would be understood as nested within the *bioregion* of local ecological community, with all bioregions forming together the *Earth Community* of which humans are a key ecological part.⁶

In this model, the Labor Movement would become a fundamental networker and defender of rooted local communities against their undermining by the social and ecological uprooting of

the new Global Capitalism (particularly Finance Capitalism). At the same time, the Labor Movement would become a key facilitator for networking the global solidarity of rooted local communities across the Earth Community.

Most importantly for this model, the social struggle would no longer be understood simply as one between two conflicting social classes (labor and capital), which was how the struggle was seen across modern industrial societies during the 19th and 20th centuries. Now, the struggle would become centered in rooted local communities and against anti-communitarian attacks by cultural, political, and economic elites. It would also be broadened to embrace all major categories human communities, including their ecological foundation.

Thus, from a strategic perspective, the social struggle would be seen as between on one side ecologically, socially, and even spiritually *rooted and decentralized networks of local communities in turn networked on a global scale*, and on the other side the unaccountable and destructive uprooting and centralization of global wealth and power in the hands of ecologically, socially, and even spiritually uprooted *global financial elites* (already globally multicultural), who through abstract financial speculation are promoting an anti-communitarian paradigm of 'development' which undermines ecological sustainability, social viability, and even spiritual meaning for the human family and for all of the Earth Community.

Hence, the deep theme of *rooted social-ecological community* becomes the foundational strategic category, which then contextualizes, embraces, and supports all other categories in the social struggle.⁷

In this new (and also very old) understanding, rooted community would again mean rooted both in *social traditions* of local human cultures and in the *ecological traditions* of local bioregions. In both cases, the strategic goal would be to defend the integrity and sustainability of local communities, both in their local roots and in their global solidarity, including solidarity with the entire Earth Community on which the human family depends for sustainability.

The late Walter Reuther, one of the founders of the United Auto Workers (UAW), was perhaps the first major labor leader to describe small new sprouts of this third model as "community unions."⁸ Today, in a still broader understanding than Reuther may have imagined, this new historical stage for the Labor Movement may be described as *local-global community unions*.

On the local labor side of this vision, *central labor councils* in the United States would be called to play a key facilitating role for networking local solidarity. (Some are already doing this). On the global labor side, the *international trade secretariats* and *international labor federations* would be called to provide a key facilitating role for networking global solidarity. (They already have a long history of working in this area.) Further, this model would not mean eli-

minating national union structures, but rather having national structures support more strongly grass-roots workers' networks on both the local and the global sides.

Again, the postmodern Electronic Revolution is what makes feasible such *local-global networks of solidarity*, and also what causes the institutional weakening of the dominant modern model of *industrial unionism*.

NEW CHALLENGE ON THE CHURCH SIDE

The postmodern Electronic Revolution is also what precipitates a deep crisis of the modern model of the *Catholic industrial evangelization*. In the emerging postmodern networking model, the Catholic Church, like the Labor Movement, is called to support creative postmodern networks of evangelization rooted in the creativity of grass-roots local communities, and, as with the experience of Solidarity in Poland, to do so in partnership with grass-roots workers' movements. Similarly, it is called to support global networking of these communities.

For this reason, within this new stage of Global Capitalism, we are now experiencing in the United States a deep crisis of the *Catholic industrial evangelization*.⁹ There was no such crisis of Catholic evangelization in the United States during the prior stage of National Capitalism. Just the opposite: during that national stage the Catholic industrial evangelization flourished in the United States.

It flourished, I propose, because from Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical RERUM NOVARUM (the "Magna Charta" of modern Catholic Social Doctrine) through to the middle decades of the 20th century, the leadership of the Catholic Church in the United States stood on the side of workers and their unions. For that reason, by and large, US Catholic workers remained faithful to their Catholic Church.¹⁰

Now, however, some current US Catholic bishops and priests (gratefully, not all) seem to have become trapped in what might be called a "*bourgeois captivity*," which has led them away from the working class, and for some even into hostility to workers' unions. Within this ideological captivity, certain US Catholic bishops and priests implicitly appear to have entered into alliance with certain US political-economic elites who are supporting a right-wing anti-labor coalition that seeks to destroy the Labor Movement in the United States, and to prevent or eliminate free democratic labor unions across the globe.

(Curiously, in this process, many Western capitalist political-economic elites have enthusiastically joined in exporting industrial jobs formerly held by US union members to Communist China, where there is now a totalitarian merger of what Pope Pius XI called communist "political dictatorship" and capitalist "economic dictatorship."¹¹)

During the prior stage of National Capitalism, the majority of US Catholic bishops and priests were themselves children of the working class, and many had family members active in the unions. For example, one well respected US Catholic bishop from that generation repeatedly told the story of how his father, during a strike in the steel mill where he worked, came home one night covered in blood because a state-police officer hit him in the head with a brick.

Today, however, in the new stage of Global Capitalism many in the current generation of US Catholic bishops and priests seem to come from the new middle or upper classes. For this reason, many US Catholic bishops and priests seem to have little or no family experience of union solidarity, and many seem to show little desire to support unions in their own Catholic institutions, despite the clear pro-union position of Catholic Social Doctrine.¹²

Similarly, certain neoliberal lay US Catholic cultural, political, and economic elites have in public life been attempting to undermine a key *truth* of Catholic Social Doctrine by directly or indirectly attacking Catholic Social Doctrine's support for the essential role of unions in all professions. Thus, Catholic Social Doctrine has itself become a major *intellectual battleground* in the so-called "culture war."

Presently, in this attack by certain neoliberal US Catholic intellectual elites, there are *three deceptive strategies* for undermining Catholic Social Doctrine's defense of workers and their unions.

1. **Collapse into Libertarian Individualism.** The first deceptive strategy of attack, following the false philosophical teaching of libertarian individualism, blatantly denies worker solidarity, rejects the democratic principle of workers' majority voting in favor of a union, and reduces Catholic Social Doctrine in support of workers' unions to a matter of *autonomous individual choice*.
2. **Not Necessary in 'Post-Industrial' Society.** The second deceptive strategy of attack, again in rejection of Catholic Social Doctrine, accepts that unions were once useful, but then argues that in the now "post-industrial" era they are *no longer needed*.
3. **Dropped from the Agenda.** The third deceptive strategy of attack, perhaps the most common, is seen when individuals or organizations claim to support Catholic Social Doctrine, and then simply *leave out* the Doctrine's important defense of workers and their unions.

Yet the situation is not completely pessimistic. Gratefully, there are seeds of hope, from which a renewed US Catholic pro-labor strategy could sprout for the new stage of Global Capitalism. Worthy of note among these seeds are the following geographically significant US Catholic initiatives.

1. **Catholic Scholars for Worker Justice (CSWJ).** This is our own organization of scholars, founded by Dr. Joseph Fahey. It has become an important Catholic voice defending workers and their unions through promotion of Catholic Social Doctrine on labor, especially through its website and conferences, and by making official statements in cases of violation of this teaching.¹³
2. **Catholic Labor Network (CLN).** This organization, founded by Rev. Sinclair Oubre, networks Catholic union members and other Catholics supporting the Labor Movement, including local parish groups, and promotes Catholic Social Doctrine on labor, especially through its website and excellent email service.¹⁴
3. **Priest-Labor Initiative.** Rev. Clete Kiley has been developing a national network of Catholic priests defending workers and their unions. He has been providing for these priests new educational programs on church and labor. Many priests in this new network are Latinos, and Latino-Catholic communities are typically quite different from what may be described as the often Anglo-Catholic "bourgeois captivity."
4. **Catholic Committee of the South.** This body, founded in 1939 and revitalized in 1981, with Glenmary priest Rev. Les Schmidt and Adrian Dominican Sr. Mary Priniski as key figures, has played an important role in labor struggles like the J.P. Stevens Boycott, in solidarity with coal miners across Central Appalachia, and in defense of poultry workers (leading to an important pastoral letter on this subject by Catholic Bishops of the South).¹⁵
5. **Pacem in Terris Global Leadership Initiative.** The US Pax Romana intellectual-professional federation, for which I serve as President, has launched this Initiative with the mission of advancing Catholic Social Doctrine for the Postmodern Global Ecological Era, including support for workers and their unions. The Initiative's publishing arm, Pacem in Terris Press, has created a new book series on "Church and Labor," with one volume already in print and more to come.¹⁶

UPCOMING CSWJ DIALOGUE SESSION

In light of the preceding deep historical changes, the purpose of the upcoming Dialogue Session for the 2013 CSWJ National Conference will be to reflect on these realities, and to ask what strategic paths CSWJ should pursue in response to them. Let us look forward to the dialogue.¹⁷



APPENDIX:

THREE STAGES OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL-COLONIAL CAPITALISM

(The chart is excerpted from the manuscript referenced in footnote 1.)

	STAGE I LOCAL CAPITALISM 1760 - 1880	STAGE II NATIONAL CAPITALISM 1880 - 1970	STAGE III GLOBAL CAPITALISM 1970 . . .
TECHNOLOGY:	FACTORY REVOLUTION <i>Segmented Production</i>	MACHINE REVOLUTION <i>Mass Production</i>	ELECTRONIC REVOLUTION <i>Automated Production</i>
LABOR:	FRAGMENTATION <i>Craft yields to Factory</i>	MECHANIZATION <i>Muscle yields to Machine</i>	CYBERNATION <i>Brain yields to Computer</i>
SCALE:	LOCAL <i>Small Family Firm Individual Entrepreneurship</i>	NATIONAL <i>Large Corporation Bureaucratic Management</i>	GLOBAL <i>Giant Conglomerate Cybernetic Strategy</i>
ECONOMICS:	POVERTY <i>Class Exploitation Pre-consumer Society</i>	PROSPERITY <i>Upward Class Mobility Consumer Society</i>	MARGINALIZATION <i>Downward Class Mobility New Austerity</i>
POLITICS:	LAISSEZ-FAIRE STATE <i>Night-Watchman State Limited Social Role Limited Military Role</i>	SOCIAL-WELFARE STATE <i>Regulatory State Expanding Social Role Expanding Military Role</i>	NATIONAL-SECURITY STATE <i>Military-Intelligence State Declining Social Role Militarization of Politics</i>
CULTURE:	LIBERTARIAN LIBERALISM <i>Individual Freedom Ideological Birth</i>	SOCIAL LIBERALISM <i>Equal Opportunity Ideological Revision</i>	IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS <i>Social Control Ideological Crisis</i>
FAMILY:	EXTENDED FAMILY <i>Uprooted from Production</i>	NUCLEAR FAMILY <i>Center of Consumerism</i>	EROSION OF FAMILY <i>Hardship & Disintegration</i>
LABOR:	TRADE UNIONS <i>Business as Anti-Labor Local Labor Councils</i>	INDUSTRIAL UNIONS <i>Capital-Labor Social Contract National Labor Federations</i>	COMMUNITY UNIONS <i>New Business Attack on Labor Global/Local Labor Networks</i>
SOCIALISM:	UTOPIAN VISION <i>Birth of Movement with Contending Visions</i>	STATE POWER <i>Democratic Socialism vs. Dictatorial Communism</i>	IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS <i>Breakdown of Socialism in Global Triumph of Capitalism</i>

ENDNOTES

¹ For a graphic overview of these three stages of Modern Industrial-Colonial Capitalism, see the chart in the Appendix. For more on these three stages and their impact on the Labor Movement, as well as on family life, see my article, "The Crisis of Family and Unions in Late Modern Global Capitalism," *JOURNAL OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT*, 1 (September, 2012). The article was prepared for the 2011 national meeting of Catholic Scholars for Worker Justice at Villanova University, and was excerpted in edited form from an as yet unpublished book manuscript.

² The Labor Studies Program founded by Dr. Joseph Fahey at Manhattan College in New York City may be the only academic labor studies program remaining in a US Catholic college or university. To my knowledge, the only non-academic Catholic labor school surviving in the United States is the Labor Guild of the Archdiocese of Boston.

³³ On the emerging philosophical-scientific understanding of the centrality of networks in physical, biological, and sociological structures and processes, see Fritjof Capra, *THE HIDDEN CONNECTIONS: A SCIENCE FOR SUSTAINABLE LIVING* (Anchor Books, 2004). In this book and in his earlier books, Capra, himself a physicist, has studiously chronicled an emerging and foundational philosophical-scientific paradigm-shift first in the physical sciences, then in the life sciences, and now in the human sciences. This deep shift marks, I propose, the end of Western modernity's grounding Cartesian-Newtonian philosophical-scientific paradigm, which saw reality both cosmologically and sociologically as atomistic and mechanical, and in turn favored for human institutions an uprooting and fragmenting process of centralization and bureaucratization. By contrast, according to Capra, the physical sciences, the life sciences, and the human sciences all now need to understand the new centrality of the networking principle as decentralized but connected cognitive processes. This paradigm shift presents a fundamentally different vision for social organization across all human institutions.

For more on the importance of the networking principle in human organizations and processes in the wake of the Electronic Revolution, see Manuel Castells, *THE RISE OF THE NETWORK SOCIETY - VOLUME 1. THE INFORMATION AGE: ECONOMY, SOCIETY & CULTURE*, 2nd Edition (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009). Dr. John Trumbour of the Harvard Trade Union Program has helpfully pointed out that Castells has not been supportive of unions. This is an unfortunate fact, but it does not invalidate his important sociological insight about networking in the structures and processes of social organizations following the postmodern Electronic Revolution.

⁴ By deliberate design and with great creativity, the anti-Soviet Polish workers' movement *Solidarnosc* (Solidarity) chose for its national framework the creation and networking model of local-community unionism. Not unlike the original Russian idea of "soviets" (workers councils) – a model never employed by the Soviet Union but eloquently defended by Hannah Arendt, the Polish workers' movement charted an alternative path to the industrial union model which predominated in both the free trade unions of the capitalist sphere and in the state-controlled trade unions of the communist sphere. Rather than dividing along industrial lines, they united across industries. And rather than forming predominately national organizations with subordinate "locals," they formed local organizations and then built outward in concentric circles. In addition, the movement united both "workers" and "intellectuals," that is, journalists, teachers, artists, etc.

Faced with a totalitarian state, the movement tried to represent not simply the narrow interests of workers in a particular industry, but more broadly the comprehensive interests of the entire community. Thus the model of *Solidarnosc* was rooted in the solidarity of the local community, and then extended outward to network with wider communities. So powerful was this strategic choice for organizing that the Soviet Union, in an attempt to undermine the workers' power, tried to shift the movement back to an industrial model, which Soviet leaders knew would be less effective.

A main Catholic intellectual partner in the coalition of *Solidarnosc* was the Club of Catholic Intellectuals, the Pax Romana federation for Polish lay Catholic intellectuals and professionals. Also, as is well known, the late Pope John Paul II (a former Pax Romana chaplain in Poland) wrote his 1981 encyclical letter, *LABOREM EXERCENS*, to defend and celebrate the Polish workers' movement. Hence, it is sometimes called the "Solidarity encyclical."

For more on the Polish model of organizing, see Denis McShane, *SOLIDARITY: POLAND'S INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION* (Nottingham, England: Spokesman, 1981). For more on the original vision of the "soviets" as workers councils, see Arendt's defense of this model in her book, *ON REVOLUTION* (New York: Viking, 1962, 1965), pp. 60, 250, 252, 261, 268 ff. For a study of the Polish *Solidarnosc* experience from the perspective of Catholic Social Teaching, see Gerald Beyer, *RECOVERING SOLIDARITY: LESSONS FROM POLAND'S UNFINISHED REVOLUTION* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2010). (Much of this endnote is excerpted from my earlier mentioned article.)

⁵ Thomas Berry, *THE GREAT WORK: OUR WAY INTO THE FUTURE*, Reprint Edition (Broadway, 2004), pp 4-8. Tom Berry, once a professor at Fordham University and Columbia University, was the primary protégé of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and a leading intellectual in the postmodern ecological movement.

⁶ For this new vision of social-ecological solidarity, as for the vision of community unions, the United Auto Workers (UAW) was an early pioneer. As early as 1976 at its Black Lake Conference Center in the Upper Michigan Peninsula, the UAW convened a conference titled "Working for Environmental and Economic Justice and Jobs," cosponsored by Environmentalists for Full Employment and the Urban Environment Conference. Sadly, then UAW President Leonard Woodcock was bitterly criticized by the AFL-CIO leadership for convening what was in fact a prophetic meeting. Also, the UAW was a long-time pioneer in the international solidarity of workers, especially through its membership in the international trade secretariat for metalworkers.

⁷ A classic early statement of this position was Simone Weil's posthumously published prophetic book, *THE NEED FOR ROOTS: PRELUDE TOWARD A DECLARATION OF DUTIES TOWARD MANKIND* (Routledge, 2nd Edition, 2001). The original French text was published in 1949. The second reprint edition of the English translation includes a preface by T. S. Eliot.

⁸ Victor Reuther cited Walter Reuther's 1967 statement:

"A new concept of union organization has been developing in areas such as Delano and Watts, California. Properly nurtured and motivated, it can spread across the face of the nation, changing the social character of the inner city structure and uplifting the lives of millions of slum dwellers. This new organizing effort is called the *community union*. It is designed to provide the poor with their own self-sufficient economic organization ... health care, schools, public transportation, sanitation, building maintenance, etc. These and many other facets of community life become integrated in the work and efforts of *community unionism*" (italics added.)

The BROTHERS REUTHER AND THE STORY OF THE UAW: A MEMOIR (HOUGHTON MIFFLIN, 1979), p. 380.

⁹ In what once was National Capitalism's formally colonial side, locally controlled *Catholic postcolonial models of evangelization* have replaced the earlier and externally controlled *Catholic colonial models of evangelization*, and they are now flourishing across the Global South. This marks a dramatic contrast to what is happening to the *Catholic industrial models of evangelization* in the formerly colonizing center countries. In these countries, Catholic industrial models of evangelization are now in deep crisis.

¹⁰ That was not the case, however, in much of Western Europe, since much of the industrial working class there had been "lost" to Catholicism during the late 19th century – due to the Western European Catholic episcopates' predominately "aristocratic captivity."

¹¹ These two phrases, "political dictatorship" and "economic dictatorship," are taken from the warning about both by Pope Pius XI in his famous 1931 social encyclical, *QUADRAGESIMO ANNO*, celebrating the 40th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's *RERUM NOVARUM*. But Pius XI could never have imagined that the two dictatorships would join together in political-economic partnership, as has happened in China.

¹² In that regard, the Vatican seems to have successfully redesigned the US Catholic episcopacy from one largely made up of children of working-class families to one made up increasingly of children of the middle or upper classes. Within 19th century Western Europe, it was the *aristocratic captivity* of so many European bishops (themselves children of aristocratic families) that caused the loss of much of the Western European working

class to the Catholic Church. Now, in the 21st century, what seems to be the *bourgeois captivity* of many in the US Catholic episcopacy could have the same result, namely the de-evangelization of the US Catholic working class.

¹³ See: www.catholicsscholarsforworkerjustice.org.

¹⁴ See: www.cln.org.

¹⁵ For the pastoral letter on poultry workers, see:
<http://www.americancatholic.org/News/PoultryPastoral/english.asp>

¹⁶ See: www.paceminterris.net. The first book in this series is: Joe Holland, ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING DEFENDING WORKERS & THEIR UNIONS: SUMMARIES & COMMENTARIES FOR FIVE LANDMARK PAPAL ENCYCLICALS (Pacem in Terris Press, 2012). The Press will also soon publish the first in a multi-volume series on 'Labor Priests' by Rev. Patrick Sullivan CSC, himself a labor priest as well as a past professor of sociology at the University of Notre Dame. In addition, the Press will soon publish a book on Catholic schools and teachers' unions by Walter "Bob" Baker.

¹⁷ The meeting is scheduled for 28-30 June at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley, California. For more information, consult the CSWJ website at www.catholicsscholarsforworkerjustice.org.