

# Obroda Liberalismu?

## Liberalismus, Ordoliberalismus a Papežské Encykliky

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  - Quadragesimo anno – On the Reconstruction of the Social Order (1931)
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# Identifikace problému

- **Miloslav Skácel (1914-1974)** a diskuse o poválečném uspořádání
  - NIKODYM – ŠÍMA. 2023. *Ordoliberalism and Liberalism in the Post-War Czechoslovakia (1945-1948)*
- 1947 – článek *Obroda liberalismu*
  - „Jako Hayek tak i Röpke sa hlásia k liberalizmu, pravda, prítom prv rozlišujú medzi zásadou „laissez-faire“, ktorú zavrhnú, a medzi zdravým obsahom liberalizmu, ktorú Hayek výstižne formuluje jako princíp, podľa ktorého sa musíme spoliehať, pokiaľ je to len možno najmenej na donucovanie opatrienia štátu. Táto formulácia veľmi živo pripomína základné sociálne zásady papežských encyklík. (Nové Prúdy, 6. 7. 1947)

# Identifikace problému

- Sociální encykliky
  - *Rerum Novarum* – *On the Condition of Labor* (1891, Leo XIII)
  - *Quadragesimo Anno* – *On Reconstruction of the Social Order* (1931, Pius XI)
  
- Co na to říkají liberálové?
  - **F. A. Hayek** - *Law, Legislation and Liberty*
    - „*Quadragesimo Anno* made the concept of „**social justice**“ inherent part of Catholic Church's official doctrine“ (1998, s. 66)

# Identifikace problému

- **L. Mises** - *Socialism*

- *Rerum Novarum* sice uznává myšlenku soukromého vlastnictví, ale zároveň pokládá etické principy pro redistribuci příjmu
  - Redistribuce příjmů vyžaduje státní socialismus -> **nekompatibilita s liberalismem**
- Totéž lze aplikovat na *Quadragesimo Anno* (1971, p. 226)

- **J. A. Schumpeter** - *The March Into Socialism*

- „[...] a reorganization of society on the lines of the encyclical **Quadragesimo Anno**, though presumably possible only in Catholic societies or in societies where the position of catholic Church is sufficiently strong, **no doubt provides an alternative to socialism that would avoid the “omnipotent State”** (1950, p. 447)

# Identifikace problému

- **W. Eucken** - *Grundsätze der Wirtschaftspolitik* (1950)
  - „Catholic attitude to the social problems of the present day is determined by the two great papal encyclicals, **Rerum Novarum** of 1891 and **Quadragesimo Anno** of 1931. According to them, the **ultimate principle** for the shaping of social life is the **principle of subsidiarity.**“
  - „In any case, the **competitive order is the only order in which the principle of subsidiarity can be fully applied.** Yet certain difficulties arise from the fact that in the reflections of the Catholic Church, **especially in Quadragesimo Anno of 1931,** apart from the principle of subsidiarity, **the principle of corporatism plays a considerable role,** without, however, explicitly calling for a corporate state.“
  - „**But the corporate state and the competitive order are not compatible...**“
  - „If the Church insists that the principle of subsidiarity must be the ultimate social principle, the decision will ultimately turn out in favor of the competitive order.“

# Identifikace problému

- Röpke - *Liberalism and Christianity*
  - **Quadragesimo Anno** is „[...]one of the most impressive, profound, and noble of manifestoes, in which many things close to the hearts of all of us, are expressed with a dignity, with a vigor of convictions, and with a comprehensiveness of view which are rare. Indeed, **the “liberal” quintessence of this document cannot be denied**, so long as we take this word in its large and eternal sense of a civilization based on man and upon a **healthy balance between the individual and community; so long, in short, as we accept liberalism as the antipodes of collectivism.**“ (1957, p. 130)
- Röpke píšící Rüstowovi (13. 5. 1943)
  - „It was a nice surprise to read **Quadragesimo Anno in Latin**. It is very unfortunate how it was interpreted by the various catholic intellectuals that we were scared by this document. Now I know that it is very nice document and its program can be summarized as „**redemptio proletariorum**“, **restoration of market economy, anti-monopoly legislation, etc. A corporate state is out of the question.** (1976, p.69)

# Identifikace problému

- Intelektuální základy katolického sociálního učení
  - **Petersen** - *Wilhelm Röpke und die Katholische Soziallehre* (2008)
    - Ekonomická a sociální nauka, která je základem sociálních encyklik má své kořeny v **německé romantické ekonomii**
    - Nejvýznamnější představitel: **Adam Müller** (1779-1829)
    - Müllerův následovník: **Othmar Spann** (1878-1950)
      - *The History of Economics* (1930) v podstatě zasvěceno „zapomenutému“ Müllerovi
      - Radikálně antiliberální filosof, sociolog a ekonom
      - **Filosofie univerzalizmu** – společnost jako původní realita, jednotlivec pouze odvozenina celku
      - Zastávce tzv. *stavovského státu* – dělení nikoliv na třídy, ale na příslušnost k sociálním úkolům; hierarchické uspořádání, řízení elitou a vůdcem
      - Vliv na fašisty v Maďarsku, Rumunsku, pravděpodobně i v Itálii, vliv v NSDAP
      - V ČSR vliv na sudetské Němce (*Kameradschaftsbund*) či některé konzervativní katolíky (přečíst **Drápala**, *Na ztracené vartě západu. Antologie české nesocialistické publicistiky z let 1945–1948* (2000))



# Výzkumné otázky

- Je kombinace liberalismu a katolické sociálního učení možná?
  - Pokud ano, vysvětlit jak...
    - Úvaha:
      - **Princip subsidiarity jako pojítka** pro katolické sociální učení, liberalismus i ordoliberalismus. Ale je to dostatečné? Společenský řád má i další prvky
      - **Role důstojnosti / touhy po uznání** (Fukuyama; Kojève)
        - „the recognition provided by the contemporary **liberal democratic state adequately satisfies the human desire for recognition.**“ (Fukuyama, 1992, p. 207)
- Co je příčinou rozdílného vnímání katolického sociálního učení mezi liberály (Mises, Hayek) a ordoliberály (Röpke, Eucken,...)
  - **Řád jako cíl sám o sobě** (bez dalších hodnot) X **definovaný řád se specifickými hodnotami** (common good, sociální spravedlnost,...)
  - „německá intelektuální tradice“ – romantismus-> německá historická škola

# Výzkumné otázky

- Co dál? Pivo...a vrátit se na začátek...
  - A čist...
  - ...čist...
  - .....čist...



# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- Současný liberalismus a křesťanství
  - **Gary North (†2022)** – *Christian Economics in One Lesson* (2015)
    - „What we need is a systematic economic approach that persuades people in the pews that the adoption of welfare state principles and policies is a violation of the commandment not to steal.“
  - **Jörg Guido Hülsmann** – *The Ethics of Money Production* (2008)
    - Člen *Association des économistes catholiques*
  - **Thomas Woods** – *How the Catholic Church Built Western Civilization* (2012)
  - **Michael Novak (†2017)** – *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* (1982)

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **Daniel Stegmueller, Peer Scheepers, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Eelke de Jong** - *Support for Redistribution in Western Europe Assessing the role of religion*, European Sociological Review
- Hypotézy:
  - H1 - Individuals that identify with (any) one of the major Christian religions will be opposed to income redistribution by the state
  - H2 - Differences between religious and secular individuals are larger than differences between Catholics and Protestants
  - H3 - individuals who attend church frequently will show less support for redistribution
  - H4 - the higher the level of religious polarization in a country is, the lower its citizen's support for redistribution will be

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- Časopis *Faith & Economics*

- Publikováno *The Association of Christian Economists*:

- „Individual membership is open to all interested economists who are in agreement that: Jesus Christ is the Son of God and, through his atonement, is the mediator between God and man; and that the Holy Scriptures, as the Word of God, are authoritative in matters of faith and practice.“

- ...a zaplatí 70 USD 😊

- Časopis *Religion & Liberty*

- Publikováno *Acton Institute*

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **J. Buchanan, G. Tullock** – *The Calculus of Consent* (1962)
  - Křesťanská morálka jako základ svobodné společnosti
    - jednotlivcova odpovědnost za individuální volby spočívá na širších zájmech, než jsou úzce definované (sobecké) a krátkodobé cíle
    - přístup je tedy individualistický, ale zároveň spočívá na uvědomění si, že individuální volba může být motivována i nesobecky
    - při určitých morálních standardech ji není nutno nahrazovat volbou kolektivní
- **J. Buchanan** – *Afraid to be free: Dependency as desideratum* (2005)
  - „**God Is Dead; Long Live the State**“
  - „Prior to the eighteenth century, to the Enlightenment, and particularly in the West, **God, as institutionally embodied in the church (and churches), fulfilled what seemed to be a natural role as the overarching “parent”** who assumed ultimate responsibility for the individual in a last-resort sense...“

- **F. A. Hayek** – *The Fatal Conceit* (1988)

- „Like it or not, we owe the persistence of certain practices, and the civilization that resulted from them, in part to support from beliefs which are not true—or verifiable or testable—in the same sense as are scientific statements, and which are certainly not the result of rational argumentation.... They did help their adherents to “be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it” (Gen. 1:28). Even those among us, like myself, who are not prepared to accept the anthropomorphic conception of a personal divinity ought to admit that the premature loss of what we regard as nonfactual beliefs would have deprived mankind of a powerful support in the long development of the extended order that we now enjoy, and that even now the loss of these beliefs, whether true or false, creates great difficulties.“

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **K. Elzinga, M. Givens – *Christianity and Hayek* (2009)**
  - A classical liberal, **Hayek** spent his life defining and defending a standard of liberty that, **while distinct from its Christian counterpart**, nonetheless depended upon the creation and continuance of a moral society to uphold it. In fact, much of the Hayekian framework **relies upon Christian presuppositions**.
  - „So far as **I do feel hostile to religion**, it's against monotheistic religions, because **they are so frightfully intolerant** (Hayek on Hayek: An autobiographical dialogue, 1994, p. 42).“
    - „While this was Hayek's spoken view, **his writings reveal a more conciliatory position**. He rejected religion personally, but thought it was necessary within the social context of liberty...“



# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **K. Elzinga, M. Givens** – *Christianity and Hayek* (2009)
  - „Nonetheless, Weber’s influence helped **Hayek** make the connection that **Christianity is important (1) for the protection of liberty and (2) for providing society with a moral compass** by which it could facilitate the production of wealth.“
  - „**Hayek later mentioned “one amusing episode about Frank Knight.”** When I called that first meeting on Mont Pelerin, I had already the idea we might turn this into a permanent society, and **I proposed that it would be called the Acton-Tocqueville Society**, after the two most representative figures. Frank Knight put up the greatest indignation, **“You can’t call a liberal movement after two Catholics!”** And he completely defeated it; he made it impossible.“

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

PROGRAMS OF THE FIRST FOUR MEETINGS OF THE MONT PELERIN SOCIETY  
(with the authors of the main oral or written (\*)papers opening  
the discussion)

## I. Meetings at Mont Pelerin, Switzerland, Apr. 1-10, 1947 (38 participants)

- |      |    |   |
|------|----|---|
| Apr. | 1  | Free Enterprise or Competitive Order (Hayek*, Director, Eucken)             |
| "    | 2  | Modern Historiography and Political Education (Wedgwood, Antoni)            |
| "    | 2  | The Future of Germany (Roepke)  |
| "    | 3  | The Problem and Chances of European Federation (Jouvenel)                   |
| "    | 4  | Liberalism and Christianity (Knight)  |
| "    | 7  | Counter-cyclical measures, Full Employment and Monetary Reform<br>(Stigler) |
| "    | 7  | Wage Policies and Trade Unions (Machlup)                                    |
| "    | 8  | Taxation, Poverty, and Income Distribution (Friedman)                       |
| "    | 9  | Agricultural Policy (Brandt)  |
| "    | 10 | The Present Political Crisis (Polanyi)                                      |

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **K. Elzinga, M. Givens – *Christianity and Hayek* (2009)**
  - **„The direction he took was Biblical. The Bible claims that the heart of man is “deceitful above all things” (Jer. 17:9), yet at the same time describes man as having been “created a little lower than the angels” (Ps. 8:5; Heb. 2:9). This congruity runs through the Old and New Testaments. The genius of Hayek is that he also was able to hold this same balanced perspective of reality, adhering both to a high and a low view of man.“**
  - **„Hayek’s *The Fatal Conceit* and the Bible’s Tower of Babel teach much the same lesson. The result of man’s thinking too highly of himself leads to the destruction of society, whether (as in Hayek’s case) that destruction is via the centralized and subversive controlling of the state which undermines the spontaneous order, or (as in Christianity’s case), by the destruction resulting from the denial of the existence of a sovereign God who rules over all things and upholds them for His purpose.“**

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **K. Elzinga, M. Givens – *Christianity and Hayek* (2009)**
  - „**But the Christian view of the economic order is not utopian**; because of the shortcomings of mankind, there will always be “the poor among us” (John 12:8), corruption, and the abuse of power. These have been present since the Fall of Adam. **Hayek implicitly adopted the Biblical presupposition of the Fall of Adam.** He never hinted that humans were perfectible; he never hinted that there was a utopia to be humanly engineered. **As a consequence, Hayek believed it was better to have a free society which tolerated these evils than to give up liberty** in a futile attempt to suppress all human shortcomings.“
  - „**Hayek would say (1) the process is evolutionary and (2) there is no guarantee that moral progress will occur. For Christians, freedom is to obey the moral commands of God** and by God’s power to bear good fruit. This fruit includes love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control (Gal. 5:22–23). The Hayekian system of evolving moral traditions, like all evolutionary systems, cannot generate an external standard of evaluation. **Christianity, as a religion that claims divine revelation, affords an external benchmark.** This is an important difference between a Christian view of economics and Hayek’s view.“

# Ekonomie, liberalismus a křesťanství

- **R. Nelson** – *Frank Knight and Original Sin* (2001)
  - „Gradually, later members of the Chicago school would recast **the Calvinist elements in Knight’s economic thought** in a more clearly libertarian direction. As one authority on Puritan thought comments, **“the preponderance of modern libertarian theory—from French Huguenots, the Netherlands, Scotland and England—came from Calvinists.”**”



The  
Great  
**PAPAL**  
ENCYCLICALS



**LIBERTAS**  
**PRÆSTANTISSIMUM**

On Human Liberty



Leo XIII

# Libertas I

- Leo XIII – *Libertas – On the Nature of Human Liberty* (1888)
  - „Liberty, the highest of natural endowments, being the portion **only of intellectual or rational natures, confers on man this dignity** - that he is "in the hand of his counsel" and **has power over his actions. But the manner in which such dignity is exercised is of the greatest moment, inasmuch as on the use that is made of liberty the highest good and the greatest evil alike depend.**“
  - „Yet there are many who imagine that the Church is hostile to human liberty. **Having a false and absurd notion as to what liberty is**, either they pervert the very idea of freedom, or **they extend it at their pleasure to many things in respect of which man cannot rightly be regarded as free.**“
  - „The unanimous consent and judgment of men, which is the trusty voice of nature, **recognizes this natural liberty in those only who are endowed with intelligence or reason**; and it is by his use of this that **man is rightly regarded as responsible for his actions**. For, while other animate creatures follow their senses, seeking good and avoiding evil only by instinct, **man has reason to guide him in each and every act of his life.**“
  - „Whensoever heretics or innovators have attacked the liberty of man, the Church has defended it and protected this noble possession from destruction.“

# Libertas II

- „Such, then, being the condition of human liberty, **it necessarily stands in need of light and strength to direct its actions to good and to restrain them from evil.** Without this, the freedom of our will would be our ruin. First of all, **there must be law; that is, a fixed rule of teaching what is to be done and what is to be left undone.**“
- „But **such laws by no means derive their origin from civil society, because, just as civil society did not create human nature,** so neither can it be said to be the author of the good which befits human nature, or of the evil which is contrary to it. **Laws come before men live together in society, and have their origin in the natural, and consequently in the eternal, law.**“
- „From this it is manifest that **the eternal law of God is the sole standard and rule of human liberty, not only in each individual man, but also in the community** and civil society which men constitute when united. **Therefore, the true liberty of human society does not consist in every man doing what he pleases, for this would simply end in turmoil and confusion, and bring on the overthrow of the State;** but rather in this, that through the injunctions of the civil law all may more easily conform to the prescriptions of the eternal law“



# Libertas III

- „Moreover, **the highest duty is to respect authority**, and obediently to submit to just law; and by this the members of a community are effectually protected from the wrong-doing of evil men.“
- „The fundamental doctrine of rationalism is **the supremacy of the human reason, which, refusing due submission to the divine and eternal reason**, proclaims its own independence, and constitutes itself the supreme principle and source and judge of truth. Hence, **these followers of liberalism deny the existence of any divine authority to which obedience is due, and proclaim that every man is the law to himself**; from which arises that ethical system which they style independent morality, and which, under the guise of liberty, **exonerates man from any obedience to the commands of God, and substitutes a boundless license. The end of all this it is not difficult to foresee...**“

# Libertas IV

- „...once man is firmly persuaded that he is subject to no one, it follows that the efficient cause of the unity of civil society is not to be sought in any principle external to man, or superior to him, but simply in the free will of individuals; that **the authority in the State comes from the people only; and that, just as every man's individual reason is his only rule of life**, so the collective reason of the community should be the supreme guide in the management of all public affairs. **Hence the doctrine of the supremacy of the greater number, and that all right and all duty reside in the majority.**“
- „...it is clear that all **this is in contradiction to reason. To refuse any bond of union between man and civil society**, on the one hand, **and God the Creator and consequently the supreme Law-giver**, on the other, is plainly repugnant to the nature, not only of man, but of all created things; for, of necessity, all effects must in some proper way be connected with their cause...“
- „With reference also to public affairs: **authority is severed from the true and natural principle whence it derives all its efficacy for the common good**; and the law determining what it is right to do and **avoid doing is at the mercy of a majority. Now, this is simply a road leading straight to tyranny.**“

# Libertas V

- „From all this may be understood the nature and character of that **liberty which the followers of liberalism so eagerly advocate and proclaim**. On the one hand, they demand for themselves and for the State a **license which opens the way to every perversity of opinion; and on the other, they hamper the Church in divers ways, restricting her liberty** within narrowest limits, **although from her teaching not only is there nothing to be feared, but in every respect very much to be gained**.
- „By the **patrons of liberalism, however, who make the State absolute and omnipotent**, and proclaim that man should live altogether independently of God, **the liberty of which We speak, which goes hand in hand with virtue and religion**, is not admitted; and whatever is done for its preservation is accounted an injury and an offense against the State.“
- „From what has been said it follows that **it is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, or writing, or of worship**, as if these were so many rights given by nature to man. **For, if nature had really granted them, it would be lawful to refuse obedience to God, and there would be no restraint on human liberty**. It likewise follows that freedom in these things may be tolerated wherever there is just cause, but only with such moderation as will prevent its degenerating into license and excess. **And, where such liberties are in use, men should employ them in doing good, and should estimate them as the Church does**; for liberty is to be regarded as legitimate in so far only as it affords greater facility for doing good, but no farther.“



# ENCYKLIKA PIA XI.

## QUADRAGESIMO ANNO

O VYBUDOVÁNÍ SPOLEČENSKÉHO ŘÁDU A JEHO  
ZDOKONALENÍ PODLE ZÁSAD EVANGELIA

*Přeložil dr. Bedřich Vašek*

VELEHRAD

NAKLADATELSTVÍ DOBRÉ KNIHY V OLMOUCI

- *Mit brennender Sorge – Se značným znepokojením (1937)*
  - „Pouze povrchní duch může upadnout do bludu, kdy který spočívá v mluvení o národním Bohu, o národním náboženství, a tak se pustit do šíleného podniku, který spočívá v pokusu vměstnat do mezí jediného národa a jediné rasy Boha, Stvořitele světa, Krále a Zákonodárce národů“
- *Divini Redemptoris – O bezbožném komunismu (1937)*
  - „Dnešní komunismus v sobě skrývá v ještě větší míře než jiná podobná hnutí z minulosti falešnou ideu vykoupení.s“

# Quadragesimo anno I

- „Even though **economics and moral science employs each its own principles in its own sphere, it is, nevertheless, an error to say that the economic and moral orders are so distinct from and alien to each other** that the former depends in no way on the latter. Certainly the laws of economics, as they are termed, being based on the very nature of material things and on the capacities of the human body and mind, determine the limits of what productive human effort cannot, and of what it can attain in the economic field and by what means. **Yet it is reason itself that clearly shows, on the basis of the individual and social nature of things and of men, the purpose which God ordained for all economic life.**“
- „But to come down to particular points, We shall begin with **ownership or the right of property.** Venerable Brethren and Beloved Children, you know that **Our Predecessor of happy memory strongly defended the right of property against the tenets of the Socialists of his time by showing that its abolition would result, not to the advantage of the working class, but to their extreme harm.**“

# Quadragesimo anno II

- „...neither Leo nor those theologians who have taught under the guidance and authority of the Church have ever denied or questioned the twofold character of ownership, called usually individual or social according as it regards either separate persons or the common good. For they have always unanimously maintained that nature, rather the Creator Himself, has given man the right of private ownership not only that individuals may be able to provide for themselves and their families but also that the goods which the Creator destined for the entire family of mankind may through this institution truly serve this purpose.“
- „In order to place definite limits on the controversies that have arisen over ownership and its inherent duties there must be first laid down as foundation a principle established by Leo XIII: The right of property is distinct from its use. That justice called commutative commands sacred respect for the division of possessions and forbids invasion of others' rights through the exceeding of the limits of one's own property; but the duty of owners to use their property only in a right way does not come under this type of justice, but under other virtues, obligations of which "cannot be enforced by legal action.“
- „Leo XIII wisely taught "that God has left the limits of private possessions to be fixed by the industry of men and institutions of peoples." That history proves ownership, like other elements of social life, to be not absolutely unchanging.“

# Quadragesimo anno III

- „For since the right of possessing goods privately has been conferred not by man's law, but by nature, **public authority cannot abolish it, but can only control its exercise and bring it into conformity with the common weal.**“ Yet when the State brings private ownership into harmony with the needs of the common good, it does not commit a hostile act against private owners but rather does them a friendly service...**it does not destroy private possessions, but safeguards them; and it does not weaken private property rights, but strengthens them.**“



# Quadragesimo anno IV

- „We consider it **more advisable**, however, in the present condition of human society that, so far as is possible, **the work-contract be somewhat modified by a partnership-contract**, as is already being done in various ways and with no small advantage to workers and owners. **Workers and other employees thus become sharers in ownership or management or participate in some fashion in the profits received.**“
- „It is obvious that, as in the case of ownership, so **in the case of work**, especially work hired out to others, **there is a social aspect also to be considered in addition to the personal or individual aspect...** Conclusions of the greatest importance follow from this twofold character which nature has impressed on human work, and **it is in accordance with these that wages ought to be regulated and established.**“
- Hence **it is contrary to social justice when, for the sake of personal gain and without regard for the common good, wages and salaries are excessively lowered or raised;** and this same social justice demands that wages and **salaries be so managed, through agreement of plans and wills**, in so far as can be done, as to offer to the greatest possible number the opportunity of getting work and obtaining suitable means of livelihood.“

# Quadragesimo anno V

- „First and foremost, the State and every good citizen ought to look to and strive toward this end: **that the conflict between the hostile classes be abolished and harmonious cooperation of the Industries and Professions be encouraged and promoted.**“
- „Just as the unity of human society cannot be founded on an opposition of classes, so also **the right ordering of economic life cannot be left to a free competition of forces.** For from this source, as from a poisoned spring, have originated and spread **all the errors of individualist economic teaching.** Destroying through forgetfulness or ignorance the social and moral character of economic life, **it held that economic life must be considered and treated as altogether free from and independent of public authority,** because in the **market, i.e., in the free struggle of competitors,** it would have a principle of self direction which governs it much more perfectly than would the intervention of any created intellect. **But free competition, while justified and certainly useful provided it is kept within certain limits, clearly cannot direct economic life...**“

# Quadragesimo anno VI

- „Recently, as all know, there has been inaugurated a **special system of syndicates and corporations** of the various callings which in view of the theme of this Encyclical it would seem necessary to describe here briefly and comment upon appropriately. **The civil authority itself constitutes the syndicate as a juridical personality in such a manner as to confer on it simultaneously a certain monopoly-privilege**, since only such a syndicate, when thus approved, can maintain the rights (according to the type of syndicate) of workers or employers, and since it alone can arrange for the placement of labor and conclude so-termed labor agreements.“
- „**The associations, or corporations, are composed of delegates from the two syndicates (that is, of workers and employers)** respectively of the same industry or profession and, **as true and proper organs and institutions of the State, they direct the syndicates and coordinate their activities in matters of common interest toward one and the same end.**“
- „Anyone who gives even slight attention to the matter will **easily see what are the obvious advantages in the system** We have thus summarily described: **The various classes work together peacefully, socialist organizations and their activities are repressed**, and a special magistracy exercises a governing authority.“

# Quadragesimo anno VII

- „This concentration of power and might, the characteristic mark, as it were, of contemporary economic life, is the fruit that the unlimited freedom of struggle among competitors has of its own nature produced, and which lets **only the strongest survive**; and this is often the same as saying, those who fight the most violently, those who give least heed to their conscience.“
- „**The ultimate consequences of the individualist spirit in economic life** are those which you yourselves, Venerable Brethren and Beloved Children, see and deplore: **Free competition has destroyed itself; economic dictatorship has supplanted the free market**; unbridled ambition for power has likewise succeeded greed for gain; **all economic life has become tragically hard, inexorable, and cruel.**“

# Quadragesimo anno VIII

- „**Socialism, if it remains truly Socialism, even after it has yielded to truth and justice on the points which we have mentioned, cannot be reconciled with the teachings of the Catholic Church because its concept of society itself is utterly foreign to Christian truth.**“
- „**If Socialism, like all errors, contains some truth (which, moreover, the Supreme Pontiffs have never denied), it is based nevertheless on a theory of human society peculiar to itself and irreconcilable with true Christianity. Religious socialism, Christian socialism, are contradictory terms; no one can be at the same time a good Catholic and a true socialist.**“
- „**It belongs to Our Pastoral Office to warn these persons of the grave and imminent evil: let all remember that Liberalism is the father of this Socialism that is pervading morality and culture and that Bolshevism will be its heir.**“

PLS HALP

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