

Liberalism, Conservatism and Social Catholicism for the 21st Century?

- **Introduction**
 - Models: Aquinas (faith & reason, dispassionate) & “social Catholics” (dialogue/action on key problems of day)
- **1. The Past Development, Apparent Triumph and Present Peril of Liberalism**
 - **A. The Proto-liberalism—Constitutional Democracy—of the American Founding and the French Revolution**
 - Prologue to Declaration: “We hold these truths ...equal...rights...life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness...
 - A federalist republic; national supremacy over states; broad distribution of power via competing interests
 - Catholicism: persecuted by the liberalism of French Revolution; but flourishes under liberalism of American
 - Separation of Church and state: against long Catholic tradition of state as secular arm of spiritual authority
 - **B. The “Refounding” of American “Liberalism” after the Civil War; Realization in the 20th Century.** (Putnam I-We)
 - Republican Party of A. Lincoln: employs federal power to rectify injustices of slavery; John C. Calhoun
 - Andrew Johnson; the end of Reconstruction; Jim Crow segregation
 - The Industrial Revolution in America; the Gilded Age (1877): Social Darwinism and “Laissez-faire”
 - The Beginning of Modern Catholic Social Teaching; coincides with “Progressive Era” Reforms in America
 - Absp. Ketteler, European “Social Catholics”; Knights of Labor; Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore
 - Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum*: On Capital and Labor (1891)
 - Principles of CST: Common Good; Justice; intervention vs injustices; possession versus use of property; socialism condemned; capitalist reform (wages; working conditions; unions; Sunday rest)
 - Progressive reform; Theodore Roosevelt (R 1901-9); trust busting; conservation; *The New Republic*
 - Woodrow Wilson (D 1909-19): New Freedom, a liberalism incorporating progressive reform; international
 - Msgr. John A. Ryan and the US. Bishop’s Conference; KofC
 - *Rerum Novarum* in dialogue w/ progressive reforms; *Living Wage* (1909); *Distributive Justice* (1916)
 - “A Program of Social Reform by Legislation” (1909): wages, hours, women & children, disputes, relief, insurance, control of monopolies, public ownership of utilities, mines and forests, income and inheritance taxes, regulation of stock exchanges, taxation of increased value of land,
 - “The 1919 Bishops’ Program of Social Reform”: sets model for Bishop’s conference through the 1980s
 - CG, Justice, mixed economy, SS, insurance (medical, employ), housing, women’s rights in workplace
 - Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s “New Deal”: reflects reforms of Ryan and Bishops (QA Subsidiarity)
 - John Ryan: Right Reverend New Dealer -- does benediction at 2 inaugurals (1937, 1945);
 - Keynesian mixed economy: market activity with government institutions/services, oversight, safety net
 - Four Freedoms Speech of 1941: freedom of speech, of worship, from want, from fear
 - Advocates update of Wilson’s “liberal internationalism” via the United Nations System.
 - Pius XII’s 1944 Christmas Message: mobs and democracy. Conclusion: by war’s end Global RC endorses LWO
 - Key dissenters of Mt. Pellerin Society (1938, 47): Friedrich von Hayek; James Buchannan; Milton Friedman
 - Keynesian government intervention in economy as Road to Serfdom/socialism
 - **C. The Post World War II Liberal Consensus; Liberalism as Civic Religion in America**
 - Catholics come into prominence in US: F. Sheen, D. Day, T. Merton, Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, JFK
 - About 80% vote Democrat with JFK on ticket; but still racist tendencies and anti-communism
 - Political Consensus on Legacy of New Deal; growing regarding civil rights
 - At global level, Catholicism is important influence in Postwar Establishment of LWO:
 - Pius XII and European Integration: De Gaspari, Adenaur, Shuman; E. Roosevelt & 1948 UNDHR
 - Late JFK of Peace Speech lays out new approach; aligns with J23’ *Pacem in Terris* re HRs
 - Civil Rights movement and President Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society; RFK 68 poverty tour, human rights
 - Conciliar Era Catholic Social Teaching (J23, P6, JP2): encourages Catholics to pursue holiness within LWO
 - Non-ideological, non-partisan, collaboration for justice, rights, DHP, the global common good, solidarity

- Integral Human Development (IHD); Peace through promotion of human rights; internationalism
- Dissent: William F. Buckley's *The National Review* "Mater Si, Magistra No"; conservative Catholics
- **D. An Emerging Cleavage between American Liberalism and Catholicism**
 - Vietnam era shift from fostering economic equality/IHD to middle class freedoms/rights w/o responsibilities
 - Feminist movement; sexual revolution; abortion rights; gay rights; new left; busing
 - Emerging *Illiberal* tendencies from left: extremes, versus, negotiated accommodation, on culture war issues
 - Abortion (9 mos, partial birth, funding, int'l right); embryonic stem cell research; IVF/spare embryos
 - Sideline pro-life Democrats: fail to find middle ground, or accommodate conscience rights
 - [1970s erode confidence in US liberalism: Vietnam, Watergate, economic stagflation; military decline
 - [By 1990, radical critiques of liberalism by Catholics: theological, philosophical, traditionalist
- **E. The Apparent Triumph of Liberalism with "the End of History" following the Cold War (1989)**
 - Neoliberal model of globalization (bipartisan); free movement of capital, production, labor (migration)
 - "The era of big government is over" (B. Clinton); reduced regulation and social services
- **F. The Present Peril of Liberalism in Alienation from Conservative Catholics**
 - Teetering on the brink, on life support
 - Reaction vs the perceived illiberalism of left: culture wars; identity politics; thought police; "cancel culture"
 - Alienation of Catholics, allied with illiberalism of right, is grave threat to liberalism, to social cohesion, LWO
- **2. The Origins, Development and Present Crisis of Conservatism**
 - **A. The Early Conservatism of Edmund Burke; Some Conservatisms**
 - Sympathy for traditional institutions (presuppose purpose/value): family, Church, aristocracy, monarchy
 - Greater trust in tradition and distrust in Enlightenment confidence of reason detached from tradition
 - Richer anthropology than liberal individualism: relational; familial; society as organism; fallen & redeemed
 - Other goods to conserve: ancient regime; nuclear family; laissez-faire; minority rule; patriarchy; oligarchy
 - **B. The Fusion Conservatism of the Reagan Era (1980-2008)**
 - Joins 1) Economic, 2) National Defense; 3) Social Conservatives (Falwell's Moral Majority)
 - Republican Operatives build alliances: P. Weyrich; Buckley, *The National Review*; excludes "crazies"
 - Fr. Richard John Neuhaus, The Neo/Theo-Conservatives and *First Things*
 - Influential in the Coalescence of Conservative/Orthodox American Catholicism of JP II/B16 Generations
 - Tensions with CST: neoliberal economics; assertive foreign policy; anti-institutionalism; partisanship
 - Critical of all social encyclicals from John XXIII thru Francis; distort JP II's *Centesimus Annus* (1991)
 - **C. The Rise of Radical Conservatism: Newt Gingrich and the Rise of Conservative Media**
 - Rooted in anthropological perspective of animality; Control through language; "How to talk like Newt"
 - Centered in opposition to Bill Clinton as exemplar of 60s hippie: pot smoking, draft dodging, womanizing
 - Radical anti-institutionalism: The Rise of Conservative media and Dark Money; Disinformation; H. Arendt
 - **D. The NeoConservative Presidency of George W. Bush in close alliance with Catholic Neo/theoconservatives**
 - 2008 Financial Crisis, failure of Gulf War and failure of social conservatism: collapse of fusion conservatism
 - **E. The Present Crisis of Conservatism and Some Promising Initiatives**
 - Crisis: radical anti-institutionalism; Illiberalism w/ no alternative; alternative facts/post truth; anti-science
 - Conservative Catholicism: alliance w/ evangelicals, traditionalists, radical conservatives; anti/post/il-liberal
 - Promise: Yuval Levin (*A Time to Build*); *American Compass* (Orwen Cass); David Brooks (NYT); Witherspoon
- **3. Social Catholicism for the 21st Century?**
 - Models: social Catholics (19-20th century), Aquinas's dispassionate consideration of relevant positions
 - Thought/dialogue/action through perspective of fraternity, social charity, non-ideological, non-partisanship
 - Primary identity/loyalty in the principles of CST: DHP, CG, J/HRs, ISHD, SoHF, Care of Common Home,
 - Departure from post/illiberal focus on seeking political power for "culture war" issues to fraternal collaboration
 - Refocus on neglected challenges of our time: global warming, inequality, polarization, illiberalism, health care
 - Gibbons: Church faces disaster unless becomes "a Church of the People". Ryan: a golden oppty for Church, if...