



New House In London

By PETER LUMSDEN

Following are excerpts from a letter of Peter Lumsden about hospitality in London. Peter is also Secretary of the Catholic Nuclear Disarmament Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and he was a member of the San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace in 1961.

The 200 Catholic Workers are now arriving regularly. I sold the last lot, partly at my parish church and the rest at a Committee of 100 meeting. A priest was standing at the gate of the church and a middle aged woman came up to him and said, "Can't you stop him, Father? That paper's awful; it really is terrible," and he said, "Don't worry, half the people who buy it won't read it anyway." The sheer novelty of buying something for a penny sold a lot of them, and at the Committee of 100 meeting the apparent impossibility of a paper being both Catholic and radical interested many people.

The Catholic Nuclear Disarmament Group continues to grow (Continued on page 3)



R. O. Hodgell

New House In Arizona

1223 East 10
Tucson, Arizona

Dear Dorothy:

Please excuse my waiting so long to write. I owe such deep thanks to each one of you at the CW that words can only hint at my gratitude. The personal example and direction you have shown me as well as your cooperation with the Holy Spirit in helping me to find Christ's Church are joys that I will always be indebted to you for. You have been a "light to my path."

It is equally difficult to convey how much I miss you all. I've gotten so used to answering questions about the CW with "we feel" or "we believe." Being so far from you all is almost like being an exile in the desert.

There are only two people here who share our CW ideas, but already we are working, trying to spread the "Right Spirit." We found an old adobe shack very near the parish mission church. The parish has 1,400 poor Mexican families (about 5,000 people) and only two priests. The work that the priests are doing, and the po-

(Continued on page 3)

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: A Mirror Of Our Times

By HERVE CHAIGNE, O.F.M.

(This article appeared in Issue No. 3, 1962, of *Freres du Monde*, a Franciscan review edited by Fr. Olivier Maillard (208, rue de Pessac, Bordeaux).)

At one point we were going to entitle this article "Cuba, 'Exemplary' Experiment." However, despite the quotation marks enclosing "Exemplary," we feared that some of our readers would take our choice of adjectives to imply our unreserved approbation of everything that is taking place in Cuba. At the very outset, then, we have run up against one of the factors that make the problem of Cuba a particularly troublesome and thorny one; it is a stumbling block for Christians, a disputed question between two legitimate but opposed ways of approaching Christianity, a geometric field of applause and rages, hopes and fears, a touchstone of the preparedness, or lack of it, on the part of Christians confronted with the challenges entire populations are making to the highly developed West and to the Church in its chosen missionary role. For the Cuban Revolution is a truthful mirror of the problems, the temptations, and the tendencies of our age. In it, as in a microcosm, we can find instructively assembled all the elements that render our present destiny at once so perilous and so exhilarating.

It is this exemplary quality of the experiment now under way in Cuba that we hope to bring out in this article. Some knowledge on the reader's part of the chronological sequence of events in the Cuban Revolution will be assumed; the following decisive questions posed by this experience will constitute the framework of this article:

The Cuban Revolution is a revolution in the spirit of the Bandung Conference, that is, it expresses the determination of an underdeveloped and oppressed people to break free from their miserable lot. Is this revolution

grasped in its full dimensions by Christians?

The Cuban Revolution aims at total liberation. In the course of its development, it has, by a "fatal" logic, encountered Marxism, which has offered its assistance, along with its delusions and dangers. Has the Cuban Revolution been driven to embrace "socialism"? What can Christians do to facilitate the opening up of the much-discussed "third way" — between capitalism and Marxism—which we had hoped to see the Bandung nations pursue?

The hardening of the Revolution, its "radicalization," raises many grave difficulties for Christianity, which is regarded as an economically and socially regressive force. Does the Cuban Revolution find Christians prepared to respond to the needs of the Bandung peoples with anything better than the hoary remedies of liberal capitalism?

These are the three major questions that Cuba today forces Christians to confront. I say "Christians" advisedly — the others have already given their answers, the Marxists by "Marxizing," the politicians of the "Free World" by condemning — Christians over here, all of us, must seek knowledge and understanding and not be put off by what is superficially shocking. Christians in Cuba must go through an unpleasant "reconversion" by passing from freedom under a rotten dictatorship to a precarious existence at the heart of a revolution whose orientation will depend to a great extent on the quality, the intelligence, and the vivacity of their Christianity. Above all, we Christians must not be dupes. Some people, who underline in bright red the "persecutions," the crimes, and the repressions of liberty and human dignity, are relying on the "lofty" spirits that we are capable of becoming, since they appeal to our feelings and call for unequalled rejection of the "bolshievis-

and "atheist" revolution, which is "bathing the pleasant island of Cuba in blood." But where were their cries, their sobs of pathos and their keen sense of the dignity of the person when Batista's henchmen were performing abominable acts of butchery and castrating youths of eighteen? Their humanitarian shudders only begin when "capital" is threatened and the "sacred" right of property is adapted to serve the real needs of the poor. Let us not be duped by the clamor of those who care nothing for human beings and obey only the logic of profit.

Others would like us to forget the "human costs" of the necessary task they are carrying out. Let us not be taken in by their aims, "total" humanism and liberation of the "masses"; for frequently they too care nothing for man in the concrete and would preserve only "social" man, destroyed, crushed, dissolved in a social "totality" that is both de-humanizing and de-humanized.

For myself—and perhaps some of my readers will not or cannot recognize themselves in this "declaration"—I refuse to let myself be carried away by the dangerous simplifications and systematic anti-Communism of the yellow press of the West, which would have us believe that present-day Cuba is the nadir of humanity, the Hell of the Antilles, an island-prison inhabited by vile Communist cutthroats. I want nothing to do with the "humanist" nostalgia mourning the disappearance of a wretched freedom, which consisted of the freedom to die hopelessly from hunger, where the dreary procession of prostitutes went round like the roulette wheels in the casinos, while a bestial dictator ground the populace down in the name of a filthy order of terror. I respond with a categorical "no" to those who weep for the "golden age" of a Cuba that was Eden-casino-bordello for Americans and footloose Europeans. The

same people cover the front pages of our dailies and weeklies with rapturous accounts of the pastimes of our movie stars, while the plight of the poor among us is ignored and the butchers of the Secret Army Organization continue to wield their knives. I feel solidarity with the Cuban people, their heads held high, weapons and tools in their hands, for I recognize in this people hope turned into reality and dignity in action.

This had to be said, for it is this that matters to us and not the survival of a world of institutionalized selfishness. Woe to us Christians if it is established that Christianity can be "lived" only under the freedom of those regimes that crush the poor and deny them the right to take charge of their own destiny. I do not believe that this is so. I will not believe it. The years ahead will be hard, we are going to be purified by a dreadful flame, our tranquil existence will come to an end, but Christianity, in Cuba as in all the countries of Bandung, will in the end throw open to the men of the great twentieth-century revolution the life of love in God. This is what is ultimately at stake in the Cuban experiment. Whether or not it can dispense with God will depend on us.

I. A REVOLUTION OF THE BANDUNG ERA

A Total Revolution

From the very beginning, we have been mistaken as to the real significance of the Cuban Revolution. We looked upon it as one more of those numerous pronouncements of Latin America, which seem to have more in common with light opera than with genuine revolution. At most, we were enchanted by the exploits of Fidel Castro and his "barbudos" irregulars, with their atmosphere of Robin Hood derring-do. We thrilled at accounts of the noble feats performed by these lovers of

justice fighting an egregiously offensive tyrant. It was gratifying to see the policeman trounced by the honorable outlaw. We were, in short, at the cinema, where an excellent action film was being shown, with the exotic decor of a Latin-American island. After *Our Man in Havana* came *The Revenge of the Bearded Ones*.

The "heavy thinkers" were above such credulity and romanticism. For them, the triumph of Castro, if a bit "anarchic" and "schoolboyish," and smacking too much of "folklore," took its place in the broader movement of the Latin Americans towards genuine democracy in countries where heretofore the greatest disorder has prevailed. In an age pervaded by the concern with "doing business" it is desirable that nations be "policed" and that powerful regimes be moderated by an "American-style" democratization, rather than exposed to the caprice of illiterate tyrants, or the demagoguery of Marxist leaders. It was up to Castro to overthrow Batista and then cede his place to distinguished democrats who would be able to talk terms with the gentlemen from the United States.

It seemed for some time that this was what was going to happen. Fidel Castro himself believed that he could turn over his victory immediately to the professional politicians, who would then develop it along traditional political lines: "I must admit that we really believed, for a time, that it would be possible to leave the power to others; we were a little . . . utopian. In the first days after victory, we kept away from the government altogether, and took no part in the decisions of the Council of Ministers. We had no doubt that the people responsible in power would take the elementary measures that the people were expecting and that seemed to us to be the ABC's of the whole revolution." (1)

These words of Fidel Castro, in (Continued on page 2)

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Associate Editors:

CHARLES BUTTERWORTH, THOMAS CORNELL, EDGAR FORAND,
JUDITH GREGORY, WALTER KERELL, KARL MEYER, DEANE
MOWRER, ARTHUR SHEEHAN, ROBERT STEED, ANNE TAILLEFER,
EDWARD TURNER, MARTIN CORBIN

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EXPRESSWAY VICTORY

February 24, 1963.

Dear Dorothy Day,

I suppose you realize that the victory of December 11, 1962 over the Lower Manhattan Expressway, reported so eloquently by Fr. La Mountain, represents a small but significant turning-point in the history of American democracy, and the first political victory for the principles you and Peter Maurin have stood for.

It is a turning-point for three reasons. First, an enormous engineering project, supported in the name of the bitch-goddess "Progress" and filled with the eager breath of a hundred vested interests, was defeated by that amorphous thing, "The People"—and, indeed, by an otherwise poor and defeatist and politically unimportant segment of the population of an enormous city. Second, because truly interested and hard-working minorities, working for and in the name of a large amorphous population, have represented a great variety of political and social groups really in an ecumenical spirit. I was particularly interested in seeing a group of the Young Americans for Freedom among the enthusiastic workers. I wish Fr. La Mountain could tell us more about them, since this is the first time that so-called conservative people were really doing something that was truly conservative, in the literal sense of the word; that they were conservatives and not nationalist radicals, for that is what most of our so-called conservatives are. For—and this is the third, and perhaps most significant turning-point—we have reached a stage in our American life when it is truly more important to conserve some things—families, homes, traditions—than to destroy for the sake of ephemeral creation. In one very important sense the extremely radical and profound ideas of Peter Maurin are also reactionary (not liberal and not conservative) ones, in a healthy way, since he has reacted against all that is false and outdated and destructive in our modern automatic and technology-ridden depersonalized society. The blind faith of people in whatever is said to be "scientific" and the monstrosities already daily committed in the name of Science made me for some time believe that perhaps the only sensible attitude to modern politics and city planning is to be a reactionary. And it is in this capacity of mine that I salute Fr. La Mountain and his people with admiration.

God bless you.
In Christ,
John Lukacs

A PRAYER FOR OUR TIME

LORD, make me a channel of your peace.
Where there is hatred, let me bring love;
Where there is wrong, forgiveness.
Where there is doubt, let me bring faith,
Where there is despair, hope.
Where there is darkness, light.
Where there is sadness, let me bring joy.

LORD, grant that I may seek rather to
Comfort than to be comforted,
To understand than to be understood,
To love, than to be loved.

For it is by giving that one receives,
It is by self-forgetting, that one finds,
It is by forgiving, that one is forgiven.

St. Francis of Assisi

The Cuban Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

his "Declaration to the French" clearly demonstrate two complementary truths; on the one hand, that the dream of the "responsible democrats" that they could take the popular class of the "20th of July Movement" (2) and fit it into the framework of a revolution of the traditional or "bourgeois" type, which would be content to re-establish formal democratic freedoms without disturbing the capitalist economic structure—this dream would disintegrate under the pressure of the real needs of the people (3); on the other hand, and this is what concerns us here, that from the first days of the Cuban Revolution, contrary to what we had imagined, the 26th of July Movement had possessed a very clear vision of the program that it intended to carry out.

Actually, it was on October 16, 1953, in the course of his defense plea before the emergency tribunal that was trying him following the attack on the Moncada Barracks, that Fidel Castro defined, nearly five years before his triumphal entry into Havana, the program of his revolutionary movement. This plan, known as the "Moncada Program," enumerates the revolutionary laws that Castro intended to proclaim. We find there all the elements of the reforms that the new regime was

the course of a struggle waged mainly by peasants (7), one whose program does not end with the inauguration of a theoretical democracy (8), but aims at the reformation of every domain that retains the distinctive features of underdevelopment and capitalistic economy. The clearest expression of this imposing design is found in the "Charter of the Revolution," the Declaration of Havana of September 2, 1960, which proclaims: "The right of the peasants to the land; the right of the workers to the fruit of their labor, the right of children to education; the right of the ill to medical and hospital attention; the right of youth to work; the right of students to free, experimental and scientific education; the right of Negroes and Indians to the full dignity of man; the right of women to civil, social and political equality; the right of the aged to a secure old age; the right of intellectuals, artists, and scientists to fight, with their works, for a better world; the right of nations to their full sovereignty; the right of nations to turn fortresses into schools, and to arm their workers, their peasants, their students, their intellectuals, the Negro, the Indian, the women, the young and the old, the oppressed and exploited people, so that they may themselves defend their rights and their destinies." (9)

The Cuban Revolution, then, is a total revolution. Far from halting at the stage of the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, it aims, beyond the formal liberties of democracy, at the institution by the people and for the people of a new economic, social and political regime, completely divorced from capitalism. In this, already, it reflects the total revolutionary will of the Bandung peoples, who do not intend to be satisfied with a superficial democratization of their political structures, but hope, in one and the same enormous effort, to overcome their underdevelopment and construct a social order in which the human being will no longer be trodden down.

A "Socialist" Economic Revolution

The reader will have understood that the most important aspect of this "total" revolution, on which everything else hinges, is the economic plan that it has followed since its earliest days. It must be added that it is this plan that accounts for all the severity and abruptness of the Cuban Revolution. Above all, it is responsible for the misapprehensions and open antagonism that have been aroused. We must therefore make a special pause here, all the more so since this economic plan scandalizes some, while for the peoples of Bandung, it is, to a much greater extent than the example of China, whose colossal size makes it surpass the needs and the possibilities of small nations, a model of economic development based on the number one reality of the Third World: agriculture.

In agriculture we have the key to the whole Cuban problem, whether we regard it as a concrete problem to be solved, or as an efficacious means to determine the direction to be taken by the revolution as a whole, or even as a criterion by the countries of Latin America on which the lever of revolution can turn. "There is one lesson that our brothers in America who inhabit essentially agricultural countries like ours can profit from: it is that you cannot think of starting a revolution in the cities, where its social range will necessarily be incomplete. You must begin with agrarian revolutions, fight in the fields and on the mountains, and from there bring the revolution into the cities." (10) It is thus clear that the solution of the farm problem is deliberately chosen as an instrument for the seizure of power and the realization of revolutionary goals. However, and it is precisely this that constitutes its strength, it is,

beyond any ideological or tactical use that can be made of it, a sheer necessity in view of the economic situation in Cuba.

This is not the place to present statistics, which can be found elsewhere (11); we intend simply to indicate the procedure envisaged by the leaders of the Revolution in the attempt to lift their country out of its underdeveloped state. The ultimate goal aimed at is industrialization, for only industrialization can eradicate the chronic structural unemployment (12) that prevails. Industrialization requires the creation of new outlets for goods; for Cuba, in particular, this means the opening-up of the Latin American market. But foreign trade is insufficient; domestic trade must also be expanded. It is at this point that the necessity for agrarian reform arises. Why? Because the problem is to enable the masses of the peasants to obtain a higher standard of living and consequently increase their purchasing power. This increase will be achieved by a program of agricultural reform directed to two interrelated ends: an increase in agricultural production and an equitable distribution of the goods and the benefits of production among all the producers. At the same time agricultural reform is supposed to absorb the unemployed by a communist organization of labor and the clearing of new lands. But there remains the problem of how to finance industrialization. Private economy and investments having proved insufficient, a massive recourse to public financing becomes necessary. This clearly involves a government levy on the profits from agricultural production, nationalization of private industries, whose profits are placed at the disposal of the centralizing, planning State, and confiscation of industries and utilities that depend on foreign investments, whose profits, in the form of dividends, previously accrued to foreign owners and stockholders. (13)

Underlying this whole process is the problem of sugar. It is well known that the production of sugar represents the greater part of all national production in Cuba. (14) This explains why Cuba has a one-crop agricultural economy and is so extremely dependent on foreign purchasers. We shall postpone discussion of this subject to the next section, on the "anti-colonialist revolution."

This enormous task of economic development could have been carried out in different ways: "Two roads opened up before us: on the one hand the road of free enterprise, on the other, the revolutionary road... The Government, and with it the Cuban people, has chosen the revolutionary road." (15) The reader will have anticipated this choice if he noticed our reference, in a preceding paragraph, to the "centralizing, planning State." Agrarian reform, nationalization of industries, government levies, experiments in planning... we are fully involved in an economic system of the "socialist" although not necessarily Marxist-type. (16)

This choice (and here too the Cuban experience typifies the determination and the practical realizations of the Bandung peoples) takes into account the familiar dilemma of the underdeveloped countries; whether to take the short road or the gradual road to economic maturity. The Cuban Revolution has decided to avoid the capitalist stage, to "skip over" it. "It may be that there is one historical stage that some underdeveloped countries can skip over today; that of the building of capitalism; in other words, they can undertake the development of the economy by means of planning and socialism. What cannot be skipped over is socialism." (17)

An "Anti-Colonialist" Revolution
"The Problem of Cuba, Perhaps some of you may be well aware of
(Continued on page 4)



obligated to institute: agrarian reform, nationalization, urban reform, educational reform. Far from resting content with humanitarian protest against the secret denunciations of the Batista dictatorship and an appeal for a return to the basic democratic freedoms, the "Moncada Program" presents a detailed account of the shocking economic situation of Cuba and envisages a very considered and reasonable plan of reform: "The problems concerning land, the problem of industrialization, the problem of housing, the problem of unemployment, the problem of education and the problem of the health of the people; these are the six problems we would take immediate steps to resolve." (4)

Thus we cannot accuse Castro, although many have already done so, of concealing his true colors and disguising the economic and social dimensions of his original plan. Moreover, in the same "Moncada Program" he boldly stated that he would not be satisfied with the restoration of formal democracy and demanded the accession to power of new political leaders who would be ready to introduce economic democracy. "It is not by statesmen... whose statesmanship consists of preserving the status quo and mouthing phrases like the 'absolute freedom of enterprise,' 'guarantees to investment capital' and 'the law of supply and demand,' that we will solve these problems." (5) What could be clearer?

There we have the true visage of the Cuban Revolution, from its remote origins and its first practical fulfillments; a popular revolution (6), imposed and inculcated in

London

(Continued from Page 1)

slowly and we mustered the largest denominational contingent in the Aldermaston March.

Hospitality

Note my new address. This is a large unfurnished apartment, where I am having another attempt at setting up a house of hospitality. The landlady wanted to sell the house at Brockley, so we had to move from there. The behavior of our Hungarian guests made her take this decision, but they had gone some months before we went.

When we moved to this new place the other Catholic with me on the Walk to Southampton did not come with Philip and myself, although he had been one of the most enthusiastic when we started. I've a lot to reproach myself with over him, for his enthusiasm very soon died and I'm afraid I let my anger and disappointment show too much. Phil is a quiet conservative type who doesn't go all the way with *The Catholic Worker*, and we had no light or gas and very little furniture when we moved in, and after a while I very nearly quit. I went to the American Embassy to ask about emigrating to the States but went in the wrong door. So I went out again but went straight home. It's the sheer isolation that gets me.

Of the nine people who said they wanted to join my Home of Hospitality when I first raised the idea, only one has done so.

Catholic Radical Tradition

The radical Catholic tradition in England is one of failure. When I speak of "Catholic Worker ideas," they say, "Oh yes, Eric Gill and all that. We tried it in the 1930s and it doesn't work." The reason why this tradition failed here and succeeded (sic) in America, stemmed from the differences in personality and ideas of the respective leaders, Eric Gill here and Peter Maurin in the States. Maybe it can be narrowed down to one principle, voluntary poverty. This I regard as the cardinal principle of *The Catholic Worker*.

We needed a philosopher to enunciate new principles; an artist can only give greater depth and credibility to ideas already extant.

I went to a conference of the Committee of 100 last weekend; the conference was called to decide the future policy of the Committee. It was felt that the simple policy of ever increasing numbers in civil disobedience demonstrations was not enough as the numbers were not increasing. I left before the end, but no clear policy seemed to be emerging. Formerly I have steered clear of the Committee as it was not wholeheartedly non-violent (even in theory). There were two main points at issue, whether non-violence was to be a tactic or an ethic, and whether, since most people seemed to agree that the bomb was simply a symptom of an evil society, the Committee should attack all evils in our society, and our aim should be bringing about a non-violent society. I tried to explain that a change in our attitude to property was necessary to bring about a different society but I don't think I was understood. The whole thing was very disappointing, and I felt that a similar meeting of the (American) Committee for Non-violent Action would have far greater agreement. The Walk (San Francisco to Moscow) formed most of my opinions on these issues, and there seemed to be a basic religious background in the American attitude to peace action which is wholly lacking here. For you, violence was always completely inadmissible.

Well, after last week, I am lucky to be writing to you. We have had the usual rowdy demonstrations outside the American Embassy, and the crowd broke a police cordon, but failed to get into the Embassy. There was some story that some Cuban students had

knifed a policeman in the scuffle, but I've seen nothing in the papers. Heaven help the Committee of 100 if the police think any of them had a hand in it. On Saturday there was a meeting in Trafalgar Square, but as soon as anyone started to address the crowd they were arrested. At 4:30 as previously arranged the crowd streamed down Whitehall towards the Defense Ministry, but didn't get far. Stopped by police, the leaders sat down and were arrested. Someone said, "To the American Embassy," and the crowd, now about 4,000, streamed back-up again and toward the Embassy. There was a lot of shouting, and a police cordon was

(Continued on page 4)

Arizona

(Continued from Page 1)

tential of the parish are exactly right for the Catholic Worker, so by living with the people and near the church perhaps a good deal can be done.

The adobe hacienda is only about 100 yards from the church. When we found it, the landlord who lives next door said it was in such bad shape that he didn't want to rent it to anyone. He said he had been getting \$25 a month for the place. Well, after two weeks work the walls have been plastered and painted, and the plumbing fixed. I have done most of the work myself but my godfather and his roommate have been of great help both in labor and encouragement. The house has one big room and a small bathroom and a kitchen. It's a very nice place. When I told him I would be glad to putter around and fix the place up, the landlord said he was a "Christian man" and couldn't ask for \$25 a month, so I got it for \$20.

Already I'm getting to know my neighbors. One of them is forty-five and out of work for fourteen months because of a bad back. He can hardly walk. He has nine children. He gets no support except what the neighbors can supply. We have almost no welfare here. So there is great opportunity to emphasize the Common Good for already this is the spirit that prevails. It is relatively easy to get to know the neighbors, their kids, their dogs and their problems. There are three Negro families, one Indian family and one Mexican family and me right in one court shaped set of buildings.

Besides taking over the adobe hacienda I am taking nineteen units of course work at the University of Arizona. Three courses are in Community Studies, one in Horticulture, one in Bee-Keeping and two in correspondence, Spanish and South American History. I'm working at the University Library fifteen hours a week. I work with the CYO in the parish too. Every morning after Mass I have breakfast with the old Spanish priest. It's a relaxing time. We talk of moral philosophy and the Faith, and the "old days" in Spain.

Yesterday I had a hearing with my Draft Board. Out of the four members only one asked any questions. In one question he made the statement that "prayer isn't much of a force." How can they understand the religious reasons for conscientious objection when they make statements like that? I tried to be kind, positive and yet firmly persuasive. It's either 1-0 (alternative service) or jail for me, I let them know. Then on the 21st of February, I received my new classification. 1-0.

I couldn't believe my eyes so I went down and talked to the Board's clerk. She said that this was the first time the local board had granted a 1-0 classification. I had expected a long, drawn-out legal struggle. So a great burden has been removed and we can be about God's work without too much of a cloud hanging over things. I pray only that God's will be done and if this is His will I thank Him very heartily.

Your Arizona CW,
Dick Barber

Winkler At Bay

By KARL MEYER

"Winkler is through, and 19 of the worst buildings in Chicago will be made into decent legal apartments, or if this should be impossible, will be demolished." That's what Louis A. Wexler, Assistant Corporation Counsel of Chicago said after Judge Wilamoski of Superior Court appointed a receiver to operate 19 Winkler tenements, including the building at 184 W. Oak where St. Stephens House was a tenant during the first 4½ years of its existence. The Judge's decision concluded an eight year battle to bring Winkler's slum empire under the control of the law, in which Wexler for the City of Chicago was joined by Municipal Court, Superior Court of Cook County, Cook County Dept. of Public Aid, The Chicago Daily News, and the U.S. Internal Revenue Service.

In "The Years With Winkler," *The Catholic Worker*, October 1962, I told how Raymond Hilliard of the Dept. of Public Aid struck the first effective blow at the Winkler domains in Autumn 1961 when he pulled all of his Public Aid clients out of Winkler buildings, leaving them practically vacant through most of that winter.

But with the return of summer Winkler rallied. Some repairs were made. One Sunday morning a handyman came to our door to repair code violations found in our quarters by city inspectors. He fixed two hanging light sockets and he placed a metal cover over an open electrical receptacle in the ceiling, and the cover bears to this day its price of 15c marked in black crayon. Repairs of this nature having been made, Winkler consolidated many formerly subdivided apartments, cut the rents to about ½ of their former level, and flooded surrounding areas with printed circulars. One often found them lying on the streets of the neighborhood. Three times we found them in the mailbox of our new home on Mohawk St. The circulars advertised "4, 5 and 6 Room Apartments, Newly Decorated, Steam Heated, Private Baths" for \$80 or \$60 a month. Certainly there was enough steam for the summer months, and who could say that when winter came there would be more steam than there had been in summer? And who is to define the limits of the term "newly decorated?" After all, Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary came out years ago. The fact that the tub is not connected, the toilet is cracked and the faucets leak does not take away, may even guarantee, the privacy of one's bath. As the summer progressed new tenants moved into the Winkler properties.

Winter brought a shower of blows that finally brought Winkler to bay.

On December 28, 1962, an agent of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service delivered to all of the tenants Notices of Levy, one of them addressed to me, notifying me that "there is now due, owing and unpaid from C. Rice, Inc., 671 North Clark St., Chicago 10, Illinois, to the United States of America the sum of Six Thousand, Three Hundred, Eighty-nine and 09/100 Dollars." And further on I was notified that "demand is hereby made on you for the amount necessary to satisfy the Liability set forth herein, or for such lesser sum as you may be indebted to him, to be applied as a payment on his tax liability." The agent explained that C. Rice, Inc. was Winkler's corporation and that all rents were to be paid to IRS until further notice. I had never heard of C. Rice, Inc. I had seen James Building Corp. named as owner of our building. The sign above the doors of the Winkler properties had always read A. S. Butler, Inc., until August 1962 when they were suddenly changed to A. Hill, Inc., but the address of all had been Joseph Winkler's hardware store at 671 N.

Clark. Of course I did not intend for a moment to honor the IRS Levy. I might yield their capitalist rakesoff to James or Butler or Hill or Rice or Winkler for the undisturbed privilege of living in the building they claimed as their very own, but I would not yield a cent to IRS or Dept. of Defense or U.S. or any other mass killers or agents thereof. If there was ever any action of James or Butler or Hill or Rice or Winkler that I applauded, it was their failure to pay Federal corporation taxes. I got ready to go down Clark St., as I had always done, and pay my rent to Winkler. But before my rent was due on January 5 the agents of IRS came around to withdraw the levy. They did not offer any explanation.

On January 18, the Chicago Daily News reported that City Corporation Counsel filed suit in Municipal Court asking fines against Winkler totaling \$3,500,000. "We think we can put him out of business this way," said Louis A. Wexler, Assistant Corporation Counsel, who filed 19 suits against Winkler Thursday. The suits asked that he be fined \$84,750 each day since November 30, that he failed to correct more than 400 violations, that inspectors said they found in 19 buildings that house more than 1,080 persons."

At the same time Wexler was suing in Superior Court of Cook County for the appointment of receivers to operate and repair the buildings. On January 25 a Superior Court Judge visited the building in which we were tenants and the Chicago Daily News reported the tour with two pictures

and a story on the front page as follows:

"One of slum landlord Jack Winkler's buildings was ordered vacated Friday because its 45 tenants had no heat or running water."

"Circuit Judge Julian P. Wilamoski gave the order after touring the grimy, garbage strewn building at 1001-05 N. Wells."

"The floors were covered with ice. The plumbing was frozen solid," Wilamoski said.

"Some tenants told him they had been without heat for the last three weeks, throughout Chicago's record-breaking cold wave."

"The Judge found children huddled around ovens to keep warm. In a first floor grocery, he handled frozen tomatoes, hard as rocks."

"Winkler, president of a corporation that owns the building, joined in the tour with Wilamoski and Louis A. Wexler, city lawyer."

"Winkler kept on his topcoat, scarf and hat inside the building. The boiler went out. I'm still working on it," he said through frosty breath."

One picture showed Wilamoski, flanked by Winkler and the proprietor of the grocery, examining a frozen bottle of soda pop and the frozen produce.

The Chicago Sun-Times reported that Wilamoski, who handles many building violation cases, called ours the "worst building he had seen in his two years on the bench here."

The North Loop News quoted Wilamoski, who is a visiting judge from the rural area of Kewanee, Illinois, as follows: "I am shocked. I've seen pigs live better than this."

(Continued on page 4)

Joe Hill House

By AMMON HENNACY

"The death penalty is the only hope of the poor," said ex-warden Clinton Duffy, at a hearing to abolish capital punishment before the Senate Committee at the Utah State Capitol. He has witnessed 160 executions and has attended meetings of prison wardens for 32 years and has not yet met a warden who believed in capital punishment. We told off a prisoner who helped build the gas chamber in San Quentin and who later was released and killed a man and was put to death in this same chamber. Neither the fear of execution deterred him, nor four others who knew of executions each year as they saw the men in death row march to their fate, yet they were not deterred from killing four fellow inmates. In fact he personally asked all the men before their executions if they had not thought of the death penalty before committing their murders, and not one of them had been deterred by the fear of the gas chamber. People who are killers don't think; if they did they wouldn't do it. He described executions by hanging where three men cut their rope to drop the man to his death but only one knife does the work, so that each one may feel that perhaps he is not the legal murderer. He told of the shooting and the electric chair and the gas chamber in detail and of the witnesses who faint and cannot take it.

Mrs. Mildred McAtister, head of the Utah Chapter for Abolition of Capital Punishment, had Lowell Bennion, prominent Mormon educator, and Rabbi Sidney Strome speak eloquently for the Bill. From the audience three people got up to speak for the death penalty, their general argument being to protect the public, and that as the murderer shed blood the only way he could atone for it was by shedding his own blood: this being the ancient Mormon idea of "blood atonement" which modern Mormons do not stress. Mr. Duffy felt that a four year moratorium on the

death penalty with paid experts to report fully on the matter, would be a good first step. This is suggested by Gov. Brown in California also.

Why should an anarchist bother to be at the legislature? Some anarchist has said that he was in favor of just one law: to repeal all other laws. I had written to Warden Duffy when Mary and I read his book nearly two years ago, and now I gave him the *Two Agitators* booklet and the current CW. Rev. Gillman, the Unitarian minister, and Father Brown of the Episcopalian Cathedral, attended the hearing, but no other representatives of the Protestant churches seemed interested.

Last night Patricia Rusk, who is working in town now and helping me, went with me to the Unitarian Church where four out of the five speakers on civil rights were Mormons. We were the only Catholics present. Patricia had been to prison with us on the first air raid refusal in New York City in 1955.

Crooked Padrones

In the summer of 1961 Mary and I worked for a contractor picking cherries and hoeing beets. We worked long hours and waited longer hours standing around waiting for our pay, and we still have \$25 coming from rubber checks that he gave us. Many men have worked here cleaning bricks from the many buildings that are being torn down, at \$7 a thousand, and these renegade sub-contractors seldom pay them. They change the names of their companies, go bankrupt, or just plain hide away, thinking that the transients will get disgusted and leave town. Some of them do. These claims have been taken up with the Industrial Commission and hearings are postponed, and the thing drags on for months and seldom any portion of the wages due being paid. Another method is to take a man away on the edge of town to do painting,

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 2)

the facts; others, perhaps, may not—it all depends on the sources of information—but, as far as the world is concerned the problem of Cuba has come to a head, it has appeared in the last two years, and as such it is a new problem. The world had not had many reasons to know that Cuba existed. For many it was an offshoot of the United States. As far as the map was concerned, the map said something different. Cuba was colored differently from the color that was used for the United States; but in reality Cuba was a colony of the United States." (18)

"We must expect that those who receive more than 75% of our exports and provide more than three-quarters of our imports (the U.S.A.) will react in a hostile fashion to our plans. We must respond to this danger, especially by seeking new outlets for trade." (19)

Putting these two quotations side by side illuminates, or I hope it does, what is affirmed succinctly in the title of this section. Cuba had been, ever since its emancipation from Spanish domination by the United States and despite the formal autonomy granted to it on paper (20), if one looked closer, an actual colony of the United States. A colony of a special kind, more "subtle" and not as openly acknowledged as traditional colonies, in short, an economic colony.

It is not enough to say that Cuba found itself under the economic and political tenure of the United States, nor even that this tiny island constituted an integral part of the "Free World," in order to explain the efforts of the United States to prevent it from leaning towards the Eastern bloc and to nip in the bud the "socialist" ferment that was arising at the heart of the capitalist world. One must go further and see in American-Cuban tensions a singular "rehash" of the struggle between the "mother countries" and their colonies. The colonial relationship of domination was expressed through what can be called without exaggeration the economic dictatorship of sugar. "Cuba in the sugar tongs," according to the graphic phrase of Albert Samuel. (21)

Once again, our purpose not being to examine in detail economic realities in Cuba, but only to bring out the main lines of the present experiment and show its "significance" for our time, we will content ourselves with pointing out that the United States practised actual blackmail by means of sugar, before proceeding to direct acts of intervention, in its attempt to forestall the development of the Cuban Revolution in a "socialist" direction. Hence, in response, the determination of the Republic of Cuba to find new markets (the Soviet Union quickly offered to absorb the sugar production until then bought up by the United States) and to break the grip of its one-crop economy, either by production of other agricultural commodities or by industrialization. (See the paragraph on the economic revolution). (22) In this struggle waged by the Cuban people for a genuine independence, one that will not be devoid of economic content, we can see another aspect of the "exemplary" quality of the experiment they are attempting in relation to the larger endeavor of the Bandung peoples to liberate themselves from colonialism.

A "Third Camp" Revolution

Besides being a mirror of the tremendous problems that provide our age with its own visage—end of colonies, thrust of development, struggle for a human elevation on every level on the part of world's "slaves," the peoples of Bandung—the Cuban Revolution is at the same time a fascinating example for all the new nations of the Third Camp. We have already remarked, but must reiterate here, that this fascination is exerted especially because of the techniques employed by the 26th of July Movement in its seizure of power. It is evident that this practical application of the teachings of

Mao Tse-Tung on the revolutionary "infection" of the armed and liberated peasant masses, has captured the imaginations of those countries in Latin America where the same economic and social conditions exist. One can well believe that the little book by "Che" Guevara, the theoretician of the peasant revolution, on *Guerilla Warfare*, with its pages of painstaking explanation and its sketches of weapons that can be easily improvised, is being read, day and night, by the revolutionaries of South America. (23)

But it would be in error to see in this technique of seizing power nothing but a kind of "vade mecum" for the modern conspirator, some sort of panacea for the barbudo who is fed up with pronunciamentos. The Cuban experiment is an irreversible process, a total revolution. It does not "utilize" the peasants, it launches them on the road to a new world. It is effective only because it grapples with the real problems, and, in order to realize its aims, relies on the real forces of the economy in the stress of development. This was perfectly expressed by Fidel Castro in his speech to the United Nations, of September 26, 1960: "The problems which we have been describing in relation to Cuba apply perfectly well to all of Latin America. The control of Latin American economic resources is exercised by the monopolies which, when they do not directly own the mines and take charge of the working of them, as in the case of copper in Chile, Peru and Mexico and in the case of zinc in Peru and Mexico, as well as in the case of oil in Venezuela, they are the owners of the public-service companies, which is the case with the electric services in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, or of the telephonic services, which is the case in Chile, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, Paraguay and Bolivia. Or, they exploit commercially our products, as is the case with coffee in Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Guatemala, or with the exploitation, marketing and transportation, of bananas by the United Fruit Company in Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras, or with cotton in Mexico and Brazil. That economic control is exercised by North



American monopolies of the most important industries of the country, industries which are dependent completely on the monopolies." (24)

This remarkable adaptation of the Cuban experiment to the real needs and the real economic and social conditions of the Latin American continent explains its considerable influence. For the underdeveloped masses of these countries, Cuba undoubtedly represents a great hope. "Latin America has many leaders and does not need anyone to direct its emancipation. But our country is the 'guinea-pig' of the Latin American revolution and, in this sense, we are doing everything possible to acquire experience and serve as an example for our brother peoples." (25)

But we must go further still and assert that the example of the Cuban Revolution is spreading its influence throughout all the countries of the Third Camp. This point is so obvious that we need not labor it. "The case of Cuba is not an isolated case. It would be an error to think of it only as the case of Cuba. The case of Cuba is the case of all underdeveloped peoples." (26)

2. A REVOLUTION IMPERILLED BY MARXISM

The Logic of Revolutions

I deliberately refrain from tackling at the outset the delicate problem of deciding whether the Cuban Revolution was, from its earliest beginnings, a completely and well-considered Marxist Revolution. Despite the categorical statements that have been made, the facts are far from clear. What is clear, however, is that the Cuban Revolution had no need to be Marxist to have come up very soon against the difficulties that are inherent in every revolutionary movement. I have already spoken of the "logic," the "inevitable incline," which impels revolutions, once the "honeymoon" period of their triumph has passed, to harden and become more radical, and this under a twofold pressure: the resistance of the social groupings and economic forces that find themselves threatened, and the internal necessity that compels every revolutionary movement to surpass itself in order to avoid being wiped out, to go constantly forward under pain of stagnation and regression.

We find at the beginning of the Cuban experiment a very firm resolution on the part of its leaders to provide both "bread and liberty," although from this period on the inevitable harsh dilemma is posed: "I have already said, clearly and finally, that we are not Communists . . . We believe that the people need liberty, individual security, freedom of enterprise, in short, all human rights, but that above all, they have the right to live, to work, and to eat decently . . . Our Revolution attempts to reconcile all the rights of man, the civil and political rights recognized by the democracies, with social justice." (27) But in a short time, confronted with the innumerable obstacles it found in its path—opposition from owners and managers of nationalized industries, economic "mobilization" of the masses, rationing of foodstuffs, subversive conspiracies within and without, the difficulty of realizing revolutionary goals—the Revolution began to doubt that the "luxury" of liberal democracy could be tolerated: "We have declared here that the democratic ideal corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples of this continent, but does not the economic and social situation of Latin America render chimerical the realization of the democratic ideal of our peoples? . . . Our peoples no longer have faith in . . . They no longer want a theoretical democracy." (28) Nevertheless, during this same period, the Cuban Revolution will not allow itself to be purely and simply swept into Marxism: "The Cuban Revolutionary Government will not allow itself to be forced into false dilemmas. In concrete terms, this means that we neither admit nor accept being forced to choose between the capitalist solution and the Communist solution . . . The terrible problem of the present age is that we are obliged to choose between capitalism, which allows peoples to die of hunger, and Communism, which solves the economic problems but suppresses the most precious liberties of men." (29)

But the relations between the United States and Cuba quickly deteriorated. The Cuban Revolution had to deal with military operations conducted by Cuban exiles based in Florida as well as the extremely serious problem of finding new markets for its sugar, now refused by the United States. Isolated and menaced, the Revolution saw Soviet Russia coming to it as a protector, ready with economic and military aid. (30) At the same time the question of the "cadres" and "technique" of the Revolution was posed. "Cadres" in abundance were required to solve the many

little problems that planning threw up from day to day. Not only was overt and prolonged collaboration with the Cuban Marxists accepted, but little by little important responsibilities were abandoned to them and the idea of resorting to the principles of Marxism to supply the Revolution with a solid "dogmatic" armature began to gain favor. (31)

I must be excused this nearly caricatural account of the progress of the Cuban Revolution towards Marxism, telescoping events as it does, but it is impossible to chronicle, date by date, so lengthy and elaborate a history. Where are we now? The Cuban Revolution has been proclaimed a "Socialist Republic" (speech of May 17, 1961),



the fusion of the 26th of the July Movement with the Popular Socialist (Communist) Party at the heart of the O.R.I. (Integrated Revolutionary Organization) has been accomplished (on July 3, 1961) and, in a speech made on July 26, 1961, Fidel Castro has announced the creation of a unified Revolutionary Party, whose program "will be a Marxist-Leninist program conforming to the specific objective conditions of our country." (32)

Everything appears to be settled then. Marxism reigns in Cuba. I am not so sure! As evidence, observe the parenthetical clause in the sentence of Castro's I have just quoted, which envisages a "Marxism conforming to the specific objective conditions." It seems that this "adaptation" may not be easy and that the most serious obstacles may arise from the "objective conditions" themselves. Moreover, and this is a very important fact, it is Fidel Castro himself who is conducting the struggle against the "sectarianism" of the Marxist leaders. (33)

All these little indications tend to reinforce my conviction that Communism has not yet won out in Cuba and that as long as Castro remains in power, there will be room for a "socialism" that will be humanist, and not Marxist, in the exact sense of the term. This impression has been suggested to me above all by my analysis of the personal evolution of the Cuban leader.

The Case of Fidel Castro

"By that time, our revolutionary thinking had, in general, already taken shape. We were not, however, complete revolutionaries. We were far more revolutionary when we attained power. We are convinced revolutionaries." (34) I believe that this confidence of Fidel Castro's, offered at the end of 1961 to the students of the Popular University, can serve as the framework for a tentative "dialectical" explanation of the "case" of Castro. Having started out, not with a "romantic" vision of revolution, as we have seen, but with a very complete and carefully considered idea of the reforms that would have to be carried out (35) when the Batista regime finally slipped on the blood it had caused to flow (36), Fidel Castro had come, as a result of his experiences, and partly, at least, on account of the impossibility of choosing another road without accepting the collapse of everything he had worked for, to declare himself openly a Marxist-Leninist.

The explanation for this evolu-

tion is to be found above all, not in some kind of dissimulation (this is the temptation to facile calumny, which thus dispenses us from facing up to the real problems), but in life itself, the time he was living in, in action, in short in that experience that enables a man to mature when he gives himself over to it. "First, I must say one thing. In the first place, we are gaining a lot of experiences with the Revolution itself. The Revolution itself is revolutionizing us. The Revolution itself is making us more and more revolutionary every day. There was a time when we were not revolutionaries. Yes, there was a time when there was nothing revolutionary about me . . . There was a time when politically I could be considered a complete illiterate as a result of my class origins." (37)

The effect of this experience, it is important to note here, is felt not as much on the economic and social content of the 26th of July Movement, as on its ideological, or if you will, philosophical content. (38) Already in 1953, the "Moncada Program" contained a whole plan for reforms, a coherent plan rooted in a "socialist"—as opposed to a "capitalist"—conception of economics. The Marxist-Leninist schema of dialectical materialism was added, or rather superimposed from without, and "discovered" by some leaders of the Revolution while the economic and social reforms were already being carried out. These reforms and this "socialism" do not therefore flow from the Marxist schema, as is the case in "orthodox" Marxist regimes, but are simply "covered" by it in a highly artificial way. One does not see affirmed in principle, for example, the intrinsic necessity for atheism and for a materialist view of life and history.

It is possible to see in all this—and some have not hesitated to do so—nothing but the supreme cunning of Castro, who wanted to avoid a direct conflict with the Christian faith or with the political timidity or anti-Communism of his companions and of the Cuban people themselves, who were more concerned with the downfall of a bloody dictatorship than with the inauguration of a Communist regime. Thus Fidel Castro declared in 1961: "To some of those who have at times asked me, some people, have asked me if I used to think at the time of Moncada as I do today, I say: 'I thought very much as I do today.' That is the truth. Anyone who reads what we said on that occasion will see that many fundamental things about the Revolution are expressed in that document, and that it is, moreover, a carefully written document. It was written with sufficient care to expound some basic points without at the same time raising problems that could limit our scope of action within the Revolution, so as to prevent the movement which we believed could lead to the overthrow of Batista from being very much reduced and limited." (39)

Let us observe, in the first place, that this quotation does not fully bear out those who are inclined to see a tactical "ruse" on Castro's part. It is true that we find in it a concern to broaden as much as possible, around an anti-Batista "front," the audience for the 26th of July Movement, but we also find the avowal that the Movement never concealed its true economic colors, even when it could have contented itself with appealing to the "humanitarian" conscience of the Cubans against Batista. But what convinces me that the analysis I am offering is a sound one, is the fact that, in addition to the numerous declarations by Castro and his ministers affirming that they were not Communists (40), other texts exist, which reveal that during the underground phase and in the early days of the Revolution, the "companions" of 26th of July

A Mirror Of Our Times

harbored grave prejudices against Marxism and Marxists. "Did I have prejudices? I believe it is good to talk about that. Did I have prejudices about the Communists? Yes. Was I ever influenced by imperialist and reactionary propaganda against the Communists? Yes. What did I think about the Communists? Did I think they were thieves? No, never . . . Some day when the history of this stage is written down and something is said of merit of this Revolution, they might well say that we were making a socialist Revolution, without socialists, because at that time anti-Communist prejudice was so strong that whenever a Communist functionary was appointed to a job, no matter how modest, there'd be a wave of protest." (41)

Rather than "skillful deception," there are thus in the history of Castro and the 26th of July Movement facts tending to support the opinion of those who see the "Marxization" of the Revolution as a recent event. It appears that the Revolution started out by mistrusting Marxists and holding "prejudices" against them. And if these prejudices have at last disappeared, the fact remains, and is confirmed by present-day occurrences, that this old "mistrust" has persisted and seems to be poisoning the already difficult relations between Castro and his allies in the Cuban Communist Party. (42)

For my part, I believe I can say that if Castro is a Marxist (and he says he is) he is one on a superficial level and for the worst (from the Communist standpoint) reasons. "Well, now, do I believe in Marxism? I believe absolutely in Marxism! Did I believe on the first of January when Batista fled? I believed on the first of January. Did I believe on the 26th of July? I believed on the 26th of July! Did I understand it as I do today, after almost ten years of struggle? No, I did not understand it as I do today. Comparing what I understood then with what I understand today, there is a great difference. Did I have prejudices? Yes . . ." (43) What are the causes that led him to a deeper understanding of Marxism? There were exterior, "experimental," historical causes: The "experience of imperialism" in waiting, the international policies of the capitalist bloc, the reality, discovered in day-to-day happenings, of the class struggle, the example and the aid of the Soviet Union, the economic efficiency of the socialist system, etc. (44) What is more—and this is of the utmost importance—there is the terrible reality that every country in the process of development runs up against: "There are no middle roads between capitalism and socialism. Those who persist in thinking they can find some third position have fallen into a really false and really utopian position . . . There was no alternative . . . There was imperialism and, opposing it, socialism." (45) And even when Castro seems to go overboard in his endorsement of the "dogmatic" theses of Marxism, he actually retains them only for their political efficacy—as in the case of the class struggle—or else for their truthfulness as historical interpretations of contemporary events. (46)

What shall we conclude from this interpretation? That we must not be in a hurry to condemn the Cuban Revolution and its leader by taxing them purely and simply with Marxism. Things are not that simple. The Cuban experience involves us with ambiguous matters, places us at the heart of a history whose ultimate results have not yet been established. What good will it do to drive Castro back into the "Red Hell" and force him to stabilize the Revolution there by raising malicious outcries and hurling condemnations inspired more by politics than by morality?

Christians have better things to do.

3. A REVOLUTIONARY CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANS

What the Church Objects To
As the reader will have anticipated to the extent that he has followed this essay, the reaction of the Church to the Cuban experiment has followed the course taken by the Revolution itself: favorable when the triumphant Revolution swept away the rotten regime of Batista, inclined to clemency when an apparently hasty and clumsy purge of the torturers of the dictatorship was instituted (47), alarmed by the activities of



the "socialist" elements, protesting when the Cuban government directly attacked Catholic Action, and finally, questioning itself anxiously on the increasingly Marxist orientation of the Castro regime. (48)

The Church started out by clearly indicating what it found, not merely acceptable, but truly excellent in the results achieved by the Cuban Revolution:

The relief of poverty: "On this point, as on others, the Revolutionary government deserves praise for its solicitude on behalf of the neediest and most abandoned social class" (49), agrarian reform, industrialization, lowering of the cost of living, construction of schools, hospitals and playgrounds, low-cost housing policies, and reform of the administration. (50)

The first part of the famous editorial in *La Quincena*, edited by Msgr. Boza Masvidal, the auxiliary Bishop of Havana, admirably brings out these positive aspects:

"Is it Christian to try to ameliorate the lot of the common people? Yes, it is Christian. Is it Christian to eliminate racial discrimination so that every man can enjoy the equality that belongs to him by nature? Yes, it is Christian."

"Is it Christian to work for a just distribution of wealth, to attempt to provide all men with the necessities of life, decent shelter and a normal diet? Yes, it is Christian."

"Is it Christian to try to see that all the advantages of education and culture benefit all men, rather than be the privilege of the wealthy: is it Christian to make admission to higher education dependent on intelligence and capacity, rather than income? Yes, all these things are Christian."

"Finally, is it Christian to make it possible for the poor to benefit from the gifts of nature, of the earth and the seashore, which God has created for all men: is it Christian to provide them with the means for recreation and entertainment? Yes, it is Christian."

"All these things are Christian provided they are founded on a Christian conception of life and applied—as far as possible—with the aid of just methods and without prejudice to any legitimate interest." (51)

Msgr. Boza Masvidal adds the "but" that we were expecting: it is the reservation shared by the whole Cuban Church. What does this Church reproach the Revolution with? Above all with paving the way for Communism and even with being itself Communist at work in Cuba. "The enemy is

not at our gates, he is within our walls." (52) The bishops recall the teachings of Pius XI in *Divini Redemptoris*, the encyclical on atheistic Communism. More exactly, they reproach the Revolution with tending to deny the fundamental rights of the human person by the installation of a dictatorial regime aiming at strict control of the means of production, subordination of the economy to political ends, abolishing the right to property, transforming the citizens into slaves of the State, and forcing women to leave home. (53) More concretely, they protest the encroachments by the State on the domain proper to the Church as well as specific acts of persecution: arrest of priests, suppression of Catholic radio and television programs, attempts to create "national" Catholic associations in separation from the hierarchy, campaigns of defamation tending to portray Catholics as traitors to the fatherland. (54)

Here again, we should like to quote extensively from the editorial in *La Quincena*, the whole second section of which consists of a critique of the most relevant "socialist" shortcomings of the Castro regime. Let us be content to sum up the essential parts of this critique. Msgr. Boza Masvidal first charges that the Revolution does not proceed from a spiritual conception of life but only tolerates religion as a necessary evil: he notes that the Revolution does not base itself on love of neighbor, but on the contrary has chosen the class struggle: the Revolution does not recognize the dignity of the human person and the liberty that is the right of the children of God: it does not respect the natural right to property, which is indispensable to the exercise of individual freedom. (55)

These are grave criticisms, and emanating as they do from the hierarchy, must be received in a respectful and obedient spirit. Let me nevertheless be permitted a few remarks: First of all, when the Cuban Church attacks the Communism of the Castro regime, it is still free to do so (which is not the case with the Church in Central Europe or China), and this means that is alluding mainly to the tendencies and general orientation of the Revolution and not to official, totalitarian Marxism, which exercises control over institutions and human beings. It is right in protesting before it is too late. But in the end the essential thing is that it is not too late. Then, in its defense of the rights of the human person, it seems to speak out especially on behalf of the leisured or middle classes who have been hurt by the economic reforms of the Revolution, and not for the overwhelming mass of peasants and the poor whom the Revolution has provided with bread, a roof over their heads, and a reason for living. Here I touch upon the unhappy problem that calls into question the nature and quality of Christianity in Cuba (56), which has been mainly a Christianity of the cities, and within the cities a Christianity of the bourgeoisie, the Christianity of the countries having barely been touched by evangelization. Finally I do not find in all these criticisms, sufficient recognition of the positive aspects, of the opportunities Christians have to "re-convert" their mentalities and actions at the heart of a society that has broken completely with the capitalist system: there is too much exhortation to be "anti," to be suspicious, to be on guard, and not enough to bury the past and turn towards the new world that is being built by the peoples of Bandung in the course of their development.

A Challenge to Christians
I permit myself these observations (which I dare not believe either imprudent or impudent)

only because the stakes involved in Cuba seem to me of such capital importance for the future of Christianity in the countries of the Third Camp and—why not?—in the already developed countries, which sooner or later will end by embracing a new kind of economic organization.

What is lacking in Cuba is a social teaching for a Church in a state of "socialization," a social teaching for the age of Bandung. I know perfectly well that Mater et Magistra (57), the social encyclical of John XXIII, sketches the first lineaments of this social teaching, stressing the importance of aid to the economically underdeveloped countries (58) and posing in new and realistic terms the problems of development. I know that the Pope analyzes with a healthy optimism the benefits and the foreseeable and advantageous growth of what he terms the phenomenon of "socialization": ". . . the progressive multiplication of relations in society, with different forms of life and activity, and juridical institutionalization. . . Socialization is, at one and the same time, an effect and a cause of growing intervention of the public authorities in even the most crucial matters. . . [Socialization] is also the fruit and expression of a natural tendency, almost irrepressible, in human beings,—the tendency to join together to attain objectives which are beyond the capacity and means at the disposal of single individuals. . . It is clear that socialization, so understood, brings many advantages. It makes possible, in fact, the satisfaction of many personal rights, especially those called economic-social." (59)

I know all this and this is where my hope lies—but for tomorrow. When you think of how long it takes Christians to assimilate vitally the contents of an encyclical, especially when it is in the social field, where economic interests act as a brake on boldness and generosity, you begin to fear for the immediate future of the Third Camp countries, which are obsessed with the idea of making a "leap" and catching up from behind. Now it is today that Christians in Cuba have to pick up the challenge that has been hurled at them by the Revo-



lution. We are firmly convinced that the social embodiment of Christianity could open up a third way for newly independent countries between capitalism, "which allows peoples to die of hunger" and Communism, "which solves the economic problems but suppresses the most precious liberties of men." (60) But such a way remains to be opened up. For the present the new nations, including Cuba, do not have the choice.

As long as the Christians of Cuba continue to hold the perspective of capitalism—even "enlightened" capitalism, if such an expression means anything—as long as they continue to be on the defensive, even though capitalism has nothing to do, fortunately, with the vital core of Christianity, as long as they do not have the courage and the capacity to pass over to "socialism" (61), just as Ozanam used to speak of "passing over to the barbarians," they will be in danger of failing to bring about the social embodiment of Christianity within a new regime whose basic force comes from the fact that it counts on the poor in order to raise them up and launch them on the discovery and construction of a better future; and

they will be in danger of being rejected, thrown up, like a dead branch on the beach, by the mighty tidal wave of the Twentieth Century.

* * *

"I have a passion for understanding." What are Christians to seek, if not knowledge and understanding? Are we not supposed to be *a priori* open, sympathetic and kind, whenever it is a question of human beings and their chances of overcoming their fate?

It is to this kind of positive interrogation that this study invites you. It is not a matter of judging our fellow Christians in Cuba. It is not a matter of defending them by the very evil means of imputing to their adversaries all the sins of a Communism that is identified with the Devil himself. It is a question of helping them to Christianize a new world.

It is our future that is taking shape in Cuba.

(translated by Martin J. Corbin)

NOTES

1. Interview granted by Fidel Castro, in April 1961, to Etienne Lalou and Igor Barrere, for French Television.

2. Referring to the attack on the Moncada Barracks, at Santiago de Cuba, on July 26, 1953, the first demonstration made by Fidel Castro and his supporters against the Batista dictatorship.

3. In its "Second Havana Declaration" of February 4, 1962, the national General Assembly of the Cuban people carefully analyzed the "bourgeois revolution," which corresponds to a given historical stage but is incapable of meeting the real needs of the Cuban people.

4. "History Will Absolve Me."

5. *Ibid.*

6. In his speech of December 2, 1961, Fidel Castro broke down the composition of the 26th of July Movement as follows: "In the first place, the peasants, many people from the working class, professional people, intellectuals, youths, students, and element of the petite bourgeoisie."

"And this war has been won by the people. For we had no tanks, we had no airplanes . . . and it is of the highest interest to know if we are actually going to make this revolution or are going to fall back into the same errors that brought about the collapse of other revolutions." (Fidel Castro's speech at Camp Libertad, January 8, 1959.)

7. It can be stated that the Cuban Revolution is the full practical application of the teachings of Mao Tse-Tung on the revolutionary importance of the peasant class in the underdeveloped countries. (Cf. the important book by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *Guerilla Warfare*, (Monthly Review Press). The main thing is to make sure that the army is welcomed in rural areas, where it can be fed and supplied with recruits ("the fish in the water"). Hence, as the revolutionary army advances, it carries out concrete agrarian reforms.

8. "The first thing it [the Revolution] has done has been to unite the nation around a great national aspiration . . . Our Revolution is inspired by the democratic principle: it is a humanist democracy . . . [This means that] the most essential liberties of a man have no meaning, if his material needs are not also satisfied. Humanism is equivalent to what is called democracy: not theoretical democracy, but genuine democracy, that is, free exercise of human rights coupled with the satisfaction of human needs." (Declaration of Fidel Castro, at New York, April 24, 1955.)

"Our peoples no longer have faith in it [democracy], they do not want a theoretical democracy, a democracy with hunger and destitution." (Fidel Castro, at Buenos Aires, May 2, 1959.)

9. First declaration of the National Assembly of the people of

(Continued on page 7)

Winkler At Bay

(Continued from page 3)

We take care of sows better in the country than some people do here in Chicago."

Conditions were not actually that bad for us. The water was running in our part of the large building and we had always provided our own heat by using the oven and a kerosene stove. But in a couple of days our water stopped running too. The City's Tenant Relocation Bureau helped find new homes for the tenants, but I understand that no aid was offered toward the costs of moving. One man came to us for help with food during the week because he said he had to use all of his money for moving.

We ourselves quickly located much more habitable quarters three doors away at 154 West Oak St., and we invite our friends to visit the new center there.

After all this I thought Winkler was through at the Oak-Wells building, but still he didn't give up. The tenants were all leaving, but the janitor took me down to the basement and showed me many new feet of water pipe to replace the frozen pipes. He showed me where they had given the hallways a fresh coat of yellow paint. They were still trying to save the building. When I told Winkler we were moving out, he said he wasn't finished yet, and as soon as we were out they hung a For Rent sign in the window.

But on February 17, Counsel Wexler announced that the end of his eight year battle to get Winkler in line was in sight. And on February 19, the Sun-Times reported what looked like the final blow: the headline read, "TOP SLUM LANDLORD KOD; 19 BUILDINGS IN RECEIVER'S HANDS." Here are some quotes from the story:

"Jack Winkler, the largest operator of slum buildings in Chicago was put out of the apartment house business Monday when the Superior Court appointed a receiver for his 19 buildings.

"Wilamowski put the buildings into receivership Monday and appointed Richard A. Keefe, a real estate man experienced in management as the receiver.

"Wexler said that the rents of the buildings will be paid into Keefe's keeping. Only taxes have priority over expenditures for improvements. Keefe will immediately survey the buildings and make plans for their repair. He must report to the court every three months and the court will pass upon all proposals for expenditures.

"Wexler estimated that most of the buildings will be cleaned up and put in legal condition in six to nine months, and that all of the work will be completed within one year.

"Winkler, who had withstood one city attempt after another to force him to repair his buildings, was advised by his attorney to give up the fight.

"At this point he gave up," said Wexler. "Now that he is completely divorced from the operation of his buildings, I will not object if the suits assessing the fines are consolidated with the receivership case. Winkler is in his 60's and we will not try to send him to jail in addition to taking his buildings out of his control."

Again it looks like the end of the road for slumlord Winkler.

Why have I called this article "Winkler at Bay"? It is because, to one who has known him, Winkler is an old wolf brought down by a pack of dogs. They bayed and they cried "wolf" in the headlines of the huckster press, and for all that, with all the power of government, Federal, state and local, and all the power of the press, crashing through a forest of laws and loopholes that are loaded for property and against the poor, it took them eight years and more to bring him down.

And who brought him down? The Internal Revenue Service, because he would not cut them in on their

share for nuclear annihilation: the officials and courts of Cook County and the City of Chicago; they called him "human vulture"; but why were taxes the only thing which would have priority over expenditures for improvements under the terms of the receivership? Was it not that these officials of government might all be paid, perhaps to go on living just as well, or maybe even better, than Winkler does? And how many payoffs were given and taken in the departments of government in the eight years of that battle? What of the press? What did the fall of Winkler mean to the Daily News? Did it mean to them, as it means to me, the loss of some damn good copy. Where do they all live? How much do they rake off from the profits of the system? Why did the poor families, the Negro families, live in the filthy two room apartments in the Winkler tenements on Oak St., for \$17 a week? Was it not because they could not rent the four room apartments with private bath for \$50 a month in fashionable Old Town, just a mile to the north, or the two room apartments with bath for \$150 a month on the Gold Coast just a quarter mile to the east?

I do not call Wexler, Wilamowski and the rest dogs, in a personal sense. Perhaps they are good men and fine gentlemen. But I say that they are all part of Winkler's America, and the whole of Winkler's America is responsible, individually and corporately, for the poverty and squalor of the Other America.

I make my living, too, opening shipments of books in a warehouse. The other day I opened and priced six cartons of Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, Macmillan & Co., 1962, at \$4 a copy, a book about poverty in America. It was written in Winkler's America. It was opened and priced in Winkler's America, where damned few Negroes can get a job, and it will be bought and read, I hope, in Winkler's America, and the surplus money that will buy it, will probably be the blood of the poor.

I do not call these people of Winkler's America dogs, if they do not call Winkler dog. But Charles Peguy says (*Basic Verities*, Page 199), "Accomplice, Accomplice, it is just as if you said author. He who allows things to be done is like him who order them to be done. It is all one. It goes together . . . he who does shows courage at least in doing. He who commits a crime has at least the courage to commit it. And when you allow a crime to be committed you have the same crime, and cowardice to boot." Winkler has at least the courage to commit the crime.

The Sun-Times quoted Winkler's attorney Joseph Fisher's explanation of why he advised Winkler to give up the fight and accept the receivership: Fisher said the holders of mortgages on the Winkler buildings "were getting jittery." Who are the mortgage holders? Where do they live? He did not say, but I say that all of Winkler's America holds the mortgage and they were getting jittery because if he went too far, to the point of killing by frost or fire rather than the slower death, they would lose their investment in the blood of the poor.

I will not say who is in Winkler's America, or where the boundary line is drawn, although in many places it is drawn very clearly in black and white, but I do not think that Winkler's America is finished yet. "Winkler has won most of the battles, but he was losing the war," said Fisher. "I advised him to agree to the receivership rather than become involved in interminable litigation. If the city takes over the buildings and the stigma is removed from them, Winkler might accomplish more than by fighting. If the city can do a good job with the buildings, let them do it. When the buildings are in

legal compliance they will revert to their owner, Winkler, who despite everything that has been said about him is a fine gentleman."

For the information of our readers, I was reinstated at A. C. McClurg and Co. on January 24 in accordance with the terms of a Settlement Agreement between the Company and the Teamsters Local 743, through the grievance procedures of the National Labor Relations Board. I submitted to the Company a letter of correction, similar in content to my letter in the January Catholic Worker, and in accordance with the agreement the Company reinstated me with full back pay and posted, along with copies of my letter, a notice of the settlement from the NLRB containing standard guarantees that the Company would not discriminate against any employees because of their activities in behalf of unions.



CW STAFF MEMBER ARRESTED

At approximately 10:30 on Thursday evening, February 21, Chris Peditto saw the bright hustling lights of Times Square from the rear window of a paddy wagon that was transporting him from an uptown precinct straight to the Tombs and a quick arraignment in night court.

Chris' arrest along with five members of the Congress of Racial Equality marked the third of four consecutive sit-ins in two weeks at 78 Manhattan Ave. The sit-ins resulted after failure of New York CORE and City Commission of Human Rights negotiations with apartment owner Neeman who refuses to rent to Puerto Ricans and Negroes.

The particular case of discrimination cited: Mr. Lawson, a Negro, heard of an apartment vacancy at 78 Manhattan. When he attempted to rent, Neeman told Lawson that the apartment was not available. Mr. Lawson requested that New York CORE investigate. A white CORE member approached the landlord and was informed that he could obtain the apartment on receipt of first month's rent and security. CORE's first move was to attempt negotiation with Neeman, a usual procedure. When this failed, CORE sent its first group of sit-in people on February 14 to nonviolently protest, in the form of civil disobedience, Neeman's action.

Chris told us: "As it stands now there are twenty of us out on parole for these sit-ins. Trial is March 11th."

Joe Hill House

(Continued from page 3)

yard work, or loading or unloading trucks, and then tell them that the pay is fifty or seventy-five cents an hour. The men have to take it. Often these cheesy bosses will tell the men that here is a dollar for lunch or carfare and that he will meet them again the next day at a certain corner. They never see him again. I have money coming from farmers and cotton growers around Phoenix by that method. The Indians are now working as gandy dancers on the railroad. We had one small snow in the late fall but it was fine weather until January 10th when we had sub zero weather for two weeks. Now it has cleared up and many men are leaving for the Coast or Denver, and it will soon be lambing time and we will lose our shepherd.

Coming back from the hearing at the Capitol this evening I found that Gypsy youngsters nearby had been calling "nigger" to one of the colored men here who is a little "balmy." Sensing that these kids only learned it at home, the colored man beat up a man whom he thought was the father of the boys, but he was another Gypsy down the street. This was outside our window and in the process our window was again broken. The landlord has insurance.

Meetings

I spoke at a luncheon at the Presbyterian Westminster College and the Dean of Men and the Chaplain were there to see if I was material to later speak at their chapel. I also spoke to the staff at the Mormon Institute near the University. I am to debate with a prof. at the Union next month on Anarchism, and in a couple of weeks to the state college at Gunnison, Colorado, for two days to the students. One man wrote from California that he would like to come and work here for free. I told him that you had to put up with a lot and not get any glory out of it but to come and see how he would fit in. If I could get some one to get the vegetables from the markets in the morning and the bread in the afternoon then I could speak on the Coast, or get a little rest. I cannot run the risk of sending men out who will peddle the food for booze and spoil my contacts.

Joe Hill House
Salt Lake City

Dear Dorothy:

The other day I viewed the Mormon Welfare Project. It is a huge place and it is also known as "the Bishop's storehouse." Whenever anyone, or a family, is in need, the Bishop of the Ward (i.e. Parish), writes up an order and if the family is able to, they come to this place where they have a small super-market and get their groceries. No money is exchanged. This project has a dairy, where milk is processed; canned, bottled and powdered. There is a cannery, and a granary too. The poor who need actual cash for paying bills are sustained by a fund built up by fast days. Once a month Mormon families abstain from two meals. The price of these meals is left, according to the individual's discretion, for welfare, and given to the Bishop. This money goes to the poor.

The people working in these Projects are those who have reached retirement age, and those who are unemployable through handicap or illness. They work for no pay, only their needs. I saw two large rooms in which rugs are woven. All kinds of furniture can be had. Much material is shipped in from other Projects. All of these Projects are operated without a book-keeping department. It is very impressive and I kept thinking that here the Mormons, among themselves, have solved many of the social ills that Kennedy is trying to solve. I don't know what they do about caring for their sick. Perhaps this Project avoids the problem of old age by keeping the

people busy doing something useful.

Love,
Pat Rusk

London

(Continued from page 3)

broken by linking arms and pushing. Still, better this type of demonstration than nothing at all.

I have been trying to do manual, unskilled labor for about a year now, but without much success. I did a dishwashing job November-December last year, and then I tried to make sufficient money to support ourselves without paying taxes by doing casual labor, that is being paid by the day. This didn't work out, so at Easter, I got a job as service hand in a restaurant, but was fired after a month for my uncooperative attitude. Two days later I got a temporary job as a bath attendant which I had for a couple of months. Then I did some laboring in a rope factory, but during that time we moved to this new place and it was such a long way from work that I quit, hoping to find work nearer where I lived. But I couldn't find any. They would ask about my background and education and then when I told them what my last three jobs had been they would look at me in a suspicious sort of way and say stiffly that they did not think they could help me. So in desperation I went and asked for my old job back again (making ropes).

Things are improving in the house. We now have eight people and the beginnings of a sense of unity and cooperation are appearing.

The housing situation is very bad in London and I had to spend a lot of money to get this place; 50 pounds to an agency just to get the address and then a quarter's rent in advance. There are 1,000 homeless families in London. The women and young children live in hostels in very cramped and primitive conditions and the men in lodging houses. They can only see each other for three hours a day. About 1,000 men sleep out every night in London, but they get chased by the police with dogs which are trained to snap at anyone in rags.

Peter Lumsden
Flat 3
5 Colville Houses
London W 11

MEANS AND ENDS

"The charity of Christ which makes us solicitous for our families and for our American society must also make us solicitous for the welfare of the whole world . . . We are overcome with evil not only if we allow Communism to take over the world but if we allow the methods and standards of Communism to influence our own. If we adopt a policy of hatred, of liquidation of those who oppose us, of unrestrained use of total war, of a spirit of fear and panic, of exaggerated propaganda, of unconditional surrender, of pure nationalism, we have already been overcome by the evil."

Cardinal Meyer of Chicago
Lenten Pastoral Letter 1962

SEAN CONDON, R.I.P.

Kindly remember in your prayers Sean Condon, noted Gaelic teacher of New York. Sean was found dead in his room in Brooklyn on Sunday, March 3. He had been working at the Irish Industries Depot on Lexington Avenue. He will be buried March 7 from St. Anselm's Church. Internment will be in the same cemetery where Peter Maurin is buried—St. John's in Middle Village, Queens. Sean was a great admirer of Peter and often visited him at the Worker.

A.T.S.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: A Mirror Of Our Times

(Continued from page 5)

Cuba. It is not that we are being duped by a document which some regard as nothing but a monumental example of demagoguery and propaganda; moreover, the objective observer, even if he lacks sympathy, will be forced to conclude that the principal objectives of this "Declaration" have been realized. This is sufficiently proved by the fact that the most practically delicate point in this program—the armament of the people—has been effectively carried out. What tyrannical regime, whether Communist or "right wing" (and I am thinking quite explicitly of Franco Spain) would have dared arm the people the way the Cuban government has done?

On October 17th, 1960, speaking over Cuban radio and television, Fidel Castro was able to present the following balance-sheet of the Revolution. Here are a few excerpts from this text, which clearly brings out the "total" character of the Cuban experiment: "In twenty months, the Revolutionary government has carried out the Moncada program . . . Peasant, the land is yours; peasant, there are your schools and your hospitals; the villas and the fortresses have been converted into schools; there are your houses and your beaches, you now own the factories that formerly belonged to foreign monopolies. The electric company, the telephone company, the sugar refineries are yours . . . In those days, we had not even thought of these youth brigades for revolutionary labor, which today are a reality . . ." and Castro goes on to list the accomplishments in education and in the construction of homes and schools.

10. Remarks by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, on January 27, 1959, to the *Nuestro Tiempo Cultural Society*.

11. The Cuban experiment is still too young for its strictly economic reforms to show any conclusive results. On the other hand, we can already observe remarkable progress in the reduction of unemployment and in the salary increases, sometimes spectacular, of the agricultural workers.

12. Structural unemployment is unemployment that is intimately related to the absence or obvious inadequacy of the structures that are essential to a "normal" economy, especially industry.

13. This is how Fidel Castro himself summed up the economic problem of Cuba, in his speech at the meeting of the Economic Council of the "21" held at Buenos Aires, on May 2, 1959.

14. For example, in 1957, sugar represented six hundred million dollars, out of a total income of eight hundred and ten million. (Cf. Claude Julien, *La Revolution Cubaine*, Julliard, 1961, p. 57)

15. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, June 18, 1960.

16. Noteworthy, in this context, is the existence of small industries and of a large sector of commerce that has not been nationalized.

17. Fidel Castro, in December 1961. There can be no question of analyzing here the various bodies charged with realizing the economic process we have just described. On agrarian reform, see the work of Rene Dumont and Julien Coleou, professors at the National Agronomic Institute of Paris and experts on the Cuban government: *La Reforme Agraire a Cuba* (collection "Tierra Monde" P. U. F., 1962). On the Urban Reform Law, of October 17, 1960, which aims essentially at turning tenants into home-owners, see various speeches by Fidel Castro.

18. Speech by Fidel Castro at the United Nations, September 26, 1960.

19. Remarks of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, on January 27, 1959, to the *Nuestro Tiempo Society*.

20. The historical background of relations between the United States and Cuba is outlined in the press conference held by Fidel Castro in Washington on April 17, 1959. Let us note merely that, although the United States contributed to the independence of Cuba, the Platt Amendment (June 12, 1901) stipulated that: "The Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty . . ." But it was the economic dictatorship of sugar, more than the juridical document, that made certain the "colonization" of Cuba.

21. In his excellent article on Cuba. (Cf. *Croissance des Jeunes Nations*, January 1962.) This is how Albert Samuel sums up the question, in four brief propositions: "Sugar was the wealth of Cuba; but also its downfall. In the first place, because to a great extent this wealth did not belong to it . . . What is more, this foreign-owned property did not benefit the nation . . . Actually—and this is the third drawback to the apparent prosperity created by sugar—this production, which monopolized the soil, made necessary a great deal of importing . . . Finally, the price and quotas for sugar were fixed by the United States."

22. Cf. the diplomatic note from the President of the Republic of Cuba to the United States Government, of January 27, 1960.

23. Cf. note 7.

24. Fidel Castro at the United Nations, September 26, 1960.

25. Fidel Castro, interview on French television, April 1961.

26. Fidel Castro at the U.N., September 26, 1960. It is worth remarking that the two "Declarations of Havana" of September 1960 and February 1962 constitute a solemn appeal by the National Assembly of the Cuban People to the peoples of the underdeveloped countries.

27. Fidel Castro, at a press conference held in Washington, on April 17, 1959.

28. Fidel Castro, Buenos Aires, May 2, 1959.

29. Speech of Raul Roa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly, September 25, 1959.

30. In the course of his address to the meeting of the O.A.S. (Organization of American States) ministers held in San Jose, Costa Rica, in August 1960, Raul Roa stressed, as had Fidel Castro himself, the "spontaneous" character of the Soviet aid that followed Cuban-American tensions.

31. Fidel Castro, in his speech of December 2, 1961, remarks that the members of the 26th of July Movement "had not had the opportunity to acquire a political education" during the resistance period; and that it was the developing Revolution that gradually formed them. He then acknowledges his own discovery of the "scientific" character of Marxism, and emphasizes the effectiveness of the help provided by the Soviet Union. Finally, he admits that in its early stages the Cuban Revolution had strong anti-Communist prejudices and that these prejudices prevented it from turning to competent, disciplined workers for support.

32. Fidel Castro, July 28, 1961.

33. Cf., for example, *Le Monde* for May 12, 1962.

34. Fidel Castro, December 2, 1961.

35. The Moncada plea leaves no doubt on this point.

36. "I am going to answer you: the punishment of war criminals is among the most important business of the Cuban Revolution. I do not know if you are aware of what has been going on in Cuba during the past seven years; but at least twenty thousand people have been tortured and killed

under the dictatorship. . . . I think it is hard for you to understand all this [the repressions] because you have never lived under a tyranny. . . . Well, the crimes of Batista compare with the crimes committed against the Christians in the Roman circuses." Press conference held by Fidel Castro in Washington, April 17, 1959.

37. Fidel Castro, December 2, 1961.

38. The address given by Fidel Castro over Cuban radio and television on March 26, 1962, is perfectly explicit on this point: "But the revolution continued its forward march. The revolution became a powerful ideological movement. Revolutionary ideas slowly won the masses over. The Cuban people, in great numbers, began to accept revolutionary ideas, to uphold revolutionary ideas. . . . Revolutionary ideas did not become the consciousness of a minority, a group. They became the



Patricia Ricci

consciousness of the great masses of our people. Whoever doubts it, let him recall the Declaration of Havana, the Second Declaration of Havana. . . ."

39. Fidel Castro, December 2, 1961.

40. Cf. the texts cited in the section on "The Logic of Revolutions."

41. Fidel Castro, December 2, 1961.

42. Fidel Castro's opposition to those who could be termed the "old Communists" of Cuba seems to be expressed particularly at the level of the struggle against "sectarianism" on the part of the Marxist cadres and the "bureaucratization" of the Revolution. We can apparently conclude that Castro is determined at all costs to avoid the dangers of "Stalinism."

Can we go further and see in Castro's present struggle the existence of "deviationist" tendencies; a Cuban "Trotskyism" trying to find its way, just as the French "Trotskyists" are striving to find theirs? It is too early to answer this question, which has an important bearing on the future of the Cuban Revolution.

43. Fidel Castro, December 2, 1961.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. "The more we have to face the reality of a revolution and the class struggle, and we see what the class struggle really is, in the setting of a revolution, the more convinced we become of all the truths Marx and Engels wrote . . . Marx writes something, a correct interpretation of what was going to happen, not simply because people wanted it, but because the very laws of historical evolution predetermined it. This is the great merit of Marx. . . ." (Fidel Castro, December 2, 1961).

I cannot pretend to settle the question of Castro's Communism in this brief paragraph. I only

want to emphasize, by situating myself in the perspective of Marxian Communism as it has historically been "realized" in the Soviet Union and as it is advocated by the Communist parties under Soviet discipline, the fact that Castro's Communism does not seem to represent total "orthodoxy." This is evidence of, at least, a notable freedom to maneuver, and at most, of an opening wedge towards a "Cuban style" Communism, whose future would be unpredictable.

Having said this, I do not mean to assert that "authentic" Communism exists only within the Soviet sphere of influence and that every form of "deviationist" or "Trotskyist" Communism automatically loses its Marxist character and, for us Christians, its materialistic and atheistic aspects. Basing myself firmly on present-day historical reality, I say that a Communism which breaks, to whatever degree, with Soviet "orthodoxy" may present better opportunities for "humanization" and evolution towards "humanist" socialism than does a "Stalinist" Communism.

47. Msgr. Perez Serantes, Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba, in February 1959, alludes in a pastoral letter to the twenty thousand murders committed by the Batista regime and states that the conviction and execution of their perpetrators is in conformity with justice. He cites the figure of four hundred condemned to death, "including those who have already been executed as presumably guilty."

48. A detailed account of these events cannot be given here.

49. "For God and Cuba," pastoral letter of May 22, 1950 by Msgr. Perez Serantes.

50. Cf. collective letter of the Cuban episcopate, read on Sunday, August 7, 1960.

51. Cf. *Croissance des Jeunes Nations* for January 1962.

52. Msgr. Perez Serantes.

53. Cf. collective letter of the episcopate.

54. Open letter from the Cuban bishops to Fidel Castro, December 4, 1960.

55. Cf. "For God and Cuba."

56. Cf. the article in *Freres du Monde*, No. 3, 1962, by a Cuban priest in exile who can hardly be suspected of Marxist sympathies.

57. It is perhaps not out of place to recall the special issue of *Freres du Monde* on "hunger" (No. 1, 1962), where the views expressed in *Mater et Magistra* regarding the underdeveloped peoples are emphasized and applied.

58. "Probably the most difficult problem of the modern world concerns the relationship between political communities that are economically advanced and those in the process of development." (*Mater et Magistra*)

59. *Mater et Magistra*. On "socialization," read J.-Y. Calvez, "La socialisation dans la pensee de l'Eglise," in *Revue de l'Action Populaire*, May 1962.

60. Words of Raul Roa (cf. note 29).

61. The quotation marks around "socialism" will forestall any hasty attacks (at least, I hope so). I think it is just as well, nevertheless to emphasize that I am not referring here to Marxian socialism, but to socialism as it is currently understood in non-Marxist circles. As an example, allow me to quote the definition given by Douglas Jay, the well-known theoretician of the British Labor Party, in his latest book *Socialism in the New Society* (Longmans, London, 1962): "Socialism means the belief that every human being has an equal right to happiness and whatever else gives value to life: and that a world, society enshrining this right can best be achieved, or approached, by collective, 'social,' and not just individualist, methods. There are thus two con-

victions that are fundamental to Socialism. The first concerns the ultimate aim: certain equal rights for all; and the second the basic method by which that can be attained, whether politically or economically." (p. 2)

Pasternak

"[Boris] Pasternak is then not just a man who refuses to conform (that is to say, a rebel). The fact is, he is not a rebel, for a rebel is one who wants to substitute his own authority for the authority of somebody else. Pasternak is one who cannot conform to an artificial and stereotyped pattern because, by the grace of God, he is too much alive to be capable of such treason to himself and to life. He is not revolutionary. And in fact those who have said: 'Passive resistance is all right against the English but it would never work against Russia' must stop and consider that in Pasternak it did, to some extent, work even in Russia. Pasternak is certainly a man to be compared with Gandhi. Though different in so many accidental ways, his protest is ultimately the same: the protest of life itself, of humanity itself, of love, speaking not with theories and programs but simply affirming itself and asking to be judged on its own merits."

"Like Gandhi, Pasternak stands out as a gigantic paradox in a world of servile and mercenary conformities. His presence in such a world has had an inescapable effect: it has struck fear into the hearts of everyone else, whether in Russia or in America. The reaction to Pasternak, the alternate waves of love, fear, hate and adulation that have rushed toward him from every part of the world, were all set in motion by the guilt of a society that had consciously and knowingly betrayed life, and sold itself out to falsity, formalism and spiritual degradation. In some (for instance, the pundits of Soviet literature) this guilt has produced hatred and rage against Pasternak. The fear he aroused was intolerable. His colleagues in the Soviet Writers' Union began to yell for his blood, and yelled all the more loudly in proportion as they were themselves servile and second rate. There were a few notable exceptions, rare writers of integrity and even talent, like Ilya Ehrenberg.

"The politicians of the Kremlin, on the other hand, not being writers, not thoroughly understanding what it was all about anyway, were less moved to guilt, felt less fear, and were slow to do much about the case at first.

"In the West the reaction was different. We felt the same guilt, the same fear, but in a different mode and degree. On the whole our reaction was to run to Pasternak with fervent accolades: to admire in him the courage and integrity we lack in ourselves. Perhaps we can taste a little vicarious revolutionary joy without doing anything to change our own lives. To justify our own condition of servility and spiritual prostitution we think it sufficient to admire another man's integrity."

—Thomas Merton, *Disputed Questions* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy) reprinted by permission.

Walter Farrell Guild

Sunday, March 24, 5 p.m.
at the Chapter Room, Carnegie Hall

57 Street near Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C.

Topic: Possibilities for Peace

Speakers: Rev. George Hagemer, C.S.P.—Toward Psychological Peace

Mr. Howard Evernham—Peace and the Layman

Eric Galt's SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS will be read.

MR. SALINGER'S OMISSION

By WILLIAM BUSH

Now that Franny and Zooey has made the best-seller list, it is to be assumed that many readers of the novel who were previously unaware even of the existence of the Jesus Prayer as a devotion, will, henceforth consider themselves informed concerning this devotion. Such a feeling of satisfied learning is surely pardonable after the many pages of explanation Mr. Salinger gives to the Jesus Prayer. But the danger that is encountered in all this, a danger especially for Christians who are uncertain of their reaction to the novel, is that of half-truth.

The Jesus Prayer, although by no means limited to any one group of Christians, is not, as such, a western devotion used officially by either Catholic or Protestant groups. Hence, since information on it is lacking among the rank and file of believers, most of them will probably dismiss Franny's obsession with the prayer as nothing but a fad, an exotic eastern Christian devotion which, as Mr. Salinger is careful to point out, has counterparts in other religions as well as in Christianity itself.

Nothing could be farther from the truth, however. The Jesus Prayer actually constitutes something unique—both as a devotion of repetition and as a Christian devotion. The ascetic teaching of the Philokalia, the many-volumed collection of spiritual texts of the Eastern Church, to the contrary provides a very sound basis for understanding the uniqueness of the Jesus Prayer, showing that it is far more than a mere repetition of a holy formula since it is a confession of the whole Christian faith of Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity. It is this very vital point which has either been ignored or else undiscovered by Mr. Salinger. If Franny and Zooey be considered a guide to his understanding of the Jesus Prayer.

To begin to understand Mr. Salinger's omission one must observe that his statements of the text of the prayer are actually incomplete when compared with the classic text, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner." Mr. Salinger's two statements of the prayer, however, are: "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me" (p. 36), and "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me, a miserable sinner" (p. 111). The omission of the three words, "Son of God," is much more than a matter for quibbling since they, and they alone, render the prayer uniquely Christian. The Eastern Church reminds us that according to St. Paul it is only through the power of the Holy Ghost that a man can call Jesus "Son of God" and hence, according to this, the prayer of confession that Jesus is God cannot be said except through the revelation of the Spirit of God.

It is this confession which lacks in Franny's Jesus Prayer. This, in turn, opens the way for myriad misconceptions into which Mr. Salinger seems to fall, taking with him any reader uniformed on the tradition of the Eastern Church. This tradition never fails to asound the western Christian with its constant emphasis on the Holy Trinity, making the confession of the Godhead as Father, Son and Holy Ghost such a basic part of the Liturgy that the Holy Ghost does, indeed, become equal with the Father and the Son in glory. Even the signing of the cross with the thumb and first two fingers held together is a conscious trinitarian confession among the Orthodox. One finds these same Christians speaking of "His praying in us," referring thereby to that idea so dear to them that it is the Holy Ghost Himself who confesses within us that Jesus is God. We also find that Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow (d. 1867) states, in a prayer composed by him, the very remarkable words: "Pray thyself into me."

It might be said that what

Franny is essentially doing with the Jesus Prayer is what the Protestants did with the Bible at the time of the Reformation: a fruit of the Church is plucked from the Church and made an end in itself. For the question remains throughout all of this: How can anyone who does not confess Jesus as God and, ostensibly, has no desire to confess it, possibly profit from saying, "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me?" Where, indeed, is there any love, any movement of the heart in all this?

In the interests of accuracy it must also be observed that *The Way of the Pilgrim*, a singularly beautiful and spiritually edifying text, is not—nor does it pretend to be—the best basis for learning how to practice the Jesus Prayer. It is, of course, possible that Mr. Salinger wanted to point out the faulty approach to the whole thing that Franny makes in having her base her devotion on *The Way of the Pilgrim* rather than the *Philokalia*? This is possible, to be sure. But, if Mr. Salinger himself is aware of the teachings of the *Philokalia* on the subject, he is surely doing his readers a disservice in giving so superficial a treatment to it. He is, alas, but playing with something essentially holy and tossing it into the hands of that type of intellectual he describes so accurately in Franny's raging against university circles—those who think they know everything but have no idea of what wisdom is. For Franny herself does fall into their hands and, it would seem, is well on the way to becoming one of them. We note that she did not herself study the *Philokalia* but is content to describe it as something "which apparently was written by a group of terribly advanced monks who sort of advocated this really incredible method of praying." Moreover, she seems totally ignorant of the fact that this "really incredible method of praying" is practiced by any Orthodox Christian maintaining the spiritual tradition of his Church and that monks of the Eastern Church—on Mt. Athos as elsewhere—may spend a good part of their nights of vigil using this devotion.

That one only rarely finds someone so devoted to this form of prayer that he has arrived at the ideal of a constant repetition of it in his heart is true. But even Franny's pilgrim, if we believe his account, found it rather difficult, in spite of his constant wanderings and frequenting of all sorts of religious people, to find those who had prayed this prayer until it was, as it were, graven in their heart, pulsating towards heaven with every beat. Furthermore, this same phenomenon is found in non-Christian religions, as Zooey and Franny both observe. But using the prayer in order to achieve enlightenment is surely base and selfish—as Zooey so well points out to his sister. Such a usage of it is surely more like magic than Christianity and was far removed from the mind of the Russian pilgrim. For this peasant had, as the Orthodox would explain it, received an inspired desire to know what "Pray without ceasing" means. Thus the desire to penetrate a holy mystery was basic to his search. The starets whom he finally found who could explain it to him did so by teaching him how. Thus what he was seeking blossomed into an enlightenment, but he was not seeking enlightenment for itself. The enlightenment was already in the desire to understand the text from Thessalonians. Either Pascal's "You wouldn't look for me if you hadn't found me" or Therese of Lisieux's "I want to be a saint but I feel my helplessness and so I ask you, my God, to be my sanctity" will immediately show that such ideas are not unknown in western Christianity as well. Yet Franny has confused the issues and it remains a mystery as

to why she chose the repetition of the name of Jesus instead of something else.

Moreover, we see that Franny was not seeking anything uniquely Christian. She falls into the perennial trap of seeing all religion as being equal—an admission no Christian is permitted to make, as tolerant as he may be of other religions and as much as he may admire the spirituality to be found in other religions. But Christianity lays unique claims to its adherents' devotion and it either fulfills all other religions and still gives something more or it is false. In seeing the similarity between the Eastern Church's Jesus Prayer tradition and that of non-Christian religions, Franny and Zooey both are sensing what many western Christians have sensed in approaching Orthodoxy: a remark-

PERPETUA & FELICITAS



ably full, primitive tradition has been kept alive among the mass of practicing believers. The same western observer can, of course, upon comparing western saints with what he has found in the Eastern Church, also discover that they were remarkably Orthodox. But one is nonetheless indebted to the Eastern Church for maintaining, on the level of the laity, a highly developed spiritual tradition.

It is also interesting to observe how the Jesus Prayer is expressed in popular piety in the East. It is the basic utterance which is repeated over and over while in the West it is the Ave Maria which is said in massive numbers. The respective rosaries, of course, reflect this difference. But the soundness of the Eastern Church is evident when they recall that the one hundred recitations of the Jesus Prayer on the eastern Christian rosary are important not because of their quantity but because of the belief that it is the Holy Ghost who is praying it in the believer, confessing thereby that Jesus is God.

Even Mr. Salinger's attempt at the end of the book to integrate Franny's prayer with those around her does not quite succeed. Here again the reason seems to be that she does not understand Jesus to be God. Zooey says in his first talk with her that without any doubt Jesus was wisest man in the Bible and that's why God chose him. It is the same Zooey who concludes at the end that the Fat Lady in the fourth row is Jesus. Now for a believer this is true and Salinger is very, very close to Christianity here. Where he fails, however, is in not having Zooey see that Jesus is more than the wisest man, for if he is nothing but a wise man, why should the Fat Lady be any more identified with him than with Socrates or Solomon? It reduces the identi-

Sand Verbena

SAND VERBENA by Suzanne Gross. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 94 pp., \$2.95. Reviewed by Harold Isbell

Our generation has been taught to be wary of young lady poets. But the fact that Suzanne Gross writes with only two names hints strongly that this monitum has no weight. One poem, "Parados: passio apuim," deals with gardens, bees, flowers and tears. But it is not a poem in the polite tradition. Poets have written about sex and love since the earliest, yet every poet dealing with this subject eventually finds himself limited—sometimes unwillingly—by his involvement in the matter at hand. By an act of evasion here productive, the poet momentarily sidesteps her own personality to demonstrate the milieu of man and his desires. With unmitigated violence, the triad of death, creation and love are presented as they most vividly exist in one branch of the life from which man is born. And from this distance both reader and voice find themselves as they are.

Another poem, "The Bee Tree," uses the same image of the bee but much differently. In this finely understated poem there is a brevity that suggests but never imitates the haiku. The poem has the tension of a quiet nerve.

For this poet a love poem does not end with loving but spring both reader and voice to a kind of ecstasy. These poems of love are addressed to many people and one must feel the pain that always accompanies a gift of love. The lover's first fear—and it is never lost—is that in loving, the gift that is given will not return. "Saetas de Dolores" is a poem in which the pull of debt contracted and paid is evident. One feels the crisp arrow of infinity—end, beginning—run through this poem about the death of a friend.

The poem, "Dilectissimi Nobis," is about Good Friday. It begins with a description of people who "stood in line/to kneel before and kiss/the image of dead Christ." But the neat catalog of people and how they kiss the feet, head, knees, heart and face explodes when one young girl in her innocence kisses the carved loins.

Each of the book's four sections—"Earth," "Roots," "Rain," "And the Flowering Branch..."—closes with one of the Montoya poems. These have the male voice clear and unmistakable from birth to the retrospective vision of age. And each of these, concluding its respective group of poems, acts as a comment on the themes and subjects of the preceding section.

The technical mastery of these poems is not fully evident until after the first few. From the quick abstractions of adjectives the poet passes into a style built on concrete nouns and verbs. These poems show disciplined mastery of cadence. The lines are cut to the proper length and carefully fit themselves in the whole. Suzanne Gross shows a remarkable facility with

cation of the Fat Lady with Jesus to nothing but an intellectual act on the part of Zooey. She is not, according to that which is the eternal order of things, associated with Jesus. Rather she is dependent upon Zachary Glass's mind in order to achieve this.

Is Salinger groping for salvation while actually grappling with sin? The believer knows that the Fat Lady is Jesus, but he also knows that Jesus is not the Fat Lady. He further knows that it is sin not to see this identification of the Fat Lady with Jesus and hence that he is always in a state of sin since no believer really sees all creation clearly in its relationship to Incarnate God as well as to himself. Sin is part of fallen creation and it is only God who removes it through the power of the Holy Ghost in the redemption of the world by the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Godhead.

enjambment, the technique by which a line both ends and runs on to the next. These enjambments take many forms: barely noticed as in "Divertissement"—"the rough astonished bear/winds his heavy chain and self/tight around the driven stake"; or alternating the obviously abrupt with the easy as in "Nocturne"—"In the dark the women watch/lightthrows move away like cherubim/guarding the hovered sea."

The easy pieties of loving—whether it be man, woman or God—are never invoked in these poems. Suzanne Gross is a poet and young; her future is rich.

Septima Clark

ECHO IN MY SOUL by Septima Poinsett Clark. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1962, 243 pp. Reviewed by Judith Gregory.

It is hard to write a real review of a book by and about someone you know well, but I want very much to call this book to the attention of the readers of *The Catholic Worker*. I've already written something about Mrs. Clark in the paper—about her work at Highlander Folk School and on the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina. This book tells the full story of her life and work, and it is a marvellous story, very well told, and with some fine photographs.

Mrs. Clark has been a teacher and a leader in the South since 1916, when a young girl she took a job teaching school on one of the Sea Islands. She has never stopped from that day until now, and she is still working to bring education, self-respect and freedom to her own Negro people of the South, especially, but also to anyone, no matter where; whom she can help.

Mrs. Clark has no elaborate philosophy to justify her life. Many a philosophy has been worked out over the years to justify nothing at all, or worse than nothing at all, or worse than nothing, but she has done what was to be done, and the result has been a life of extraordinary fruitfulness. I hope many people will read her book, and even be fortunate enough to know her and work with her.

THE BRIDEGROOM TO HIS BRIDE

Walk with me and watch night's fog-white finger draw shadows longer than the morning sun.

Let me tell you how I squinted and saw that golden bauble held in my fingers circle earth and sky, love's own universe, just before I slipped it on your finger.

Come away, arrive at that desert place where I'll know myself; but also know you together with me.

Harold Isbell

Awareness of this is the only redemption for the man who is overcome by the "phonyness"—to use Mr. Salinger's admirable expression—of this world. It is this divine act of redemption, exterior to man all while fulfilling itself in man's flesh and blood, which finds no place for itself in this novel. We are left, therefore, with another exercise in humanistic, intellectual salvation which, for all its Christian trappings, is not Christian.

From The Clothing Room

Arthur J. Lacey reports that all types of usable men's clothing are needed in the Clothing Room, as well as sheets, blankets, towels and shoes. Women's clothing is also very low. We need children's clothing as well for the many families which look to us for help.