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English Pacifist Refused Entry To United States

For a long time, the official government profile of a Communist has been of a superman nine feet tall, so persuasive that he must not be allowed to speak, so deft in writing that the presence of one of his books in a library threatens the belief of the entire community, and, recently, so militant that he must not be allowed to parade on May Day.

Now pacifists have been honored by the same characterization. Stuart Denton Morris, general secretary of the English Peace Pledge Union, is, at this writing, being held on Ellis Island. Morris was to have gone on a speaking tour under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee and the War Resisters League.

But according to the theory of subversion now in vogue, such a tour would be dangerous. One pacifist must be kept out of the United States in order to save us from what?

The reasoning involved is not only dangerous to civil liberties (the attack on freedom of speech has been going on for some time)—it is also plain silly. It proves not only that the cold-war laws of the current hysteria—Attorney General's List, Internal Security Act, Smith Act prosecutions—are based on fear, a mindless fear, but also that they involve reduction ad absurdum in almost every case.

I wish the United States were "menaced" by pacifism—but it isn't. If it were, Morris would be protected by mass political sentiment. But as it stands, the Morris incident is one more in a long chain whose links are fear, ignorance, repression—and silliness. This man is not, in fact, a Communist. He is a member of a pacifist group which has been proclaiming its principles publicly for years, the Peace Pledge Union. His exclusion from the United States serves no purpose except those of the genuine subversives, the excluders.

ON PILGRIMAGE

By DOROTHY DAY

A very good way of comforting yourself when you are in affliction is to keep a notebook from year to year, and look back and see how past troubles have evaporated. Or how you have been given strength to bear them. I find that on June first last year, I have complained that every weekend has been stormy!

I notice that June first last year, Arthur Sheehan was talking to us on St. Bernard, and on June third, John Cogley was talking St. Thomas, "What is God." His last of ten talks came in the middle of June. Men and women who lived in the house came to all of them, and some of our readers. How much one understands is hard to say. But the mind is enlightened, the heart expands. As they said of St. Francis, "When he heard the love of God mentioned, he felt in his soul an interior jubilation." And Simone Weil said, "From earliest childhood to the grave there is something in the depths of every human heart which in spite of all the experience of crimes, that have been committed, endured, observed, invincibly expects people to do good and not evil. More than any other thing, this is the sacred element in every human being."

Peter Maurin always expected so much understanding from people. He took it for granted that they wanted the good, the best, that there would be a response to hearing tremendous things about God and man. Natalie Darcy and Fr. Oestreich spoke too last year, on Edith Stein, on Scheler, Landsberg, etc. By that time the weather evidently had cleared because this meeting, which was to discuss his book, *Walls Are Crumbling*, was held in the back yard. That yard now is an awful mess since the fire, filled with burnt wood, furniture, plaster, etc. We talked of silence that night. Silence and the Word, and there

was not much silence round about because I find in my notes, "Planes overhead. Next door in the tenement, a child crying terribly, hoarse and harsh. A tortured cry that tears your heart out. Silence—the wellspring of all great things—and a man next door goes on sawing, filing; there is truck traffic, and the sound of conversation from a kitchen which overlooks the yard. And then later, wonderful release, there is only the sound of Natalie's quiet words, and one feels sudden silence, and above the blue cope of heaven."

Pilgrimage

I notice too in my notes for last year, that while I was speaking at Pendle Hill, Betty Lou and Rita and Roger and Annabelle went on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church on her feast, up on 115th street and First avenue, New York. I had made it the year before, and I had wanted to make it again. We set out from the Catholic Worker at about ten in the evening and walk up the one hundred and twenty blocks to the Shrine where the first Mass is said at Midnight, and Masses continue right through until noon on the day of the feast. Anyone who wishes to join us this year, get in touch with us at the office. It is a long walk, but a short pilgrimage. Betty Lou made it in her bare feet as many of the Italian women do! They come from Brooklyn and the Bronx and walk all the way. Not much promotion about this pilgrimage—it just grew by itself.

What he means by the damned wantlessness of the poor, and I don't know where that quotation comes from, is this: the poor want what they are persuaded to want by advertisements, radio, television. They want radio and television, cars, clothes, cosmetics, cigarettes, good food and drink.

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The Fulfilling of the Law

By ROBERT LUDLOW

If, as Gandhi said, we live in a world of hate then it is evident that, from the standpoint of this status quo, the extreme revolutionary position is that which advocates love as the fulfilling of the law. And as hate is externalized in war, so love is externalized in non-violence. Love is self-giving but it is also withdrawal. It is that in personal life and it is that in the societal phenomena of satyagraha. Love which does not have in it the element of withdrawal becomes a tyranny, an unwarranted absorption of the object loved and a domination of and disregard of the personality of the other which, by the curious intricacies of psychology, reverts to the lover in an egoism that eventually becomes hatred. It is a completed circle but its origin and end is pride from which springs all sin. Withdrawal lends the corrective element and breaks the circle of egoism, it is a recognition of the sanctity of the person loved, it is a recognition that love does not exist without a scrupulous regard for the physical and psychological freedom of the

object of love. At the same time it ensures the intact completeness of the lover. This is true even in the love of man for God. For it is God Himself who desires the love of a rational and free being. And man retains his identity as man, as a rational and free being, even beyond the grave and in the presence of the Beatific Vision—even there his absorption in God is not an absorption of identity, even there he remains a person, even there he surrenders his identity to no one.

* * *

The element of withdrawal which is a necessary element in self-giving love is expressed in satyagraha by the emphasis on asceticism and a retiring into oneself in introspective analysis which is prevented from becoming quietistic and preoccupied with the ego by a reaching out into the social field and the application of the non-violent technique to external problems. Self can be given then, since it has not ceased to be self, since it has re-

tained its identity and the sacredness of its own being—it is then that it can communicate likewise with those who also are intact beings, and far from dividing the one from the other it forms the ground for mutual aid and understanding inasmuch as it is a realization of the commonality of person with persons. A completely absorptive love, on the contrary, destroys the personality of loved and lover in that it results in a sadistic union in which both struggle to free themselves and it becomes a struggle in quicksand that ends in destruction. What I am pointing out is that self-giving love must be understood as containing within it an element of detachment, of mental and emotional maturity—otherwise it degenerates into a neurotic and harmful busybodying. Otherwise it is a narrow eroticism. And yet this must not be taken as a Gandhian repudiation of the erotic, for there is an element of this in all love and in the love of man for God which, finding termination in the Beatific vision, is the spirit-

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Life at Hard Labor

By AMMON HENNACY

"I'm not interested in making the capitalist system work; I'm not interested in anything less than the Sermon on the Mount," I told a friend who praised the Gesell system of money, and who good naturedly chided me because I paid a tax when I rode on the bus, and made a profit for my employers and thus helped them pay their taxes.

I admit that I am perhaps 10% inconsistent but I do not take correction from those who support the system 90%. Someone like old man Marquardt of Graston, Minn., who did time in both wars for refusing to register for the draft can correct me, because with less encouragement from others than I have had he has made a brave fight all along the line.

The message that I wish to put across by my life and by my writing and speaking is that one person can secede from the capitalist system which functions only by war; that one person openly refuses to pay income taxes for the support of this system and chooses the alternative of Life at Hard Labor. I am not going to complicate this message by intricate sys-

tems which would only work at a minimum anyway unless the heart is changed.

* * *

"To each according to his need and from each according to his ability" obviates any need for bookkeeping which seeks to prove that one person has more or less than another. "But," says the white collar parasite, "are you going to feed a lot of bums?" meaning his co-loafers who are parasites at the bottom of the heap. My reply is that this is what we have been doing all along; feeding parasites.

The ethical basis for this idea is based on the Sermon on the Mount. We believe enough in this return of good for evil that we are willing to allow the world to practice the opposite and not get excited about it or expect them to be converted to our way of thinking, except by the hard knocks of wars and depressions and the knowledge of the futility in their chasing after the fading dollar. We believe in absolute freedom for those who disagree with us, for when they have investigated every

phase of error the truth which we have for them is ready for them. Robert Ludlow has expressed it in this way, "If God allows sin to exist, because to destroy it would be to destroy man's freedom, we do well to imitate Him and allow free expression even of what we may regard as error. To do otherwise is to travel the same path of doom which inevitably awaits any tyrant."

* * *

"The water tonight will run slowly for it is clear well water and it sinks in the ground. Muddy water carries silt which fills the cracks in the earth and the water slides off the top and does not penetrate to me as I began irrigating. I irrigated hundreds of acres with this thought of this obvious truth. I had asked the Old Pioneer once where there was a book on irrigating. He laughed and said, 'there ain't none. You have to learn it the hard way.' Guess I have been doing just that.

Coming home that next morning I saw hundreds of brightly clad Navajos, men, women and children,

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Chrystie Street

By TOM SULLIVAN

George Lockhart, a member of our household and a great help around the kitchen until he was severely burnt in our epic fire, literally danced into our office yesterday noon. George intended to prove that he is well on the road to recovery following his month's stay in a city hospital: despite the fact that his raw shoulders, chest, back and right leg are still in bandages.

It is difficult to understand the standards by which the doctors decided to release George. Well, we are not doctors for which everyone should be grateful, George is satisfied to be out of the hospital and we are extremely grateful and happy to have him back. He has a deep joy and simplicity about him and he can and does cheer any atmosphere.

* * *

Steve McDonough and Bill Thebone returned home a week ago from the hospital. Thank God, both Steve and Bill have made tremendous strides towards a complete recovery from the serious burns that they suffered in the disastrous fire.

Henry Sanborn who was severely burnt around the arms and back is still in Bellevue hospital. The doctors have had to graft some skin on Henry so we don't expect him out for a couple of weeks.

The shock and the subsequent emotional upheaval due to the April fire have generally dwindled

down to a few long sighs when we recall the incident.

* * *

However, we do miss Jack Simms, who died as a result of injuries contracted during the fire, around the house. We do miss him most where we saw him often—that was at our meals. He had one of the most formal and at the same time courteous manners of serving one and all who sat down at the tables. We were accustomed to see him making his way home from daily Mass. He always attended an earlier Mass than we were ever able to make.

At night we frequently ran across him on his way to or from a furniture store up on Second avenue. In the window of this particular furniture store they had a live television set where you can freely watch a TV show from the sidewalks.

I never had many words with Jack since he was a man of few words. You always feel like a babbling idiot when you pour on the words to fill the long silences with these quiet men of Jack's type. Consequently our conversations were limited to a "Hello Jack—how is it going." And he would reply, "Fine, how are you?"

The first time that I visited him in the hospital, the words flowed from Jack while I stood speechless staring at his face, chest and arms

which were covered with burns. Jack talked on till I thought that my visit was wearing him out. As I was getting ready to leave him he said, "I hope to be back in the house with you real soon, helping out in the dining room." I ran true to script form, choking on my own words, "Don't bother your head about our dining room, Jack, just get well. We are all praying desperately for you." Jack returned with, "Prayer and Faith are the greatest things we have in this world."

As we knelt during Jack's funeral Mass in Brooklyn's St. Thomas Aquinas Church, we thought long and hard about Jack, really didn't feel as though he needed our prayers. However, we prayed for him just the same since I place very little trust in human judgments in regards to the condition of another soul. Next week we will have a Month's Mind Mass said for Jack Simms at our parish church, Nativity. He is dead a month.

* * *

A neighborhood building contractor has undertaken the job of repairing our damaged home. They have been on the job one week now and haven't done much more than clean out the debris of demolished wood and plaster that has accumulated around the house and yard. However, there are indications that they might be con-

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Offering An Alternative To Colonialism

By THELMA MIELKE

"Bulldozers flattened the homes of 7,000 Africans today after the natives had been forced out of two shanty-town settlements in the suburbs of Nairobi . . . several score . . . had been captured in the area, 500 others had been detained for further investigation and 800 were to be charged for not producing proper permits. The mass of mud-and-water huts was destroyed during week end raids that led to the arrest of twenty-three Africans . . ." This came from a Reuter's dispatch to the New York Times dated April 19th, Nairobi, Kenya.

Since the end of World War II, the struggle of the colonial peoples has reached an unprecedented degree of rebellion against foreign domination. Many of them were involved in that war, and they have decided to take seriously for themselves the promises of the Allies for freedom of all people—and not just freedom for the major allied powers.

Conference after conference, the colonial peoples see nothing except the concerted effort by the administering powers to retain their hold on these colonies even though some terminology might change and some slight concessions might be made in a hope to quell the unrest.

Now the Allied Powers are asking the colonial peoples to resist invasion, but for what purpose? To retain their colonial status? For a person in a colony that is a pretty unimportant and unexciting thing for which to die. Referring to his countrymen, the King of Cambodia recently said, "They do not

want to die for the French and help them stay there." (New York Times, April 19, 1953.)

There is only one way to solve the problems facing these people and that is by ending the whole colonial system immediately by direct negotiation. The system is now passing through the stages of violent death that all social orders have died.

How Can It Be Done?

Shortly after India obtained her independence there was much discussion that India would call a conference of the colonial peoples. This can still be done. Such a conference should not be under the auspices of any agency or international organ where the colonial powers have the controlling voice. It must be a conference for the liberation of peoples and not

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CHRISTI SUMUS!

MARYFARM

By DOROTHY McMAHON

Maryfarm is fast becoming a 'Garden enclosed.' There is a garden to the West of us, and there are gardens to the East of us and gardens to the North of us. And even on the South there are flower gardens near 17K. The men have been working steadily and at this writing the gardens and fields are literally free from weeds. In the West Garden there are long rows of Scarlet Dawn and Valet tomatoes and two rows of cabbage. There was also a row of strawberries which was accidentally run over by the cultivator and now there is space for strawberries. The kitchen garden on the North has rows of Iceberg Lettuce which is heading and which will be on the table sometime during the last week in May. Here, some animal, a rabbit probably, is eating the Swiss Chard and leaving the rows of lettuce untouched! The peas are about to bloom and we have been using the onions and parsley for salads. The asparagus bed must be moved John Filliger says for it is not yielding enough where it is, although we have had it several times. Back of the barn the rows of potatoes and string beans are now covered with a white Dusting Powder which makes them stand out as though they were already in bloom. The sweet corn is up and has been cultivated and the Plum tomatoes and Eggplants are looking very vigorous. In the field beyond the vegetable garden, John Filliger and Rocco, have finished planting the field corn and the seed was first dipped in tar. The field of timothy and oats is coming up very thick. The beets and carrots are up and the furrows have been made for the pepper plants. At the table the other day someone remarked how chlorophyll is being put into everything these days, and Louis said that some

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Workers Defense League

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

The case of Ignatz Mezel dramatized what is going on in United States Immigration for the public. Mezel has been sent to Ellis Island "indefinitely," perhaps for life. No nation will accept him as a deportee, and unless one does, he will be kept on the bare, grey rock in New York harbor for the rest of his days.

The shocking thing that came out in the Mezel case was that he had never been told why he was being deported. Presumably, it was for "subversive" activity—and Mezel had belonged to the International Workers Order, an insurance and benevolent group designated as un-American by the Attorney General (without a hearing). But Mezel was not sure that this was the issue because the accusation had never been made explicit.

The Mezel case made the front pages for a day or two. Then it was forgotten. But it is only one instance in a pattern that runs throughout the immigration activities of the government.

Workers Defense League

As part of my duties at the Workers Defense League, I am in contact with these cases. Founded in the thirties as a non-partisan labor defense agency, the League's emphasis has increasingly been placed upon the defense of individual rights. The days when the corporate rights of the worker—his right to strike, to picket, to bargain collectively—were at issue are gone, at least for a while. Now it is the individual, the alien, or the government employee charged with a "security" risk, who needs protection.

One aspect of this immigration policy is deporting people to countries in which they will face physical persecution. Mrs. Earl Browder, wife of the former Communist Party head, is now facing such a process, and her case will probably be well publicized. But we have seen many more.

Currently, we are handling the case of an anti-Franco Spaniard, a veteran of the Spanish Loyalist navy, who is being deported to Spain. This in spite of the fact that Spanish law makes it a felony for a national to consort with anti-Franco groups outside of Spain—

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State Hiring Hall Unsatisfactory For Longshoremen

By FRANCIS J. MURNANE

The Rev. John M. Corridan deserves respect and gratitude for his valiant fight to expose and defeat the shapeup. Father Corridan is correct when he says the shapeup "is run by and for the exclusive benefit of thugs and gangsters, deprives honest longshoremen of their right to steady work, makes a mockery of economic justice, inspires assorted vile crimes and is gradually ruining a port on which millions of our citizens depend, directly or indirectly, for a livelihood."

It is a tragedy that the International Longshoremen's Association headed by Joseph P. Ryan has deserted and prostituted the great principles of the labor movement. It is a sad fact that millions of Americans think that all unions are operated like the Ryan machine. Enemies of labor are seiz-

ing upon the Ryan debacle as a sounding board against unions in general.

Father Corridan, I am sure, in exposing the sinister aspects on the East Coast, is careful to point out to the public that organized labor does not condone the evils existing on the East Coast waterfronts. The longshoremen on the West Coast, for example, headed by Harry Bridges, long ago eliminated the shapeup, gangsters and racketeers. The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union is a clean, honest, democratically operated trade union that exemplifies the best in American democratic procedures.

Father Corridan, by advocating a state-operated hiring hall system, is treading on dangerous ground. Politicians, who would dominate such an agency, can be just as deadly as gangsters—in fact, the killings, thievery and kickback rackets are the result of a liaison between politicians and gangsters.

It was my great privilege to visit Father Corridan, and his able assistant, Father Carey, on a recent visit to New York City. I endeavored to point out the dangers of a state hiring hall and how labor has always opposed such systems. It was my impression that Father Corridan, a brave and brilliant man, is cognizant of such dangers, but feels that the internal ILA situation is such that no other present course is possible—that it is a sort of calculated risk that he feels must be taken in order to end the vicious shapeup. Further, it was my understanding that such a plan is being advocated on a temporary basis.

However, Father Corridan, no matter how well intentioned, may well be creating a Frankenstein monster. History proves that so-called temporary measures tend to become permanent and exceedingly difficult to change. There were those who viewed the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law in the same light. Look at what has happened!

The state hiring hall, even on a so-called temporary basis, is not the solution for the longshoremen of New York. There is only one effective way to eliminate the evils, and that is for the longshoremen to unite, develop honest rank and file leaders, and set about to emancipate themselves. Reliance on politicians or others is a snare and a delusion.

Such unity of purpose can surmount the intimidation by gangsters and racketeers. It will develop great leadership now latent in the ranks. It will build a longshoremen's union that will be a fitting monument to all that is best in the labor movement.

The job, difficult though it is, can be done! It has to be done! The longshoremen can profit by the experience of the New York fur workers. They were confronted with similar conditions. They had to fight the Lepke mob. They organized fighting squadrons. Whenever the gangsters beat up a union official or perpetrated other acts of violence, a signal was sounded in the fur district and fur workers came pouring out of the shops, converged on the trouble area, and DEFEATED the gangsters. Take a gun away from a gangster and inevitably he is a craven coward. The fur workers cleaned up the industry and built a powerful union.

The longshoremen of New York and New Jersey are capable of performing the job that the labor movement expects of them. With a real rank and file union in control, justice and harmony will prevail on the troubled waterfront.

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Survival Of Man

By GEORGE CARLIN

which includes government-sponsored birth control and sterilization clinics. Japan also has a Eugenics Law to spread the use of contraceptives and to provide facilities for economically poor women to have their babies removed by abortion. In 1952 there were 300,000 abortions registered by the State and an estimated 600,000 performed privately.

Jacques Maritain has written to Mr. Brittain deploring the fact that men will not turn from the disastrous route of birth-control even when the alternatives are so clearly indicated to them. Through Mr. Maritain's efforts "Let There Be Bread" is soon to be published in France, and Jacques Maritain is writing the introduction for it.

Other books on the subject that might be of interest to readers are "Too Many of Us?" by Father Robert Névet S.J., the Indian Institute of Social Order, Le Bund, Garden Road, Poona, India, and "Can he World Feed Itself?" by Clarence Enzler and the Catholic Association for International Peace, 1312 Massachusetts avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

* * *

Despite the Holy Father's plea at Christmas for freer immigration

laws so that families may have the right to leave a depressed area in the world and enter one where they have a better chance of surviving, the immigration laws in the West are far from ideal. One need not mention the McCarran Act that excludes Asiatics simply because of their color.

Far more at fault is Australia. This country is almost as large as the United States in area. Yet it has only 8,700,000 people compared to our population of 140,000,000. And the Australians with "white supremacy" have not only repeatedly banned any immigration from Asia, but won't even allow a few Australian servicemen to bring into the country Asian brides.

The whole north of Australia, a rich farming area, is going to waste because there is no one to farm it. There are fewer than 400,000 people in the area. A "small" landowner there is considered one that has "less than" 200,000 square miles! Sir Raphael Cilento, former UN official and one of Australia's most distinguished leaders, has said:

"We have reached the point of crisis where we must effectively colonize the area or lose it. In a hungry world we are one of the

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+ + + BOOK REVIEWS + + +

Jacques Maritain

CREATIVE INTUITION IN ART AND POETRY

Jacques Maritain, Bollingen Series XXXV-1, Pantheon, New York, \$6.50. Reviewed by Michael Harrington.

Jacques Maritain has long been one of the finest contemporary apologists for the art of our times. Many of the notions which he advances in *Creative Intuition* will enhance this well-deserved reputation.

It is perhaps paradoxical that this should be so—than an able defender of "modern" art should identify his intellectual debt to the Middle Ages. Indeed there are aspects of real contradiction in this fact.

The Self

Maritain's initial thesis is both historical and critical. He sees the development of modern art (from the Renaissance on) as a progressive self-awareness. Thus the emphasis shifts from the object (man, as discovered by the perspective and chiaroscuro of the fourteenth century) to the mode of the artist's knowing (the painting of the artists' sensations by the impressionists, of his ideas about the object and its abstract relationships in the twentieth century). This art is contrasted to that of the Orient in which the ideal is excluded the personality of the artist from the object created. Maritain's analysis is, I think, fundamentally correct (and incidentally it parallels that of Ortega y Gasset, made some years ago in an essay, *Point of View in Art*), but the significant thing is the critical use to which he puts his historical data.

According to Maritain, the end of this process in the twentieth century is the revelation of subjectivity. For many this would be enough to damn modern art on the spot. But Maritain points out that subjectivity is not arbitrary, that it grows precisely through contact with the real world. Thus what we have is not a one-sided egotism of the artist endlessly talking about himself, but a genuine "interpenetration" between object and subject.

The Object

This interpenetration is the more important because it has seized upon the essential nature of poetry and liberated it: modern artistic "subjectivity" is, for Maritain, the expression of a profound freedom.

The object of science is a knowledge which must subordinate itself to the world which it reports. Though intuition plays its part in the approach of the individual scientist, the reality which is investigated, in a sense, "dictates" the result.

The object of the craftsman involves a certain freedom, yet ultimately there is a functional subordination. The boat to be made must conform to various rules or else it will not float.

But poetry (taken in the broad sense as meaning all the fine arts) has no such limits because it is actually creative and not reportorial or functional. (In an earlier essay, Maritain had analogized the poet to God because he "most nearly creates ex nihilo.")

Given these definitions, the subjectivity of modern art becomes an accomplishment of the first magnitude, a liberation. To take but one instance which Maritain treats: in modern poetry the elimination of the moralizing prose statement and the direct expression of the emotion in the object has moved art closer to that freedom which is its source.

Society

Maritain treats the relation of art to society—but here there must be qualifications. He rightly finds the "creative self" which is the liberation of great modern art counterbalanced by a "self-centered ego" which is its death. This transportation—an almost inevit-

able mistake—believes that the artist himself is infinitely interesting without reference to the objective work to be made. At its worst, it has led to sterile posturing and heroics.

But in analyzing the phenomenon I think Maritain makes two mistakes. First, he over-emphasizes the role of French surrealism. Granted that the manifestoes of the French surrealists were sometimes so self-consciously avant-garde as to be foolish, nevertheless these proclamations were not even the working program of the very men who wrote them. They were silly in many respects, but as far as the actual practice of art goes, unimportant. On the other hand, what is fertile and good in the surrealist movement has been important. Witness the impact of the French experience upon the current younger generation of English poets. Those men gathered around Herbert Read—Treece, Shimanski, Watkins and, in part, Dylan Thomas—were all influenced by work across the channel. Not by the nonsense about automatic writing, but by the solid accomplishment of a movement which went back to as genuine a talent as Guillaume Apollinaire.

The second mistake is more critical—and surprising. Maritain is at his best when relating the craftsman and fine artist, homo faber and homo artificer. But he considers their relation in a philosophical level and lets it go at that.

The fact is that art bears a profound relation to the general economic characteristics of the society in which it lives. Thus, in explaining the alienation of the artist from modern mass society, there can be no clear discussion unless this is related to the whole drift of bourgeois society and the impotence of its values in the present crisis. Failure to do this on the part of Maritain is joined to an over-exaggeration of the influence of ideology, particularly theology, on the art of a given period.

Creative Intuition

But it is in his discussion of creative intuition (and his collection of "texts without comment" to follow every chapter) that Maritain lives up to his previous reputation and enhances it.

His description of the process by which the interpenetration of subject and object becomes a work of art is masterful. He rightly insists on the "preconscious" character of much of the process (though, I think, he too easily dismisses a Freudian straw man in differentiating his concept from that of psychiatry).

And here I find the paradox—perhaps the contradiction.

For Jacques Maritain is himself very much of an artist. Even writing in an alien tongue, as here, he shows a striking gift for the intuitive phrase. I have no doubt that his Thomism is part of the process which brings forth these phrases, yet it is only part. Somehow I felt that many (not all) of the "philosophical" passages of this book were decidedly inferior to the intuitive—and that the book was the better because it was the least formally logical of Maritain's long studies on art. Certainly Maritain's choice of texts (ranging from Plato to Dylan Thomas) and his discussion of them show a rare, poetic intelligence. I found, for example, that his discussion of the preconscious part of interpenetration, the mystery of it, was more illuminating than his relating it to the Thomistic notion of the intellectus agens.

But whatever the qualifications, the description and discussion of creative intuition is rich and worth while, the insistence on the part which the rational plays even in poetry important for our time. Whether it is Maritain as poet or Maritain as philosopher who ultimately

guides this work, the end product is worthy of the time and meditation of anyone interested in the very real problems which are considered.

Allen Tate

THE FORLORN DEMON

Didactic and critical essays by Allen Tate, Henry Regnery Company, Chicago. \$3.00; 180 pages. Reviewed by Richard Donnelly.

Here is a collection of essays which deal with aspects of the creative imagination, and the problems which confront that imagination in the modern world. Some are discussions of important literary influence such as Donne, Dante, Johnson, Poe, Hart Crane; others, such as "The Man of Letters: In The Modern World" and "To Whom Is the Poet Responsible?" are didactic assertions on the state of our culture. Mr. Tate's didacticism is refreshing; he has much to say, and he says it forcefully and lucidly.

Discussing "The Man of Letters," Allen Tate in one sentence disposes of the variety of hacks, political, religious, and otherwise, who demand that the literary man legislate morality and/or politics: "He has an immediate responsibility to



other men, no less than to himself, for the vitality of language."

Mr. Tate has suggested elsewhere (in the preface to his "On the Limits of Poetry," William Morrow and Company, 1948) that poetry cannot be expected to save mankind from those disasters in which poetry itself must be involved, that it is "neither religion nor social engineering." And this is why all of Mr. Tate's criticism is important: he has always looked at literature as literature. Throughout these essays there is a constant insistence that "the human condition must be faced and embodied in language..." that poetry bears a relation to a concrete, sensible world; this is no rejection of Rimbaud and the surrealists, they represent a critical moment in history "from which poetry of great power may emerge."

Good criticism is always a matter of sensibility and intelligence. A convert to Catholicism, Mr. Tate, has given an impressive demonstration of these two faculties in all of the essays in this book, but the reader is especially directed to two remarkable ones—"The Symbolic Imagination," a discourse on a single image, that of light, in *The Divine Comedy*, and "The Angelic Imagination," a long essay on "Poe as God." In his essay on Dante, the author implies that Catholic sensibility has changed, that from Thompson to Lowell, it has become angelic; with their rejection of the natural order they lost the gift which Dante possessed, "the gift for concrete experience." Whatever the value of such a criterion, it is never applied dogmatically or to the exclusion of that poetry which might suffer from "angelism."

Allen Tate is a poet and a critic, and his poetic sensibility has so informed his criticism that however violently we might disagree with a particular premise or conclusion of his, we are always stimulated, always informed. But what I propose to object to is a certain attitude, not always present, in those essays which deal more specifically with culture and our present society. Mr. Tate's attitude (in itself hard to define—perhaps it is my own prejudice) is indicated in this sen-

FATHER TOMPKINS

FATHER TOMPKINS OF NOVA SCOTIA. By George Boyle. Publishers: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. \$3. Reviewed by Tom Sullivan.

In an all too brief work of 234 pages George Boyle presents the life of the late Father Jimmy Tompkins of Nova Scotia, who was world famous for his work in co-operatives.

This book traces the life of Father Tompkins from the time he was a young country school teacher of seventeen till his final illness at the age of eight-two.

In the first pages we catch a quick glimpse of Jimmy Tompkins as a layman teacher who appeared too small and frail to survive the harsh life which was the lot of followers of this profession in that part of the world. But Jimmy survived well and went on to become a priest in Rome.

Upon his return from Rome, Father Tompkins was invited to join the faculty of St. Francis Xavier college in Nova Scotia, where he excelled as a first rate teacher. He was soon recognized as a professor who was more interested in imparting knowledge than in preparing students to pass cut and dried examinations. Outside of the regular classes Father Tompkins was known to the students as willing to teach them any subject he knew at any time or place.

After a short time at St. Francis Xavier's, Father Tompkins brought out his interest in initiating a Peoples School. Herein Father Tompkins saw an opportunity for adults to obtain an education. This was at the turn of the century when adult education was unheard of. He had the firm belief in this adult school program that the people should learn what they most

tence: "Reason—in the sense of moderate unbelief in difficult truths about human nature—and belief in the perfectibility of man-in-the-gross, were the great liberal dogmas which underlay much of our present trouble." The first part of the sentence is a brilliant ironic statement on a certain liberal mystique; the second part of the sentence, and especially the phrase "man-in-the-gross" (aside from its awkwardness) seems to imply a disdain, or simply a disregard for one of the most pressing problems of our times. Do the great liberal dogmas underlie much of our present trouble? This is certainly debatable. It would appear to be something much more basic: we might call it exploitation.

It is evident that Mr. Tate has assimilated a great deal of Thomism, and it disciplines all he has to say. Unlike Poe, his metaphysics has penetrated his imagination, and in such a way as to benefit both author and reader. He closes his essay on Poe and Poe's angelism with an observation we should always hold in mind: "Man as angel becomes a demon who cannot initiate the first motion of love, and we can only feel compassion with his suffering, for it is potentially ours."

wanted to learn and that their courses should not be prescribed by the academic ivory towers in the field of education.

At the age of fifty-two Father Tompkins was transferred from St. Francis Xavier college to the pastorate of parish in Canso, a village of poverty stricken fishermen. The terrible struggle for existence among the people of Canso enraged Father Tompkins and drove him to a hand to hand combat with the problem of earning a bare living for these poor souls of Canso. The cooperative system among the fisheries proved to be his and their answer to their excruciating quest for survival.

In one of his first sermons, Father Tompkins mentioned to his parishioners that he was aware of a considerable amount of stealing which was being carried on all about him. However he pointed out that he did not intend to berate them for this particular infraction but wanted to get together with them and discover why they had to steal. He was often heard to state that any difficulty could be straightened out if people "got together—worked together and prayed together."

While Father Tompkins was not averse to requesting and accepting government help when there was an actual need, still he was often wont to quote, "What people can do for themselves is more important than what governments can do for them."

After some ten years of work in Canso where he saw the co-operatives flourish among the fishermen, Father Tompkins was forced due to illness to retire from parish work. It was not for long since he was one who could not rest. He learned of the need for a pastor in the town of Reserve Mines which was located in the center of the Cape Breton coal fields. Thus at the age of sixty-four he again plunged into the exacting work of a full time pastor among these coal miners. As in Canso he tied up the spiritual with the material life and began to teach his parishioners the thing which would make for the good life. He started study clubs and encouraged all those who were interested in learning the subjects that were close to their lives.

I believe that Father Jimmy Tompkins was one of the most important men in our era and I would urgently beg our readers to be sure and read this book. I would also strongly suggest that you read another book about Father Tompkins and the Nova Scotia Co-operatives entitled, *The Lord Helps Those*, written by Bertram Fowler and published in N. Y. (1938) by Vanguard.

* * *

Many of us associated with the *Catholic Worker* through the years, knew and admired Father Jimmy Tompkins and his tremendous work for God and his fellowman. His death on May 5, 1953, will sadden many people and the world is greatly impoverished by his loss. May he rest in peace.

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FROM THE MAIL BAG

APPEAL

St. Mary's College,
Kurseong, D. H. Ry.,
India.

Dear Mrs. Day:

You have certainly helped us quite a lot with the books you sent. But I was very interested in "The Catholic Worker" and your work in the "Houses of Hospitality." In fact, I wished to beg you not only for one copy of the Catholic Worker, but as many as you could spare, so that they would be an inspiration not only to the Fathers here, and the Sodalists in the nearby school, but also to non-Catholics, so occupied at present with the social question in India. We need to work and work fast, else we shall have soon to repent once the Communists have taken things in hand. At present they are making such successful and widespread propaganda that those in the know have said that India should be Communist within a few years. Yes, humanly speaking, we are fighting a losing battle, but we know in WHOM we have believed, and fighting with Him, our Crucified and Glorious King, we are confident of Victory, though that may well be in His own time and way, which may mean great sacrifices on our part. Being an Indian, and a native of Bombay, I feel keenly the misery of my people, and long to do something to raise them from their present sub-human level and defend them from Communist reduction. But for that we need your help. I have been studying Cooperatives as a solution to many of my people's problems. But I haven't the books to make a thorough study of the theological, moral, psychological, social, and economic foundations and advantages of the movement. And this must be studied and articles written to arouse the interest of priests and laymen in this "ideal of serv-

ice and social solidarity" if it has to gain the day in the field against the Communists. For just now, after the exploitation of monopolistic Capitalism, factory workers and farm laborers have all turned their ideas to Communism as the salvation of the land. We have to show them this "Middle Way," with your help.

By surface mail I shall be sending you extracts that will give you a more complete picture of the miserable conditions in which our people live. That will show you the reason of the Communist successful propaganda. It will also show the need of immediate effort on our part to save our people. As I say, humanly speaking it seems a lost cause we are sponsoring. But we know well that the human side of the picture is not half of the reality. With the relative optimism, trusting in the Sacred Heart, we must go forward courageously, energetically, and smilingly. And that we may succeed in getting energetic helpers, both clerical and lay, to help us in this project, and also that those we work with correspond with His Grace, we need your prayers and sacrifices. I have never felt my littleness so much as when I contact the patients of the T. B. Sanatorium I visit. Except for one Catholic, the rest are Hindus, Mohammedans, etc. Some don't believe in God, and how little my words do—if I do not connect that visiting with prayers and sacrifices to gain them the grace to correspond with God's inspiration, little fruit will all my ministrations bear. So do pray that I be the priest my dear Master wished me to be, that I do not fail Him and the souls that will cross my path may be the better for having met me—the priesthood, what a privilege, and yet what a responsibility! People

always ask the priest to pray for their needs, but he only realizes his own great weakness and needs. For his work will bear fruition, and he will be an "elevator" of his community, only in proportion he is divested from all self-interest and self-love, and his will conforms with Christ's will, to be the more fully His instrument in the salvation of souls. Do pray that I be all this. And while I thank you for all the favors I beg, I promise to pray for you and your work and all your associates.

I shall be grateful for any old Catholic literature, in the form of periodicals and pamphlets, etc., that will be very useful here for Catholics and non-Catholics to give them a better knowledge and love of our Crucified Love and the Church's social doctrine, etc., etc. No matter if the literature is months old, and soiled—they will be extremely useful. Then I beg for the constant sacrifices and prayers of all, that the cooperative movement in India succeed.

Yours sincerely in Our Lord,
S. Miranda, S. J.



Outstretched Hand

Rural Route
Yellow Springs, Ohio
May 15, 1953.

The Catholic Worker
223 Chrystie Street
New York City

Dear Catholic Workers:

After reading your special issue devoted to Peter Maurin and the green revolution, I realize that I might be in a position to give help to some who are attempting to get started on the land. One who is himself still learning often makes the best teacher. It is twelve years since I turned my back on the city and I feel I am still a long way from where I intended to be. However, I think I know by rote many of the mistakes that beginners make—long before they make them. If any family, old or young, or a single individual wants to come for a few months, I will be willing to consider them. There is a house at present vacant.

It doesn't seem worth while to give a lot of details unless someone is really interested. I run a small rented farm of about 40 acres about three miles south of Yellow Springs.

Sincerely yours,
Roger S. Lorenz

Blessed Richard Gwyn

Dear Mr. Editor,

I would very much like through your columns to get in touch with American Catholics of Welsh birth or extraction. My diocese (Minevia) covers 11/13ths of Wales and its name is that of the old See of S. David, the Apostle of Wales.

At the moment we are trying to foster devotion to and to obtain the canonisation of Blessed Richard Gwyn, the Proto-martyr of Wales after the Reformation. He was a Schoolmaster, born in Llanidloes in Montgomeryshire, and martyred, because he was a Catholic Schoolmaster, in the Beast Market of this town of Wrexham on October 17th, 1584. I feel sure that Catholics of Welsh ancestry would be interested.

Should any of your readers be of Welsh birth or extraction and care to write me personally I shall be delighted to reply to them. Since the total number of Catholics in this large area of Wales is only 24,000 an interest which is shown in their doings here is of great help and encouragement to them.

Yours sincerely,
Bishop of Menevia.

The Right Reverend John E. Petit,
D.D., M.A.

Christian Village

Mt. Angel, Oregon.

First, Monsignor Ligutti replied to the letter Fr. Tobin sent him inquiring about the land movement by encouraging the move to the country but warning that large-scale cooperative projects take money and have complications too numerous to mention. Monsignor most surely know whereof he speaks, and I am resigned to limit my ambitions if it seems to be God's will. However, having prayed, pondered, and palavered ourselves this far, I can't help trying a few more angles.

If so many economists, philosophers, liturgists are agreed that the ideal human society would be a Christian Village Economy, is it so blind and stupid to aim directly at this idea and try to arrange our lives so that we may live it to some extent now? To be experimenting, discussing, praying our way toward that return of all things to Christ? Either to be giving hope by our modest success or warning where we fail.

* * *

How many other families and individuals are there who, like ourselves, have never quite found their own niche, who feel they have yet to find their role in the apostolate? We would like to feel that we can dedicate every moment to God, and to do so you must be doing necessary, worthwhile labor. So much of man's occupation now is useless, even foolish, in the extreme. If God seems pleased to leave some of us displaced, perhaps by joining forces, pooling talents, abilities, and resources, we can find His will for us. Surely nothing can be lost by the thought-clarifying effects of group discussion.

* * *

Land is the biggest stumbling block. There should be enough for each family to have a kitchen garden, some chickens, stake out a cow, some semblance of subsistence. Then it would be so much better if enough more land was available, owned or leased on a long term, to provide an occupational trend to the village for security and stability. By cooperating with county agents and using conservation methods the most hopeless land can hold future promise at least. Land is a trust. Every inch of this good green earth must be accounted for to God.

We have been doing salvage logging lately, and the breakdown of equipment, road washout, mill troubles would not be half so heart-breaking if we had the security of ownership behind us. Art has been sick and you realize that timber-rights can go into other hands and in a short time you must try to find another patch. Oh, for a piece of timber land that could be managed on a perpetual sustained-yield basis for the direct benefit of the community it supported! Loggers are drifters, and those who have settled their families on the land must leave them for work far off—shifting with the big time companies. Weyerhaeuser's millions of acres could be just as efficiently handled by intelligent cooperative groups of his workers. What a conversion that would be if he were only inspired by the communitarian efforts in France!

* * *

The economic possibilities are just as numerous as the talents involved. Monsignor's mention of the headaches of personality conflicts and greed and pride cannot be ignored, but we overlook quirks of nature in our daily contacts without thought and yet are frightened by the thought of deliberately cooperating with some "crackpot" who dares hope for a better world.

On Fr. Tobin's suggestion, we will write to the Crowleys in Chicago. The cell technique and organization of the Christian Family Movement might be a good way

to begin a Christian Village Movement. At least it will give us opportunities for guidance in the liturgical reforms so dear to our hearts. Why cannot gospel inquiry be extended into the field of economics and social behavior? Why can't there be hope of specific application of these truths?

Do you remember Simone Weil's warning that the idea of "rights" begets conflict and struggle? We are almost drunk with the yearning for justice, but Christ's reign will be one of mercy and love. He has so carefully nourished this family through the ministrations of kind friends and neighbors that we have no real fears in spite of much sickness and a consequent precarity. If we ever succeed in establishing ourselves in this apostolate of families it will be a classic example of God's showing forth His power in weakness. May He be pleased to accept our feeble efforts as a bit of that "dunging" which you so often remind us must precede the harvest.

Art and Maryanna Manion
and family

Appeal

Convent of Our Lady
Help of Christians

Eravipuram, U.S.T.C., S. India

Dear Sir,

Feeling almost sure that you will give voice to my appeal on behalf of the poor, through your valuable papers, I give here below my present pressing needs in as few lines as possible.

Having been driven to the necessity of giving shelter to derelicts—women, babies and girls who went by daily, creeping from door to door, and at night taking shelter on the steps of the gates of their more fortunate brethren, I walled off a bit of a wing of an old church given for the use of the Sisters. This little room is now crowded and the Convent is being besieged—for more admissions. Dear Editor, do plead my cause through our paper and put before the Charitable the necessity of a house to take these our less fortunate brethren off the streets and give them a roof over their heads, food and clothing to cover their bones. The monsoons are approaching May, June and July are months that will take the toll of these unfortunates. Please do hold out your hands in charity and God can return you a hundredfold the alms given by those who make His cause their own. Every little gift will be gratefully received and in return the prayers of the Sisters and these derelicts will always go with you.

We work under His Lordship,
Rt. Rev. Jerome Fernandez, Bishop of Quilon.

Yours sincerely in Christ,
Sister M. Clare, Superior

Aachen, Germany.

Our dear friends of the Catholic Worker:

As sign of our profoundest gratitude and in remembrance of all charity what you have done us, we send our best wishes and greetings for Easter to you and to all collaborators of your work. May your News always be a caller of the good and of the peace and of the justice. More than ever we must cry for peace, for that time is come, when we must cry: "Help Lord, we perish"! If the world goes to another war, there will be less chance of our survival than there is if we have peace. The worst peace that was ever made between nations was better than the most glorious war, because the common people must suffer most as a result of war all the time.

You must help with your News, that people will learn it, and I shall help whilst I offer up my prayers and maimed body. May God grant us and give to the world peace.

H. Seise.

NEIGHBORS

Edenboro, Pa.

For a long time I have wanted to write you—ever since a friend sent me ON PILGRIMAGE in the spring of 1951—but it is one of those things I have never done—why, I don't know.

Last night Richard Dvorak said he had written you about his farm, perhaps about ours (Betty Clendenning's and ours), he didn't say. And I feel that now is the time to write. Though there were other factors involved, it was in a large measure due to my reading of ON PILGRIMAGE that we were able to make the move to St. Martin Farm in the spring of 1951. For that I will always be grateful. This fall we sold the farm, believing that 58 acres was too much for one family to handle, moved into town close to my husband's teaching job, bought some new goats and chickens, and have actually been living a far more efficient farm life right here in town, where fortunately there are no restrictions.

However, the people who bought the farm reneged about a month ago, and it is back in our hands; after much thought we decided we would go back and try again; it then occurred to us that instead of trying it alone we should try once more to establish a community. (We had hoped for that in the beginning with the Dvoraks and the Thorntons and had offered them land, but each family bought its own farm.) During the past few weeks we have met several times with both families, in an attempt to find a way for all of us, and several possibilities have presented themselves. Though the Thorntons believe they are not ready for community living, the rest of us believe we should try it. So on April 1, Betty and myself and the children are going to the Dvorak farm and Larry will come when he's through school in May. That will leave the other farm house free, unless we decide that Dick's farm is too big and we should combine our efforts at the smaller farm. This will depend largely upon whether we can find other families interested in living cooperatively as far as the land is concerned (that is, working together on the land and sharing in its yields). And I imagine that some or all of this Dick has written you, so that perhaps my writing is unnecessary except that I feel it is necessary to say that we would like to find a family who is not in need of a home, but who is in need of sharing its convictions about a way of life and then sharing that life; in other words a family or individual who wants to live on the land and live cooperatively.

It is my belief that if even one small group of individuals or families grouped together on the land—with say a maximum of 12 units—living separate family lives but sharing in the work involved on the land and sharing in creative activity such as singing, dancing, perhaps the drama (that is our own particular interest) were to set an example of peaceful fruitful living, far more would be accomplished toward the ends the Catholic Worker movement is seeking than any number of words which could be written on the "green revolution," "pacifism," or "social justice," though the words too are necessary.

It seems to me so often in reading the CATHOLIC WORKER that some synthesis is needed to tie all the ends together and that when that synthesis is found there will be no "Long Loneliness."

MARGARET VINCENT

On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 2)

They don't want to take over the factories, land, in any decentralist or distributist movement. They don't think it possible. They are more intent on preserving the status quo of our industrial capitalist system. So what they get is capitalism or communism, and we don't want either. We would like to see a country made up of farming communes, agronomic universities, hospices, unions, cooperatives, small units of all those necessary institutions to be preserved, and a doing away with luxury in order to have the essential which is ownership of house and field and job, and the responsibility which goes with that ownership. We wish to abolish the proletariat state, rather than establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolish the wage system which provides men with luxuries but not the essentials. And it is good to think of the "four hour day" of manual labor that Peter Maurin stresses so that we will have time to study and to pray. And that last comes first. If we prayed enough, great things would come to pass. If we prayed enough, we would grow in strength of soul and body and there would be love in our hearts, not fear.

Two Examples

We have to make the kind of society where it is easy for people to be good, Peter Maurin used to say. And we have to have good men to make that society. And so we go round in a circle.

But here are two examples of goodness and love without fear in this present day. There is a scornful term used nowadays. "Dogooders." And yet "Christ went around doing good," as the Gospel says. To love God is to love your brother. "In this we have come to know His love," St. John says, "that he laid down his life for us, and we likewise ought to lay down our life for the brethren . . . He who has the goods of this world and sees his brother in need and closes his heart to him, how does the love of God abide in him?"

When I read of Adlai Stevenson going around Indo China in an armoured car. I thought of Lydwine van Kersbergen going around Africa in an old car with a companion, another woman, and penetrating the most inaccessible places. St. Ignatius of Antioch went to the wild beasts with joy and I am sure that the spirit of the lay missionary movement is that if either wild beasts, or Mau Mau devour them, in the chance they take in trying to reach the least of their brothers, then they will rejoice to be "ground like wheat."

Another Great Soul

Time magazine gave the cover story to Vinoba Bhave this month, and his two year hike around India persuading the rich to give to the poor. In the last two weeks alone, he has distributed 356,000 acres, and these he "looted" from the rich, "with love." One poor peasant gave one fortieth of an acre, when he had only one acre to call his own. Bhave came from a well-to-do family, he was a student when he joined Gandhi, he knew Sanskrit and many Indian dialects and was a learned man as well as a man of prayer. He travels by foot, always, he lives with the poor, and when he starts walking from one to another of India's 700,000 villages, he starts the day with prayer and walks singing hymns. At first he preached *ahimsa*, non violence, but this was not enough.

"I confess that the incendiary and murderous activities of the communists did not unnerve me, because I know that the birth of a new culture has always been accompanied in the past by blood baths. What is needed is not to get panicky, but to keep cool and find a peaceful means to resolve the conflict. The police are not expected to think out and execute reforms. To clear a jungle of tigers their employment would be

useful. But here we have to do with human beings, however mistaken or misguided. When a new idea is born, new repression cannot combat it."

"You must perform every action sacramentally and be free from all attachment to result." "The way of love is always new." "My object is to transform the whole of society." "The people are going to solve their own problems, not I. I am simply creating an atmosphere. The beginning is always small, but when the atmosphere spreads someone will ask, and someone will give."

How Peter Maurin would have loved Bhave!

Speaking

To get back to this year, during the month of May, I spoke first at our own. Friday night meeting on May first. There were a few of our number distributing copies of the Catholic Worker in Union Square, as usual. On Sunday May 3, I spoke at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, at a communion breakfast, and that evening at Palm Garden, at a meeting for free speech, and as a protest against Senator McCarthy and his investigations, which I consider a manifestation of evil, and giving birth to fear and repression in the world. Man's freedom stems from his free will, and he must respect the freedom of other men because they are made to the image and likeness of God and are temples of the Holy Spirit. To build up fear of other men is to build up hatred too. "Perfect love casts out fear." Such a witch hunt as has been set loose in the country today, serves to distract the mind from our own militarization and enslavement, our growing materialism, and to set us in the self righteous position of rooting out the evil in other men, paying no attention to the beam in our own eye. It is always so satisfactory to find a scapegoat on which to heap our sins. During the depression it was the international Jewish bankers. Now it is the communist.

The teacher is afraid to speak of interracial justice, of peace, of social justice these days, for fear he may be considered subversive. Loyalty oaths are beginning to be required at some state universities before a speaker can give an address to the students. This last month, Fritz Eichenberg, Quaker, who does magnificent illustrations for *The Catholic Worker*, refused to take the loyalty oath at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn where he teaches. I suppose that means he loses his job. One must accept voluntary poverty these days to keep his integrity.

The occupied countries became the occupied countries because people were terrorized into saying yes, when they should have said no. Hitler and Stalin, Mussolini and Franco—this is the age of repression and McCarthy, in the guise of fighting Communism, is finding it in any honest criticism of the status quo. (Our Lady of Fatima said, "Do penance, and Russia will be converted.")

The Status Quo

David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*—a study of the changing American character, published by the Yale University Press writes (and I think of this when I think of our anarchist-pacifist position):

"We need to insist today on bringing to consciousness the kind of ideas that Marx dismissed as utopian. However, since we live in a time of disenchantment, such thinking, where it is rational in aim and method and not simply escapism, is not easy. It is easier to concentrate on programs for choosing among lesser evils. We are well aware of 'the damned wantlessness of the poor,' . . . Both rich and poor avoid any goals, personal or social, that seem out of step with peer-group aspirations. In dynamic political context, it is the modest, commonsense goals of constructive critics that are unattainable. It often seems that the retention of a given status quo

is a modest hope; many lawyers, political scientists and economists occupy themselves by suggesting the minimal changes which are necessary to stand still; yet today this hope is almost invariably disappointed; the status quo proves the most illusory of goals."

Report of the Month

What else has happened during this month this year. We went to press last month on a hot and beautiful day, April 27. From the printer I went down to Peter Maurin Farm, and at seven the next morning a group of us drove to Maryfarm to make a day of recollection, Hans and Ed, Pat Rusk and Lucille Smith and baby Paul, my godchild, and Bernadette who is twelve and came along to hold the baby so her mother could



ST. ANTHONY

make the conferences given by Msgr. Fiorentino. It was a beautiful day for us all. We drove back at five and instead of going down the turnpike to Staten Island and avoiding New York city, we drove to the house of hospitality, so the others could see the results of the fire, and get copies of the new issue of the paper.

Then Pat drove them all home, coming in again the next day for the funeral of Jack Simms from St. Thomas Aquinas Church. There was a beautiful solemn high requiem Mass and then Marie Kinley, Roger O'Neil, Pat and I drove out to St. Charles cemetery near Farmingdale. It was a fearful drive through traffic, at fifty miles an hour and after narrowly avoiding a collision a few times I decided to drop behind the procession which waited for me some miles on. The driver of the hearse leaned out of his car and shouted at me, "Got to make time, you know!" "Time is money," I replied, but he did not hear my sarcasm. It is sad that there must be such haste at funerals and the sense of quiet and peace is destroyed by speed.

After a brief ceremony at the cemetery we drove out to the Edgewood Division of Pilgrim State Hospital at Brentwood, way out on Long Island, where Frank Wagner and John Pohl are held for tuberculosis. It is a long trip, and hard to take without a car. On the way back, we stopped at Bayside to visit the de Montfort Fathers, who gave us copies of *The Secret of Mary*, which I like to reread every May in honor of our Lady.

It is St. Augustine who says that the flesh of Jesus is the flesh of Mary, and that we must be formed, as Jesus was, in her womb. I know what it means now to sign oneself "In Mary." If we wish to

Life at Hard Labor

(Continued from page 2)

tying carrots. A new ruling by the U. S. government does not allow the grower to charge Mexican Nationals for the "twisters" with which they tie the bunches of carrots. Whether others have to pay for these "twisters" or not I do not know. Mexican Nationals get 70c an hour for common labor, one of them told me with whom I walked up the lateral from the bus last night. They also get a shack to live in.

* * *

This week James has only the "normal flow" of water so I will not have so much irrigating to do. Broadly speaking this is for farmers with "A" water rights the amount of water that would come down the Salt River if it was not backed up behind the dam. Most of the water comes from drilled wells here in the valley. The other night I was up late writing the last chapter of my Autobiography when James called and wanted me to come at 10 p.m. and irrigate. Seems that the zanjero had turned the water on and had not told him, and it was by accident that he saw it in the ditch. These days you order water and never know when you are going to get it. This new super-efficient system of water control with mobile telephones and expensive office machines that record every supposed drop of water in the valley is a mess. The Old Pioneer told me when they started it that it was too centralized and cumbersome. The old system required a zanjero on each lateral to be at hand for a phone call about 24 hours a day which meant that his wife generally had to answer the phone when he was out checking water. Zanjeros generally live near a big pump in a company house. The union wanted some pay for this extra work so to keep from paying it they got these mobile phones and centralized nuisance.

* * *

Waiting for the bus last night I sat on a bench and heard two old age pensioners discussing how much a person could get by with in Arizona. They had moved here from other states and established residence and now were getting a pension. One told of a friend who sold some lots for \$18,000 and salted the money away and got a pension for years. Then he died and his widow still gets a pension. They felt there was so much money being handed out all over the world and being shot away in war and being stolen by politicians that what little they got by with was hardly worth mentioning. "The copper companies always have every legislature bought and paid for so they never do pay their share of the taxes, so why should we be careful about the little we get," one of them said. While the Boy Scout junior Senator from Arizona does not need to be "bought" because he is already "copper-minded" and has the mining lawyers work with him to destroy the unions in the mining if possible, there are other legislators who always seem to have a hand out and vote accordingly.

* * *

I laughed as I opened the box sent to me from my Denver CW friends, for it contained overshoes which I had left there last December. It had not rained here for four months, and this must have been an omen for in a few days it rained for several hours. I was happy for it would give me a rest

be formed in the image of Christ, there is the mold.

Secularism

Speaking at a dockworkers' breakfast last month, Msgr. John J. O'Donnell, known as "port chaplain," defended Joseph P. Ryan, who has been indicted on grand larceny charges. "Mr. Ryan is a personal friend of mine and a trustee of Guardian Angels' Church. He keeps his hands off the spiritual things of my church and I keep my hands out of his business," said Msgr. O'Donnell.

from irrigating. Today (May 18) as I was gathering the eggs the Mexican who was cultivating the field of melons close by for the big company bemoaned the necessity for this extra work because of the rain. The field had just been cultivated and looked beautiful with the long rows of green melon vines and the fresh brown earth all around them. Now the sun had baked the earth after the rain and if the field was not immediately cultivated to break this crust the little hard needles of dirt would make holes in the tender melons which were now the size of small eggs and spoil them. Arizona is surely a land of contrasts: No rain and then when it does rain it causes trouble; so much sun that the chickens stay in the shade and do not get enough sun; more Indians here than in any other state, with the politicians crying because they don't get taxes from the Indians, yet the tourist trade that is attracted by the presence of these Indians brings millions to the whites.

* * *

This May has been exceedingly cool and windy. Many plants that are set out in the garden are beaten down by the wind, and the cool nights stunt their growth. The Hopi have so much wind on their high mesas all along that they leave last year's corn stalk as a windbreak for the new crop of corn. The day the Old Pioneer was buried the big company finished digging an irrigation ditch in front of my shack, having previously cleared several acres of brush and dug out a dozen tree stumps, so that now like a medieval castle, I have a moat, but I lack a drawbridge, having only a crooked log to sidle along when I come sleepy-headed from irrigating.

Longshoremen

(Continued from page 3)

Sure, it will be tough to accomplish. But history proves that the occasion always produces the men and the means to cope with it. The goal is certainly worth the effort—a contract making a hiring hall possible, safety codes, equalized earnings, and complete elimination of all the sordid practices of past years.

J. Paul St. Sure, President of the Pacific Maritime Association, testified before the Senate Labor Committee on April 14th defending the hiring hall which labor-hating Senator Taft seeks to destroy.

"The operation of hiring halls on the West Coast clearly demonstrates that they can operate lawfully and provide advantages to the workers concerned . . . they are operated in such a manner that equality of earnings and work opportunity are secured by the men through rotational dispatching . . ."

"It has been suggested that government operation of hiring halls is necessary to protect workers against discrimination. In our opinion government operation should be considered only as a last resort . . ."

As a rank and file longshoreman I know how honest and efficient the union and employer jointly operated hiring hall is. That is why I invited Father Corridan to visit the West Coast ports and observe the hiring halls in operation. It is my hope that a rank and file ILA delegation can also make the trip and report what is observed in the ports controlled by the ILWU. The great advances enjoyed by West Coast longshoremen were attained only by struggle and sacrifice. I am confident that the East Coast longshoremen can and will solve their problems without the help of phoney politicians. And I'll wager that when the longshoremen succeed in emancipating themselves, the proudest man in New York will be Father Corridan!

(Francis J. Murnane is a longshoreman in Portland, Oregon)

Chrystie Street

(Continued from page 2)

sidering the much needed repair to our electrical wiring system.

We dare not approach the contractor on the slowness of his work since we don't have the promised check from the insurance company and we spent all the money on back bills that came in as a result of the wonderfully generous editorial appeal printed in *Commonweal* plus the kindhearted response of our friends who heard of the fire.

On the contrary we have been avoiding the contractor for fear he will begin to ask for money outright. On the other hand we didn't try and rush the insurance company. You can never tell what they are thinking or if they might have a change of heart. However we do have their word that they are going to cover the repairs with their check—that is why we went ahead and paid our bills with the money that came in.

A good friend of ours was asking us how much money came in as a result of the fire. We honestly didn't know off-hand and said so. Our friend went on to point out how frequently it happened that many charitable institutions that had fires came out on the winning side from the response to their misfortune. I assured him that this did not happen to us and we wouldn't want it to. Once the Catholic Worker gets wealthy, I am sure that will be the beginning of the end of the paper and the movement.

We had a serious letter from a former guest of ours who wrote that he had heard of our fire through the newspapers. He seemed quite sure that one of us had started the fire, "to provoke more contributions to the Catholic Worker." Another letter in a more sympathetic tone from a good holy soul said that he was sure that the fire was caused by the Devil since we were obviously engaged in the work of God and the Devil is against us.

On the feast of Saint John the Baptist De La Salle, May 15th, we participated in a Mass for Peter Maurin. It was the fourth anniversary of Peter's death. Father Clarence Duffy celebrated the Mass at our parish Church, Nativity. Typical of our last minute mentality, we arranged for the Mass only three days before the anniversary. Consequently our Mass for Peter was attended by only a handful of us around the house. I am sure that Peter would have got a big kick out of this almost forgetting our founder even though he is dead but four years. One of our chief criticisms of religious orders down through the years is that they have forgotten their founding Saints and their ideals. And now we find ourselves in the position of almost forgetting our founder and I suppose the ideals will go next. But we did have a fire.

On June 12, our friend and former fellow worker, Francis Bates will be ordained a priest in the Dominican order. The event will take place in San Francisco. Prior to the War, Francis was active with the Catholic Worker house of hospitality in Milwaukee, Wis., Home of the Braves. Very few have survived the Catholic Worker plus the War and become priests. We know Francis will make a fine priest and our very

best wishes and congratulations go out to him.

Bill Harder, a vital member of our home has undergone an operation for ulcers in Bellevue hospital. Bill has been arising here each morning at 4:30 to prepare and serve coffee and bread to the ambassadors. After these lines of men had their fill, Bill would clean and mop the dining room and prepare the breakfast for the living-in members of our house.

Bill, who is in his fifties, is a short thin man and has never looked well since he arrived here three years ago. We pestered Bill day and night to enter a hospital and have himself cared for. He refused to go and also insisted on running the morning coffee line. The pains began to come sharp and frequent and Bill was forced to turn himself into Bellevue.

We visited him in the hospital a couple of days after the operation and Bill was up walking around. Since he looked so pale we suggested that he take to his bed. He



brushed off this solicitation with "It is good to walk since the blood begins to circulate better." Being in the company of people like Bill Harder and George Lockhart makes one begin to feel like a hypochondriac.

Late last night we had a visiting priest from India. He was a short dark skinned man with a very lively expressive face. He said he had been reading the Catholic Worker for some fifteen years and now wanted to visit the house and meet the people since he is in this country on an educational tour.

Father said he has a paper of his own and hopes to establish a house of hospitality in the near future. Besides this he is very active in the world of education.

During the two hour visit, he came about 10 p.m., he exhibited a sharp interest in all we thought and knew about the world of Catholic Social Thought. He pressed hard questions such as, "What was our actual blueprint of a world which would be most conducive to a Christian way of life?" He asked further questions which were equally difficult to answer at that time of night.

Late as it was for a visit, we were happy that we had the chance to meet this priest. We are always anxious to meet priests and Catholics from the Far East—all of them seem to have a splendid universal approach to Catholicism that they leave you with a valid optimistic hope for the crystallization of one world.

Maryfarm

(Continued from page 3)

should be put in the dollar bill for it is getting pretty weak!

In preparation for the opening of the canning season and the making of tomato puree, Joe Cotter is looking for a large twelve inch (or larger) china cap, and also another pressure cooker or two.

Daisy Mae had her calf on May 6th. Daisy Mae is black with a few white spots, but "Peter" is white with a few black spots! Rocco has learned to milk and it is good to have rich milk available for drinking and cooking. So far we cannot get ahead enough on the milk to make cheese.

Our regular Day of Recollection is scheduled for the third Tuesday of each month, and we are most grateful to Monsignor Fiorentino for coming on the 19th of May to give us the conferences. There are three during the day which begins at ten in the morning and continues through until three in the afternoon. Monsignor Betowski came for the day and two ladies from St. Dominic's Church in the Bronx. Charlie McCormack drove the station wagon up from Chrystie Street bringing some of the "family" and Annabelle Lund stayed to spend a week here in the country. Just before the Day of Recollection the dampness started to ooze out of the cement of the kitchen floor until we were fairly walking in water. We put papers down but even then we tracked it into the dining room and up the stairs to the Chapel. But the atmosphere cleared and the sun came out just in time to dry up the floor before the conferences began and our guests arrived.

We are very grateful to those friends who have sent us sheets and towels which are so needed not only for our regular "family" but also for the retreatants who will come to Maryfarm during these coming summer months. Boxes have come to us from several places in the East and Middle West and from California a friend has sent three large boxes of fine sheets and pillow cases and towels! Only if one has been living here and has been helping with the laundry each week, can he realize how much we are in need of these three items and how very much we appreciate these gifts.

Fulfilling Law

(Continued from page 2)

ual counterpart of coition. The erotic must play its part in personal and social reconstruction but it must not be permitted to engulf the person, to destroy the individuality of the loved.

Self-giving love looks to the abolition of acquisitive class society, it does not close its eyes to social injustice under the specious plea of love for all mankind—it recognizes that love can be a harsh and dreadful thing, that it can ask an individual or a class to sacrifice for the common good. That, specifically, it must ask the exploiters of labor to liquidate themselves as a class and be absorbed as workers. For love demands that there be no exploitation, that man be regarded for what he is, a rational and free entity—not as so many pounds of muscle to be bargained for. Self-giving love may accept personal suffering and injustice, but never if others are implicated, never if it gives a tone to society, if it helps perpetuate social injustice.

The world is dedicated to himsa (hate) and so it is divided. So there is class war and international war, so there are racial hatreds. If we are to oppose this we must go to the opposite extreme. We must work for the world of ahimsa (love)—but we must be wise as serpents, harmless as doves.

Survival of Man

(Continued from page 3)

most undeveloped areas for food and population."

It is small wonder that there is "no peace in Asia." For Japan is crowded onto four tiny islands largely unsuitable for farming with 85,000,000 people and the highest density per square mile in the world. If you can imagine yourself living in Montana, which now has a population of 600,000, with 85,000,000 other people and forbidden by man-made laws to go into adjoining states that are fertile and empty, you will have a pretty clear idea of what the feelings are of the Japanese.

One hopes that the problem of color which is such an issue both in Africa and Asia will some day be solved. It seems that once at least it was no problem at all, for the Church has had three Negro

totalitarian dictatorship.

At the recent Honolulu Conference on Japanese-American relations, one of the Japanese members declared with great emphasis that of all the democratic reforms introduced by the American occupation under General MacArthur, those that the Japanese cherished most and would defend to the end were the abolition of thought control and the thought police, the removal of penalties for having dangerous thoughts, and the establishment of the basic freedoms of conscience, of expression, of association.

But another Japanese member who was well read in American newspapers, observed that some of his countrymen who followed events in the United States had begun to wonder whether the Americans were not losing faith in the democratic freedoms we have forced Japan to adopt.

"If we must betray democracy in order to save it," says Father Leon Sullivan, recently a prisoner in a Communist jail, "why bother?"

Difference in Ideals

We and the Communists appear to offer Asians much the same things—equality, prosperity, liberty, happiness, high culture and peace. The difference is not in what we promise to give to a young Asian but in what we ask him "to do in his own real-life surroundings." We Americans, Professor Paul Linebarger says, believe in spiritual things but we try to buy the Asian good will "by material means—by dollars, gifts, aid." The Communists, on the other hand, are materialists, "but they offer people something to join, something to do, something to fight." We Americans offer property; the Communists offer a reason for being alive. The basic message of the Communist to the Asian, Mr. Linebarger goes on to say, is that no matter who or what he is, he is wanted. Regardless of how much the Communists lie, they make the people who join them feel that they are needed. But, says Mr. Linebarger, "You couldn't join the American side if you were an Asian. There isn't anything to join."

Japan and the Cold War

American opinion considers direct and indirect aggression by Soviet Communism as the greatest threat, and hence the number one problem is security against Communism. But to the Japanese, a far more fundamental problem than Communism was this: How can a nation survive that has too many people, too little land, too few natural resources, and too little access to markets and sources of raw materials. For every square mile of land under cultivation, Japan has to feed 12 times as many people as the United States. Japan must import 20 percent of the food it consumes. "Before you talk to us about Communism," the Japanese say in effect, "tell us how we are going to eat!" The Japanese have been able to eat since the end of the war because of billions of dollars of United States aid, and more recently because of the sale of goods and services to the United States forces in Korea. The Japanese, naturally enough, would prefer to have their survival rest on another basis than the indefinite continuation of the fighting in Korea or the pockets of the American taxpayer.

Japan and Communist China

Unless some way is found to permit Japan to survive through participation in international trade and services, Japan cannot enjoy freedom or progress. If we cannot find a place for Japan in the ranks of the free nations, she will not long remain democratic or free.



Popes—Saint Victor in 189, Saint Melchior in 311, and Saint Gelasius in 492—and there does not seem to be any record in earlier days of such tensions simply because of the color of a man's skin.

Process of Dissolution

The following are excerpts from an address at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in February, 1953, by Dr. Harold H. Fisher, chairman of the Hoover Institute at Stanford University and World War II intelligence officer:

"The existence and encouragement of fear and suspicion are symptoms of a deteriorating national morale. One of our great judges, Learned Hand, says of these symptoms: 'I believe that the community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy...where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence...' Such fears, he says, 'may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread.'"

These symptoms naturally disturb our European allies who are more exposed to Russian aggression than we, and whose economic problems are more serious than ours. These symptoms are far more serious to our Asian relations. Asians are bound to wonder whether the American system of freedom is all it is cracked up to be if it is a fact that so many Americans in our government, in religious, educational, press and publication activities have lost faith in these freedoms and are working to set up a

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Colonial Expansion

(Reprint—Written About 1936)

Right or Wrong

By PETER MAURIN

Some people say,
"My country
is always right."

Some people say:
"My country
is always wrong."

Some people say:
"My country
is sometimes right
and sometimes wrong,
but my country,
right or wrong."

To stick up for one's country
when one's country is wrong
does not make
the country right.

To stick up for the right
even when the world is wrong
is the only way we know of
to make everything right.

PROTECTING FRANCE

To protect French citizens
living in Algeria
the French took Algeria
from the natives.

To protect Algeria
the French took control
of Tunisia.

To protect Senegal
the French took Dahomey,
the Gabon and the Congo.

To protect the Isle of Reunion
the French took Madagascar
for another reason.

The other reason was
that the English
wished to take it.

When the English
take something
the French say,
"The English do that
because they are grabbers."

When the French take something,
the French say
"We do that
because we are
good patriots."

PROTECTING ENGLAND

To protect the British Isles
the English took the sea.

To protect the sea
the English took Gibraltar,
Canada and India.

To protect India
the English went to Egypt

To protect Egypt
the English took the Soudan.

To protect the Soudan
the English forced the French
to leave Fashoda.

To protect the Cape and Natal
the English took the Transvaal.

So the English
are just as good
or just as bad
as the French.

CIVILIZING ETHIOPIA

The French believe
that trade follows the flag.

So do the English,
so do the Germans,
so do the Japanese,
so do the Italians.

"What gnaws at the psychological and moral roots of the contemporary world is that most urban people, workers and owners, belong to nothing real, nothing greater than their own impersonal pecuniary interests. To escape from this profound tragedy of our industrial society is the great issue of our time, for a world in which neither the owner nor the worker is morally identified with his source of income has no principle of continuity." A Philosophy of Labor, by Frank Tannenbaum, Alfred Knopf, 1951.

Italy is in Ethiopia
for the same reason
that the French
are in Algeria,
the English in India,
the Japanese in Manchuria.

The Italians say
that the Ethiopians
are not civilized.

The last war proves
that Europeans
are no more civilized
than the Africans.

So Europeans
ought to find the way
to become civilized
before thinking
about the best way
to civilize Africans.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations
did not keep Japan
from going to Manchuria
or Italy
from going to Ethiopia.

The League of Nations
is not a League
based on right.

It is a League
based on might.

It is not a protection
for poor nations
against rich nations.

It is a protection
for rich nations
against poor nations.

MORAL DISARMAMENT

Theodore Roosevelt used to say:
"If you want peace,
prepare for war."

So everybody prepared for war,
but war preparations
did not bring peace;
they brought war.

Since war preparations
brought war,
why not quit
preparing for war?

If nations prepare for peace,
instead of preparing for war,
they may have peace.

Aristide Briand used to say:
"The best kind of disarmament
is the disarmament
of the heart."

The disarmament of Germany
by the Allies
was not the product
of a change of heart
on the part of the Allies
toward Germany.

ROOM COULD BE FOUND

There is too much wheat
in the United States.

There is too much cattle
in Argentina.

There are too many sheep
in Australia.

There are too many Germans
in Germany,
too many Italians
in Italy,
too many Japanese
in Japan.

Room could be found
in the United States
for the Germans,
in Argentina
for the Italians,
in Australia
for the Japanese.

To make room for Germans,
Italians, Japanese
is a better way
to establish peace
than to build
more battleships,
more submarines
and more airplanes.

Colonialism

(Continued from page 3)
for the perpetuation of colonialism.
Countries ideally suited to sponsor such a conference are recently constituted free nations such as India, Burma or Indonesia. The meetings should be held in one of these countries so that delegates will not be barred from entrance and that surveillance and other forms of intimidation will be absent from the meetings.

Who Shall Go?

The conference should be a meeting of the people themselves and not of experts from the colonial offices. Representation should be as wide as possible from varied groups: political parties, professional groups, labor unions, religious bodies, student associations, etc. The delegates should not be the handpicked collaborators with the original invaders—the colonial powers.

To secure thorough-going representation, a general amnesty of po-



litical prisoners must be declared. In many instances the chief leaders of resistance are now in prisons accused of common crimes. People who oppose colonial regimes are referred to as "terrorists" to prejudice their cause in the minds of all liberal thinkers while the soldiers who murder the colonial people and destroy their property are pictured as the "protectors" of the "democratic way of life."

The time has come when all of us must be forced by subject peoples to define our terms. Though temporarily embarrassing, to have to explain one's self is always best and even most useful in the end.

The time is past when a colonial power ought to be able to enforce her wishes by insisting that any question of colonial policy is an interference in her internal affairs. Colonialism is in itself the supreme apex of interference in the internal affairs of another country.

What Can A Conference Accomplish?

Nobody knows better the problems and how to solve them, together with the aspirations of subject peoples, than they themselves, plus that scattered handful who have chosen to identify themselves actively and publicly against colonialism—as Rev. Michael Scott is doing in Africa.

This meeting of dominated nations can issue a statement of purpose, a Declaration of Independence—if you will—along with the establishment of the actual machinery to set up a permanent body.

Such a formulation will do the Allied Powers a great service because it will force them to put content into their favorite words—"liberty"—"democracy"—"equality."

The colonial powers are working

Workers Defense League

(Continued from page 3)

which this man has done. Another case involves the harassment of a Polish Catholic, and through a narrow, legal approach the procedure could result in her deportation to Communist Poland. And still another involves a Yugoslav anti-Titoist who has already been sentenced to death, in absentia, by a Yugoslav court. He attempted suicide at one point rather than face deportation back to his homeland. And although a last minute habeas corpus action on the part of the Workers Defense League stayed his imminent departure in February, we will probably have to resort to a special bill in Congress if we are to save him.

This goes on even though the old immigration law stated that political should not be deported to countries where they would face physical persecution. It is facilitated by the McCarran Act which makes it somewhat easier for the Attorney General to ignore the alien's claim.

Secrecy

Secrecy, the secrecy of the star-chamber, not only strikes at the individual in immigration case: it is rapidly becoming the rule in administrative hearings.

The main challenge to secrecy of the type that occurred in the Mezel case has been made by a conscientious objector. A federal court ruled that he could not be imprisoned for draft evasion because the FBI file used against him—probably containing all manner of hearsay—had never been shown to him for refutation. This case is now pending before the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the loyalty and security programs, men have their right to work impaired or destroyed, their life's careers aborted, and are sometimes never told why. The same is true in immigration. In the Yugoslavian case of the anti-Titoist, the government maintains that "secret" material in its possession warrants his deportation—material so secret that it cannot be revealed to the alien or his lawyer. Yet, what is at stake is tantamount to a sentence of death, or to prison: all in secret.

Before such a procedure, the individual is helpless. The Workers Defense League can handle only a small number of the cases on Ellis Island right now. And even with legal help, an alien is fortunate if he can stay deportation. In a case which the League halted on procedural grounds last year—that of yet another anti-Franco Spaniard—the Government has begun to move again. The whole process is to be reopened.

In the Browder case, testimony at an immigration hearing some years ago—which cleared Mrs. Browder—is now to be used against her in a perjury suit and in a new immigration hearing. By doing this, the government is able to make an

together and voting together in all international organs. The resisters of colonialism must unite. They have nothing to hide—nothing for which to apologize. Theirs is the most important cause of the mid-twentieth century—ripping down a decaying social structure and setting up a world of free nations.

endless threat to an alien or, as in the case of Mrs. Browder, a naturalized citizen. The same kind of harassment has been used for the last ten years against Harry Bridges whose case is once more before the United States Supreme Court.

McCarran Act

All of these actual instances of injustice against the individual are compounded by America's new immigration law, the MacCarran Act. The chief defect of this legislation is that it is frankly racist.

Thus, "Asiatics" are defined, in the language of the Act, according to their ancestry: what "degree" of their forefathers come from the "Asia-Pacific triangle." Such definition is familiar in the United States where it is used in miscegenation and jim-crow laws throughout the South.

Moreover, the Act establishes quotas for new immigrants on the basis of the immigration laws of 1924 and 1920—which were in turn based on the distribution of nationalities in 1890. The result of this is to favor those groups who made up a large percentage of the population around the turn of the century—the "northern" races—and to militate against peoples of the Mediterranean, Africa and Asia (until the MacCarran Act, however, no Japanese, for instance, could become a citizen).

All this is compounded by the fact that consulates are given unlimited and unreviewable discretion in deciding who fits the requirements of the act. Also, people who have been given police records by the courts of totalitarian regimes are not admissible. And ex-communists only if they have been "openly" anti-communist for five years.

Individual and Law

The racist features of the MacCarran Act are well known. The administrative features—the secrecy which is condoned, the discretion which is granted—are not. And it is a mistake to conceive of these as a sport, an accident of Senator MacCarran's mind. They are part of a profound process in our law.

Before a secret immigration hearing—or a loyalty hearing—the individual is powerless. Even with help, his chances are none too good. Yet American law is continuing moving in the direction of sanctioning more and more departures from traditional safeguards.

Thus, the new Eisenhower loyalty program in effect deprives a person accused of disloyalty of the opportunity of an independent review of his case. Final authority is being centered in the department head. The thirteen men whom the Workers Defense League helped to clear themselves last year could very well not be cleared this year under the new rules.

The individual, above all, needs help. Few organizations are doing this work. The Workers Defense League is. It subsists entirely on voluntary contributions. If you can help, do. The address is: Workers Defense League, 112 E. 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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