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Northern Factories Move South

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Last August there was a sit-down strike in Chicago.

It was perhaps the first time in a decade that organized labor had resorted to this weapon—yet there are indications that the problem which gave rise to the strike will become more, not less, acute as time goes on.

The strike involved approximately 900 workers, members of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers and employees of International Harvester's Twine Mill plant. Most of the men involved were Negroes.

The police (125 strong) arrested 141 men. Trial was set for October 15.

Several weeks later, after announcements of reclassification had led to violence, the company put the plant on an enforced vacation.

Go South

What had happened is part of a general phenomenon in American industry. International Harvester had decided to abandon the fifty-year-old plant and go South, to a cheap labor supply, in an absence of organized workers, to the tax bounties which southern states offer.

These moves are often phrased in the best chamber-of-commerce terms. They are to redistribute income, to increase the industrialization of the south, to spread the benefits of productivity—but they usually coincide with high labor costs in the north (because of unionization) and the opportunity for exploitation in the South. There is, of course, considerable truth in the company argument that many of the industries involved (especially textiles) are

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On Pilgrimage

By DOROTHY DAY

Rocco may be said to be one of the poor. Here is the story of his latest job. On Wednesday, September 10th, he went to the Louis Employment agency on fourth street. He got a job in the Concord hotel at Monticello. The next day he and seven others were driven in a big Cadillac up into the mountains. There this new help were given beds in one of the outbuildings, examined by a doctor to see if they had ruptures. He worked Thursday, Friday and Saturday and was paid \$5.82 on Saturday night. Five dollars of this went to the agency for the drive up in the Cadillac. He had eighty-two cents, which he spent riotously over Sunday.

The next week he earned \$23.33, plus board, estimated at \$7.75, a total of \$31.08. I am copying this from his receipts. Out of this came the board money; 47c. for social security; 16c. for disability benefit; \$3.70 for withholding tax; \$2.33 for the agency; \$5, which he had advanced to him to get a tooth pulled. Rocco showed me the tooth. His net earnings for the week, aside from the \$5 for the dentist, has been \$11.67. His gross earnings, \$40.09. When he drew his net earnings of \$11.67, he was

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My Stand on the White Book of the Austrian Peace Council

By REV. JOHANNES UDE

Among the theologians, such as H. Noldin, A. Vermerach, A. Lehmkuhl, J. Leclercq, A. Ottaviani and F. Stratmann, who answer his question "Can a Christian be a Conscientious Objector?" in the affirmative, Pere Pierre Lorrison S. J. cites Dr. Johannes Ude, who for forty years had taught theology at the University of Graz in Austria, had written fifty theological books thoroughly faithful to Thomism, who in the war was sent to a concentration camp for his Christian and Pacifist convictions and in 1948 wrote Du Sollst

nicht toten (Thou Shalt Not Kill) against war, even a war of defense. Although this letter is concerned with the situation in Austria, it applies, with the necessary alterations, to other countries.

If the documents and facts published in the White Book of the Peace Council on the rearmament of Austria are established beyond any doubt (and I have no grounds for assuming that it deals with forged documents and facts which do not appear to be credible) then the White Book under discussion is an exceptionally serious accusation against the men of our Austrian Government and against all

allied armies of occupation, who are participants in the rearmament of Austria, under whose guidance and with whose support the military rearmament of Austria, already started in secret sometime ago, is now carried out quite openly.

From the start, however, I would emphatically remark, I take the stand against this Austrian rearmament from the point of view of the unchangeable natural laws of Christianity. As shown in my book, THOU SHALT NOT KILL (published by Hugo Mayer, Dornbirn, Vorarlberg, Austria) my standpoint is that the Fifth Com-

mandment is absolute. That means that I, as a human being and particularly as a Christian, condemn the war preparations of the East block exactly the same as those of the West block, as a serious crime against the people and States of the world, and I deny to any government the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and of whole nations, as they think fit in the event of war. For every State which arms proves that in certain circumstances it wants war. A society called "armed peace" is the preparation for the next war.

If our poor, plundered Austria

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ROBERT LUDLOW, TOM SULLIVAN, MICHAEL HARRINGTON
Managing Editor and Publisher: DOROTHY DAY
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Irresponsible Racist Journalism Results in Hysteria

The reporting of several instances of rape, or attempted rape, has caused a minor hysteria in New York. Yet, whatever the proportions of the danger, or the necessity of stopping it, there is an ugly aspect to these stories.

The sensational press (particularly Hearst) emphasizes race in all of their write-ups.

If a white man is arrested as a suspect, his name is not listed as....., white.

But on the other hand, this kind of designation is familiar....., Negro.

The result is something of a hysteria. The New York Post has reported that a woman tried to turn in a Negro for molesting her; but the suspect turned out to be a Deputy Police Commissioner.

None of the papers which are playing up this angle are helping the situation. They are indulging in irresponsible, racist journalism. Upon their hands is the guilt of what may well develop out of such reporting.

Life at Hard Labor

By AMMON A. HENNACY

"What do you have there?" said a well-dressed man to me as I was fasting and picketing the Department of Internal Revenue in Phoenix, on this the third day. "Oh, some good anarchist literature," I answered. "That's just what I want. I heard Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman when I went to Yale, and I haven't met a real anarchist since. Tell me, what are you doing?" I proceeded to give this man back numbers of the CW and other literature, and explained to him that I fasted each year on the anniversary of the throwing of the A bomb on Aug. 6, 1945, for as many days as it was years since that time. That I had refused to pay taxes for nine years and worked as a day laborer on farms in order that no withholding tax should be taken from my pay. He was a mining engineer from New York City, with properties in Arizona, and was pleased to learn of my activities. He left, giving me a dollar "for the cause."

Rik's varityper had broken down, so we had to work all night to get even 80 leaflets for distribution on the first day of my picketing, Aug. 6th. Byron Bryant, radical friend and recent convert to the Church, was with us that night and he and I attended mass at St. Mary's, where I prayed for grace and wisdom to guide me in my seven days' fast and picketing. Then I visited my newspaper friends, giving them my leaflet (printed in September CW under the title "The Real Issue of 1952.") The AP man was very cordial and sent out a good story over the state the day before telling of my activity, stressing the fact that I, who was not a member of any church, went to mass each day to attain that frame of mind necessary for the kind of Gandhian picketing which I engaged in each year, and that upon the completion of my fast I would enter a five-day silent retreat at Maryfarm, near Newburgh, N. Y. He stressed, also, "the 59-year-old Christian anarchist picketing in accordance with the Gandhian principle of open opposition to the state and its war-making functions." Two local radio stations gave good factual reports of my opposition to taxes and war. As usual, the local press, per instructions from on high,

would not "dignify" themselves by mentioning my name or that of the CW.

Fasting

This subject is difficult for many Americans to understand. I claim to be a One Man Revolution, yet I get ideas from others. I began my fasting in 1950 without reading in detail of Gandhi's opinion on this subject. My experience in solitary in Atlanta in 1918-19 had taught me to really love my enemies—but to be "hell on on my friends." Therefore when I had fasted I had the most kindly feeling toward tax men and officials. My fasting and picketing was not to discomfort them or trip them up; but to wake up and encourage the timid pacifists and anarchists who did not dare oppose the powers that be. Later I read that Gandhi had nearly died when on his first fast of seven days, because he had some mixed feelings of hatred toward the oppressed. On his other fast of twenty-one days his mind was clear and he got along fine.

On Monday night Rik and I had some chop suey at a restaurant. I was to begin my fast at 4 p. m. the next day. Accordingly, I had in mind eating a few extras that I would not get out in the country; but I found that in my mind I had already begun to fast and nothing tasted good. I got weighed at 4 p. m. and weighed 140. I lost about two pounds a day. I accompanied Rik morning and night and drank water only. After the first day I was too weak to reach across the table for anything if I had wanted to. I was strong enough when I walked around with my leaflets picketing. I did not picket on Saturday or Sunday, as the tax office was closed; but I did not rest, as new CW's had arrived and I was busy distributing them. On the morning of the sixth day I got my second wind and felt like a new man. I was clear-headed and light-headed, and walked as if in the air with no fatigue. Each day the AP wanted some news, so I told them of the weight that I had lost. During the last 5½ hours of my fast I lost four pounds—17 pounds in all. I broke my fast with a special mixture of vegetable juices with Rik at a juice bar. As Rik and I touched glasses in a toast to the

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There Is No Natural Right to Use Violence in Self Defense

By ROBERT LUDLOW

"According to the example and words of Christ one is not allowed to kill in defense. Killing in defense offends the Commandment of Love. Or perhaps does he who in defense kills somebody act according to the injunction of Christ 'Not rendering evil for evil?' Or does one perhaps by killing the unjust aggressor conform to the demand of Christ 'Not to resist the evil doer?' Or does he who kills the unjust aggressor thereby prove his love in the spirit of Christ 'Love your enemies?' Or is the killing of the unjust aggressor the 'Love that does not evil to a neighbor?' ... It is morally not permissible to kill the unjust aggressor."

Father Johannes Ude.

Sister Hildegard had sent me some typed sheets of a section of

Father Ude's book THOU SHALT NOT KILL which she had translated. Due to pressure of work she is unable to continue this and we are hoping that another friend will continue it and that we can locate a publisher. For it is a work that is truly revolutionary and should be made available to English speaking peoples—indeed to all peoples. I was greatly pleased with it because it provided a "missing link" in my own thoughts on the question of pacifism. I had long felt that a new basis other than the traditional Thomistic one must be found for our treatment of the ethics of war but I had not succeeded in clarifying in my own mind a solid basis for pacifism in natural ethics. And here, in Dr.

Ude, a reputable and learned Thomist (who has written fifty volumes of theological works in the Thomistic tradition), I found such a basis.

The problem was this: That while it seemed apparent that a solid basis for pacifism could be worked out from the standpoint of supernatural ethics, from the teaching and example of Christ, there seemed to be no way of getting around the fact that Aristotelian ethics—used as the basis for natural ethics in most Catholic texts—taught the right of violent self-defense and that thus we were forced to state that, from the standpoint of natural morality, absolute pacifism was untenable, that we could justify it only from a supernatural viewpoint. Then, however, it occurred to me that, since natural morality stems from the nature of man, and that man's understanding of it develops as his understanding of human nature develops, it was quite possible that now, since we have the philosophy of non-violence worked out by Gandhi, and since satyagraha seems a more reasonable doctrine and one more in conformity with the rational nature of man, it thus marked a new development in natural ethics and superseded the old eye for an eye morality of Aristotelianism. This conception of development in our understanding and application of natural morality found confirmation in the writings of Jacques Maritain.

Still I hesitated to posit the thesis that violent self defense was contrary to natural ethics. But now, convinced by Father Ude's treatment of the subject, I feel this difficulty has been cleared up and that I can now state that there is no such thing as the right to violent self defense even from the standpoint of natural morality, leave alone that of supernatural

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Satyagraha—A Positive Method

By EILEEN FANTINO

"Non-violence" has proven to be a weak term when used to describe the ideas of Gandhi on revolution. Actually, the word "satyagraha," the Indian term used, means "soul force," and describes a positive, constructive, aggressive method of action against evil. It is the appli-

cation of the spiritual forces of truth and love, and in this embodies Christianity. In the minds of many the name Gandhi connotes Eastern mysticism, vegetarianism, and appears as something completely out of the scope of the

"Western mind" to comprehend, or become involved with. The Eastern origins and flavor of our own Faith are supplanted by Archdiocesan local color. Gandhi blended the deep spiritual virtues of the Eastern religions with the nucleus of the Christian religion, the mystery of the Cross, the Sermon on the Mount. He holds up as inviolable the dignity of the human person, and his divine destiny. The influence of Christ upon him, by his own admission, was great, his only regret being that we Christians did not follow Christ as He revealed Himself to us. Non-violent revolution as set up and practiced by Gandhi was rooted deeply in the belief in God. He demanded of himself and asked of his followers strict self discipline, and the acceptance of suffering. The end in view was a change in the moral and spiritual attitudes of the people against whom the revolution was waged, not merely the end of tyranny. It was waged in the spirit of love, not of revenge.

South Africa and India were evidences of the power of his ideas. They used the strike, independent of unions and arms, fasting, economic boycott, non-payment of taxes, mass migrations, civil disobedience against unjust laws, the giving up of honorary titles, non-participation in government loans, boycott of the law court, schools, colleges, and legislatures, withdrawal from government service, the Army, and the police forces. A minority in the country, trained in self discipline and pledged to non-violence,



cation of the spiritual forces of truth and love, and in this embodies Christianity. In the minds of many the name Gandhi connotes Eastern mysticism, vegetarianism, and appears as something completely out of the scope of the

Pacifist Conference-1952

Christ, tear us from our shells,
Splinter wooden smothering self, unyielding.
Bare footed let us trample to dust
Our splintered wooden idols
Grinning wooden idols,
Our molds, shadows of self,
Stone solid, clinging,
That in pain may be born to us
Our own humanity,
That walking in our true flesh
We may see the cities of the Living God
And feel our blood warm with His Blood,
And feel its pulsing in our brother's hands,
Transfixed.

Blown from dark mountains,
Command of a dark wind:
Kill.

Our wooden arms are raised,
Hovering dark birds.
Our wooden feet march,
Our wooden hearts beat,
Drum-steady in their trance of death.
We go to meet our brothers in a dark death,
Our blood spilled cold,
The parched earth shivering
In knowledge of this strange drink.

Splinter our shells, these wooden idols,
O Lord,
That are Thy Cross.

EILEEN FANTINO

Statement required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) showing the ownership, management, and circulation of The Catholic Worker, published monthly at New York, N.Y., for October 1, 1952.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Dorothy Day, 223 Chrystie St.; Asst. Editors, Michael Harrington, Robert Ludlow, Tom Sullivan, 223 Chrystie St.; Managing Editor, Dorothy Day, 223 Chrystie St.; Business Manager, Tom Sullivan, 223 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) Dorothy Day, 223 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2.

3. The known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and triweekly newspapers only).

Thomas J. Sullivan,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of September, 1952.
(Seal) Leo Parizman.
(My commission expires March 30, 1954.)

The American Bishops on The Social Order

We now have available to us a collection of the social thought of the American hierarchy from 1919 to the present day (Our Bishops Speak, Raphael M. Huber, OFM Conv., Bruce, Milwaukee, 1952) and a stimulating pamphlet summary of the Bishop's position (Social Thought of the American Hierarchy, by Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., Institute of Social Order, St. Louis, Mo.).

Reading Father Parsons' survey one is surprised on many counts: at how radical many of the Bishop's statements still are, at how topical were their immediate concrete suggestions, and, sad to say, at how much of these ideas are rejected today by Catholics, indeed, by often the diocesan press seems to be taking the exact opposite position.

Principle and Practice

The Bishops consistently advocated concrete reforms through specific legislation. But the impact of the economic crisis after the first World War was to focus their attention on the necessity of basic change in the society.

Thus, in 1930, Archbishop Edward J. Hanna, Chairman of the NCWC, issued a call for a basic change of heart, a basic change in the economic structure. Significantly enough, he placed the motive of letting "the Saviour of the world shine through our country's economic institution" at the core of his appeal.

As a result of the publication of Quadragesimo Anno in 1931, the Bishops directed an even more radical critique at prevailing economic institutions. Thus, in 1940 when they advocated "comprehensive security for all classes of society . . . against unemployment, sickness, accident, old age and death," they did so as a temporary measure pending a basic redistribution of wealth in the United States.

And in 1940, they characterized the American economic system as "both economically unsound and also inconsistent with the demands of social justice and charity."

Worker Control

The theme of worker ownership, worker participation in management and profit runs through the entire history of the Bishop's social pronouncements.

In 1919, they announced that they could not be satisfied "so long as the majority of workers remain mere wage earners." "The majority must somehow become owners, at least in part, of the instruments of production."

This reform was to be accomplished in two ways.

First, through co-operatives. The societies envisioned were not only consumer co-ops, the leaguings together of buyers to obtain the benefit of wholesale purchase, but producer co-ops as well. The workers were to actually own the instruments of production upon which they produced and to control them communally.

Second, capitalist property institutions were to be basically changed in the direction of "co-partnership." This was originally seen as the worker owning stock and taking a "reasonable part" in management decision. But the direction of the American economy was towards the disenfranchisement of the stock-holder in favor of the paid manager. At this point, it became obvious that a more serious reform was necessary.

The Industry Council

The form which this change in thinking took was the industry-council.

The industry-council is the American version of the ordines advocated by Pius XI, the vocational groups which joined management and labor in that which united them, the common good of the industry, rather than stressing that which divided them, their antagonistic positions in the labor market.

Italian and Spanish fascists

claimed to have built such an order. Today, the basic principles of Pius XI are operative in Germany, where co-partnership is an issue, and in England where a modification of nationalization in the direction of greater worker control is underway. Obviously, Pius' words are capable of many interpretations.

The version which the American Bishops proposed was democratic as against the claims of Spanish and Italian fascists, voluntaristic as against the legalized co-partnership of Germany, more friendly to capitalism than the ideas current in England, whether of Catholic Socialists or of distributists.

As a concrete suggestion of implementing the problem of distributing ownership and economic power in a complex industrial situation, the industry council is open to criticism.

I think that Father Parsons (who is in substantial agreement with the industry-council) puts his finger on the weak spot when he describes the suppositions of "economic theory" which underlie

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SAINT RAPHAEL



PRAY
FOR
US

Chrystie Street

By TOM SULLIVAN

The Catholic Worker has just completed its second year on Chrystie street. Instead of things getting easier they seem to grow more difficult, so that you are frequently inclined to say that the last year was the hardest. This morning a man came from the city's powers that be and he informed us that we had to place medal holders flanking each window in the house so that a window washer would be a good security risk when he attempted to secure his safety belt. If we were not connected with such a highly principled organ as the Catholic Worker we might be tempted to put ten dollars in the man's hand and suggest that he forget about this house. Instead we will probably tell him on his return that we don't intend to wash the windows now or at anytime in the future. Or can they force you to wash your windows?

Return to St. Francis

The above and several other problems of the newly made landlords have proved to us how right Saint Francis was when he advocated the propertyless status for his followers. When we were renting on Mott street we paid less in rent than we pay in taxes here on Chrystie st.: besides having our headaches. However we were constantly in debt over there as we are here.

Income Tax

For some years now the city has been after us to pay a tax on the income derived from the sale of our paper. We ignored the numerous reminders mailed to us by the city on this score until they sent a threatening note stating that the next communication would be in the form of a subpoena. This clarion call was heeded and we paid a visit to the tax department where they were fairly indifferent to the entire makeup of our movement which we thought precluded paying such a tax. They simply said go home and write out your brief and mail it to us. This we did. They in turn answered our letter with a two page letter of their own instructing us to submit

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A Summary of Japan's Food And Population Problems

By GEORGE CARLIN

It may be well at this time to attempt to sum up some aspects of Japan's food and population problem:

(1) One point that we in the United States must realize is that we are big. The system of "free enterprise" starts with the error that all nations are approximately equal. Competition then means that the country with the most "know how," ability, and energy will win the greater share materially.

The reality of the world, however, is slightly different. Japan, for example, is small. If one were to cut out Japan from a map with a pair of scissors one could fit it within our single state of Montana. Japan is not equal to us in resources. Only one sixth of Japan is farmland. She can not feed her 85,000,000 people.

It is with these facts in mind,

that Pope Pius XII has called for "a new order founded on moral principles in which there is no place for that cold and calculating egoism which tends to hoard economic resources and materials destined for the use of all, to such an extent that the nations less favored by nature are not permitted access to them."

(2) A part of Japan's solution is to sell machine-products and such natural resources as fish to other countries. If she is able to sell them she can then buy food from other countries to feed her people. She can not export if the tariff barriers are high.

It has been customary among those who have had an overdose of Marxist economic theories to blame "big business" for high tariffs. It is true that the "Old Guard" in Congress from McKinley until today have fought for a protective wall of tariffs. But it is also true that the lobbies of both labor and farmers have also worked for this end.

A recent issue of the "Seafarer's Log," published by the Seafarer's International Union, Atlantic and Gulf division, for example, carries a long letter from a delegate urging the passage of high tariffs against Japanese tuna fish to protect West Coast fishermen.

That the "one world" concept still has a way to go is attested by an article in a recent issue of the Atlantic Monthly called "Junior, Drop That Japanese Toy" by David L. Cohn, a writer and former textile manufacturer. He says in part:

"For more than 150 years the United States tariff—a law affecting the national interest—has been written and applied on every basis except the national interest. It has been the plaything of politics, the instrument of privilege, the weapon of monopoly. Its misuse is a prime exemplar of the insane nationalism that plagues the world. Irrationally, greedily used by us now, it may undo our huge labors in organizing the free world for freedom, and bring us to the brink of destruction. Our trade position in the world is so commanding that the free world must trade with us, be subsidized by us, die, or trade with the Communist world."

"... Already possessing the world's greatest industrial and agricultural plants, and daily increasing our self-sufficiency through science, are we able to deny a hungry world even a few crumbs from our table; crumbs such as 5 per cent of our total consumption of cheese? (Note: Mr. Cohn is here referring to the stiff duty on cheese, despite the fact that we import only 5 per cent of our total consumption). Is this harmonious with our leadership in the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? Or is it merely a recrudescence of that greed which has blighted our relations with foreigners in the past?"

(3) Another part of Japan's answer lies in immigration. Even were the immigration barriers greatly reduced, the number of Japanese leaving Japan would not greatly alleviate the population situation. But the present McCarran Immigration Act, nicknamed by its too few critics "the McCarran Exclusion Act," adds insult to injury by limiting the number of Japanese entering the United States to 100 a year while permitting great immigration from Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon races.

There is still a lot of undeveloped land in the United States. "Time" magazine, July 30, 1951, reported that the Bureau of Reclamation estimates that west of the Rockies alone 50 million acres could be watered into life, and that this would be "like adding to the U. S. a new country comparable in agricultural productivity to France or pre-war Germany."

One hopes that if the immigration

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SAINT FRANCIS
sweeps a church

Food, Farming and Freedom

By REV. CLARENCE E. DUFFY

"Since 1900," as Robert Brittain points out in his book, "Let There Be Bread," "the population of the world has increased by about 50 percent from 1,608 millions to nearly 2,400 millions. If it continues to increase at the same rate, it will reach 4,000 millions" by the turn of the century. "This rising tide of population" (Brittain continues) "and the falling reservoir of food resources constitute, apart from the immediate issues of peace or war with which it is not unconnected, the greatest issue facing mankind today."

How is that issue to be met? Can the earth support 4,000 million people?

A lot of people maintain that the earth cannot support such a population and that the issue must be met by the widespread adoption of artificial birth control. The Russians, who are doing a lot of successful agronomic experimenting in the frozen North as well as in other parts of their widespread territories, claim that the earth can support such a population and scoff at the need for birth control, an un-Christian thing, which is widely advocated and practiced in the so-called Christian West. Both the Russians, or the ideology which dominates them, and the Americans, or the laissez faire capitalism which prevails in the U. S. A. and in the West in general, are relying heavily on industrialized, highly mechanized farming, combined with a wide and indiscriminate use of chemical fertilizers, to meet the issue and to provide us with food. The Russians are confident they

can, under their political and economic system, do a better job with tractors, heavy farming machinery, chemical fertilizers and factories in the fields than we can do, or are doing, with the same kind of tools and methods. Such tools and methods will eventually destroy the fertility of the soil whether it be in Russia or in America, and we shall all starve.

The issue can be met and we can all eat well, or reasonably well, for a long time if we forget a lot of the harmful nonsense which is being passed off on us as "science" by unscrupulous, selfish people too eager to make money, cease to make gods of machines or of "scientific progress," treat the land, or see that it is treated in a natural way, as God intended it to be treated, and pay more attention to its composition, needs and care, and to the people who live on it and from it than to machines which, like the Frankenstein monster, will eventually devour their users and worshippers.

Machines, or at least some machines, have their place on a farm, or in a farming community. If, like organic fertilizers, they are used judiciously, they will help the farmer and not harm his land, and they will contribute considerably toward providing us all with food. But they must be used judiciously so that the use of them will neither harm the land nor keep people out of work, but rather aid in soil conservation, in the production of more and better food in an economy in which as many people as possible—certainly far more than

at present—are engaged as land owners in the production of their own food supply on a co-operative basis.

At the Peter Maurin Farm the writer is engaged on a farm project which involves the rehabilitation of depleted soil, the prevention of further soil erosion, the conservation and enrichment of soil and, in general, the building up of a 22 acre farm which will, in time, supply the food needs of a family, or its equivalent, and at the same time leave a surplus which will more than provide for all their other needs. The basis of the project will be man power (with the judicious use of machinery), traditional farming methods combined with proven and sensible modern discoveries and improvements, and organic fertilizers in which lime and barnyard manure will predominate.

The object of the project is to build up healthy human beings on healthy soil and with healthy food, and to make as many of them as possible, free men and free women who can live as God intended them, and as they desire to live in a world of peace and reasonable abundance on their way toward eternity.

During the past two months a beginning has been made (with the aid of a neighbor's tractor) to divide the farm into fields for rotational farming and at the same time to ditch or trench, and hedge or fence it in such a manner as will, while irrigating it, drain it effectively, prevent soil erosion keep stock from rambling, and

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In Place of Fear

In Place of Fear, by Aneurin Bevan, Simon and Schuster, 1952, \$3.00. Reviewed by Michael Harrington

First, some necessary qualifications.

I am not a "Bevanite." Nye Bevan is not a pacifist in the sense of making a moral rejection of force, although his thought is oriented toward peace far more than most political leaders in the western world. Moreover, I find the decentralist thinking in the British Labour Party much more significant than some of Bevan's reiteration of "orthodox" socialist ideas.

Secondly, I am not competent to judge the British political scene. I am aware that many English Catholics feel that Mr. Bevan is anti-religious and that his ascendancy and that of his followers would cause the majority of English Catholics who vote socialist to change party affiliation. I am concerned here only with reviewing a book—not a political movement.

Finally, Aneurin Bevan is not Stalinist or pro-Stalinist. He is a convinced democrat, not a totalitarian: "... the main theme of this book is that concerted and sustained political action is rendered impossible in nations whose policies are determined by pressure groups representing limited and often anti-social interests." This criterion is implied to Stalinist and capitalist with equal vehemence. If Nye Bevan is a Marxist (certainly Marxism has influenced his thinking), he is Kautskyite, not Leninist.

Foreign Policy

I am limiting myself to the sections of *In Place of Fear* which deal with foreign policy; however, I consider the book as a whole quite valuable.

I believe that the bad reviews, the adverse comment, the fear of Bevanism is because Nye Bevan has asked some questions that America cannot answer without completely revamping its permanent war economy.

The motive force of the American response to the Soviet challenge has been, Bevan thinks, fear. And "Fear of Soviet Communism has led the United States and those who follow her to take a distorted view of the world situation ..."

With regard to Russia: "If Russia relied primarily upon military action why has she not resorted to it before now? ... Why should Russia wait for the time most unfavorable to her? Few will suggest that the Soviet Union would not seek a local military advantage. But it seems clear she would not wish to press it to the point of general conflagration." In agreeing, I would add what is implicit in Mr. Bevan's argument: that since 1946, Russian expansion has not been the result of Russian arms, but of convinced Moscow-directed minorities, as in Czechoslovakia, or convinced, Moscow-directed majorities, as in China. Yet the American answer continues to be primarily, almost solely, military.

Why has this been the American answer? Because "it is easier to frame a military reply to the Soviet threat than a social and economic one."

Europe

The result of this American policy in Europe has been the creation of anti-American sentiment, if not aid to the Stalinist parties. Marshall Plan administrators admitted this several years ago. For American policy has "dealt a deadly blow to Europe's hope for economic recovery."

One reason for this is the increasing influence of the military in democratic decision. As Bevan notes, "The right of military chiefs to conduct political propaganda is always dangerous to civilian government."

The "great debate" on American foreign policy was between advocates of variant military theories (Asia or Europe "First") and rival generals.

Because of this, Bevan makes a trenchant criticism of "regional pacts" such as NATO. These, he writes, "wear the appearance of instruments of dominant powers." He argues against this kind of sabre rattling. And I would add that a result of this policy has been the alliance of the "free world" with Bao Dai in Indo-China, Franco in Spain, Chiang in China, Rhee in Korea. As Bevan notes: "Once (they) ... are made, military needs require order and stability in the countries forming them." This criticism is close to that of Justice Douglas on Point Four—and just as telling. Whatever "moral" advantage the West has over the East is bartered away in the support we give to reactionary regimes and the continued oppression of the great mass of people.

China

One of Bevan's most brilliant arguments concerns China. "If you amalgamate a Russian peasant with a Chinese peasant you don't make a steelworks. The remorseless logic of this is apparent in Peking no less than in Moscow."

In other words, The main-spring of Stalinist imperialism has been the acquisition of industrial capital and raw materials. Satellite nations are colonized for what they can send back to speed the process of Soviet industrialization. Yet China faces the same problem of industrialization—on an even more aggravated scale. In short, there is a basic antagonism between Russia and China.

Yet, American policy has been calculated to over-ride the antagonism by creating military solidarity. Instead of attempting to emphasize the community of trade which China could enjoy with the West, we have made certain that this country should join with Rus-

+ + +

BOOK REVIEW

The Book of the Saviour

THE BOOK OF THE SAVIOUR.

Assembled by F. J. Sheed. Sheed & Ward, New York. \$4.00. Reviewed by Elizabeth Bartelme.

Every now and then a book is published which you can't wait to get your hands on. It might be a new Faulkner novel or one of the Penguin history series, for which I nagged a number of booksellers until a weary friend gave me a copy. If you like books and have access to the publishers' advance notices, you can have a hard time indeed with detachment. Mr. Sheed is not making it any easier with his new companion to *The Mary-*

know quite a bit about Christ, particularly if we have had a religious education or studied the New Testament. At least we know the facts of His life and what He taught. But do we know anything more than that? Obviously anyone can begin by saying the Our Lord was born in a stable—but are we aware that the stable was a cave? Do we know the significance of the cave and the relationship of the Divine Birth to the strange mythologies of comparative religions? G. K. Chesterton does, and his "God In the Cave" is an admirable development of the fact of Jesus' birth to take into account the longing in the hearts of all men for their Creator. We know, too, that Christ spoke of Himself as the "Son of Man." Do we understand His intention in such a reference? Leonce de Grandmaison makes it clear in his wonderful essay on the assumption of such a title by Christ, and Karl Adam elucidates it further in his "God the Son."

Truly there is little in the book which does not overwhelm one with the tremendous sense of how little one knows and the limitless possibilities of exploration in the life and teachings of the Saviour. In one sense the volume can be taken as an introduction to such a study, since no one book, no matter how complete, could ever compass such a subject. The arrangement of the book is excellent for such a study. The events and teachings fall into chronological order and are divided into four sections. The first deals with the hidden years of Christ, the years in Nazareth prior to His public ministry, which is the subject of the second section. The third part concerns the time between Palm Sunday and Pentecost, and the final division, titled "To the End of Time," is composed of writings on the continuation of Christ's work through the Church until the

Last Judgment. Preceding each section a narrative binds the whole together, and Mr. Sheed has added a theological appendix to the first and third parts of the book.

Within this framework falls a body of prose representing the best contemporary Catholic writing, and poetic selections drawn from many centuries of Christian creative thought. For example, there are articles by Fathers C. C. Martin-dale, Ronald Knox, Karl Adam and Gerald Vann. A beautiful selection of Sigrid Undset's is included. Hilaire Belloc, in addition to prose contributions, is the author of a charming Christmas carol, and Gerard Manley Hopkins' suffering cry, "Carion Comfort" is probably the poem of greatest distinction in the book. I was delighted to find Jean Danielou's magnificent piece on the Ascension here, and to discover that a chapter from P. Regamey's *Poverty* had been used.

In fact, there is probably more excellent writing in this book about that most glorious of all subjects, Christ, than could be found in any other anthology of its kind. And, what is the true test of the book's value, more likely than not when you have finished reading it, you will want to go on discovering more and more about Our Lord. Fortunately, a list of sources has been appended, so if *The Book of the Saviour* doesn't drive you back to that greatest of all sources, The New Testament, to the exclusion of all else, you will find a great good plenty to keep you reading all winter. And perhaps if you get very attached to this particular book and the ones from which it was compiled, you might find (at the end of that long winter of reading) you are, even more attached to Christ, which is, after all, why collections like *The Book of the Saviour* are put together.

I DO BELIEVE, LORD
= HELP MY
UNBELIEF



book. I have a feeling, now that *The Book of the Saviour* is finally out that I'm going to be an unwilling lender.

Most of us probably think we

sia. The dilemma will become sharper as Japanese foreign trade increases: to whom are they going to sell?

Answer

Bevan's positive answer is somewhat hazy, yet it does have merits. He calls upon the West to recognize the international reality and to embark upon a progressive changing of the proportion between armament and socially-useful spending.

His perception of the alternative is perhaps more compelling. "Russian peace propaganda is a sham, and a cynical sham at that, as Vishinsky's behaviour at the United Nations Assembly in Paris revealed to all not blinded by fanaticism. I believe his sinister amusement was based on Russia's conviction that she had frightened the world into an arms race which will deepen economic tensions. It is upon the results of these tensions she finally relies for success, and only secondarily upon her war machine."

We are late in reviewing this book. Since it was published, several trade unions in England have taken a Bevanite position and the resolutions for their Congress this Fall are, on the whole, quite critical of American policy.

Last month, Mr. Churchill confessed his substantial agreement with much of what Mr. Bevan has said.

But unfortunately, what Britain does is the tail to the kite. The choice is ours. We can only hope that it is not too late. I can only hope that many will buy this book and ponder what is being said.

"The Gospel has not one law of charity for individuals, and another for States and nations." (Benedict XV *Pacem Dei*)

Carthusians

THE CARTHUSIANS: ORIGIN, SPIRIT, FAMILY LIFE, second revised edition, Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1952, 107 pp. \$1.75.

Those who have known and cherished this book, as the present reviewer has done for twenty-five years, will welcome it doubly in its new and remarkably attractive dress. These readers will need no comment on it, except to be told that the revisors of this edition have corrected the misprints in the 1924 edition, eliminated some dubious legendary material, and brought the text up to date without touching the rather quaint charm of style which the original English version had. One interesting feature of the old book is missing; pictures! The death bed scene of St. Bruno and prints of the four room hermitage. What a pity!

New readers have a feast in store. This is the book which has been (with the possible exception of the Catholic Encyclopedia) the principal source of information on the Carthusian Order for English-speaking readers for a generation. Here, concisely, are a brief biography of St. Bruno, founder of the Order, an authoritative chapter on the Carthusian vocation, an accurate and detailed description of the Carthusian life and the government of the Order, a clear statement of the conditions of admission to the Order, and an admirable concluding estimate of the value of the Carthusian life, with useful appendices on the lay brothers and nuns of the Order and an up-to-date list of the Order's houses throughout the world.

Here, in brief, are answers to most of the questions the average postulant or interested person would want to ask about the Car-

thusians. The book needs no other testimony to its usefulness.

In view of the growing interest in the contemplative life in America, efforts should be made to place this book in every public library and Catholic lending library in the country, as well as in the libraries of our Catholic colleges and high schools. There is a project which should commend itself to friends of the Carthusians—who may be further encouraged by the fact that the cost of books purchased as gifts for schools and libraries is deductible from taxable income! This reviewer is not on the sales staff of the Newman Press, but he imagines that that excellent publishing house would be willing to handle the details if it begins to receive checks for one, five, ten, or a hundred copies of this book to be sent to libraries or schools which do not have it. Parish priests should have it in their personal libraries too, to give to young men seeking practical information on the monastic life in one of its finest forms. Read "Umbratlem" by Pope Pius XI to prove this astounding statement!

Many of us have been hoping for a Carthusian foundation in America for many years. Now we have one, at Whittingham, Vermont. Its endurance and growth will depend largely on how well known it becomes. Widespread distribution of this book will help toward the fulfillment of many hopes and prayers.

Rev. Francis A. McGinley,
St. Thomas Aquinas Rectory,
Archibald, Pa.
National Director of the
Friends of the Carthusians in America.

DAVID HENNESSY

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REVIEWS

Spain and South America

By GEORGE CARLIN

Two books have been published on Spain and Latin America which might well be read by students. Both accentuate the great issue of our time: freedom.

The first is "The Heart of Spain" edited by Alvah Bessie and published by the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (23 West 26th street, N. Y.). The book was privately printed because no commercial publisher would issue it. The second is "South Americas" by Abel Plenn (Creative Age Press). Mr. Plenn is a United Press correspondent.

Both contain some of the brightest spots in recent Church history—the priests who fought for freedom of the people—and some of the darkest, where some in the Church seemed to side with oppression. Both have existed.

There are those who side with the "people" and those who side with the forces that would enslave and oppress their fellow human beings. What are "the people?" Pope Pius XII speaking on Democracy (Christmas message, December 24, 1944) distinguishes between the concept of "people" and that of the "masses." The first concept includes within it a basis for true democracy; the latter of a spurious and false democracy. The Holy Father says:

"The people lives and moves by its own life energy; the masses are inert of themselves and can only be moved from outside. The people lives by the fullness of life in the men that compose it, each of whom—in his proper place and in his own way—is a person conscious of his own responsibility and of his own views."

"From the exuberant life of a true people, an abundant, rich life is diffused in the state and in all its institutions. With a constantly self-renewing vigor, it instills into the citizens the consciousness of their own responsibility, and a true instinct for the common good."

And again:

"When . . . people call for 'democracy and better democracy,' that demand can have no other meaning than that citizens shall be increasingly placed in a position to hold their own opinions, to voice them, and to make them effective in promoting the general welfare."

Catholics, particularly in this time and in America, are in constant danger of losing this sense of people. For Catholicism shows men how to live a peaceful and ordered life, rich in family and home values. We tend to think sometimes that if only the Communist troublemakers would stop stirring things up, life would be pleasant.

At the same time, it must be remembered that America is only 8 per cent of the world's population. Regardless of our own economic status we are living in a country that might be called The City of the Rich which is surrounded by a poor world. If we want peace and quiet to enjoy what we have, a great part of the rest of the world wants change.

In short, we must remember that we are all part of the human race. A host of "experts" have in the past made an easy living by emphasizing the "differences" be-

tween non-Anglo-Saxon cultures such as in Asia, and many have said "we can't understand those people." But the Asian people and all people have the same common aspirations such as freedom and democracy—the desire, in Jacques Maritain's phrase, "to be treated as a whole and not as a part"—and have the same great human emotions: love and reverence, fear, laughter, joy, sorrow, pain, dignity and strength. (In fact many who have been to Asia or to countries like Spain would say that other people have these emotions to a far greater degree than we in Anglo-Saxon countries where emotions have atrophied under machine-age living).

We seem to have lost in the last few years that love of people—that universal love for all men. One is almost in this day "afraid to love." If we feel a love for the Chinese, for example, we recall that Chinese are killing good and innocent priests and nuns, who worked for years in works of mercy and of bringing "the glad tidings" to them. But it might be well to ask ourselves here what is at the root of our indignation. For the life of the Christian has through history often been that of a martyr. And Father Charles de Foucauld in a haunting remark to his fellow Christians wrote, "Live as though you would die a martyr."

What causes these great wounds in the Church such as the overzealous attempts to restrict the freedom of man and force people to see the Truth, as in Spain? In many cases it seems to be a misguided love for the Holy Church. This sense of the Church as a "secular organization" has been a stumbling block to many, such as Simone Weil who was deeply disturbed by it and wrote eloquently about it in "Waiting for God."

Father Daniel M. Cantwell in "The Commonweal" (October 1, 1948, and reprinted again in July 4, 1952) came to grips with it as follows:

"Secularism has fashioned our idea of the Church. We still think and talk about it as a bureau, as an organization. We see its strength in numbers and in Catholics in high places—political and economic—rather than in the Holy Spirit molding individuals and institutions."

"We see it less as Christ, extending Himself in men and women, living in them His Divine Life, than we do as a series of political and economic states which we have come to call Christendom and Catholic countries. We see it less as the Living Christ to be saved for men than as real estate and buildings to be preserved against revolution."

"We give the impression that our fear of Communism is a concern for the Church as an organization, rather than a fear for the lives and heritage of the people; and the reason we give that impression is that we have not yet raised a loud voice against the cruelty and abuses of the present social system: the bad housing and widespread ugliness of industrial centers; the domination of machines, wage levels that find fifty-two per cent of the families in Chicago not getting enough for health

and decency, insecurity, hand-to-mouth existence with the poorest half of all families in 1946 having only three per cent of all savings in the United States and with twenty-nine per cent having none at all."

Let us hope that Christians in the future will come to be marked by their faith in their brother, "made in the image and likeness of God," and that they will believe in all men's aspirations towards democracy and oppose all who would curtail man's freedom and reduce him to only a "part." There have been those in our time



who have believed in men's aspirations and whose words and songs we should not ignore if they strengthen our faith so that we can better see "Christ in our fellow men" — Walt Whitman, Thoreau, Gandhi, painters like Robert Henri and Thomas Eakins, anti-fascists like the Thaelman volunteers from Germany in the Spanish Civil War.

The liberal movement in the United States with its tradition of protest has been seriously decimated or reduced to impotence and silence by the McCarthy-ites and the witch hunters. Catholic "action" could fill that vacuum now, were cells formed throughout the United States to study the Papal Encyclicals and to carry them out in thought, word and action. For the Papal Encyclicals, apparently so little read in the United States today, embody the great contributions of modern liberal thought and present them purged of excess and error.

American Catholics today stand at the fork roads. They can adopt the psychology of "The City of the Rich," blame all ills of the world on the Communists, and seek to impose their peace by force on a world that wants change and growth. Or they can consider the Papal Encyclicals which will strengthen true democracy, which stand out clearly against injustice, slavery and oppression, and which call on Catholics to "arise from the ruins" and remake the world in the image of Christ.

"Many lukewarm souls, although they adore God in the depths of their consciences, none the less cooperate, at least materially, whether out of human respect or fear of social hardship, in the de-Christianization of a nation." (Pius XI Firmissimam Constantiam.)

Saints for Now

SAINTS FOR NOW. Edited by Clare Boothe Luce. Sheed & Ward, New York. \$3.50. Reviewed by Elizabeth Bartelme.

In one of the essays in this book, Kate O'Brien tells of a rather silly school-girl game which consists of confessing in an album to one's favorites—a game, flower, fictional character, qualities in a man or woman and so on. It's a rather universal sport among young girls and perhaps Mrs. Luce has played it too. At any rate she has done some canvassing on "Who's your favorite Saint?" adding a corollary "why?" and a clutch of literary personages have taken her bait to form a collection whose interest is twofold.

Since not many of the contributors have approached their Saint from a purely objective point of view, it follows that in the choice and the reasons for the choice there is a revelation of two personalities—the writer and the Saint. Herein lies the collection's special interest and, alas, its weakness as well. The personal approach is delightful in some cases, adding a warmth of its own to biographical material; in others, however, the personality of the writer shadows that of the Saint to the detriment of the essay.

Take Whittaker Chambers' article for example, as a good many readers undoubtedly will do the moment they open the book. What he has to say about himself and his reaction to the world he lives in is absorbing and dramatic—but his autobiography has already been published. What he says about St. Benedict is neither original nor profound, nor in its brevity does it balance the length at which Chambers analyzes himself and his own special view of the present period. There are other writers using the same approach who are far more effective. George Lamb is one of these, and his essay on St. Simeon Stylites combines personal reminiscence and experience with a searching commentary on the importance of the Saint. Lamb writes with great good humor and enthusiasm for his pillar-Saint and I found his contribution one of the most entertaining in the book.

Another enjoyable essay was Kate O'Brien's piece on St. Francis Xavier. She speaks lovingly of his sweetness, his charm and his tremendous loneliness during his missionary years, and what she has to say about the "Jesuit personality" which molded Xavier and so many other great Saints of the Order is intelligent and beautifully written. Another impeccable stylist, Rebecca West, presents a somewhat disappointing portrayal of St. Augustine. The Saint comes to life under pen as a brilliant, hot-blooded, egotistical young man, but his passion, redirected to God, is less convincing. The warmth is gone and the busy bishop and writer does not draw one.

In my opinion, however, the two outstanding essays are Barbara Ward's on St. Thomas More, and Karl Stern's analysis of St. Therese's relevance to our times. The parallel which Miss Ward draws between the moral decisions facing the seventeenth century man and those encountered by a man of the twentieth is remarkably clear. The same conflicts and confusions exist now as then; the

same slow building toward sanctity is as essential now as it was under Henry VIII if one is to cut through the tangle to find the heart of truth. Miss Ward's essay makes a strong point—one of real immediate importance to the layman of today faced with problems which rend and tear at the structure of his life. Karl Stern's is equally good. Setting aside such details of Therese's life as are familiar to most readers, he discusses her "Little Way" in opposition to the way of such thinkers among her contemporaries as Nietzsche, Tolstoy and Dostolevsky, all of whom were shaping and influencing the world in their own fashion at approximately the same time that Therese was living her hidden life in Carmel. He contrasts the negation to which their thinking led with the tremendous affirmation which was St. Therese's life, a life of apparent negation withdrawn from the world. He points out that we have an "unlimited capacity for fooling ourselves about the Saints," that often we admire exactly those whom, through circumstance or temperament, it is impossible to imitate. But with Therese, he insists, there is no excuse. We can follow her example, her "program" of the little way which is possible to everyone, and which in its humility and hiddenness activates the potential for revivifying our crushed and despairing civilization.

It is interesting to note that more than one contributor chose the same Saint as his favorite. Both Paul Gallico and Vincent Sheean write of St. Francis of Assisi, and Jan Yoors contributes a drawing of the Saint (the only illustration in the book which caught my fancy). Thomas Merton, not unexpectedly, presents both a drawing of St. John of the Cross and an essay on the Saint. Kurt Reinhardt also writes about the great mystic who is also represented in Salvador Dali's astonishing drawing which seems far removed from the concept of St. Teresa's little "half monk." In fact his bulk is more reminiscent of St. Thomas Aquinas (oddly enough this illustration falls within the text on Thomas) about whom Robert Farren has managed to turn many an enchanting phrase. It's a pleasurable experience reading a poet on a philosopher when he does it so well as Farren.

To sum it up: there are some good, some indifferent, none wholly bad. The selection of writers is exceptionally diversified ranging from Kathleen Norris to Evelyn Waugh and Gerald Heard, and they have found their Saints in every century from the beginnings of Christianity (Alfred Noyes on St. John the disciple) through St. Radegunde, E. I. Watkin's choice, to Bruce Marshall's story of the Cure of Ars, so close to us and well beloved. The Saints are truly every man's meat, but be warned. You may not like the interpretation of your favorite in this book, and you may as well ignore most of the illustrations.

"If we inquire into the kind of life men everywhere lead, it is impossible for anyone to avoid the conclusion that public and private morals differ vastly from the precepts of the Gospel." (Leo XIII Exeunte Iam Anno.)

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Song On a Day of Mist

Pipe as you like, the rush in the cedar,
the sun behind clouds,
the day as ancient as the limestone cliffs
full of sea-flower fossils—

Sun comes not again forth
But it shines an eyeless death where no death was,
nevertheless, nevertheless—though it is as you like,
—your piping, though you pipe as you pipe to love.

RAYMOND LARSSON

Chrystie Street

(Continued from page 3)

to their offices certain information about the Catholic Worker which task would require the services of several lawyers and certified public accountants. Oh, for a friend in the tax dept.

Our fellow writer Ammon Hennacy has been visiting with us during the past month. Ammon along with everyone else seems to be enjoying the visit. There is a real gentleness about this lean gray haired radical that does not strike you from reading his articles in the paper.

Whether you agree or disagree with Ammon's ideas you can't help but admit that it is a unique privilege to meet up with someone like him. Ammon still retains that apostolic zeal and fervor that many of us had when we first came in contact with the Catholic Worker. Since he has been here I have never observed him when he wasn't engaged in some endeavor whether it was vocal indoctrination, selling papers on the street, attending meetings, reading, writing letters, working around the house here or out at the farm on Staten Island.

Despite his fifty-nine years of age he has the energy and pep of a young man one-third his age. Ammon is not familiar with the scholastic method of logic and it is futile to argue with him if you use that technique. Like Peter Maurin he will repeat his stories and principles. When you disagree and shake your head he will cheerfully tell you that you will soon come to agree with him. Not unlike the Reader's Digest, Ammon only tells you the stories whereby his ideas were successful. This technique he tells on himself. He sounds somewhat like St. Paul when he tells of the hardships he suffered in order to work out his ideas. Ammon is no stranger to jails, fasting, hard manual labor, picketing, prayer and the general scorn and ridicule of the mob.

Visitors

After a year in a tubercular hospital our friend Joe Monroe has returned to the Catholic Worker. He has put on a little weight and looks quite well.

Communications from Cleveland, Ohio bring us up with the fact that

Helen Butterfield, our former co-worker, has joined the good sisters of Saint Joseph. Helen should be a first-class asset to any community of nuns. Helen has our prayers and best wishes.

Lou Murphy, who is in charge of the Detroit Catholic Worker paid a welcomed visit enroute to the Pacifist Conference at Peter Maurin Farm. Along with Lou was Gerry Griffin, a former co-worker, who is training to be a registered nurse in a mental hospital in Philadelphia.

At the present writing we are dickering with a printer uptown with the hope of having Peter Maurin's Catholic Radicalism reprinted. We will run a notice in the Catholic Worker as soon as the job is completed, which should be before Christmas, we hope.

Adoptions

One evening during the early part of the month we had a visitor from Cleveland. This man was short and stocky and appeared to be about sixty years of age. He asked all about the work as we showed him through the house. He didn't have much to say about himself except that he had followed the trade of a carpenter most of his life and has an active interest in the Legion of Mary. When he was leaving our office he invited us to visit his home whenever we happen to get out to Cleveland. In a sort of a mechanical fashion we said we would. But this man was serious about the invite and asked us how we could come to his home without knowing the address. We wrote the address down as he told us what a wonderful cook his wife was. "We were only married three years when we had adopted four Polish children, we were unable to have children of our own. My wife sent me to the public library to pick up a cook book that contained recipes for Polish dishes. A short time later we adopted three Hungarian children and my wife learned to cook Hungarian meals. It wasn't very long afterwards that we adopted a couple of Italian children and my wife learned the meals native to their ancestral land. All in all we adopted and raised twenty-five children."

Satyagraha-A Positive Method

(Continued from page 2)

brought about tremendous changes. This established the efficacy of the method in throwing off the control of an imperialistic power. It seems logical to assume that Gandhi could have worked out a system of non-violent, but aggressive, resistance against an invading force bent on tyranny, in other words, non-violence on an international level. Experts on his growth in this method feel that it was an inevitable climax to his work, if he had had time to develop his ideas further.

In the event of invasion, direct, non-violent action by the people, refusal to cooperate with the new government on any level, would mean its eventual downfall. Persistent non-cooperation by the masses, plus the establishment of parallel governments or communities, prepared to take over the functions, previously under the control of the aggressor, would spell disaster of any dictatorship.

Of course there would be suffering, but suffering endured and not inflicted. Jails would be filled, as they were in India, but there did come a time when the jails weren't big enough. People were shot, but there came a time when the act of firing into an unarmed mass of human beings became too much for conscience to bear. Even if sensibilities were too deadened to respond to waves of people offering themselves for slaughter, annihilation of a large portion of a nation would mean economic disintegration. It would be impractical for an army of occupation to attempt to perform all the functions of society.

As an answer to total war this refusal to meet evil with evil is the only solution. It is very doubtful that our generation will see anything like it on an international scale. The reflex of defensive war is too deeply ingrained in our culture. The roots of Christianity have not grown as deeply into us as we would like to think. Fundamentally, the overwhelming majority of us have no real living faith in "soul force," in the ability of men to change each other through reliance on God and His weapons of truth and love. When we feel compelled to violently defend a "way of life," not even distinctly Christian, instead of putting into practice the explicit demands of our faith in Christ, it is time for us to inspect closely our foundations.

"And why call you me, Lord, Lord; and do not the things which I say?"

Every one that cometh to me, and heareth my words and doth them, I will show you to whom he is like.

He is like a man building a house, who digged deep, and laid the foundation upon a rock. And when a flood came, the stream beat vehemently upon that house and it could not shake it; for it was founded upon a rock.

But he that heareth and doth not, is like to a man building his house upon the earth without a foundation: against which the stream beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the ruin of the house was great. . . .

The Sermon on the Mount—St. Luke, Ch. 6, 46-49.

American Bishops

(Continued from page 3)

the approach of the American Bishops. "Fundamentally, it is a theory of constantly expanding economy, with production near capacity, with a high level of wages and a 'secular' trend of lower prices."

Such a trend has existed in the United States since 1939 — out of war orders. The tremendous capital expansion of 1941-45 was two-thirds financed by the government (and increased American productive capacity one half). More recently, the Korean war and the armaments race have guaranteed high production and steady increase in capital goods.

Under conditions of expansion, it is possible to have "councils" of workers and managers agree upon the common good. A portion of increased productivity is handed to the laborer in the form of a slight increase in his standard of living. Another big portion goes to capital (although it often accrues in the form of new expansion financed out of profits, thus dodging high taxes on income but "keeping the money in the family"). The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has pointed out that the tremendous fringe benefits which they received during World War II were partially motivated by capital's knowledge that it might as well buy a little good will from the worker as give the money to the government in the form of taxes.

Crisis

But one fact about capitalism which has been lost sight of in all this talk about cooperation (a fact which the Bishops often adverted to) is that of crisis.

In a down-ward spiral of the economy, a crisis, the antagonistic interests of labor and capital are sharpened. It no longer becomes a question of "fringe benefits" but of the dog-eat-dog right to work. And if the absence of capitalist crisis in the last decade-and-a-half has been bought at the price of war expansion and war-depressed demand, two conclusions suggest themselves: war is not a "solution" to capitalist crisis, but its extension in another direction and the predominately contractual notion of the industry council is not able to ward off crisis, nor to weather it.

In other words, I feel that a certain lack of balance appears in Father Parsons' estimate of the Bishop's statements, and in the ideas of social Catholics as well. That the efficacy of the radical, basic criticism which was made has been forgotten during what is a lull-before-the-storm of war expansion, or the storm of war itself (the absence of statements on war is, incidentally, quite surprising).

Action

This criticism is serious enough. Yet it can be made while accepting all of the basic principles which the Bishops enunciate, while questioning some of the implementive schemes which have been brought forth. A far more serious problem is that the Bishops, at their most conservative, are about five-leagues more radical than a great amount of American Catholics.

For instance: among the proposals of the 1919 statement (immediate, concrete proposals, it might be added) were these—unemployment, sickness, disability and old age insurance, legal enforcement of the right of labor to organize, participation of labor in management and ownership, control of monopolies, even by government competition.

How many Catholics, today, accept these proposals? How often are they questioned in our Catholic press?

These questions become more pointed when applied to the radical criticism of the American hierarchy. How many Catholics are critical of the basic structure of American capitalism? How many advocate co-ops, producer co-ops, and co-partnership, worker ownership?

To what extent do we thumb out Thomas and quote our Bishops

Life at Hard Labor

(Continued from page 2)

Green Revolution, the waitress said: "What good nerves you have; your hand is so steady." I explained that I was breaking a seven-day fast, and she couldn't believe it. Then I drank other juices and ate fruit on the bus to Flagstaff. Here my good radical friends had mashed potatoes, apple sauce, toast, coffee and custard pie for me at 11 p. m. I got hungry again at 4 a. m. and ate a peach and some grapes. On the bus to New York there was little sleep and little variety for a vegetarian. My mother and sister at Cleveland gave me some lunch in a box. Sunday morning, after going to mass with Dorothy, I got weighed, and my weight was exactly what it was when I started—140.

The meaning of fasting, although explained by me personally to many people, could not penetrate to the general public. One woman who spoke to me about twice a day when she came by and who argued with me good naturedly but not too intelligently told me on the last day of my fast that I could get a good lunch for 35c. at the YMCA. "But I am fasting those seven days," I replied. I had given her my leaflet, in which I mentioned my fast, but she had either not read it or did not comprehend it. She backed away from me quietly and whispered "You are a saint." Of course I am not a saint, and I was the same right then as I was before when she thought I was eating meals regularly. On the Sunday I was resting on a chair in front of the church where I was selling CW's. A lady who had likely noticed me there for years wanted to know if I was sick. I told her that I was fasting for the past five days and was tired. "What are you fasting for?" she asked. "Seven years ago they threw the A bomb, and that was a terrible thing to do, wasn't it?" I asked. "Yes," she replied. "And they are still making toward them out at Reynolds Aluminum and other places." "Are they?" she queried. "Yes. And you don't suppose that God would pay much attention to prayers for peace from Christians who are making bombs, or throwing them, or helping in the armed services, or paying taxes for all this, do you?" I asked. "I don't suppose so, but I never thought of that," was her reply. "Well, I am fasting as a penance for those who are doing all this ignorantly, or who are weak and do it knowingly. I don't make bombs; or go to war, or pay taxes for war." "Oh, one just man saves the city," she said reverently. I had not thought of the above explanation and of the comment which she made, but it seemed in place to me just then.

Picketing

I had no trouble at all with the general public or with the police. I had, as usual, notified the police, the FBI, and the tax men that what I was doing was clearly subversive, but not more so than usual. I gave out around 150 leaflets and fifty CW's a day. Many people who had heard reports on the radio about me stopped and asked for leaflets and CW's. Ed Lahey, of the Chicago Daily News, came to see me, but I had left for the day. He had

when challenged while leaving them out of our every day judgments?

Father Parsons is to be thanked for this pamphlet. Whatever my disagreements on emphasis, Social Thought of the American Hierarchy is a valuable contribution to discussion in the United States. In addition to the pronouncements on the economic order, condemnation of racism (against Negroes and Jews, specifically), and statements on the family, sex instruction, and other questions, are summarized. The price is twenty-five cents, the publisher, the Institute of Social Order, 3655 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8, Missouri.

Michael Harrington.

written favorably about my activities previously.

Maryfarm

While fasting I had been looking forward to the good whole wheat bread which Dorothy promised me she would bake at the retreat. There were about forty of us there. The priest who gave it was one who accepted the whole Christian anarchist position of the CW. We were not supposed to talk to anyone but him. I got acquainted, and was charmed with his honesty, his clear thinking and his true spirit of love. I took notes on his lectures; asked questions; went through all of the masses, compline, rosary, benediction and singing in Latin without knowing too much about what it all meant. In fact, I got blue marks on my knees from kneeling on the hard floor. Toward the last I began to see that there was a green pasture behind this theological fence. Whether I would nibble at it or not I did not know, but I continued to pray for grace and wisdom.

It seems that no one had pulled the weeds from the flower beds for a long time, so I took a bus man's holiday by mowing the lawn and pulling weeds for half a day in between conferences.

Sacco Vanzetti

I had not known that the Vigil of St. Bartholomew, Martyr, was on the 23d of August—the day on which Nicolo Sacco and Bartholomew Vanzetti had been done to death by the frightened bourgeois just 25 years before. So these prayers meant much more to those of us who revered the memory of that Vanzetti whose last words forgave those who were doing this to him. The retreat was over at noon of the 23rd, and that night I spoke four times on Union Square in memory of Sacco and Vanzetti. The last meeting was more of a success for the priest who gave the retreat stood by my side, asking leading questions and by his very presence fending off the incipient Catholic fascist whose hatred of atheistic communism made him forget both atheist capitalism and the Sermon on the Mount. The Old Pioneer writes that it is very hot in Arizona. Here I have found the weather delightful. I expect to return in a few months after speaking in different cities, visiting my mother and folks in Cleveland, and my younger daughter in Evanston and my older daughter in Santa Fe.

NOTICE

Ammon Hennacy will speak at the following places: WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, 2006 Walnut St., Phila., Pa., Friday Night, Oct. 3; Friendship House, 814-7th St. S. W., Wash., D. C., Thursday Night, Oct. 9; Catholic Worker, 223 Chrystie St., N. Y., Oct. 10.

Ammon will stop off at the following cities on his return to Phoenix, Ariz.; Springfield, Mass.; Boston, Mass.; Cleveland; Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wisc.; Madison, Wisc.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Collegeville, Minn.; St. Louis, Mo.; Denver, Col.; Santa Fe, N. M.; Albuquerque, N. M.

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On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

told that the outdoor work he had been hired for was finished. He paid \$3.51 bus fare back to New York. He got back Saturday noon, and now, Monday noon, he had no money left. What had he done with his earnings—\$11.67 minus \$3.70, which equals \$7.97? Carfare, movies and meals, and the meals were mostly hot dogs. So could he eat here until he found another job?

These are the kind of men who make up our bread line, the young ones. They work, they eat, and they have nothing left. But, of course, each one has a different story, and God loves each one with a different and special love.

Birthday Party

After we went to press last month I went down to Staten Island to Susie's birthday party. The other grandmother was there, Grannie Hennessy from Washington, and we sat under the mulberry trees for supper and the party, made a fire when it got dark, and toasted marshmallows and shot off some roman candles which Walter Vishnewsky ("Little Waltie," Stanley calls him, though he weighs over two hundred) brought on his visit to us during the steel strike, where he had an enforced vacation.

Susie and Mary are the lucky ones, having birthdays in midsummer, which means picnics. We were having a grand time, and Tamar was running into the house just like one of her own children, when she stumbled and fell over a stump, rupturing a blood vessel. It sounds terrible, and the huge ugly blood blister, big as an egg, looked terrible; but aside from the pain involved, it merely meant a couple of days in bed with an ice bag on the injury and a grandmother to watch the kids. Something in the way of a treat for a busy mother!

Then that over with, David got lumbago so bad he had to stay in bed a week. So the month has meant doctor's bills. If it were not for the clothes which "come in," how would families get along nowadays? Certainly there are no family wages being paid. Lou Murphy, head of the CW work in Detroit, who visited this month for the pacifist conference, says that his daughters proudly display their dresses, saying, "They came in." Another dear friend often in need said once, very plaintively, "everything comes in at the CW except a husband for me."

Packages

We were opening packages at Chrystie street this morning, and found one whole carton of teal. Many good children's clothes came in, too.

Annabel reminds me to continue to ask for children's clothes, now that school has started. We are surrounded by poor families and, since Puerto Ricans are coming to us every day, we need Spanish literature, too, prayer books and rosaries.

We are certainly deeply grateful for this work done by our readers. The package from Trinity Farm, Vermont, was filled with spotless clothes, neatly mended. A great work of mercy. If we ever miss thanking people most specially and particularly, please excuse us.

Visits

During the month I tried twice to get to Princeton to see my friends, Alan Tate and Caroline Gordon (Caroline made the retreat last month with me), but first I missed the train, then when I took the bus it broke down and I returned.

But later in the month I did pay a visit I had been looking forward to all summer, and that was to the Pennings and the Cantines, both near Woodstock, Peter Maurin's old stamping grounds upstate New York. A first invitation had come from the Pennings in June, to be present at the unveiling of the statue of the Madonna of the Hudson, at Port Ewen, just below Kingston, where the canal which used to bring coal from Pennsylv-

ania, empties into the Hudson. This section used to be the home of the "canallers," as they were called, but now is the home of a number of tugboatmen. The old lady who unveiled the statue had five sons who were tugboatmen on the Hudson.

I am just as glad I did not get to the unveiling, since I would have run into that unsavory character, Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Union, attending the function, no doubt, with guns and bodyguards. There have been too many public relations stunts in the history of labor and capital, and this followed too neatly on the heels of the strike last year, for me to be anything but suspicious of the motives of the associations who are putting up the money for this statue. Evelyn Underhill writes that "our modern humanitarianisms and sentimentalisms, our ceaseless attempt to harness the supernatural in the interest of our dark Satanic mills, look very cheap and thin over against the solemn realities of religion, the awful priority of God."

These attempts to appear well in the sight of the public began with Rockefeller and his Ivy Lee after the Ludlow Massacre, when forty women and children were burnt and shot to death by his armed guards during a strike in Colorado, when the families of the miners were evicted from their homes and forced to live in tent colonies. Carnegie put up his libraries with funds stolen from the workers, and the most modern version of this type of "public relations" and restoration of stolen goods is the Ford foundation money which is being used as a perfume to make capitalism a little less malodorous. And here are tugboatmen and longshore officialdom of the unions in power, getting very favorable notice in the press. God forgive me my suspicious nature.

Of course God writes straight with crooked lines. And of course Our Lady stands there beautiful and serene on a bluff overlooking the Hudson and tugboats whistle salutes as they go by, and our Lady is honored, or rather the statue of our Lady is honored. But who knows the bitterness in the hearts of the great mass of workers who suffer from a corrupt officialdom, who know the scandal of the waterfront in New York, who suffer from the slavery of the hiring system, the shapeup, who know all about the kickback system, who look questioning at the salary of Ryan and his life long position as President of the longshoremen. They cannot say with David the psalmist, "Thy friends, O Lord, are exceedingly honorable." How many friends of our Lady are alienated, not won, by this lip service. Not all those who say Lord, Lord, are going to be saved.

Peter's Friend

To turn from these dour comments to something more agreeable, we enjoyed our visit with the Pennings and the beautiful religious art he showed us in his huge studio where he works with the natural blue sandstone of the quarries of the region. There is flow and simplicity about his work, a warmth and compassion. The Pennings have lived for the last twenty years in their big stone house which seems to have grown up out of the woods around them. They are a mile in from the road and in back of the house is a natural swimming pool which used to be an old quarry, not more than ten feet deep. It is only in the last five years that Tomas Penning has become a religious artist.

At dinner we met an old acquaintance of Peter Maurin to whom he used to give French lessons three times a week. And here is a story which is a healthy contrast to the last few paragraphs.

"My small daughters and I were living in Woodstock that winter," Julia Leaycraft said, "and one evening there came a knock on the door. It was Peter, quiet,

dignified, anything but well dressed, but with not the air of a pan handler.

"I would like to give you what I have to give," he told me, and that meant French lessons."

He did not want to receive pay for the lessons because he did not believe in the wage system. He was making the point that he would give what he had to give, and that was a knowledge of French and the one who benefited would give in return the meals he needed. It was an exchange of goods. It was love in action. It was not labor as a commodity, bought and sold to the highest bidder.

Mrs. Leaycraft did not particularly want to study French, she said, but he interested her, and she began to study with him, and during and after the lessons they talked of the condition of the world, politics, history, economics. He didn't talk religion to her. He seldom did. He might have talked of the love of God and the love of brothers and its implications, but not "religion."

"He was never 'Peter' to me, always Monsieur Maurin," Mrs. Leaycraft said. "One day I asked him, after we had become friendly, why he didn't take better care of his appearance. My children used to make comments on what was, to be frank, the very ragged and dirty condition he was in. We were sure, French peasant that he was, that he never bathed, and he seemed to sleep in his clothes. When I put my question to him, why did he not take better care of his appearance, his reply was simple. 'So as not to excite envy,' he said. Then one evening he



came in quietly jubilant. He had been frequenting during the winter, a little lunch room under the railroad tracks, called the subway lunch, where hoboes often came in to beg for food. He conceived the idea of tacking a box up on the wall, with the sign on it, 'If you have any money to give, put it in, and if you need money, take it out. No one will know.' That last touch showed the delicacy of Peter's charity.

Strangely enough, the box succeeded. Many men had coffee at the subway lunch, and many men put money in the little box on the wall. This went on through the winter. Then one evening, Peter came to give his lesson very downcast. What was the matter? Twenty-five dollars had disappeared from the box! A fortune. The bank had been robbed. Man had again succumbed in Peter's Eden. He had not passed the test, the simple little test of love.

Nothing was said about the box, which continued to function in a small way. Then another evening came, and Peter arrived at Julia Leaycraft's home, beaming. The money had been restored. The twenty-five dollars was back, and more too, with a note. Someone had been down and out, needed bus fare and had taken the money. Someone who had merely taken the sign at its word. He had taken what he needed, and now he had been able to restore it. Peter's faith was confirmed. "It works," I can hear him cry joyfully, seeing as he always did, Christ in his brother.

This is a proper story for the month of the feast of St. Francis, for the month of the Little Flower.

White Book

(Continued from page 1)

is, or more correctly, is to be, a State built on a "democratic basis," and that is what it is to be according to the repeated assurances of all the allied occupying powers, then those occupying powers as well as our own Government, would have the duty of discovering by means of a plebiscite whether our people are prepared to be drawn into a new war or not. I am convinced that our people, naturally with the exception of war profiteers and all representatives of power politics, will by an overwhelming majority refuse a remilitarization.

What our Austria needs in order to avoid being drawn into the war entanglements of foreign powers is severest neutrality. Austria must not be drawn into an agreement with either the West bloc or the East bloc, for Austria needs peace. That is why our people must unanimously stand out against the military preparations undertaken without and against its will, and accordingly, in the first place, demand an immediate plebiscite on this question. Or should our people be coerced into serving foreign interests?

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to end the preparations for war imposed on us by our own Government and the allied occupying powers. If that is not done our people should enforce its will by carrying out a non-cooperation campaign such as was successfully carried out by Gandhi. But it is high time that our people should take the matter in hand themselves.

Or are we to go on quietly seeing, without doing anything, how many acres of the best farm land are being requisitioned for military preparations in the service of an occupying power, as is happening in various places, in order to construct barracks, munition dumps, military roads, dumps for army vehicles and guns, petrol tanks, aerodromes, powder magazines, etc.

Are we to be indifferent to the fact that in many of our Austrian industrial concerns work is going on day and night under the supervision of the occupying power in the manufacture of armament parts, that raw materials, iron, wood, steel, paper, metals, electric current, coal, etc. which we so urgently require for our own home needs, are being exported in order to be manufactured for the military purposes of the Atlantic Charter?

Shall we simply stand by and allow our police force to receive a highly militarized training, as has happened, and is happening, in the whole of Austria, in order to be incorporated as soldiers in the Army of the Atlantic block under the orders of foreign powers?

Are we to suffer the introduction of conscription, which will not be long postponed, and have our male population put under the command of foreign powers and their power-arms? If our men are to go into the field as foreign legionnaires, so to speak, or cannon fodder, are you Austrian women and mothers just going to accept it?

Austrian people, men and women, you who have had more than enough of atrocities, crimes and destruction of life and cultural values, protect yourselves. Show the world, bristling with armaments, unmindful of all else, what will result from your refusal, your inflexible will, and refuse conscription from the beginning. The so-called great powers, based only on brute force and the right of the strongest, may carry on their war efforts among themselves, but at least leave our little Austria, which has become powerless in peace.

Austria must not allow herself to be equipped as a fortress of the Alps for foreign troops, which, unfortunately, to a great extent is taking place behind the back of the Austrian people. Do our poli-

ticians and the occupying powers not realize that Austria, whether it supplies the West bloc or the East bloc, sharpens the tension between the capitalist and communist worlds, making Austria the stage for the third war? The consequence of such power politics cannot be foretold. In any case, the rearming of Austria is a suicidal policy.

But why any further words? From these short indications it will be observed that every Austrian who loves his fatherland and who does not want to be drawn into an adventurous war of foreign powers must make every endeavor to stop rearmament, forbidden under God's generally accepted commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," and bring about Austrian neutrality. The defender of power-politics may come with phrases like: "We must defend our country," "We must stand out against Communism, for an unarmed Austria is defenseless, exposed to the armed East block and succumbs as booty to them," etc. All these are words of expression from which we opponents of war and conscription pass on to the business of the day.

To all these false, hypocritical efforts to represent rearmament as being in the interests of Austria, I simply reply with the words of St. Peter, "We ought to obey God rather than man," and with those of Christ, "All that take the sword." Or do the representatives and promoters of Austrian rearmament believe that the words of Christ here quoted need not be taken seriously? World history will show that those who follow the laws of God without exception never go wrong.

Therefore it is my most ardent wish that the White Book published by the Austrian Peace Council might find its way into every Austrian home, that it might open the eyes of all Austrians, so that they realize with what cynicism Austria is being delivered up and sacrificed to the interests of foreign powers. The Austrian Peace Council, however, must not miss any opportunity of condemning the rearmament of the Eastern block as strongly as it does that of the Western block on the basis of its documents and facts published in its White Book, so that it cannot be suspected of representing one-sided Eastern interests.

He who can think logically will, in studying the White Book, come to realize that the whole of modern power politics, set up on total destruction everywhere is, of necessity, to be regarded as the greatest political madness, and that we, the representatives of non-violence are the only true realists.

Let us hope that the completely distorted minds of the politicians, who today guide the fate of the world, will realize in time, before the dreadful catastrophe is upon us which they, in the belief that their power politics will be able to stop the dreadful end, will, on the contrary hasten.

It is, therefore, essential to harness to politics, industry and culture positive forces for the abolition of the causes of war, forces which prepare the way for peace. But where are the men under whose leadership and self-sacrifice the masses can be called up and united for a peaceful revolution? The power-politicians, who today rule the world, must be brought to the realization of the fact that power-politics proves itself to be the weaker policy.

I close, therefore, with the appeal, "Up with the non-violent revolution."

From a letter to PAX (38, Gordon Square, W.C.I. London, England).

Sacred Humanity

The equality of every soul before Almighty God is a fundamental of the Catholic Faith . . . Archbishop Ritter.

Northern Factories

(Continued from page 1)

moving closer to their source of supply and ports of entry. But up until now, industry has been satisfied to use basing-point systems and the like to cover up that differential.

It is far simpler to realize that the basic motive which often sets these shifts into motion is the desire for cheap, unorganized, exploitable labor.

Textiles

Another—perhaps the chief—example of the move South is in the textile industries.

A year ago, Textron announced the closing of its Nashua, New Hampshire, plant; Mohawk Cotton of its Utica plant. The move was explained as bringing "technological improvements South." It also creates the possibility of a mass stagnation of industry, and of jobs, in New England.

Thus, the March, 1952, Federal Reserve Bulletin reports a drop in textile employment between 1950 and 1952: 2,608,000 in 1950, 2,138,000 in 1952—and all this despite the boom inspired by the Korean war in mid-1950.

The same is true of production in centers like New York. After a rush occasioned by the Korean war (consumers stocked up on items which they thought would become scarce), it became apparent that the industry had overproduced. Faced with a fundamental choice—of whether to shut down production facilities, or take a cut-back in profit, the companies opted to put 180,000 workers out of jobs. Between October, 1950 and September, 1951, the production index fell 32 points (from 197 to 163), but profits rose.

Given such a situation, the impetus toward the South gained momentum. Labor organization has been notably slow there—it often meets the resistance of the whole culture, of religion, tradition, etc. and the fear of union-enforced equality of race (the CIO is not Jim-crow). Ironically enough, so many moves have been made that some areas show a drying up of the labor reservoir—but it is still cheaper than New York or New England.

The South

The problem cannot, of course, be dismissed by an argument in favor of protectionism for the North.

From the days of the Civil War (which was, to a large measure, a conflict of agrarian and industrial interest) the South has presented unique problems. It has lived at a lower standard than most of the United States. It has been kept in economic dependency. Though systems such as basing-point in the steel industry were chiefly aimed at the West, you still had to pay freight charges from an arbitrarily decided basing-point, usually well North and East.

The problem in the South has been further complicated by the race situation. The tension be-

tween white and Negro made it easy to play the two groups against one another. The white could be threatened with the use of Negro labor which was cheaper. Such a situation is a natural for the employer, and splits the economic power of the wage worker right down the middle. As already mentioned, it has been a factor impeding union organization.

Now it cannot be argued that the South be kept in this state in order to protect the Northerner. This is fallacious on more than one point—and it must always be kept in mind that the problem did not



arise out of any desire on the part of the businessman to help the worker, but rather out of desire for profit.

What is at stake is the social character of work.

Capitalism, with its law of the market, allocates goods and builds on the basis of buying power. Yet, as the Popes have been pointing out for 50 years now, work has a social character which is sometimes (often) in conflict with the "laws" of the market. The New England industrialist, the Chicago manufacturer, cannot pack up and leave after having made great profit on the workers of those areas merely because the profit margin is decreasing. The South cannot raise its living standard at the cost of unemployment in the North. In all cases, live human beings are involved. Any action must be based on their innate dignity.

What emerges is that a problem has been stated with which capitalism is incapable of coping.

And the hard, predictive possibility is that nothing will be done as long as these incidents are localized within an expanding garrison economy. The problem will probably be postponed. The 900 or so Negroes in Chicago, the hundred thousand in New England will be written off as a statistical correction of a bad situation. No one will suggest an over-all, integrated approach based upon the social character of work, in New England and in the South. And one more possibility of bust will become permanent in the economy.

One cannot help being sanguine about the situation. It involves so few workers, it occurs within a cold war. And it proves, as if any more documentation were needed, that the capitalist system is still there under all the reforms, patched up, even grown healthy on permanent war orders, still brutal.

Japan

(Continued from page 3)

tion barriers are lowered that the Japanese may come here to establish farm, communes or settlements. They are among the finest farmers in the world. In our country, so marked by wasteful farming that has led to millions of dollars being spent on conservation and to combat soil erosion and depletion, they would bring the example of patient care for the land which they know and love.

(4) Lastly, one should mention the food revolution. The late Peter Maurin wrote much about "the green revolution" and getting people back on the land. One hopes that his writing and that of the English "distributists" will be re-read. For a "green revolution" is in fact taking place. It is not in people returning to the land—as yet. It is rather in technology, science, agronomics and engineering which enable man to grow "two blades of grass where one grew before."

The effects of this are important. In "Let There Be Bread," Robert Brittain has said that the advances mean that it is now possible to feed not only the present world population of 2,500,000,000 but a population of four billion or more!

Writing in "The Land," Spring, 1950, Paul B. Harlan states:

"Most scientists and most good farmers will agree that more progress has been made in agriculture and more knowledge acquired concerning soils during the past generation than in all the prior history of the world . . . It is probable that we now know only 5 per cent of what there is to know concerning soil and its relationship to ecology, to economics, to health and nutrition, and to countless other factors closely related to the well being of man."

The effects of these changes for Japan and other countries in Asia will be immense.

Peter Maurin advocated agronomic universities of worker-scholars who would be trained both on the land and in Christian thought. These he based on the Irish centers which after the breakdown of the Roman Empire sent men through Europe carrying both the Faith and agricultural knowledge and laying the base for a new civilization.

The idea is no less practical today. Industrialism is not the answer for all countries, simply because we still must eat food. Some nations must inevitably be primarily agricultural.

DOROTHY DAY SPEAKING TRIP

The fifteenth anniversary of the Catholic Worker will be celebrated in St. Francis House of Hospitality in Detroit, October 10th, and Dorothy Day will speak. October 12th or 19th she will be in Springfield, Missouri, and then go to Ozark, Arkansas, Memphis, Tennessee and St. Louis, Missouri, between the Springfield, Missouri, engagement and one in Des Moines, Iowa, on November 11. From Des Moines she will go northwest through North Dakota, Montana and Washington to Seattle, and down the coast to San Diego. Phoenix, Arizona; New Orleans, Louisiana, and Lake Park, Florida will be included in this trip. In Lake Park, Madeline Krider is preparing a little retreat house for the aged poor and sick, which will be called Maryfarm. The trip will start October 1st and continue for two months. Needless to say it is non-political. The talks will be on the works of mercy, the need for saints, the family and property, peace and poverty, none of which we are going to attain by political means. Your prayers are asked for the success of the trip. Anyone wishing to get in touch with Dorothy Day, write c/o The Catholic Worker, 223 Chrystie St. and her mail will be forwarded.

Natural Right

(Continued from page 2)

morality. But let us develop the argument somewhat.

One Standard

There are not two sets of moral standards, one for the individual and one for the State. The State, indeed, is not a person and thus can have neither rights or duties and any application of morality to the collectivity is merely an application or extension of the same ethical standards that operate for individuals. Thus those people are in error who would relegate the teachings of Christ—the teachings embodied in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT—to individual ethics alone, for individual ethics is the basis for social ethics. Individual ethics is social ethics. There is not, nor can be, an entity over and above individuals which could claim immunity from those ethics. Consequently when Christ, by His teaching and example, shows us the way of non-violence as His way and bids us imitate Him, this is meant for us in all walks of life, in international, national and individual relations. Under this there can be no validity to the statement, made during the last war by a noted cleric, that he could not support the war as a Christian but that, as a citizen, he was bound to support it.

Father Ude proves, in his book, that under supernatural morality there is no right of violent self-defense, that Christ not only forbids it but commands us to go further and if our adversary forces us to walk one mile, to walk two. He points out that in most all the examples Christ gives it is the question of one being attacked unjustly. So that the unjust aggressor is not to be violently repulsed. He further proves that these are all matters of precept and not merely of counsel. And he states that the defense of our own lives or possessions can never justify the killing of another and the consequent delivery of an immortal soul to judgment. Nor are we justified in taking human life for any cause whatever, the fifth commandment is an absolute, even to defend others we are not permitted to kill.

Having established the fact that Christ taught the way of non-violence and that under supernatural ethics there is no right of violent self-defense, Father Ude states that whatever is in contradiction to the teaching of Christ is morally evil and that consequently what stands contrary to the Christgiven com-

mandment of love for God and neighbor can never be an exigency of natural ethics. He writes that neither rational consideration or Revelation show that God has given the right over life to any man or to any government. He points out that when Cain killed Abel God did not demand an "eye for an eye" but specifically forbade that any man should kill Cain.

Not Usual Teaching

Father Ude is quite aware that this is contrary to the generally held teaching among Catholics. That, if his contention should be upheld by the Church (and Father Ude rests his case with the Church) it would mean a revision even of our catechisms. Nevertheless he feels that the question is so pressing, the problem so urgent that he must present this daring thesis. He feels that the old Thomistic theory of the just war was always impractical. That it was based on the assumption that one side would be right and the other wrong. But that in practice it has never happened this way. That both sides always claim to be right and both sides claim to be defending themselves. And that indeed the facts in each instance have been so complicated and unclear that the Church has never been able, in a concrete case, to declare which side was just and which was unjust. But that the respective national espiscopacies have counseled their subjects to abide by the decision of the government. And this, states Father Ude, is most unsatisfactory inasmuch as it makes a mockery of any objective standard of ethics. And so, since the just war theory is impossible of application, of what use is it? It is not only of no use but it is false. For it runs counter to the precepts of Christ. And just as grace does not destroy, but completes nature so does morality lead to supernatural morality, it does not go off in an opposite direction.

Faced by the problem of total war what are those to do who believe in violence except to anticipate the enemy and totally destroy them before they destroy us? If we wait till they attack it will be too late. That is the dilemma we face today and the only ethical solution is that offered by Father Ude. Absolute pacifism—the denial under natural and supernatural ethics of the right of violent self-defense even against an unjust aggressor.

Food, Farming and Freedom

(Continued from page 3)

provide shelter and shade for animals and wild life.

One acre has been plowed and harrowed, trenched or ditched, and the foundation of a sod, or earth fence is being laid around it. It is being planted, or sown, with rye (a cover crop), timothy (hay or grass seed), clover, and alfalfa (both sources of natural nitrogen and soil builders as well as stock feed). The rye will be cut in the spring before it goes to seed. The grass, hay, clover and alfalfa will feed a cow, or help to do so in conjunction with other food which, it is hoped, will also be produced next year.

The foundation of a large compost heap has also been laid but little more of an effective nature can be done with it until the farm has a cow and other animals, the manure from which is the basis of a good compost heap. It is not proposed to get a cow or other ani-

mals until they can be fed in large measure from the farm. We, therefore, need barnyard manure as soon as we can get it. We need a lot of things (or the money for them), seeds, plants, shrubs, etc. Some reader some time ago promised Miss Day 200 multi-floral rose bush seedlings for use on the farm. We can use them, and need them at once for planting in the earth fences mentioned above. They will eventually provide economical, effective and picturesque hedges or fences.

About an acre of land around the house is being laid out, or is being prepared for fruit and rotated vegetable gardens. We hope by next summer to have at least one cow, chickens, a pig or pigs (to eat the garbage and later provide the community with bacon and ham), and bees (to pollinate our fruit trees and vegetables, and provide us with honey).

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A Weekly Journal of Opinion Edited by Catholic Laymen

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