

CATHOLIC WORKER



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CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

By the Rt. Rev. CHRISTOPHER BUTLER, O.S.B., Abbot of Downside (Intervention in the debate on "The Church in the World Today," Chapter 5, at Vatican Council II).

Among the difficulties of our present problem is the fact that each of us is a citizen of his own country. Patriotism is a virtue, and one which helps us to realize our unity with our fellow-countrymen. But at this time of urgent danger for all mankind, it is our duty to give the Church and the world a message which is truly catholic, because truly universal. We have, then, to lay aside all sectional interests and to feel and show that we are all "one man in Christ," in whom is neither Jew nor Greek, neither Easterner nor Westerner; we are all one mystical body. We have to address God's People and the world for the sake of that People and that world.

The present text was carefully prepared, so that anyone who wants to amend it must himself be careful lest the balance of the argument suffers. Nevertheless, I wish to propose some emendations, some of which may deserve to be enlarged upon here.

(1) According to our text, so long as international organizations are inadequate for peace-keeping purposes, it cannot be said to be, in itself, illegitimate to possess "modern arms" for the sole purpose of deterring an adversary similarly equipped. I suggest that this passage be omitted from the document. No one thinks that the great powers merely possess such arms. The fact is that, on both sides of the Curtain, there is a system of preparation for the use of these arms — and for their illegitimate use in indiscriminate warfare. It might be said: If we think such preparation is legitimate, we had better say so openly, and not hide behind a reference to the mere possession of the arms.

But then should we not have to go on to say clearly that not only would it be illegitimate to put such preparations into effect in actual war, but the very intention so to use them, even a "conditional intention" would be gravely immoral? This is so, whether we are speaking of the intentions of the heads of state, or of those of their subordinates and the general population.

It would be an awkward question whether such preparations are conceivable without an at least conditional intention of using the nuclear weapon. We should do well to avoid such questions. We should not speak about the possession of nuclear arms, because the question is unrealistic; and we should also not speak about the legitimacy of preparations for nuclear war. It is obvious enough that the intention of waging war unjustly is itself unjust.

(2) Obedience to the government and superior officers in war. It would be better not to speak in this context of the "legal presumption" in favor of those who issue the orders. However true in theory, this "presumption" has occasioned many crimes in recent times through the obedience of subjects to sinful commands. Moreover, at the present day all men have a moral duty not only nor primarily to their own country but to the whole human fellowship. They are called upon, so to speak, to obey

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Mary Webster

SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI

"Listen to the lucid words of the great departed John Kennedy, who proclaimed four years ago, 'Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind.' Many words are not needed to proclaim this loftiest aim of your institution. It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men, that numberless and unheard-of sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin are the sanction of the pact which unites you, with an oath which must change the future history of the world: No more war, war never again! Peace, it is peace which must guide the destinies of people and of all mankind."

—POPE PAUL VI,

to the United Nations General Assembly on October 4th, 1965

CW STAFFER IMPRISONED

Dave Miller, who can usually be found in St. Joseph's House men's clothing room, was arrested on October 18th by FBI agents in Manchester, New Hampshire, for having burned his draft card at the Whitehall Street Army Induction Center, New York, a few days earlier. Dave is now out of jail, through the kindness of a friend who posted the five-hundred-dollar bail. Next month's issue will include a detailed account of his case; until then, we ask for your prayers and words of encouragement.

ON Pilgrimage

By DOROTHY DAY

Rome

September 24th

"We have two days in each one here in Rome," a young Jesuit from Malta told me. "That break in the day from 12:00 until 4:00, which bothers tourists and catches them unawares, brings about this multiplication of days. I wake up at 4:00 a.m. and so get in a good day's work and am ready for lunch and my siesta. Then I begin again and work until midnight, with a break for dinner around 8:30." The signs on the shops say: Open 8-12, 16-20, or the equivalent. Of course many of the Council Fathers do not have this relaxed way of dealing with time. Mass at St. Peter's is at 9:00; the session lasts until 12:30; a press briefing is held until 1:30 or even 2:00; there is a brief lunch; panel discussions in many languages at 3:00; conversations that go on until after 5:00—and then I suppose they rest until dinner. I have had the joy of meeting many friends, bishops, priests and lay people from all over the country, here on the streets of Rome and at these meetings, not to speak of luncheons and dinners. As usual my life is full of contrasts, dining out with bishops and at home on a hard roll, a paper cone of olives and a piece of mazzurella cheese. You can live cheaply in Rome as a pilgrim if you know the simple trattoria, hot shops and pushcarts, and you see many a dignified citizen lunching on a sandwich as he walks along the streets. There are even the restaurants of St. Peter, supported by the Vatican, which the guide book *Europe on Five Dollars a Day* warns are for the poor and not for tourists.

The room in which I am writing reminds me very much of our own Italian section in New York. It is a small room with a very high ceiling. The immense window takes up the whole rear, and through my Venetian blinds I can look down one flight into a large courtyard divided into two parts by a wall, over which a luxuriant grapevine climbs. Pots of ivy, roses, and other plants fill one court, and the other, directly under me, is festooned with clotheslines. The sheets hanging from them help reflect the light up into my room. The windows are wide open (they are tightly closed at night), and there are shelves of plants under some of the windows and little birdcages hung next to

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Loved Readers:

When John the Baptist was crying out for God's deliverance in the wilderness of those dangerous days (St. Teresa says all days are dangerous days) the people, frightened, asked him, "Then what are we to do?" His answer was, "The man with two shirts must share with him who has none, and anyone who has food must do the same." In this same simple spirit we are asking again for the help of our readers to pay up our bills. This will in turn extend our credit so that we can face the long winter ahead, which means heating bills as well as food bills. Hungry people are twice as cold as the well fed. An Arab saying is "Fire is twice bread."

This is the month of St. Francis, whom the whole world loves for his joyous acceptance of voluntary poverty. The poverty of the Pilgrim, recently popularized by J. D. Salinger, with a sack of bread on his back, a Bible in his pocket and unceasing prayer on his lips, is a joyful one. But man is not meant to live alone with dreams of poverty, or love, or peace. People are gregarious as well as communitarian, and over the years the scant half dozen of us have increased as the family grows larger. The community at Tivoli, decreased by sickness and death, keeps filling up again so that, for the winter, all beds are taken in the one house that we heat. On Chrystie Street the soup line means far more than the free vegetables and fish and the donations of bread. The car that we used to pick supplies has recently been wrecked. The insurance may cover the cost of the car and the medical service for the broken arm of the injured one; but the delays mean expense.

It is always hard to ask, but our Lord told us, "Ask and you shall receive, seek and you shall find." It is even harder to live on this faith, in this spirit of abandonment, in these days of governmental war against poverty, because the tendency is to believe that Government can do so much better, with all the means at its disposal. But we know, with our 33 years of Catholic Worker experience, the true efficiency of the person-to-person encounter. It is a matter of constant examination of conscience for each of us because of our failure to love and to respond to the need presented to us.

I often think of how we were pushed into this work by our very readers who help us. People always giving us more than we can use, so that it must be disbursed. More food than a community of forty people can eat, more clothing than they can wear, and more books than they can read, so that our hands must always be open so that these goods can flow through them. The very big house we took over on Mott Street was not chosen because we wanted to get bigger, but because one of our readers placed this unused rear tenement at our disposal rent-free. When that was taken away, we had to buy a house, because no one would rent to our Bowery family and we could not disperse them. When that house was taken by the City, we could not afford to buy a house, because building-code standards had reached such heights that we had to disperse to apartments and one central loft building.

There will never be an end to our work. There are the poor we will always have with us—all those left out of social-security programs, whom social legislation does not reach, or all those who try to live on forty dollars a month, or who try to earn their living by collecting bottles, cartons, and old rags from the garbage of the City. Those who are too sick to work and too proud to beg are also part of our family. Indeed it is a misdemeanor to beg in New York City, and licenses are needed to sell pencils or shoe laces. Thank God our Holy Mother the State has too much respect for freedom to collect all these destitute by force and shepherd them into the vast hospitals on Welfare Island, or put them in dead storage out in the fifteen-thousand bed hospitals on Long Island. Those are the destitute, quite different from the poor. They come to us whenever we open a house or start a soup line. Would that every parish had some small house or store where this work could be begun! It all may appear to be foolish, weak and inadequate, but it is the Lord Himself who has commanded the work, and truly "the joy of the Lord is our strength."

Our love and gratitude are always with you in
Jesus our brother, present in the least of these,

Dorothy Day

Vietnam and America's Conscience

By Rev. PHILIP BERRIGAN, S.S.J.

It has been said, with considerable truth, that the American conscience is dulled and silent on the issue of the morality of war, and that this state of affairs is largely traceable to our condonation of American savagery in the closing years of World War II, the anti-Communist conditioning of the Cold War years, the failure of the post-war world to conform to our idea of what it should be, and our feverish attempt to plan the next pleasure and secure the next luxury in face of the twenty-five per cent of our population that is poor at home and the sixty per cent abroad. Moreover, and this fact alone is cause for shame and guilt, the Christian Church has been one of the staunchest allies of nationalism and the armor of weaponry and militarism that nationalism demands, of imperception and witch-hunting with regard to Communism, of international isolationism, of the trivia and baubles of bourgeois existence. As a consequence, the American hierarchy has not pronounced one word of moral analysis of our conduct in Vietnam, or in the Cold War generally, and our moral theologians have more prudently concerned themselves with the by now "safe" premises of racial justice or defense of the mind of Pius XII on contraception. Gordon Zahn believes that our position has already reached the measure of default of the German Church under Hitler, and that our inaction is far less defensible, since in order to speak out against the immorality of Hitler's aggressive wars, the German Church would have had to confront a totalitarian regime, and we do not. It may well be that the American people have gone beyond the point of no return in the question of arms, and that if the peace is won, it will be won not as something right and Christian, but as a simple condition for survival.

Let me illustrate the cumulative effect of the deterioration of the national conscience with a story that has been told about two young men who could be described as "silo-sitters." They are clad in spotless white overalls; each wears a .45 automatic on his hip, each wears a badge with the motto "Aggressor Beware"; each has a key which, at the command of authority reaching up to President Johnson, can together with the other turn a lock to hurl out of the ground more explosives than have been fired in all the wars of the world's history. Smith and Jones, as we may call them, command ten Minuteman missiles buried in eighty-foot concrete silos in South Dakota. These weapons have five hundred times the explosive force that hit Hiroshima twenty years ago, and they are programmed for Russian cities. Jones was asked how he would feel if he received the order to turn the key. He smiled and said: "It's no different than going home and turning the key in the front door."

Christians are now in the absurd position of having to look for recommendations of a moral course to political analysts like Walter Lippmann and Emmet John Hughes to publications like the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the New Republic, the Progressive, and I. F. Stone's Weekly, and from senators like Wayne Morse, Ernest Gruening, Frank Church, George McGovern, and Robert Kennedy. Throughout the Cold War and more particularly today, the American public has been fed a pabulum consisting of distorted news and unfactual and unhistorical reporting that amounts to psychological and emotional pandering. A few men in the administration or the Pentagon have decided what the American

public needs. Information has then been tailored to these needs, and the result is an information blackout as to our tragic position in Vietnam. The moral confusion and ambiguity of Christians on the question of war and peace makes one think of Paul's prophecy to Timothy:

For a time will come when they will not endure wholesome teaching; but according to their own whims, they will gather to themselves teachers who will tickle their ears. They will indeed turn away from hearing the truth and chase after fables.

The only sense in which this prophecy has not been fulfilled is that today the teachers are as bewildered as the flock.

The Christian Judgment

An incontestable case can be made that our country's contribution to the Cold War and to the shameful actions in Vietnam is immoral in Christian terms. I do not advance this as personal opinion,



SAINT FRANCIS
sweeps a church

nor do I say that it is so because I hold it. I say rather that the whole weight of the Gospels and early Christian tradition advances this contention in the most objective terms, that preponderant world opinion supports it, and that the very words of the Pope himself state most emphatically that war, as we wage it today and as we are preparing to wage it on an ever-increasing scale, is immoral. In commenting on the Pope's encyclical *Mense Maio*, *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit weekly published in Rome, has said that modern nations no longer have the right to wage war. Moreover, our position in Vietnam is one of fundamental outlawry, as Senator Morse has pointed out. Nor will I admit that this is a purely pacifistic or non-violent stand. It is a Christian stand, and some of us are rediscovering it today simply because we must.

First of all, there are the Gospels: the words, and actions of Christ provide the final and ultimate authority on this matter.

But I say to you: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, and pray for those who persecute and calumniate you; in this you will be sons of your Father who is in heaven, for he makes his sun rise on the wicked and the good, and makes his rain fall on the just and the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what claim do you have for reward? (Mt. 5:44-46).

That is to say, the Father loves man, and His love benefits the just and the unjust, and to qualify as the Father's sons, we must love

both just and unjust as He does. Our Lord Himself never deviated from absolute adherence to this course; his Lordship was expressed in servanthood, His primacy in discipleship, and the only weapons He employed were the sword of truth and the fire of love. And when He went to His death, He went as He did because he knew that His own love was a stronger force than the evil that killed Him, and that His love would eventually conquer, even in time, if we would only, in faith and fidelity, allow it to.

The early Christians took the example of their Lord seriously, and their adherence to the law of love was at utter variance with the standards of Roman Society. Their guiding principle was: *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine* (the Church shrinks from bloodshed), and they distinguished between military service, which was necessary to preserve order within the state, and the waging of bloody wars against the barbarians, which they rejected. Origen, in his *Contra Celsum*, said: "No longer do we take the sword against any nation, nor do we learn war any more since we have become the sons of peace through Jesus, who is our author, instead of following the traditional customs by which we were strangers to the covenant." Karl Stern, the distinguished Catholic psychiatrist, says that if "there had existed during the time of Christ a powerful aggressor such as the Roman imperial army, equipped with gadgets to get at wombs, at fetuses, and even at unborn generations," Christ would not have advocated the adoption of such instruments by His own people even as a deterrent, and that in fact he would have "demanded the acceptance of torture, mutilation and death rather than even prepare such instruments."

Accommodation to Violence

The great St. Augustine unwittingly compromised the almost universal Christian approach to war. Under the stress of barbarian invasions and attacks on Christians by Donatist heretics, Augustine evidently concluded that a way must be found to reconcile war with Christian love. He therefore established the principle that a Christian might go to war in a just cause, provided that his intention was pure and directed to the love of the enemy. These are obviously impossible conditions, since once we engage in war, they cease to operate. Eight centuries later, St. Thomas laid down slightly different conditions for a just war: that it be sponsored by legitimate authority, that the cause be just, and that "good be furthered and evil avoided." In his book *The Church and War*, the contemporary Dominican theologian, Father Franziskus Stratmann, lists ten conditions:

1. Gross injustice on the part of one, and only one, of the contending parties.
2. Gross formal guilt, consciously willed on one side.
3. Undoubted knowledge of this guilt.
4. Every other means to prevent war must have failed.
5. Guilt and punishment must be proportionate, since punishment exceeding the measure of guilt is unjust and impermissible.
6. Moral certainty that the side of justice will win.
7. Right intention to further what is good and shun what is evil.
8. War must be rightly conducted, and restrained within the limits of justice and love.
9. Avoidance of unnecessary upheaval of countries not directly concerned and of the entire Christian community.
10. Declaration of war by lawful authority in the name of God.

It is immediately apparent that the ten conditions of Father Stratmann, which are practical and extensive elucidations of the mind of Augustine and Thomas, are incompatible with nuclear war of any kind or with the type of war (Continued on page 6)

A Farm With A View

By DEANE MARY MOWRER

The leaves rustling in the autumn breeze, the leaves that scatter before my feet as I walk to the chapel, tell me it is October, evoke in my memory a vision of past Octobers. So from this vantage-point, I view the beauty of this present October. I see our woodland topped with gold—for varying shades of yellow seem to predominate hereabouts—with the red of the low-growing sumac and an occasional red-flaming oak or maple. It is October, month of great Saints, a bright Magnificat of beauty, when the world is charged with the grandeur of God.

One of these feasts—the feast of St. Francis of Assisi—has become for most of us American Catholics, I think, an even more memorable date. For it is surely no accident that Pope Paul VI chose to visit the United Nations and New York City on the feast of Francis, that great Saint of peace. Certainly the Pope's talk at the United Nations expressed strong condemnation of modern war and the methods and weapons of modern war, and was indeed a powerful and moving plea for peace. Pray for us, St. Francis of Assisi, that we may not forget that the Holy Father came to us as a pilgrim of peace; help us to become instruments of the peace of God.

One cannot serve God and Mammon. Nor can one support war and peace at the same time. I do not think the Pope intended to bless the war in Vietnam with one hand while gesturing feebly toward peace with the other. I think he was pleading with the nations of the world to seek peace now before it is too late, before a major war breaks out, bringing its terrible peace of death, total destruction, and annihilation. It therefore seems to me that those who took part in the international demonstrations against the war in Vietnam were acting in accord with the spirit of the Pope's message. One could hardly surmise this, however, from the kind of coverage given peace demonstrations by our great news media. The fact is that if war hysteria is on the increase in this country—and I think it is—our conscienceless news media are largely responsible.

The real heroes of our time are not the men fighting in Vietnam (though these men are victims of our imperialistic war machine, they are still guilty of murder and cruelty toward women and children and an almost defenseless peasantry), but rather those who are working for peace, whether it is a young man, like David Miller, burning his draft card, or an older person, like A. J. Muste or Dorothy Day using the fullness of God-given talents to write and speak and work for peace. Although only Marty Corbin, Jean Walsh, and John Back were able to go down to New York City from here to participate in the march down Fifth Avenue, I am glad and proud that so many young people from Chrystie Street and so many of our friends and co-workers were very much present in the parade for peace.

There were other demonstrations, and Peter Lumaden chose to spend several hours distributing leaflets in Kingston. Although my own participation in this demonstration was restricted to prayer, I did join with some of our Peace-Maker friends and some of the young people from the CW in an anti-war picketing before the recruiting posters in Kingston, one hot afternoon in September. In one sense these demonstrations may be regarded as little more than gestures. Though the gesture be puny, we must continue to hope that if enough of us make these gestures, we shall help bring peace to the world.

Meanwhile, as most of our readers know, Dorothy Day has been

working for peace in another way. Early in September she sailed for Rome, and began her apostolate of peace by talking with the bishops who were returning to the Ecumenical Council. Later in Rome she joined her efforts with others who were working for a strong anti-war statement from the Council, and finally on October 1st entered with a group of dedicated women into a ten-day period of fasting and prayer for peace. In support of this action a few of us here at home have tried to keep the fast and to spend some time in prayer. Here at the farm Harold Bass, Marie Kuchavov, and I fasted for the ten-day period; and I believe several at Chrystie Street fasted for part of the period. Prayer and fasting are among those weapons of the spirit Our Lord has told us to use. Who would dare to say they are not the most effective?

Fall Conference

To create an atmosphere more propitious for peace, conferences and discussions are also necessary. During the second weekend of October, the Catholic Peace Fellowship group, which is affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and closely linked to the Catholic Worker, held a weekend of conferences and discussions here, which were, I thought, both clarifying and stimulating. Our old friend, Eddie Egan, who, after teaching philosophy for a few years at Mount Mercy College, is now finishing his doctorate at Fordham, took a philosophical-esthetic view of war and peace, maintaining that the hideous ugliness of war is the incontrovertible sign of its essential immorality, a view with which it would be difficult to disagree. Father Daniel Berigan, gifted priest-poet and courageous spokesman in both civil rights and peace movements, spoke on non-violence and the importance of recognizing the essential violence of our nature and of finding creative positive outlets for our aggressions and hostilities, and that if we wish to attain a true non-violent way of life, we must begin, as Our Lord Himself told us, with our immediate neighbor, our nearest enemy. If one can love those immediately around one, one ought to be able to love others. This, of course, is what Dorothy Day has been telling us for many years. Tom Haessler, who teaches theology at St. Peter's College in New Jersey, gave an introduction to a new theology of peace, a theology not based on the just-war theory but based on the New Testament teachings, especially the Sermon on the Mount. This again is in accord with Dorothy Day's view of pacifism as a way of life, a way of life enjoined upon us by Our Lord.

Finally, Dr. Hildegard Goss-Mayr, who worked for years with Fellowship of Reconciliation both in Europe and South America, and who with her husband has labored valiantly to bring a strong peace statement to the consideration of the Ecumenical Council, spoke of the work she and her husband have done and the use of non-violent techniques in solving the problems they have encountered in their work. She spoke in concrete, practical terms and gave example after example of approaching an opponent with love, looking for concordances or underlying points of agreement and by so doing eventually winning over the opponent, so that the goal sought for could be accomplished without violence and animosity. It is in this area, I think, that we Americans have the most to learn; for we are by nature so competitive, so aggressive that we find it almost impossible to approach our opponents with love, trust, or respect. This method, too, has often been commended to us by Dorothy Day, but it is a lesson hard to learn and one that needs to be learned over and

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Friday Night Meetings

In accordance with Peter Maurin's desire for clarification of thought, THE CATHOLIC WORKER holds meetings every Friday night at 8:30 p.m. at St. Joseph's House, 175 Chrystie St., between Houston and Delancey Streets.

After the discussions, we continue the talk over hot sassafras tea. Everyone is welcome.

The Faces Of the Poor

By PAT RUSK

"If you want to see God, see Him in the faces of the Poor. If you want to serve God, serve the Poor."

GANDHI

Rivington Street between Chrystie Street and the Bowery is one short block of pain. Walk along there any time and you will find men who have passed out cold on the sidewalk, with swollen faces and clothes askew, their naked bellies exposed. I sometimes sit in the dining room of St. Joseph's House and look wonderingly at the men from the Bowery as they come through our narrow doorway for a bowl of Charlie Keefe's tasty soup. Bread is plentiful; we receive some of it as a donation from various institutions and we buy the rest, John and Nick serve and fill the bread baskets, while old Pat, occasionally assisted by a mild-mannered young man known as "Whiskers," directs the men to



the back room, where they sit on benches to await their turn.

Many of the men who come in for soup need a clean shirt or jacket, socks or shoes. To attempt to feed and clothe them at the same time would cause too much congestion, so we ask them to return in the afternoon, when things are quiet. Other hungry men drop in during the afternoon and we try to keep a pot of soup on the stove and some left-over bread to distribute. When the weather suddenly turned cold recently, the men began to pile in for warm clothes. What we had on hand was quickly depleted, and we had to turn the rest away. Not having enough to give out is the worst thing of all.

The people who staff the House of Hospitality live themselves in cramped quarters, tiny and often heatless apartments near the Bowery. The staff takes turns at the cooking. Cathy Swann's suppers are especially good; she often takes extra time and effort to bake pies with pumpkins she grew at the farm in Tivoli. Cathy has boundless energy and keeps the apartment she shares with a couple of the other women beautifully clean. Walter Kerell is the early bird. Every morning he takes the long jaunt from his apartment to the Post Office and is there when

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Joe Hill House

By AMMON HENNACY

Bruce Phillips, whose songs I have quoted in the CW, will be chairman of a memorial meeting for Joe Hill in the auditorium of the city library in Salt Lake City, at 8:00 p.m., Monday, November 15th. We will be leaving on a speaking trip on October 15th; we plan to visit the Doukhobors in Canada, then proceed down the Coast, and if possible, get back in time for the meeting. If we can't, I'll send a letter to be read. It was on November 19th fifty years ago that Joe Hill was legally murdered in this city.

The impersonal forces of the law have been chasing me around, and as of this date, I do not have a regular home for transients. The Mayor has told the Health Department to help me find a place, so I expect eventually to get a house that will meet the tedious specifications of the law. Meanwhile, we are living at the old place and taking care of a very limited number of men. Mail will reach me at P.O. Box 655, Salt Lake City, Utah, while we are travelling.

The semi-annual meeting of the Mormon Church is taking place here for three days. Right-wingers have circulated rumors that thousands of armed Negroes are going to picket the Conference. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has denied any plans for picketing. Mormon friends have brought some convert members of their church, who were formerly Catholics in South America and England, to my Friday night meetings. They had never heard of anything radical among Catholics and were astonished to get the CW.

Transients pass through here on the way to Yakima, Washington, for the apple picking. The Industrial Workers of the World are active in that vicinity. The snow-storm some weeks ago damaged pears, tomatoes and apples in Utah. Although last year we got many bushels of pears from our tree in the back yard, this year we got less than half a bushel.

I liked the emphasis on not taking bail in the letters from the Cajun (Murphy Dowd) and Terry Sullivan in last month's CW. In 1956, when we were arrested for the second time because of refusal to take part in the air-raid drill in New York, most of us wanted to accept bail on the theory that we would be of more use outside of jail. I fell for this idea, and it took Dorothy Day and Carol Gorgen some time to convince me that we should keep up the true radical spirit of the old-time Wobblies and try to fill the jails.

Why War?

With all the fine words about negotiations for peace, prayers, and commands from the United Nations for peace, even well-meaning people seem to forget the fact that there is an economic basis for all our wars. This economic basis, which prevents college professors, heads of churches, and nearly all progressive people from understanding and speaking the truth, is this: that if the truth about exploitation were spoken, the whole facade of insurance companies, banks, investments, and real-estate values would fall and these men, who live by condoning the system of exploitation, would have to change their lives (in fact, their lives would be changed for them) and begin to perform some useful work. Some honest men would realize this if they only took a few minutes to think about it, and they would leave everything and change their lives right now if they were not victims of the illusion that something that can be salvaged out of this terrible system of fear and exploitation. Will it take an atomic war to make them see their error? Then it will be too late. They voted for Johnson for fear of Goldwater. When will they learn?

The fact is that despite Pope

John's brotherly attitude, practically no one connected with running the Council seriously considers dissolving the close connection between the Church and the State. All the words about peace and good will amount to nothing as long as the average Catholic is told to obey the state.

Theologians will admit that if "in conscience" a man decides to commit civil disobedience he is allowed to, but they do all they can to stress the virtues of prudence and obedience to men. This is the norm, and students of history will expect little else. Christ brought a revolutionary message and, as Peter Maurin said, we have buried it. What is more, we call those who want to revive this message trouble-makers and heretics.

My mother died on August 31st. She would have been ninety-four in November. I am glad that we had visited her two weeks before. She was alert up to the last minute. To those who are tempted to compromise I wish to repeat what I said in my book: When I was arrested in Columbus, Ohio, in 1917, placed in solitary and told that I'd be shot, a newspaperman asked my mother if she was not frightened at this prospect. Her answer was: "All I am afraid is that they might scare him to give in." She was a fine woman, who never chickened.

Darrell Poulsen's lawyer has succeeded in postponing the date of his sentence for murder.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

(Continued from page 1)

a world-authority which does not yet exist but is requisite for the common good of mankind. Rather, then, than stressing a "legal presumption" that can so easily lead to sin, it would be better if we emphasized that duty sometimes compels withholding obedience.

(3) Glad as I am that the text now refers to conscientious objection, I dislike the suggestion that such objectors are in some way morally immature. It would be better to speak simply of objections based on genuinely conscientious grounds (and we might refer to our Declaration on Liberty). Some conscientious objectors may in fact really be prophets of a truly Christian morality.

To conclude: Let us take the opportunity of saying clearly that the Church, the People of God, does not seek protection from its enemies—whoever these may be—in war, and especially not in war of the modern type. We are the mystical body, and Christ is our Head. He refused to defend himself and his mission by the swords of his disciples, or even by legions of angels, the ministers of God's justice and love. The weapons of the gospel are not nuclear but spiritual; it wins its victories not by war but by suffering. Let us indeed show all sympathy for statesmen in their immense difficulties; let us gratefully acknowledge their good intentions. But let us add a word of reminder that good ends do not justify immoral means; nor do they justify even a conditional intention of meeting immoral attack with immoral defense. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.

"In general it is quite inconceivable how ingenious and inventive human beings can be in evading an ultimate decision. Anyone who has seen the curious antics of recruits when they are ordered into the water will often have had occasion to perceive analogies in the realm of the spirit."

KIERKEGAARD

Judgment Of the Nations

Bishop's House
Indore 1
India

September 7, 1965

Dear Editors:

I have just read most of the articles in the July-August 1965 number of the *Catholic Worker*. They set me thinking further on the question, and I give you the results for what they are worth.

As I believe it unrealistic to expect that all or the great majority of the Council Fathers will condemn the production of nuclear weapons even for defence, a Council statement might usefully concentrate on the following points:

1. Anyone who starts a nuclear or similarly destructive war is guilty of the most horrible crime.

2. There is the gravest moral obligation resting on those who possess nuclear weapons to try honestly and continuously for complete and general disarmament (under conditions of mutual safety).

3. Since no other means is possible to prevent the future production of nuclear and similarly destructive weapons than international control, all nations and their governments are under grave moral obligation to work hard and honestly for the establishment of such control.

4. Since (a) there must be a means to resolve injustices and to procure just solutions for controversial questions, and (b) no person or nation is an impartial judge in its own cause, and (c) all judgment, even by impartial judges, is subject to error, all nations and governments are under grave moral obligation to work honestly for an independent, impartial, international tribunal—which will periodically review its own decisions, when these continue to prove unacceptable to one of the parties—and all are obliged to submit themselves to its decisions and to work hard and honestly for the imposition of its decision on unwilling parties through the medium of the international control organ (mentioned under no. 4).

5. Since these far-reaching, but necessary, solutions will only be accepted loyally when understood and believed in, all governments and managers of means of publication are under grave moral obligation to explain the necessity and justness of these solutions, in order to win the widest possible acceptance of them.

These points seem to avoid all controversial moral questions and may prove acceptable to the vast majority of the Council Fathers. They also propose a practical program of action—a job of persuasion—for the immediate and more distant future.

If you agree and find it important enough, you may find the means to bring these points in time to the attention of all the participants in the Council.

My address in Rome will be:
Collegio del Verbo Divino
Cas. Postale 5080
Roma-Ostienze,
Italy

With personal regards and every good wish,

†Francis Simons, S.V.D.
Bishop of Indore

Leaven for Peace

124 W. Chestnut Hill Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118

Dear Editors:

Here are excerpts from a letter I sent to Pope Paul VI on the occasion of his visit to the United States:

September 15, 1965

As one layman who has had a constant concern for peace (and who received the grace of conversion to the Catholic faith while engaging in direct, non-violent action for peace during World War II), I respectfully submit the

following thoughts for your consideration.

Respectfully, I raise the question whether what the world looks to the Church for is not unequivocal, concrete, authoritative moral exhortation by the Vicar of Christ on Earth, to each and every individual in the world (not only to "mankind" in the abstract) "to sentiments and ways of acting contrary to violent and deadly conflict." (Ecclesiastical Sum)

Is not the way for the Church to restore its practical witness to peace of the first four centuries to exhort individual Christians to abstain from violent conflict, thereby redeeming the fall from peace which came with the exhortation of individual Christians to undertake violent conflict in accordance with St. Augustine's teaching of the "just war" doctrine . . . opening the way to all the wars, crusades, inquisitions, pogroms, etc. waged and participated in by Christians through the centuries until the present time? Surely the fifth-century internal rupture of the Church of Peace into a clergy which abstained from violence and a laity which assumed the practice of violence, with the sanction of the clergy, was the seed of the historic Church of Violence . . . just as the blood of the non-violent Christian Roman Martyrs was the seed of the Church of Peace of the first four centuries.

Does not the restoration of the doctrine of the Church as the People of God, the Mystical Body, the Bride of Christ, necessitate a return to the Gospel teaching of non-violence as the norm once again for the whole Church, for all Christians—laity and clergy? Is it not desperately necessary to weed out the seed of violence now so that a movement can be started away from the world "balance of terror" back towards true world peace? Is this not how our present Peace-and-War Church can, with the help of God's grace, heal itself and return to its original calling of the Church of Peace, in the integrity of the whole Church? And is this not how our world of Christians torn between peace and war can return to the integrity of whole men, whose peaceful objects and intentions will be directly implemented by peaceful actions? Is it not only by dis-involvement from violence and war that the Church and individual Christians can once again become effective agents of reconciliation for peace?

Finally, is this not perhaps the ecumenical message to us from the Historic Peace Churches—the Quakers, Shakers, Mennonites, Brethren, etc.? Do they not perhaps speak to us as a providential saving remnant, recalling us to the Gospel of Peace as lived by the early Church? Thanks largely to the Historic Peace Churches, religious conscientious objection to war is already upheld by many nations. Indeed, is it not paradoxical that the secular world is more explicit, with suitable tests of sincerity, in its recognition of the place and perhaps even need for such witness than the Church of the Prince of Peace?

Surely the most prudent hope for peace on earth, I respectfully submit, would be for your Holiness to lead the Church of the Prince of Peace in a contrite return to its original witness of the Gospel of non-violence. Specifically, this would mean an exhortation in conscience to all dedicated Christians and other men of good will to the exemplary vocation and witness of abstinence or phased dissociation from the military establishments of their respective nations and commitment to Church-sanctioned direct non-violent action for peace at the diocesan, national and international level. The international non-violent peace movement would provide the leaven of a moral dimension and force for peace within many nations which would constantly exhort national leaders on various levels to seek ways to peace

through conversations and collaboration with other nations on the basis of truth, justice, freedom and love, rather than on cynical and fatalistic military strategy and tactics based only on military power and psychological warfare. In this context and climate your Holiness could then hope to call for an effective United Nations-convoked world peace conference for all nations, supplemented by continuing private ideological dialogue in depth between Christians, Marxists, and others.

In presuming to communicate thus with your Holiness, I am endeavoring to avoid a sin of omission in my own conscience, and also fulfill an obligation to my many associates through the years who have pleaded, "Why don't you Catholics take a true stand for peace? The world has nowhere else to turn for an effective force for peace, and you are letting us down."

Respectfully yours in Christ,
and in Mary, Queen of Peace,
John S. Stokes, Jr.



What Is To Be Done

1339 N. Mohawk St.
Chicago, Ill. 60610

Dear Editors:

Here are two letters that I sent out recently on the draft and the Vietnam war:

September 4, 1965

Selective Service System
Local Board #6
110 East 45th St.
New York, N.Y.
Gentlemen:

I read in the news Wednesday that President Johnson has signed a bill making it an offense, punishable by five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine, to willfully mutilate or destroy draft cards.

The last time I destroyed my draft cards and returned them to you was in Autumn of 1959, and I have not had any draft cards since. But now, considering the gravity which the Johnson Government attaches to this issue, may I request that you send me duplicates of my registration certificate and present classification, immediately.

Sincerely yours,
Karl Meyer

This letter was first returned to me by the Post Office with the notation, "Moved, not forwardable." I then mailed it to Selective Service System, New York, N.Y., and it got through to the addressee. Duplicate draft cards were sent to me promptly. It may seem odd and inconsistent that I, who repudiated my registration, refused to report for induction, and destroyed three sets of unsolicited draft cards in 1959, should now write and ask for a fourth set. The thoughts and emotions which moved me to do this are set forth in the second letter which follows:

September 20, 1965

Edward V. Hanrahan
United States Attorney
Northern District of Illinois
219 South Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hanrahan:

I am sending to you with this letter, pieces of a Selective Service Registration Certificate and Notice of Classification which I have destroyed by tearing them in half, to signify my resistance to the Vietnam War and to the new law which makes it a crime, punishable by

five years in prison, to willfully destroy draft cards, as I have just done.

By this law, the Johnson Government seeks to suppress a growing movement of protest against military conscription for the Vietnam War.

For several reasons, I myself am not eligible to be drafted: I am 28 years old; I am married and have a small child; I have just recovered from tuberculosis and would be physically unfit; and, because of previous action against militarism and the prison sentences I served for that action, I was classified unsuitable for military service (4F) as far back as 1959.

I could, therefore, easily sit back now and let the draft and the Vietnam War pass me by. But I agree with the young men who have destroyed their draft cards, and I want to give them concrete support and encouragement. We can not be intimidated into moral silence or inaction by any penalty the Johnson Government may impose.

If the penalty for damaging a pa-

per card is so harsh, then the possession of the card becomes the universal act of fealty—incense on the altar of Caesar. The mutilation of human beings in Vietnam has become a civic virtue; now, the mutilation of a scrap of paper becomes a grave crime against the state.

But the cry of conscience can not be so easily suppressed.

I see that the United States military intervention is an unjust and brutal attempt to impose an American made solution on the people of Vietnam. A vast military machine rolls past me into Vietnam over a highway of broken human lives, lives of Americans as well as of Vietnamese. I feel anguish for the suffering of the victims and for the blindness of the executioners. I know that I can not stop this crime, but as long as my voice is free, I will still cry out against it.

Sincerely,

Karl Meyer

Perhaps, however there will be enough of us to stop the war. For those who have no draft cards, as well as for those who do, I also recommend refusal to pay Federal income taxes, which some of us have already done.

Progress Report

5 Beekman St.
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

The summer months have not offered us the breathing space which luckier mortals enjoy in more normal times. The war in Vietnam is growing in fury; unrest and uncertainty are the order of the day in the Dominican Republic. In the East, Americans are deeper in the bush each day, with larger forces and a more horrifying range of weaponry.

We must not, however, despair in the midst of crisis; for there are signs of great and growing hope. American unrest at the prospect of a long, vicious and essentially fruitless land war in Asia is swelling. The unrest is evident in the educational and religious communities, and even in government. The teach-ins have accomplished more than one could have thought possible when they were launched a few months ago. A team of distinguished clergymen

has returned from Vietnam. It is entirely realistic to expect that their findings will render a serious service to the debate at home.

Thus a period of anguish and uncertainty has seen the nation undertake, slowly and unwillingly, but with growing purpose, a mighty debate on war and conscience. We cannot cease to be grateful for the effect of this unrest on the American soul. The military interventions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have overtones of nineteenth century imperialism, laced with simple dogmatic messianism. The best of all possible societies sets out to save. Its redemptive mission is so essential and self-evident that ordinary rules of human conduct do not apply. We can contravene international law, ignore rights of self-determination, and suppress the simple question of whether the people whose world we invade are eager to be saved according to our iron gospel of Mars.

The dogma is however, increasingly under fire; responsible Americans are more and more explicitly rejecting it. The peace movement is engaging the community; ironically, a time of unrest and division is drawing men closer to one another across religious and cultural differences. One thinks, by way of comparison, of how the civil-rights movement exerted the widest and healthiest ecumenical influence, even as it vitalized the churches with a new sense of social responsibility.

As the debate on war and conscience widens, the Catholic Peace Fellowship must play its part. Indeed, it is probable that the Catholic community is being summoned to take its place anew as servant and peacemaker.

We have provided sixty Catholic conscientious objectors with expert legal and moral counseling. We have begun publication of a bi-monthly bulletin and have laid the groundwork for a booklet series. We have made available articles, pamphlets, films and speakers, and are now coordinating speaking tours for Gordon Zahn and Hildegard Goss-Mayr during the next few months.

Yet (to introduce a metaphor) there is another side to the coin. To mix the metaphor, the Fellowship finds itself at the end of its financial tether. Since we opened our office at 5 Beekman Street in Manhattan, in March, we have spent over three thousand dollars. Contributions in this period have amounted to \$3,205.10, total expenditures have totaled \$3,173.66, and we have a sheaf of unpaid bills as well.

We would like to share with you not only the burdens of a small, urgent movement, but also the great opportunities the months ahead will offer. We plan to publish four booklets, convenient, attractive and fairly permanent collections of the more significant essays of Dorothy Day, Karl Stern, Gordon Zahn and others. Christian Pacifism, Conscientious Objection, Franz Jagerstatter and the Christian-Marxist Dialogue will be the subjects.

May we count on you? We should like, as a result of the help you give, to come closer to several goals which we think crucial, not only for the Fellowship, but for the renewal of the Church in our country. A peace movement which is helping Americans question their conscience, which is working fraternally with Protestant, Jewish and humanist groups, is surely playing some part in renewing the Church. We welcome your prayers—and financial help that will bring hope to our brothers throughout the world, many of whom are without hope. "Blessed are those who make peace, for they will be known as sons of God."

Devotedly and gratefully,
Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J.

MAIL BAG + +

Peace Educator

2031 N. Alexandria
Los Angeles 27, Calif.

Dear Dorothy Day:

Last October you published an article of mine about the Friends of Gandhi movement. One of your readers sent a copy of it to Sri A. Kovilpillai, head of the T.M.B. McAvoy Rural Higher Elementary School and Interfaith Orphanages at Ottapadaram (Tirunelveli District), South India. The seed fell on good ground, as you can see from the letter I have just received from Sri Kovilpillai:

Most Hon. Friend of Gandhi:

I am the very humble founder of a group of Friends of Gandhi in this rural area of India. I am a Catholic Christian, very liberalist, very much interested in the propagation of the ideals of Gandhi in the rural area . . . I have started a school and orphanage based on Gandhism principles . . . In the school there are five hundred pupils taught by twenty teachers, and there are forty orphans taken from the neighboring villages and fed by us . . .

. . . This movement was started with headquarters in Ottapadaram on January 1, 1965, in union with all the members of the group throughout the world — Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, Quakers, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Shintoists — as a non-profit, non-partisan, non-sectarian movement with these aims and objects: to follow and practice the various ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and to propagate them in the villages, to experiment with the interfaith cooperation principle in order to eradicate turmoil and friction between different religious groups, to eradicate caste feeling among the public, to overcome evil with good and to love the neighbor and enemies, to work for world peace, to eliminate extreme poverty, to inspire the compassion of both God and man, to practice the religious discipline of asceticism and self-sacrifice, to fight for civil rights and to eradicate racial discrimination and social injustice, to recognize the fundamentally Christian character of Gandhi's concepts of social action, to show sympathy for civil rights action in other countries, especially in the United States, to start orphanages and schools in rural areas, and to give basic education on the principles of Gandhi to the poor orphans and pupils, to build up in every youth a solid core of spiritual life which will resist the attrition of everyday existence in our mechanized world, to improve rural handicrafts, to cooperate with the International Friends of Gandhi organization in their activities. The members shall observe fast on achieving important aims, such as to attain full human rights and equal social status. The fast shall be observed in the Gandhian way, privately, without display or public demonstration, each according to his religious belief, asking God's help and abstaining from all goods and liquids.

This letter has moved me deeply. From Gandhi himself, through Madame Louis Guéyessé, who founded the Friends of Gandhi at Paris in 1931, through the late Professor Louis Massignon, who helped the movement until his death in 1962 and internationalized it and from whom I first heard it, and finally, through the Catholic Worker, the message of Gandhi has travelled in a strange, roundabout, unexpected way back to India, where (one learns with touching surprise) it has not yet been heard in the rural villages.

May I take this opportunity to thank the unnamed reader who sent my article to Sri Kovilpillai and to ask others to help him if they can? One very important way, I think, would be to send books and literature about Gandhi (in English) and thus help form the nucleus of a Gandhi library at Sri Kovilpillai's orphanage and school. Gandhi al-

ways said that the poor did not need bread alone, but the intellectual and spiritual food of ideas, a gift that is often denied them by well-meaning charitable people. A good, easy way to do this would be to contact Arthur Harvey (Greenleaf Books, Raymond, New Hampshire), who publishes and distributes all the writings by and about Gandhi that are available in English in very reasonably priced books and pamphlets. He will send a free list on request and has special discount rates for bulk orders.

Gratefully yours,
Robert Larson

Mission to the Poorest

Southern Africa
Roma Mission
Basutoland
P. O. Box 12

Dear Dorothy:

While studying and working at Stanford University I made good friends with some Indians and Pakistani who made me better acquainted with Vinoba Bhavé and with the poverty in most parts of Asia. Here in Basutoland, I have been surrounded by poverty for over four years now, and almost each issue of the Catholic Worker I could lay my hands on has been an inspiration to me, especially in moments of depression. Your publication is in such sharp contrast to the usual glamour stuff one gets from the United States.

Here are some excerpts from a circular letter I recently sent to my friends:

I can't stay my old, cheerful, optimistic self in my present surroundings: injustice, oppression, exploitation, extreme misery and destitution keep glaring me in the face. After all the working and battling I have done here. I see no human solutions, and if it were not for prayer, simple, humble prayer, I couldn't carry on at all. Since my last travels in Europe and North America I shall not ask for financial help any more. Those drowning in wealth and comfort of prosperous societies do not know any more what real giving and real sharing means. I cannot blame any individual American or European. Everyone's life is to such a large extent determined by the values and requirements of his surroundings, that one cannot expect the wealthy part of mankind to really understand what "starvation" means, or "infant mortality" or true destitution.

One has to have lived through suffering oneself to grasp the full measure of suffering of others, strangers, far away people, black people, stupid people, "lazy" people, people with the smell of poverty around them, people without hope, people who have given up expecting. That is why I do not think I shall ever return to California (or to Europe for that matter). I cannot reach you people any more, we do not understand each other, your hearts and mine beat at a different speed. Your Christianity is a different application of the Gospels from mine. Your society requires so much of you to keep you "accepted," to make your children "succeed," that you could not possibly get fully involved, intellectually and emotionally, in all the great suffering and deprivation of the "other" part of mankind. If you did, you would be insane in two months' time: your neighbors would not understand you, your customers would run away from your business, your kids would not fit in any more, you would be all "left out."

That is why I give up trying to communicate, by all "normal" standards I am quite mad already, (the "foolishness" described by St. Paul). I can only pray and ask you to pray with me—rather than for me—that the Good Lord may enlighten all of us and give strength to bear our Cross, and make us go on loving and giving. I do not mean giving a few dollars in the local Community Chest, or in the Sunday Church Collection, or through our income tax in Government Foreign Aid, I mean giving ourselves, giving where it hurts. Please, pray that we do not become desperate, I amidst all the destitutes; that I cannot help, you in your economics built on greed and power, in selfish, competitive systems that have an almost absolute grip on your mode of life. The struggle for social and moral survival is as hard for you as the struggle for physical survival is over here.

I for myself, having no family obligations and no particular ties with any established society, being free from most conventional norms, spending patterns and status,—I am going to share the poverty of the Basuto people. All my economic knowledge and insight are inadequate to even attempt solving the misery around me.

I am resigning from my comparatively lucrative position at the University where I earn in one year what an ordinary Mosotho earns in 40 years (that is, if he ever reaches that age.) The type of learning offered by this British-run University in no way solves the problems of the Territory.

The only real aid for these people is provided by the Mission work of the Church. That is where I intend finding my life's function. It may seem a strange vocation. I am convinced it is mine. Next month I shall move into a small hut that was to be a stable for my horse and from there I shall begin my social and missionary work.

I know that financial aid and even technical training by themselves can never solve the problems of the type of society in which I live. Only an exemplary Christian life in sobriety and, indeed, in poverty is the optimal contribution to social improvement of the situation. People here (and in many other places) will have to learn to understand and appreciate their own poverty and suffering. And it is only the neighbor's suffering that really counts, it is only the neighbor's poverty that can be helped. Christian caritas, a spirit of altruistic service are the only really successful weapons against "underdevelopment."

I want to use those weapons,—in all modesty and in the humility of an ordinary, fallible and falling sinner. Pray that the Lamb of God Who takes away sins bless my undertaking.

Gratefully yours in Christ,
Joris Blemans

Games Theory

Alitak, Alaska

Dear D.D.:

We all enjoy playing a game once in awhile, even the most serious of us. We were talking in the messroom about pacifism and its probable results if it had been followed in the past. This turned out to be a pleasant exercise, which hurt no one and led to a lot of interesting speculation.

If a Catholic Worker group of pacifists had been the dominant force in the North in 1860 and they had let the Confederate States go their own way in peace, wouldn't these things have been true?

1. The Confederacy would have had extreme difficulty long existing as the only state in the world still retaining human slavery.

2. As it was, their land was almost exhausted, the result of the total absence of any conservation program. Wouldn't it have been a dust bowl by now? Completely incapable of sustaining a cotton-based economy?

3. Isn't the hard core of the present Goldwater movement transplanted Southerners? Whites,

who migrated North and West, to the first decently paying job many of them ever had?

4. Wouldn't America's present role, as the world's dominant military power, have then been impossible to attain? And, all considered, wouldn't that have been better for our world? Not to mention Central and South America.

5. Finally, if the present race riots, bred out of frustration of all normal desires, produce a white backlash that establishes Fascism in this country—in a roundabout way isn't this nothing less than the triumph of the Confederate ideal? The ultimate historical irony, and this the direct product of a "victorious" war?

Yes, all things considered you can make quite a case for pacifism in the 1860's. Couldn't have ended up much worse.

On the personal plane: Working in Alaska, on the salmon ships. Can see it all starting again. I am about as unpopular now as I was in the McCarthy period, this time for advocating a cease-fire and negotiations in Viet Nam. They equate it with treason. Hope the union gets an adequate pension this contract; I'll call it a day before they start to screen us again. Seriously, D.D., it's about as bad as that. This is a war-in-doctrinated country; they literally like to be at war! The only thing that could change it would be if the kids refuse to go, telling the middle-aged war hawks, of both sexes, to go themselves.

Sincerely,
Robert D. Casey



Catholic Commune

Catholic Worker Farm,
Box 33, Tivoli, New York

Dear Readers:

Is it possible for a small group of Catholic people to live as reasonable Christians, from the land, in a community?

The only rule or commandment needed for such a group is the love of God and love of neighbor. Very simple! We should recognize the dignity of each person, and the emphasis will be on personal responsibility and freedom.

Our basic principles for the guidance of the community are a balance of work, study, and prayer. Work for our material needs will be five hours or less each day. We should live as simply as possible, with only the necessities, the spirit of poverty, and a vegetarian diet. Study, prayer and the development of talents can take up most of the other time. The community should be small and self-supporting.

If anyone thinks he can achieve some measure of Christian perfection by accepting the challenge and putting this way of life into action, he can write or visit me at this place to discuss it.

To start we will need: willing people, faith, and some land.

Yours in Christ,
Joseph E. Domensky

Memo to Organizers

Community Church
932 Dayton St.
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Dear Editors:

Prisons are evil. They are used primarily against the economically and socially disinherited. In the South particularly, jails and prisons are used as a weapon against the Negro and others, South and North, who take a stand for brotherhood and integration. Through the payment of bonds, fines and court costs, hundreds of thousands of dollars are supporting the evil system of segregation. On the one hand segregation is being opposed when a person, for freedom's sake, goes to jail and on the other hand it is being aided and abetted when bail, fines and court costs are paid. This is my first reason for support of the policy Jail—No Bail.

The history of non-violent resistance movements has shown that the testimony to truth of the individual remaining in jail has been more potent and far-reaching in its effect than if his release had been effected on the grounds that he was more needed on the outside. I believe deeply that nothing would so strengthen the Freedom and Peace Movements as to move the slogan Jail—No Bail from fiction to fact.

Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin

Farmer at Bay

Hector, Minnesota

Dear Dorothy Day:

For the last seven years your paper has come here in my brother's name, and I have been reading it, so I guess it is about time I helped out a little too. I am not a church-going person, as it seems to me that most of the churches are just as money-hungry as the other big businesses. Some people call me an atheist, and I suppose to their way of thinking that's what I am, but to my way of thinking I'm an honest human being trying to live with people, not off them.

I think that what our government is doing in Vietnam is cold-blooded murder, and I am ashamed of it.

I am one of the two and a half million farmers that are to be pushed off the farm, but I for one will put up as much of a fight as I can to stay on the farm. And I think that what you people are doing is part of that fight, so enclosed is a check for twenty-five dollars, and I hope it will help.

I have also signed the "Declaration of Conscience" in your February 1965 issue and return it with this letter. I would like to do a lot more but will keep trying.

Sincerely,
Paul Gollner

Family Apostolate

Juan Benito Blanco 614
Montivedeo, Uruguay

Dear Friends:

This is to thank you very much indeed for your kindness in sending me the Catholic Worker.

I must congratulate you most sincerely for this publication. I find it very illustrative, and it shows how much Apostolate can be done in every-day life. The ideas contained therein are very useful and often help us in our work in spreading God's Kingdom through the Family Apostolate.

Asking the Good Lord to continue blessing your efforts, and with renewed sentiments of gratitude, I am,
Yours very sincerely in the Holy Family,

Rev. Father Pete, CP
Christian Family Movement

"A perfect society is that which excludes all private property. Such was the primitive well-being which was overturned by the sin of our first fathers."

ST. BASIL

Vietnam and America's Conscience

(Continued from page 2)

being waged in Vietnam. In the light of these principles, the fact of our possession of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons, our talk of using them, or our readiness to use them (and we are talking more and more of our readiness to use them) is barbarously immoral. The intention of using nuclear weapons, even apart from their actual employment, is immoral in se. (Note that we have never disavowed pre-emptive war, while China has.)

In the case of Vietnam, we have not even declared war, first, because we don't know what country to declare war against, and second, because we know that any declaration of war against North Vietnam or China would be ridiculed overwhelmingly by world judgment. Our support of the Saigon government, which is in reality no government at all; our bombing of the industries of a nation against which we have no grievance and against which we have not declared war; our testing of horribly inhumane weapons and increasing commitment of troops to a combat role; our plans to bomb the dikes of North Vietnam, an act that would inundate the land and drown tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of people—the whole rising tide of savagery and ruin that we have provoked and that we now sustain—these things not only contradict the Gospel and render fidelity to it a mockery, they also violate the whole theory of the just war. If one does not accept the discipleship of truth and love that the Gospel clearly enunciates, one must then at least believe in a rigid application of the just-war theory. Yet neither approach can justify the present American policy in Vietnam or in the Cold War. If, on the other hand, we believe in neither (and the consensus that the President claims to have would seem to indicate that most Christians in this country believe in neither), then we become collaborators in the present savagery and are guilty of genocide by intention, since in practice the majority of Christians in this country have made possible, whether by default or by active support, everything we are now doing or intend to do.

Pope John XXIII, in *Pacem in Terris*, told us that nations are bound to the same essential morality as individuals, since nations are composed of individuals and the institutions they create. So let us once and for all say what we believe and act according to our beliefs; if we believe in the active support of our present inhumanity, let us openly and honestly renounce Christianity as being incompatible with our present policies. An honest pagan who conforms to the morality of the wolf pack is really a far easier phenomenon to deal with than a Christian who apes fidelity to Jesus Christ while living the life of the pack.

Offensive Weapons

By their nature, and because of their enormous destructive capacity, nuclear weapons cannot be considered as anything else but offensive weapons, which can vaporize non-combatants, open cities, and neutrals, in the process contaminating the atmosphere, water, and vegetation. In a pastoral letter to his diocese on peace following the second session of Vatican Council II, (see November 1964 *Catholic Worker*) Msgr. Jacques Guilhem, the Bishop of Laval, in France, speculated on the destructive effect of a single-megaton bomb over Paris: "It would destroy all construction in the radius of 14 miles, level most of the houses at 25 miles, cause first-degree burns at 50 miles, and produce lesions due to radioactive fallout at 250 miles. We do not dare

estimate the number of deaths in millions (or mega-deaths, to use the language of certain specialists). I have not seen Hiroshima, but like many tourists and pilgrims to Italy, I do know Pompeii. The startling tableau of lifeless streets provides a foretaste of what Paris would look like after such devastation." In truth, nuclear weapons, because of their built-in immortality, confront us with the paradox of steadily increasing power and steadily decreasing national security.

It can be argued that tactical nuclear weapons could be restricted in their employment, but once they are used, it is safe to surmise that the provocation they represent would be met by massive and even megatonic retaliation. At that point, there would be no reason for not meeting fire with fire, on both sides. We are only slightly aware now, it seems to me, that a psychology of violence has been slowly amassing in the world for nearly thirty years, and that the whole range of atrocity from Pearl Harbor, Coventry, Rotterdam, Buchenwald, Dachau, Hamburg, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki, during World War II, and more recently in the Congo, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam, has conditioned us to the most awful kinds of violence, and made us quite complacent about its reality as long as we are not directly involved. Furthermore, we do not understand that the barbarity of such violence and our accommodation to it does not leave us uninvolved, but rather brutalized as long as we remain inert in its presence or approve of it in any way. It is no accident that Americans today no longer recoil from accounts of atrocities in Vietnam or from President Johnson's admission that things in Southeast Asia must get worse before they get better, "worse" meaning the frightful pyramiding of all that war connotes, while "better" means—what? The "better" has been awaited in Vietnam for ten years, our leaders competing with each other in a variety of promises as naive as they were unfounded. The fact is that total war (and the war in Southeast Asia is total except that we have not used nuclear weapons) leaves nothing or no one better.

Double Standards

History may well record some day that the retention of our nuclear deterrent forces had an almost demonically perceptive cast to it, for they will be used if the fighting in Southeast Asia does not stop. China remains inactive now because she must; the Seventh Fleet patrols her shores with nuclear capability and Polaris submarines roam off her coasts. If, as the President says, it is our "national honor" that keeps us in South Vietnam, what about China's national honor? What about her huge and resourceful Army and her expanding nuclear capability? The calculated risks that we have taken in Vietnam have been incessant and varied. Must we not expect that, under the most extreme provocation, China will take a few? Why do we expect more tolerance and restraint from China than from ourselves? And what about Russia, which is today the butt of the Communist world because of the fearful prudence she has been exercising in face of our instability and fierce aggressiveness?

The only international agreement that could possibly justify our action in Southeast Asia was the Geneva Conference of 1954. Against the wishes of Secretary Dulles, that Conference called for a united Vietnam in two years by national plebiscite. We refused to sign the agreement but promised to honor its terms. Within seven months we had broken our word by beginning to

organize and train the South Vietnamese Army. In 1956, we again broke our word by refusing to hold the Geneva-ordered elections. Ho Chi Minh, with patience that goes largely uncredited, waited until 1958 before calling for guerilla action in the South, and from that time on our position has grown increasingly disastrous. We have never admitted that the war is a civil war, because this would be tantamount to admitting that we have no right there, that no recognized government invited us in, that we are opposing an international agreement and that the increasing scale of our aggression has been punishing a popular uprising. The President may say that "we will keep our promises" or that "North Vietnam is an aggressor and must be bombed," or that "we seek no wider war" or that "we seek no more than a return to the essentials of the Geneva Agreements" or that "China must learn to leave its neighbors alone." The fact remains that we had no right to make promises of the kind we did; that our military force, material and economic support far outweighs the help given the National Liberation Front by North Vietnam; that we broke the Geneva agreements of 1954 and have no present intention of returning to them; that we do seek a wider war and prove it am-



ply by our daily actions; that China does not have one soldier in South Vietnam.

In short, we will not admit that we were wrong in 1954, that we have been wrong in the interim, and that we are wrong today. The Defense Department insists that we must have nearly two hundred thousand American troops in South Vietnam by the end of the year, and in our simple-mindedly vicious way, we expect to recoup the losses of eleven years of stupidity and brutality by stepping up the pace of stupidity and brutality. It would be enough cause for grief if it were only ourselves who were involved, but modern war does not work that way. And so we continue to ravage a country already devastated by twenty-five years of outside aggression, and in the process, we are inexorably drawing the nations of the world into the ultimate folly of World War III.

The question remains: How long can we continue to play God in Asia? The answer is: As long as you and I remain inert before the most dangerous international confrontation in our life as a nation, the most shameful page and the most concerted record of immorality in American history. As long as we go on condoning our mistakes and seeking to justify them,

Ed. note: Father Berrigan is a Jesuit priest stationed in Baltimore and the author of an excellent book *No More Strangers*, published this year by Macmillan. His article in this issue is based on his part in a debate with Dr. William O'Brien, of the Catholic Association for International Peace, that was held at Georgetown University, in Washington, D.C., on July 19th.

CHRYSTIE STREET

By NICOLE d'ENTREMONT

Every day a little brown packet comes in the mail to 175 Chrystie Street. Inside there is usually a carefully wrapped sliver of soap or a half-roll of toilet paper or an envelope of sugar like the ones you find in restaurants. No one is quite sure who sends them. Bob Stewart tells me he remembers them coming when the CW was at Spring Street, a good five years ago. In any event the little packets continue to come and Walter files them in a basket on his desk. In moments of whimsy I often transplant the whole scene downtown to Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith. I see visions of a three-buttoned, angular executive snapping the command, "Flsby, would you place these little packets in my basket?" The incongruity of the scene always amuses me. In fact, if a definition were ever attempted of our house on Chrystie Street I think it would have to symbolically include these little packets, since one of the facts of our community is that each person contributes what he can, with no thought as to whether the gift contributes to material gain. I wonder if Merrill, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith could ever run that way.

There is a difference, of course, between profit and subsistence, and it looks as if we're in for a lean year of subsistence on Chrystie Street. The car is now running on two cylinders out of six and although Chris Kearns is a good mechanic, he's not a magician. A working car is a necessity for our house, since we have to pick up vegetables twice a week and run errands around the city. As it is, it's only a wish and a prayer and an expert kick from Chris that gets it going when we need it. Rents keep piling up, both on the Chrystie Street house and the apartments, and with winter on our heels the gas bills will soon rival the rent. Even Charlie's soup bones cost money, and lately these have been dwindling. Dorothy says that it's expensive to be poor and the truth of that statement is continually confirmed in any tenement community.

Even though the wolf's at the door there is a lot of activity in the house, with people working to mail out both the appeal and this issue of the paper. Quite a few new people have arrived since the summer. Terry Sullivan, fresh from Ammon Hennacy's house in Salt Lake City and enthused by the Peacemaker conference in Tivoli, has set up a program of travelling peace teams to go around and visit Catholic high schools and colleges, speaking on Vietnam, alternatives to the draft, and Christian pacifism. Three weeks ago we visited LaSalle College in Philadelphia, showed a film on Franz Jagerstatter, the Austrian peasant who refused Hitler's draft and was beheaded, set up a table in the Student Union with literature, and tried to talk with the students on a personal basis. It's hard to talk with students who have, for the most part, been systematically conditioned by both Church and State to reject pacifism. Almost every student I spoke to said that we must stop Communism now, and most, when pressed to suggest how, unhesitatingly answered that we should bomb People's China. Usually when speaking with students about the war and Vietnam you have several options. You can speak the language of logistics, suggesting that land war in Southeast Asia is doomed to a fruitless stalemate, you can speak historically, pointing out the United States prevented free elections in accord with the Geneva agreement, or you can speak of the witness of Christ. We found that the third option is irrelevant to most Catholic students, who have yet to realize that religion is a way of life and not only a cult of worship. Jim Wilson, a young draft refuser now at the CW, has recently written a pamphlet on a Christian approach to peace in which he speaks unequivocally on

war, the Church, and Communism. In it he says:

"Most of us feel that we must fight or kill in order to defend something; a way of life, freedom, religion or Christ Himself. Many ask what would become of Christendom if Communism were allowed to spread. We cannot use Christ as an excuse for killing. We don't have to defend Christ or the Catholic Church by taking up arms. This was Peter's reason for raising his sword, to defend Christ from the mob that had come to crucify Him, and he was told by Christ Himself to put up his sword. We are being told today to put up our bombs, and not to defend Christ with violence but with love. This is not a defeatist attitude of 'better red than dead.' You must be ready to die if you are going to make a commitment to Christ. Anyone who states that they will not be able to remain a Christian under the Communist way of life, cannot really believe that they are a Christian now."

Terry, Paul Mann, Jim Wilson, Cathy Swann, Dave Miller and myself plan to leave tomorrow for New Hampshire to speak at St. Anselm's College, and then on to Connecticut to speak at Albertus Magnus and St. Joseph's College. We are not so naive as to think we will convert people to pacifism because of a one- or two-day stay on campus; what we hope to do is to challenge concepts of war and peace that need drastic re-thinking in the 20th century.

Paul, Jim and Dave are what is known in the unprejudiced argot of the press as "draft dodgers." Dave, now working for the CW and a recent graduate of LeMoyne College, is one of the sanest and most temperate individuals I've ever known. Yesterday, at the Whitehall Street Induction Center in New York, he publicly burned his draft card while Federal agents and the press looked on. Such symbolic disobedience is not the action of a man out to dodge the draft but the action of a man who wishes to confront the system he opposes. The young men working at the Catholic Worker are conscientiously opposed to war. Perhaps after having seen the victims of the class war here in this country sleeping forgotten on the Bowery, running up and down the steps of crumbling tenements, or staring wide-eyed and alone in State mental hospitals, they do not want to fight for a materialistic system that cripples so many of its citizens. These are young men committed to the non-violent revolution of our time. They are not the doctrinaire Marxists whom many of our right-wing friends oddly resemble, with their belief in the inevitability of a bloody conflict between East and West. These are young men who have learned well one historical fact, and that is that you can never win over an ideology by killing the men who have the idea. The job of the 20th century Christian is that of a peacemaker performing the works of mercy, not the works of war. Are such young men dodging or are they confronting reality?

The Friday night meetings have been as distinctive as usual. Bob Berk spoke on the New Left in Canada, Murphy Dowouis (Cajun) gave a history of the Protest Songs in this country and sang a few original ones of his own. Wally Nelson, from the Peacemakers, spoke of his persistent refusal to pay taxes for war, and the Friday night after the Pope's visit to New York was devoted to a round-table discussion on his message to the United Nations. Not too many people attended this meeting, because of the Conference being held up at the Farm, so the group was small and lively. Round-table discussions, especially at the CW, can become rather tangential; Mr. Flannery gave us a micro-

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A Farm With A View

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over again. The Masses which Father Berrigan and Father Crowley said in our chapel during the weekend were beautiful indeed, and an integral part of the conference. It was inspiring to see so many young people so vitally interested in peace. To Jim Forest and Tom Cornell, a metaphoric dove of peace for their splendid work in organizing the Catholic Peace Fellowship conference weekend.

Conferences, especially those so well attended, can hardly function without a great deal of work being done by a good many people. For the shopping, the cooking, the cleaning and housekeeping, the preparing of beds and rooms, for keeping the plumbing in operation, though the furnace refused to give out an iota of heat during the conference, we thank: Alice Lawrence, Rita Corbin, Hans Tunnese, Joe Cotter, Marcus Moore, John Filliger, Mike Sullivan, Fred Lindsey, Jim Canavan, Arthur Sullivan, Marie Kuchaver, Jean Walsh, Grace and Elaine Hawley. Most of the names listed will be recognized as those who keep things running, month after month, year after year, the mainstays of all the work of this house of hospitality.

House of Logs

At present we are a small family, since most of the young people who stayed with us this fall and picked apples or grapes on nearby farms, have left us. Eric Marx, however, is still with us, and we are glad that he is planning to spend at least a year with us. Eric was nineteen this summer, and since he had lived for the past eight years in France and Germany—his father is in the consular service—he speaks French and German as fluently as English. Eric is, however, a lover of the wilderness and a true conservationist. It seems hardly necessary to add that one of his favorite authors is Thoreau. Since our woods have been neglected for many years, there are many trees that need to be cleared away. When he has not been busy helping John or Peter with the garden or other work, Eric has been busy with his axe chopping down dead trees. Out of some of these trees, he has constructed a little house in the woods near the chapel. He gave me a tour of the house one day and let me examine it plank by plank. Since it is small and very craftsmanlike, I could get a very good idea of what it is like. It seemed to me like the house that children in a fairy-tale might suddenly stumble on when walking through the woods. Eric thinks that if more teen-agers could do this sort of thing, there would be fewer teen-age problems. I think he is right. But how sad it is that our world provides so few constructive creative outlets for the energies of youth. Meanwhile Eric has not only built his house, but is living in it.

With the passing of summer, we no longer have so many visitors. Those who do come are, of course, the more welcome. Grace Kelly, an old friend and neighbor from Staten Island, took advantage of the newspaper strike—she works for the World-Telegram and Sun—to pay us a week's visit, which we all enjoyed very much. Caroline Gordon Tate, whose visits are always looked forward to, came up with a friend to spend a few days with us. Caroline brought bulbs for Peggy to plant and Poulenc's *Dialogue des Carmelites* for me, but best of all she brought the gift of lively, stimulating conversation. Beth Rogers and Frances Bittner, who had not been able to visit us for some time because of the illness and hospitalization of Frances, also spent a few days with us. Although Frances is still not well, we hope that the visit will speed her recovery.

October has brought us sadness, too. The Hughes family have al-

ways been so much a part of the Catholic Worker and very close to us all. The sudden death of Jimmy Hughes, Marge's sixteen-year-old son, still seems almost unbelievable. For Marge and the Hughes family our deepest sympathy. For Jimmy—*requiescat in pace*.

O October, bright Magnificat of beauty, let your leaves fall softly on his grave. Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord. And let perpetual light shine upon him.

The Faces Of the Poor

(Continued from page 3)

It opens at 8:00 a.m., to collect the mail for the House. The donations that come in daily keep us going. Sorting the mail is difficult because there are people who have long since left the House but continue to get their mail there. (The CW is home for so many.) Smokey Joe is Walter's right arm, addressing papers to new subscribers and enthusiastically greeting visitors to the office. Because of the young people who like to engage in conversation, think out loud, and type up articles, the office has something of the excited atmosphere usually associated with a pressroom. There is plenty of other work to do, too; it takes us a week or ten days each month to wrap the papers for mailing. Years ago, friends of the CW who worked during the day used to come down for dinner and help with this task until ten o'clock at night, and the paper was mailed out in three days, bundles and all. Nowadays, the office closes at seven, so the work is spread over a longer period.

Chris Kearns goes to market weekly and comes back with crates of vegetables, which are quickly consumed. We buy meat from a local butcher, and the bill mounts rapidly. We eat bread for breakfast in lieu of cereal, eggs, etc., with lunch, in the afternoon with a cup of tea, and again with supper. We also have to buy oleo, powdered milk, coffee, and tea. It takes a lot of money to feed the poor, but not nearly as much as it does to meet the "Defense" budget and engage in the arms race.

The reality of the Bowery is harsh. It is truly a cancer on L.B.J.'s Great Society. What we need is someone who will offer these men a human and useful way of life, as the Abbe Pierre has done in Paris, gathering men together to build homes for the homeless.

Chrystie Street

(Continued from page 6)

scopic analysis of the Pope's visit and Mr. Adler told us about Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Chinese Revolution against the Manchurian dynasty, who used to live on Chrystie Street and work in a burlesque house, cleaning spittoons.

Sadness came to the Catholic Worker abruptly on October 1st. Marge Hughes' son Jimmy, aged sixteen, died of an ulcer in his stomach, only a few hours after he was admitted to Bellevue Hospital. It is almost impossible not to be angered by the death of a child. Charles Peguy said that when a man dies he does not die of a single illness, he dies of his whole life. Jimmy died of a life that was golden and young with promise, which in the logic of the world makes his death a senseless one, but perhaps he died of a fullness that is understandable only as the logic of God.

"Whoever preaches with love preaches sufficiently against heresy, though he may never utter a controversial word."

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES

EASY ESSAYS

By PETER MAURIN

(1877-1949)

NOT A LIBERAL

They say that I am a radical.

If I am a radical

then I am not a liberal.

The future will be different

if we make the present different.

But to make the present different

one must give up old tricks

and start to play new tricks.

But to give up old tricks

and start to play new tricks

one must be a fanatic.

Liberals are so liberal about everything

that they refuse to be fanatical

about anything.

And not being able to be fanatical

about anything,

liberals cannot be liberators.

They can only be liberals.

Liberals refuse to be

religious, philosophical or economic fanatics

and consent to be

the worst kind of fanatics,

liberal fanatics.

NOT A CONSERVATIVE

If I am a radical,

then I am not a conservative.

Conservatives try to believe

that things are good enough

to be let alone.

But things are not good enough

to be let alone.

Conservatives try to believe

that the world is getting better

every day in every way.

But the world is not getting better

every day in every way.

The world is getting worse

every day in every way

and the world is getting worse

every day in every way

because the world is upside down.

And conservatives do not know

how to take the upside down

and to put it right side up.

When conservatives and radicals

will come to an understanding

they will take the upside down

and they will put it right side up.

A RADICAL CHANGE

The order of the day

is to talk about the social order.

Conservatives would like

to keep it from changing

but they don't know how.

Liberals try to patch it

and call it a New Deal.

Socialists want a change,

but a gradual change.

Communists want a change,

an immediate change,

but a Socialist change.

Communists in Russia

do not build Communism,

they build Socialism.

Communists want to pass

from capitalism to Socialism

and from Socialism to Communism.

I want a change,

and a radical change.

I want a change

from an acquisitive society

to a functional society,

from a society of go-getters

to a society of go-givers.

WHEN BANKERS RULE

Modern society has made the bank account the standard of values.

When the bank account

becomes the standard of values

the banker has the power.

When the banker has the power

the technician has to supervise

the making of profits.

When the banker has the power

the politician

has to assure law and order

in the profit-making system.

When the banker has the power

the educator trains students

in the technique of profit making.

When the banker has the power

the clergyman is expected

to bless the profit-making system

or to join the unemployed.

When the banker has the power

the Sermon on the Mount

is declared impractical.

When the banker has the power

we have an acquisitive,

not a functional society.

WHEN CHRIST IS KING

When the Sermon on the Mount

is the standard of values

then Christ is the Leader.

When Christ is the Leader

the priest is the mediator.

When Christ is the Leader

the educator

trains the minds of the pupils

so that they may understand

the message of the priest.

When Christ is the Leader

the politician

assures law and order

according to the priest's teachings.

When Christ is the Leader

the technician

devises ways and means

for the economical production

and distribution of goods.

When Christ is the Leader

the administrator administers

according to the directions

from the technicians.

When Christ is the Leader

we have a functional,

not an acquisitive society.

REBELLION IS REBELLION

Boloney is boloney,

no matter how you slice it,

and rebellion is rebellion

no matter when it happens,

whether it is

the religious rebellion

of the 16th century

or the political rebellion

of the 18th century,

or the economic rebellion

of the 20th century.

Someone said

that the Catholic Church

stands for rum, Romanism and rebellion.

But the Catholic Church

does not stand for rum, Romanism and rebellion.

The Catholic Church stands

for Rome, Reunion, and Reconstruction.

The Catholic Church stands,

as Rome used to stand,

for law and order.

The Catholic Church stands

for the reunion

of our separated brothers.

The Catholic Church stands

for the reconstruction,

not the patching up,

of the social order.

CONSTRUCTING THE SOCIAL ORDER

The Holy Father asks us

to reconstruct the social order.

The social order was constructed

by the first Christians

through the daily practice

of the Seven Corporal

and Seven Spiritual

Works of Mercy.

To feed the hungry

at a personal sacrifice,

to clothe the naked

at a personal sacrifice,

to shelter the homeless

at a personal sacrifice,

to instruct the ignorant

at a personal sacrifice;

such were the works

of the first Christians

in times of persecution.

On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

others. Children play in the yard, and there are fountains and tubs of waters for washing clothes at each end. Sometimes you can hear the fountain running all night. Rome is famed for her glorious fountains, which play on beautiful sculptured figures in every piazza. There are always people taking their ease around these fountains, and children bathe in them in the summer. It is hot now during the day, but there is an autumn chill in the air and at night a wind springs up.

My room costs seven hundred lira a day, which amounts to a little over a dollar. (A dollar is worth six hundred and twenty lira.) Bus fares are fifty lira, and I pay two fares each way to get to St. Peter's and back. The streetcars and buses are crowded and, because of the double-day, there are four rush hours.

I would not like to think of driving here, but I am getting quite accustomed to the rhythm of traffic, thanks to the reassuring briefing I received from Vincent McAloon, the head of the Notre Dame Alumni Center (Largo Brancaccio 82). Mr. McAloon gave a discourse on how to cross a street that was so inspiring that I have been able to proceed with confidence in the midst of the wildest assault of foreign cars from all directions it has ever been my confusion to see. I go stolidly ahead, and, miracle of miracles, cars make way, dash fore and aft of me. In the two weeks I have been here, I have yet to hear the clang of ambulances. As one Dominican brother explained, "You present them with your life, these drivers, and they graciously hand it back to you."

Fourth Session

And what of the Council? They have scarcely gotten into the thirty-thousand-word pastoral constitution on the Church in the Modern World, which will eventually, after debate by the Fathers and subsequent revisions, be promulgated, either as a new constitution (in which case it will be doctrinal and claim the assent of clergy and laity) or as a "declaration" (which term might lessen the authority of the text). It is clarification of this kind which is being attempted at the afternoon panel discussions. Father John Courtney Murray was the chief consultant at the first week's panel. Ten other theologians took part, including such diverse authorities as Monsignor Francis J. Connell, editor of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Father George Tavard, and Father Frederick McManis, the last two most sympathetic friends of ours. The panel meets in a small theater with a main floor and a balcony, so there is plenty of room. Every effort is made to answer the questions of the press and other people attending.

Last March, John Cogley wrote in *America* that he felt "on the outside looking in," that there did not seem to be a genuine confrontation of laity and clergy, bound together in the service of the same cause, the Church's aggrornamento or renewal. "Secular wisdom was missing." The Fathers of the Council and their theological advisers "are at their least impressive both substantively and rhetorically when they attempt to deal with thorny practical issues like nuclear war or the population problem . . . clerical and lay mind are both necessary to shape a total Catholic response to the modern world, which is one of the aims of Vatican II . . . but the Council's emphasis is overwhelmingly on the former . . . the layman is an intruder of sorts and sooner or later recognizes the fact."

This may be true during the Council sessions in Rome, but when I read the document on the Church in the Modern World, which notes the "interventions" of thousands of clergymen who commented on the original draft, it seemed evident that laymen had, however indirectly, contributed their thought on the

vital questions of the day, whether they are represented by the revolutionary tin miners of Bolivia, the hard-pressed families, youth "stirred to rioting" or women no longer accepting their lack of status in the Church and the world. The result has been calls for discussion from both sides, so the document seems a tortuous affair, veering this way and that. It is hard to see how the work of discussion, clarification, and voting will ever be accomplished. But Cogley went on to write of the sense of mystery and the awe he felt during the assembly of the Council and of his conviction that in a group coming together with such lofty aims the presence of the Holy Spirit is indeed felt.

New Friends and Old

I arrived at Naples on the Raffaello. I have a great love for St. Raffaello, patron of travellers, to whom Ernest Hello, the French mystic, once addressed a prayer beginning: "Lead us to those we are looking for, those who are looking for us." I was led at once to the Notre Dame Council I mentioned earlier and to Vincent McAloon, who found me a place to live and who directs me daily on my involved journeys around Rome. At this center of hospitality I have received my mail and here I have met Dr. Joseph Evans and his wife Hermine, of Chicago, Richard Carbray, who teaches at Rosary College, and James Douglass, who teaches theology at Bellarmine College, in Louisville, Kentucky. Douglass has been meeting every day with bishops to discuss the paragraph in the schema on the Church in the Modern World that deals with the weapons of modern war. I too have been watching and praying about article 101, which concerns the rights of conscience of Catholics, humanists, and all others averse to the use of violence. I have with me three hundred copies of the summer issue of the *Catholic Worker*, which was dedicated to the bishops of the Council. Thanks to the American Pax Association and its secretary Howard Everngam, this issue had already been sent to the bishops of the entire world.

I have also met Donald Quinn, the editor of the *St. Louis Review*, who is here with his wife, Bob Hoyt, the editor of the *National Catholic Reporter*, and Monsignor Francis Brown, the editor of the *Steubenville Register*. I had dinner with Monsignor Brown, Bishop Shannon, of St. Paul, and Frank McDonald, a Notre Dame man now at Oxford, who is spending this time at Rome because he is learning Italian and is fascinated by the Council. The bishop talked about tradition, quoting T. S. Elliot, and Frank, who could be included among the rebellious youth whom the Council schema says must be listened to and taken into consideration, was deeply impressed. I thought of how rare such men as Bishop Shannon are, men who show respect for all others and listen to them with sympathy. In his *Journal of a Soul*, Pope John XXIII paid tribute to one such priest, Father Francesco Pitocchi, who was always ready to listen to the poor. I am thinking of myself as I wrote this, and of how those as old as I do not listen enough, with warmth and loving kindness. Not that one should not speak. Certainly I myself find it easy to talk to someone who talks readily, just as I relapse into silence before the silent.

Among other great ones of the clerical world with whom I dined were Archbishop Thomas D. Roberts, Bishop John Wright, of Pittsburgh, and Bishop Joseph Brunini, of Jackson. And I briefly encountered others, whose hospitality cheered me, like Bishop Paul Hallinan, of Atlanta, Bishop Delargey, of Auckland, New Zealand, and Bishop Eustace Smith, O.F.M., of Beirut, Lebanon. I had lunch with Mariella Benziger and her sister, with Janet Kalven, of the Grail, with Father Riches, who is a con-

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vert and a cousin of the two Fathers de Monesce, whose writings in the *Commonweal* have impressed me so, and with Sister John Baptist, from California. And I paid my respects to His Beatitude, Maximus IV Saigh, Patriarch-Cardinal, who offers his liturgical worship in Arabic and Greek.

I met Trappists too, priests and students who are permitted to speak and visit while in Rome. Father Lamb is a friend of Father Charles English, one of our former editors, and we had a pleasant day together before he went back to his studies. He gave me the address of the Little Sisters of Jesus, whose place is on the Vicolo de Onofrio, in a poor section across the Tiber. The headquarters of the Little Sisters is on the grounds of the Trappist Monastery at Tre Fontana, which I visited last time I was in Rome on the pilgrimage of women for peace.

Happy Beginning

But I must pay tribute to St. Anthony and to the honesty of the Italian people. When I arrived in Rome from Naples, I tried to telephone Vincent McAloon from the terminal. I was not able to reach him and was about to get into a cab when I realized that I had left my bag hanging on the telephone. Ruth Collins had bought the bag in India and given it to me a year ago, and it contained my passport, purse and travelers checks, not to speak of books and so on. Praying desperately and with my heart pounding, I rushed back to the telephone and found three men standing there, a soldier and two porters. "Dove? Mi bolsa?" I gasped. I was answered with beaming smiles and led away by one of them to a counter for tourists, where I was given my bag, to the happiness of all. Two thousand lira sounds like a big reward, but it is about three dollars and fifty cents, a very small sum in comparison to what I had almost lost. It was a happy introduction to Rome.

A week from now I shall begin the ten-day fast for peace, initiated by Chanterelle del Vasto, in which a score of women from all over the world will take part. Certainly prayer and fasting are needed today, our own work to overcome the spirit of violence in the world.

Ed. note: On the day before going to press, we received a communication from Dorothy Day, who writes that she and the other women have completed their retreat and fast, and that she will be back in New York on October 22nd. "Everyone," she adds, "said our visits and our fast and vigil (we each kept an hour before the Blessed Sacrament each day besides daily Mass) did much good." The fast was publicly announced during a Council session by Bishop Boillon, of Verdun (France).

BOOK REVIEW

THE SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE by Robert L. Friedhelm, University of Washington Press, \$5.00. Reviewed by AM-MON HENNACY.

The Seattle general strike, which lasted from February 6th through February 11th, 1919, was the consequence of the general upheaval following the armistice and the specially effective organization of regular American Federation of Labor unions during the immediate postwar period. Dynamic Jimmy Duncan, the secretary of the Central Labor Council; cautious Henry Ault, editor of the *Seattle Union Record*, the only labor daily ever published in this country, during its eleven-year existence; Frank Turco, extreme radical and member of the Blacksmiths' Union, who, at eighty-five still sells newspapers on the street corners of Seattle; and Anna Louise Strong, veteran journalist who now lives in China—all these figures come alive in this stirring book.

The author describes the atmosphere in 1919: "This was the era of the Kapp putsch in Berlin to overthrow the recently created Weimar Republic from the right and the Spartacist uprising to overthrow it from the left. Hungary too was undergoing a Red revolution led by Bela Kun. Argentina lay prostrate, with all activities halted by a general strike. The President of Portugal was murdered. The Lloyd George government was returned to power in the United Kingdom in the 'Khaki Election' on the promises of harsh peace terms for Germany. The American press reported rumors that the U. S. would declare war on Mexico, a step made necessary, it said, by the infringement of vital American interests in our revolution-scarred neighbor."

The strike was precipitated by the machinations of Charles Piez, the head of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, who tried to reduce the wages of the shipyard workers to the levels prevailing in Portland and other cities. When the shipyard workers struck, the Seattle general strike was called to support them. Turco, Miss Strong, and young Harvey O'Connor, the labor journalist, along with the Industrial Workers of the World, hoped that this strike would be a prelude to a general rising of the workers. Sixty-five thousand men did go out on strike. The public was fed in general food kitchens, and essential services to hospitals were maintained. The strike committee's time was spent largely in deciding what exceptions and special provisions could legitimately be made. A protest strike of forty-eight hours would have manifested the required solidarity with the shipyard workers. "But after learning how easy it was to close down a major city, their ardor was gone . . . No individual or group existed for making strategic decisions." The strike petered out, with only the longshoremen and the cooks supporting the shipyard workers. This was partly because the heads of the A.F.L. international unions had come to Seattle and ordered their locals back to work.

The defeat of the strike gave impetus to raids upon the I.W.W. hall in Everett, Washington and to the arrest of I.W.W.'s for violation of the newly enacted Criminal Syndicalism Act. In September, a general strike was organized in Winnipeg, Canada, that lasted for six weeks. (Winnipeg now has the only elected Communist officials in North America. When I spoke there a few years ago, the Catholic priest who had arranged my talk told me that these Communists were honest and able men.) In September of that year, Calvin Coolidge rose to dubious fame when he ended the Boston police strike. On December 21, 249 anarchists were deported to Russia on the ship *Buford*. Ole Hanson, who had been mayor of Seattle during the general strike and had threatened to declare martial law, travelled around the country warning against the menace of Communism.

When he testified in the trial of members of the Communist Labor Party in Chicago, Clarence Darrow poked fun at this phony savior of America, who had made thirty-eight thousand dollars by trying to frighten the public about the imminent revolution. Shortly after this, Hanson retired to California and was never heard from again.

Here is the author's conclusion: "The flailing of the general strike is probably the most anticlimactic moment in any major mass effort by American working men . . . The Seattle general strike is a textbook example of the ineffectiveness of the NONREVOLUTIONARY general strike as a weapon for attaining any but the narrowest goals. Only if a general strike is limited in duration and the goals are narrowly defined can it be successful . . . With no stated goals, no specific enemies against whom to direct the strike, and no set time limit so that the middle class would not take fright, each individual striker was a spokesman for the movement as a whole. The inability of the official strike leaders to make policy was compounded by the variety of statements issued by rank-and-file strikers and unofficial spokesmen for various factions. Each was striking for what he thought important. In the absence of stated goals and motivated leadership, the Seattle general strike was all things to all men." [Emphasis added.]

I agree with these conclusions. When the strike took place, I was in solitary in Atlanta federal prison, so I did not read about it in the papers, but I remember meeting Red Doran, the I.W.W. leader, on the street in Seattle in 1924. In 1958 I spoke at an I.W.W. meeting at Occidental and Washington and came as near being hauled off the soapbox and beaten by patriots as I ever have in fifty years of agitation. Whenever I am in Seattle, I say hello to the Wobblies at their hall on Yesler Street across from City Hall, but the old spirit has died out among them. What with the government having the biggest bomb and with almost all unions gleefully accepting war work, there are very few workers left who have not been siphoned off into dependence on either the capitalist or the Communist state. The one-man revolution is the only one that cannot be stopped. And it is the one that anyone can make for himself if he desires it enough and refuses to accept the promises of security from war-making governments.

"The rule of the majority has a narrow application, i.e., one should yield to the majority in matters of detail. But it is slavery to be amenable to the majority, no matter what its decisions are. Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy, individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded. I therefore believe that the minority has a perfect right to act differently from the majority."

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI.

PLEASE GIVE US A CAR

Our 1949 Chevy is finished. It's running on two of its six cylinders, has a blown-out muffler, a slipping clutch, a leaky brake line, and many other irregularities. We need a car for regular trips to pick up vegetables and fish, clothing and furniture, to transport the paper to the post office, and get the mail. What we are looking for is anything in good condition; a station wagon with a stick shift and a six-cylinder engine or a small eight that is easy on gas would be ideal. If you can help us please write as soon as possible or telephone OR 4-9812 and ask for Chris Kearns.