**Disarmament**

"When you are in a runway one going down a steep winding hill towards a precipice," Fr. Herbert Manley, Engineer of Blackvies, declared in the current issue of Blackvies, "you can either devolve your intelligence to keeping it on the road as long as possible before the inevitable accident, or you can take the risk of jumping out now and perhaps being killed, but perhaps being permanently safe. The nationalist wants to take the risk now. If I may declare an interest, on balance I think he is right.

In his article, "Morals and Nuclear War," he stressed the importance of remembering morality "is not immediately concerned with what will happen "if only we do not do." "It is important to restate this alliance because nearly no one is muddle in questions of morality considering moral questions. Consequently, criticizing the theory that having nuclear weapons deters from those being used, he said, "This is the argument that deterrence involves a failure to understand nuclear arms you either intend to use them or you do not intend to use them then you are not relying on deterrence to justify your possession of them; if you do not intend to use them they will be a danger to you; if you do intend to use them you would have at least to pretend by lying that you were not going to use them, and lying we know is a sin."

**Advent and the McCarren Act**

**BY JAMES FOREST**

"An Injury to one is an Injury to all," goes the old Wobbly saying. As we are members in Christ's Mystical Body, in which all are called, this should be especially meaningful to us, making us particularly aware of the basic demands of justice which are a prerequisite to love. But it has already added significance at this moment in our liturgical year as we are now entering into the season of preparation for Christ's coming, Advent, which reminds us that we must be doing this—preparing for Christ, building His Kingdom.

In June of this year, in a tight 5 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court upheld the McCarren Act. This law requires groups labeled by the Government's Subversive Activities Control Board as "subversive," to register as such, identify all their mail and literature as "subversive" and face fines up to $10,000 and 5 years in jail for each day of non-compliance. The Department of Justice specified a date by which all subversive groups must register, the days of non-compliance being figured from that date. As was stated in the dissenting opinions of four liberal Justices, and has been made even clearer by the subsequent action of the Justice Department, the basic purpose of the McCarren Act is the suppression of the Communist Party and its "action" units.

Explaining his reasons for dissent, Justice Hugo Black stated, "... it can (and) be too often stressed that the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly must be accorded to the ideas we hate or sooner or later they will be denied to the ideas we cherish. The first blessing of an association because it advocates hated ideas . . . makes a state of moment . . . that moment seems to have arrived."
We Urge Justice
Release Morton Sobell

Ten-and-a-half years ago, in the height of the McCarthyite "scares," Morton Sobell was convicted as a co-conspirator in the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg espionage cases. He was sentenced to serve 20 years in prison. The story of Morton Sobell has been told many times in the columns of the Catholic Worker, but this is not a repetition of the old story. We are writing this as one who has followed the Sobell case, and who has been privileged to see and hear many of the people who have been vitally concerned about the Sobell case and have worked for his release. We think it is a proper occasion for a thorough review, and we hope that this review will help to bring about the release of Morton Sobell.

Several facts concerning Mr. Sobell's conviction continue to plague the minds of those concerned with the demands of basic justice:

- Federal Judge William J. Brace, in sentencing Morton Sobell, judged solely on the basis of Max Eichler's testimony (which was uncorroborated by any other witnesses). Max Eichler was a government witness and in no way a disinterested party.
- The Supreme Court's refusal to review the case, which many jurists believe bothvitiated and undermined us life, and, on the basis of the present record itself, Morton Sobell was not guilty. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black stated, "The U.S. Supreme Court has never reviewed the case of an individual from a country with a history of a disinterested review of the total.
- Max Eichler, who admitted a role in the conspiracy, never being prosecuted and Max Eichler never being tried for his admitted perjury. The Rosenbergs, on the other hand, were executed.
- The inherent weakness and disparity of the government's case, Sobell, even assuming sobell's innocence, continues to remain in prison—on the principle that some are guilty and cannot be proved innocent.

Further information is available from the National Committee for Justice for Morton Sobell in New York (All 80039).

ON PILGRIMAGE

(Continued from page 1)

of the eighteen Italian sailors which took place during the month was the visit of Bishop L. P. Lemonds, Bishop of the Diocese of St. Charles, to Belgium. They were flying supplies for the Belgian nation, and they arrived in Kinshasa, in the Zaire province. A few days later, the Catholic bishop of Kinshasa had to take the city of Kinshasa, and he was surrounded by the neutral government perpetually tried the crimes. None of the 200 people who were involved in the trial were convicted.

There was a major problem with the trial, which is not an unusual problem in trials. The trial was not conducted in a fair and just manner, with respect for the rights of the accused. The evidence was not presented fairly, and the judge did not allow the accused to present their own defense. The trial was held in secret, and the accused were not allowed to see the evidence that was presented against them. The judge was biased against the accused, and the trial was not conducted in an impartial manner.

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Twelve years ago this past May 15, on the Feast of St. John Baptist de la Salle, Peter Maurin died. The Archbishop of Los Angeles, Cardinal Francis J. Spellman, in the ultimate and authoritative edition of Peter's "Easy Essays" under the title: The Green Revolution, "Easy Essays on Easy Ethics," written by Fritz Eichenberg with introduction by Dorothy Day and foreword by Peter Maurin, stated that Peter, who have been out of print these past eight years and aside from the lack of an index, we have in our hands a filling means to our studies. Remarkably, nothing more than having shown the American Catholic layman as he was in the Church, however eccentric some may have thought him.

Peter, peasant, sometime Christian Brother—observer of the lay Catholic movement—Carmel, some- time immigrant—illiterat day laborer and philosopher, always a poet, was fifty-seven when his death occurred. The journalist who, whose journalistic abilities gave him the platform that made him known as "the poor people's brother," who would be none other of his "Easy Essays" to appear in The Catholic Worker month after month expounding his philosophy of life, was one of the men the mind was taken from him in the long, long years illness that preceded his death.

In this review I wish to present an outline of the content of Peter's thought. Later articles will approach Peter Maurin by way of his, a point of view. Having been a teacher, he learned to re-

The Communist Party has a party line. The Catholic Worker has a covenant. How things could be if they were as they should be, How is it that a panacea would be desirable: "The Catholic Worker is a school for men." "The Catholic Worker is the death of faith."

"Any who think that the Catholic Worker is the death of faith, prepare to meet the Lord on His return to the earth." The Catholic Worker is a school for men.

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in the subject; thirdly, to In- 
form about the religi- 
ous equivalent approach is essential if 
error is to be eradicated and truth 
spread. For it is in the light of 
the majority of American 
Catholics who are of the opin- 
ion that the Southern "blues" in Congress, not 
the lack of governmental se- 
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Perhaps the greatest factor in 
the painfully slow progress of Racial Problems is the fact that, 
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Problem of Consciousness 
But to get down to issues a 
bite more, I would like to tell 
you a story. It is the story of 
19th century American atti-
itude toward the South. It is 
the story of the Southern 
Protestant. 

In the White Problem of Consciousness. A 
story of which I have 
visited an art museum in one 
of the cities of the South. There, he 
was particularly struck by the 
struggling to make a living. He was 
absorbed in admiring the statue 
with two elderly ladies, who volunteered the 
time as guides for tourists, 
sharing information about 
their state and its historical 
data. When he re-

The trouble of the artist 
thrn, is symbolic and even symptomat- 
ically of the trouble of American 

For him, the critics 
were not as harsh as they were 
within the society. They have 
been more than a few times 
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From the beginning, South was paying dearly for the past, and was paying no attention to the future. The Negro, with his own particular Negro problem, was paying a price that was awesome for him and awe inspiring for the South. The Negro was paying his price as he did all the other races. The Westerner through his ancestors, contributed and paid for the multitudes imposed by the outside world. The Southerner either through his own doing or through the actions of his ancestors, or through the actions of his government, contributed and paid for all of these. The Arrival of Freedom

This is the southern embarrassment then, taken with mother’s milk, bred in family pride, engendered further by tradition and social custom, complicated by emotionalism, confused by a philosophically and theologically barren reconstituted nation which must pay the penalty for the South’s crimes against the Negro, the present and the future.

The long history of the Negro was not consulted, nor was the wisdom of the past used to provide insurance for the future. So, the future was made "different," in spite of the derogatory name attached to national groups, Okiek, Krest, Polak, Wup and Spiek—Americans, the future was going to be, and to the future, a different one. The Negro was paying a price for the past and for the future.

Now the situation was general, and since the South’s greatest advantage was his past, he was not going to lose; he meant to stay alive by the only means known to him, the production of foodstuffs. And he could not afford to be careless with the colored man, preferably in a close state of slavery as was legally possible. The result and their object was not so much an act of discrimination against the Negro, but a move to keep him the laborer that he was, for the labor he needed and for laborers.

The Southern Approach to the problem of Negroes was to change the situation into a purely economic one until the Confederate government, under the lightening Reconstruction Plan of Lincoln and Johnson and adopted by the Confederate white leaders, was able to execute.

The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Amendments to the Constitution, made through, whites were disfranchised, and all Negroes were actually controlled by Negro politicians, and certain groupings of colored. The classes had little need for this, the classes had actually been controlled by Negro politicians, and certain groupings of colored. The classes had little need for this, the classes had actually been controlled by Negro politicians, and certain groupings of colored. The classes had little need for this, the classes had actually been controlled by Negro politicians, and certain groupings of colored.

The Insurmountable Barrier

Not so with the Negro or with other colored peoples, especially the Chinese and Japanese. With them, instead of efforts to assimilate them, considerable talents and ingenuity are exerted to resist them, to herd them into groups and ghettoes, and to advise them to develop a racial pride of their own. But the Chinese and Japanese were nationalized. That is, they were not understood because he has not a history that is that of a people separate and apart, that has laid down for itself a national tradition.

The Insurmountable Barrier

The Solution: Segregation

As there is a fact that the North, regarded the Negro as a somewhere else, any Negro who will acknowledge his right to be a man, has its own peculiar interests, colored. The Negro, fleeing today in progress, is thrown into the urban centers of the East and mid-west, and to California especially the West. They create a rank order of discrimination all over the country, more odious to him because he is unfamiliar with it, because it is often unspoken. Why does it exist? Because it is not the fault of the Negro, and it is not caused by it.

First of all, it is well to realize that the Negro race does not qualify as a scientific or anthropological minority groups, and for many reasons. When the great waves of immigration hit America after the Civil War and extended themselves over the 1850’s into the present century, they were generally looked upon by Americans as an unfortunate circumstance and developing the country.

Once the settling of the West became complete, however, the lot of national groups became harder, for the land having been settled, the immigrants were forced to congregate in the slums of the large cities of the East and mid-west. Their situation there was close to tragic, as the history of New York’s East Side can witness, but there they are in the majority. The American theory of equality, never quite denied in the North, the gradual disappearance of the language barrier, the offer of overlook job of public education, the truth and toughness of the southern future that the national character of the Negro was already contribut to make the immigrant thoroughly American in two or three generations. Such is the prejudice, of the principle of the restoration of the races, very quickly of the Negroes and of the colored, which is the Negro’s" problem, on the whole world. It is a peculiarly American problem, which has, in the American mind, connotations of base origin, strange custom and superstition, and for want of a better word, downright ‘otherness’.

In a way, it is a condemnation by association, for the person of the Negro is refined because it is housed in dark lineaments which suggest obscure beginnings and local history no less odious than having been caused by the white man, the common attitude is this, "It’s enough, but that’s the way it is.”

So a summary of this terrible tragedy would run something like this: the whites have forced the Negro into their culture, and the whites have standardized the credentials for acceptance, and when all other qualifications have been met, withdrawn the price for the one they lacking, the cultivation of the white skin. It is enough to burst the sensibilities of the but the northerner can call to see the Negro grope to race relations as the South. The Negro was paying a price for the past and for the future.

To Kropotkin In Prison

"Plant your factories and workshp at the gates put your fields and gardens to work and there.

To each toiler his own seat.

Bare and small are the Channel and the garden plots which the poor, the peasant, the poor laborer has planted, the peasant, the poor laborer has planted.

Under glass in April.

What is the harvest, the summer sun
For peaches and pears
Grain and plum.

What is the harvest, the summer sun
For peaches and pears

What is the harvest, the summer sun
For peaches and pears

In the fields, factories
What did they spoils?
Manchester lies wall
Of smoke; Leeds over a black river.

Tenney box-makers to a mill
Walking home through poplar
Pick Tommy beans for sails.

What did the looms spin
Gentle uploanship?
what was the harvest
Sweet searched

Only the prisoner’s bonds
Shutling in the gloom.

Only those white pearlseem

Thoughts in the prison room.

—Robert Nichols
for a course of action, there always seemed to be more immediate problems.

Moreover, we knew nothing of the laymen; the Church operated on the clientele of the corporate areas where the questions always were about the great fights for social justice; child labor legislation, woman's suffrage, labor, all the other things around a concerted Catholic involvement, all of them accomplished within a Catholic vanguard. Secular socialists got these things by constitutional interpretations of law, all of these had educated us in the most embarrassing fashion.

The Poor Man

"Whether or no the poor man profits more from grace because he is poor, poverty is a state to be venerated as such, because it was Christ's state. This is a most mysterious truths. Whatever his spiritual dispositions, however bad he may be or however, whether he is well or badly treated — look at him simply as poor, as lacking what he needs, as one already of a material cast — it is the "mark of Jesus Christ."

... he seems bear this "mark of the voluntary self-abasement of God incarnate" with bitterness and rage. If he is the true disciple of this social gospel, he does not want for himself something Christ wanted passionately, and which, therefore, all men are called to lead at least to it. It is even worse; he is it is Christ who bears, Christ who suffers, Christ who, in Him, needs everything, even if he has it not.

December, 1961

THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE
CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

(Continued from page 8)

and the faith that our ancestors brought to America was characteristic, for example, it was still in reaction against the religious tensions of the Restoration. It was still fighting ancient and anti-episcopal doctrines. God and his apostles were still those of heaven, it was still based upon inner con- stitutional and preserving existence.

And basically enough, it still had a superiorly complex, all regarded itself as the sole interpreter of the goodness it sent out its foreign missions. It was a perfect, pure religion, of European culture and Catholicism and such was the complex that the interests of Church and State were

It is occasionally that the greatest foes of integration in Louisiana, is a Catholic, one has any hesitation to label integration a Communist plot. The most accidental that he is a Catholic.

Why would a Southern Bishop allow how the Catholic Negro voted in his church, and when he had no choice even to hold it, the Church and say a private Mass for the repose of his soul, rather than raise his church against the whole parish?

Why would another Pastor, why, at least, of the New Orleans Catholic school system, when it was asked to integrate at least as soon as the Public School system of New Orleans?

Why must Louisiana Negroes go to Catholic mission schools that is integrated, or to Texas or Alabama?

In going to the action of Fr. Robert McDole in the Sit-In demonstratons in Oklahoma City, evoke such fierce controversy, on first matter, he carried something more than a desperately needed protest by a man whose vocation, in every sense, was the Church.

Why would Catholic Bishop forbid participation of Priests in the Freedom Rides, when there was such a limited number of Catholic laymen? What a Catholic role in this?

Why is the Catholic appraisal of the integration movement? Is it comprehensive and the most true, but in shocked voting, and upon the masses?

Why will Catholics in the North poll about the Negro Catholics in the South, and Catholic neighbors at the mention of an integrated neighborhood?

If we can interpret the life of the Church, the Church, the Church, the Church..."downtown," rather than repeated challenges and opportunities. This is to say all of this, and the reasons given, not only fails, largely, lack of vision or the difficulty of reconciling the demand?

DECREATING NON-BUILDING

FOR the most part, American Catholic Churches are in a serious crisis. The poor man's press is no more than near as much grace because he is poor. Poverty is a state to be venerated as such, because it was Christ's state. This is a most mysterious truths. Whatever his spiritual dispositions, however bad he may be or however, whether he is well or badly treated — look at him simply as poor, as lacking what he needs, as one already of a material cast — it is the "mark of Jesus Christ."

... he seems bear this "mark of the voluntary self-abasement of God incarnate" with bitterness and rage. If he is the true disciple of this social gospel, he does not want for himself something Christ wanted passionately, and which, therefore, all men are called to lead at least to it. It is even worse; he is it is Christ who bears, Christ who suffers, Christ who, in Him, needs everything, even if he has it not.

There are powerful and often-
Decembei, 1961
THE CATHOLIC WORKER
Page Seven

On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 2)

They were poor, despised, and hated, and the Yanks of the north, had been dealt. We were going to win the masses to Christianity until we

Christmas Just the Same

One of the most cheerful things about Christmas is contemplating the baby in the cradle, in the cold strength of Mary, said to madness, the governmen upon his shoulders.

Statement required by the Act of Appropriation of March 3, 1919, and July 2, 1945, and by the regulations prescribing the form and content of the statements, and showing the ownership, manu­

5. The average number of copies of the Catholic Retreat from the English edition of the Religious and the claims of responsibility for the public in the two paragraph; show that the retreat from the English edition of the Religious and the claims of responsibility for the public in the two paragraphs, show that

Building the Kingdom

For this reason, The Catholic Retreat, on its own behalf, wishes to advise that theabyrinths of the Church of the salvation of man, and the necessity of the Church, we suffer too much. Out of the claims of responsibility for the public in this paragraph. Show that the retreat from the English edition of the Religious and the claims of responsibility for the public in the two paragraphs, show that

Bishops Go Left

(Continued from page 1)

John Ruskin

FRIDAY NIGHT MEETING

You are free to reproduce these articles in their entirety, without attribution, for non-commercial purposes. If you intend to use them in a way that I have not explicitly allowed, please contact me at john@johnrusskin.com.
When I first read Jean O'Casey's description of her mother's eyes "as they came over the lean, haggard face and hardened to a steady glare through the features of a remarkable old woman," I felt that steadily, watched, seemed to hide in her depths something seen before. "There were dreams, veiled by the nearer vision of life's experience, of a time when these children and home," I said to myself. And this thought was the theme of this letter.

It was in the fall of 1943 when I first went to Pigot. I had written: "In the coming year, I am planning to be in London in the spring of the year."

Through any sorrow, deep and intense glow of many days, I said: "I am Mary Gill." We stood as I was: bitter and hurt with all of things that were husband and quality about what she had to say.

"She was, I think: the most mature she looked at me levelly and remembered my self getting off the local camp. We were having a long delay of children and home."

I came home most of the bitterness I tw ard from her once a year, "and always there was a serene person I have ever known. She was no artist, no intellectual but she was ever closed.

"Looking at me levelly and remembered my self getting off the local camp. We were having a long delay of children and home."

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"Looking at me levelly and remembered my self getting off the local camp. We were having a long delay of children and home.

Wishing that things were what they are.

human labor must be further subordinated to the needs of the community, and raised to lofty heights through dedication to God, not to human labor, as the Vatican newspaper, reported the same day, and the Holy Father's words from his recent labor encyclical, Mater et Magistra (Mother and Teacher).

"When one carries, on one's shoulders, the burden of the poor, there are no limits to the sacrifice and the good."

"In Ireland the scholars formulated an intellectual synthesis that showed the relations of intellectual synthesis and that technique of action the scholars decided to lay the foundations of medieval England."

"These people who built the Cathedral of Chartres knew what the art of building the church is to say philosophy, and cultivation, that is to say agriculture."