

CATHOLIC WORKER

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We Go On Record:

CW REFUSES TAX EXEMPTION

By DOROTHY DAY

"The Catholic Worker" has received a letter from the Internal Revenue Service stating we owe them \$296,359 in fines and penalties, and unpaid income tax for the unpaid income tax for the last six years. As the matter stands right now, there might be a legal battle which with delays and postponements may remind us of Dickens' classic *Bleak House* (which Phil Berrigan is reading in jail now while his and his co-workers' case shows signs of being interminable, like *War* itself).

Or, since we will not set up a defense committee to campaign for funds, it may terminate swiftly in the confiscation of our bank account (never very large) and our property. Tivoli and the First Street House could be put for sale by government agents and our CW family evicted.

There are 12 children at Tivoli and 40 adults; and at First Street (St. Joseph's House), we are packed in like sardines. Our latest guest is Christine, a Panamanian who works in a factory and was evicted from her slum apartment. Perhaps no one here at St. Joseph's House realizes the situation we are in as keenly right now as I do, having seen so many evictions in the Depression—furniture, clothes, kitchen utensils piled up on the streets, by landlords' marshalls. The communists used to make demonstrations and forcibly move the belongings of the unfortunate people back into the tenements, but our Catholic Worker staff, a handful of us, begged money and rented other apartments for \$8 to \$15 a month and moved the evicted families there. What a job! It exhausts me even to think of it. Now rents have climbed to seventy, eighty, a hundred a month for these same apartments which have been modernized with steam heat and hot water.

I can only trust that this crisis will pass. Just as we believe He, our Father, has care of us, I am sure that some way will be found either to avert the disaster, or for us to continue to care for our old, sick, helpless, hungry and homeless if it happens.

Tax Refusal

One of the most costly protests against war in the way of long enduring personal sacrifice is to refuse to pay income taxes for war. The late Ammon Hennacy, one of our editors, was a prime example of this. He earned his living at agricultural labor, saved enough to publish the first edition of his autobiography (*Liberation Press*) always living on a poverty level so as

not to be subject to taxes, but he "filed returns."

War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette Street, N.Y., has much printed material on Tax Refusal. The Peacemaker, 10208 Sylvan Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio, also. Articles in the CW by Karl Meyer, one of our editors, have explained it. Karl recently spent ten months in jail for what the IRS called fraudulent claims of exemption for dependents. He ran the CW house of hospitality for many years in Chicago working to earn the money to support the house and his wife and children.

Erosanna Robinson, a social worker in Chicago, failed to file returns, and was sentenced to a year in prison for that, and while serving, fasted and was forcibly fed. Karl Meyer, in sympathy, demonstrated by distributing leaflets on government property and served a jail sentence for that. It will be seen that Tax Refusal is a serious and effective protest. "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight," is a slogan of the War Resisters International. But there are many wage earners who can not make protest because of the withholding tax-money taken directly from their pay by the government.

The CW

The CW has never paid salaries. Everyone gets board, room, and clothes (tuition, recreation included, as the CW is in a way a school of living). So we do not need to pay Federal income taxes. Of course, there are hidden taxes we all pay. Many CW volunteers work—then there are withholding taxes. Nothing is ever clear cut, well defined. We protest in any way we can, according to our responsibilities and temperaments.

(I remember Ammon, a most consistent, brave and responsible person, saying to one young man—"For the love of the Lord, get a job and quit worrying about taxes. You need to learn how to earn your own living. That is most important for you.")

Certainly a married man with children is not free. He has made his choice of responsibilities. Our young students take part-time work and rent apartments which they share with others (since our 5-story house on First Street cannot accommodate all who come), and so they are trapped too by the tax system. We have to accept with humility the fact that we cannot share the destitution of those around us, and that our protests are incomplete. Perhaps the most complete protest is to

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Federal Parole Board:

THE CAPRICE OF PUNISHMENT

By WILLARD GAYLIN

(Eds. Note: A federal prisoner has recently written us drawing to our attention the gross injustices of the Federal Parole Board. At present, Congressman Kastenmeier's Judiciary Subcommittee is conducting congressional hearings into the matter. We are fortunate to reprint portions of Dr. Willard Gaylin's research on this appalling situation.)

The United States Board of Parole is one of the great enigmas of our judicial process. Like certain passive but potent animal forms, it pursues its ends eschewing attack or defense, protected by the vagueness and lack of definition that permit it to rest safely concealed in a shadowy recess of the federal bureaucracy. Official boredom, public ignorance, and judicial apathy form its protective coloration.

In 1930 a central parole board located in Washington was created by Congress. At that time it was part of the Bureau of Prisons. In 1945 the par-

ole board was ordered to report directly to the Attorney General, thus making it an independent agency in the Department of Justice. The board is both a policy-making and administrative body with jurisdiction over all federal prisoners. It consists of only eight full-time members appointed by the President for six-year overlapping terms.

This group of men, with the assistance of a small group of examiners, is called upon to make some *twenty thousand* separate decisions on applications for parole in a year. Since decisions require a concurrence of two, three, or more members, there are well over *forty thousand* individual "member judgments." These few men travel across the entire United States to examine the individual records, read the petitions, interview the parole applicants, presumably deliberate, set the date, and decide the terms of the parole.

All of which represents only one

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Vietnam Horror

As pacifists and as committed opponents of imperialism, that aggressive greed which sets people against people, we of the Catholic Worker are horrified by the present escalation of the war in Vietnam, the slaughter of the population of the south, the despoilation of the land, the intensified bombing of the north. Yet further direct comment seems redundant; since May 1, 1933 the Catholic Worker movement has stood, in writing, in action, and in the lives we attempt to lead, for the truth we find in the Gospel: we must lay down our arms and love one another for in every man we meet, we meet Christ.

As anarchists, as personalists who believe that the new society will arise from the diverse efforts of many individuals to act in their own ways to bring peace and justice, we welcome all pacifist actions against war and imperialism.

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ORGAN OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

PETER MAURIN, Founder

DOROTHY DAY, Editor and Publisher

MARTIN J. CORBIN, Managing Editor

Associate Editors:

JAN ADAMS, CHARLES BUTTERWORTH, JACK COOK, RITA CORBIN (Art), KATHLEEN DeSUTTER, FRANK DONOVAN, EILEEN EGAN, EDGAR FORAND, ROBERT GILLIAM, WILLIAM HORVATH, MARJORIE C. HUGHES, HELENE ISWOLSKY, PAT JORDAN, WALTER KERELL, ARTHUR J. LACEY, KARL MEYER, CHRIS MONTESANO, DEANE MOWRER, KATHY SCHMIDT, ARTHUR SHEEHAN, STANLEY VISHNEWSKI, HARRY WOODS.

Editorial communications, new subscriptions and change of address:
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Telephone 254-1640

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Tivoli: a Farm With a View

By DEANE MARY MOWRER

Spring, moving slowly up the land with the northward trek of the sun, comes reluctantly—it seems to me, too eager for the flowers of May—to this northernmost tip of Dutchess County where our farm with a view overlooks the Hudson River. So it is I am most particularly grateful for a post-Easter April interlude in Princeton where the Red House garden of Caroline Gordon Tate showed those indisputable and lovely tokens—crocuses, hyacinths, spring beauties, daffodils, tulips, flowering quince, great sprays of forsythia, and a small blossoming peach tree—without which the poets hardly dare celebrate the rites of Spring. There in that Red House garden, among the more familiar strains of cardinals and white-throated sparrows, with two disapproving cats—Xenophon and Genji—looking on, I heard from time to time the various and beautiful commentary of the mockingbird, like the voice of the South, like the voice of Spring.

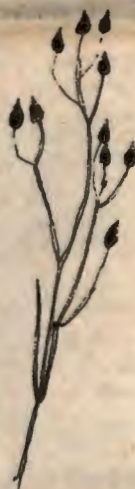
Once again at our Tivoli farm, after torrents of rain, I take heart from the flocks of wild geese that have honked their way Canadaward over our minor flyway; and under my feet I feel the spring of growing green. Early in the morning, very early, I hear again the dawn song of robins, like a madrigal for Our Lady, for that true Queen of May, for whom all blossoms bloom.

Root Sources

To Catholic Workers, the month of May must always be important. On May Day, 1933, Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day, with a few young helpers, brought out the first issue of *The Catholic Worker*. From that day Peter Maurin's ideas of cult, culture, cultivation, round-table discussions, agronomic universities, holy poverty, personal commitment to works of mercy, and a personalist revolution to bring about in each person the true living of Christ's teaching, began to germinate, to take root, and through the years to flower and bear fruit. The story of the dedicated life-work growing out of that first May Day, with all the accompany-

ing failures, hopes, dreams, frustrations, tragedies, but with the thread of God's mercy and glory running through all, has been told by Dorothy Day and others many times. Now today, as I think of May, 1972, I pray to Peter Maurin—who died May fifteenth, 1949—that he will pray for all who love *The Catholic Worker* so that God will help us all to experience the enthusiasm, ardor, and sacrificial dedication of that first May Day, the birthday of *The Catholic Worker*.

As a kind of prologue to our May anniversary, Professor Jacques Travers



of Brooklyn College spoke to us at one of our Sunday afternoon discussions of this Spring of the French writer, thinker, and poet—Charles Peguy—and his influence on Peter Maurin. Jacques is an old friend and has given us a number of fine talks about French writers and thinkers, especially those who have much in common with the *Catholic Worker*. This time he gave us a good account of Peguy's life and a clear analysis of his work and thought. Then Marty Corbin, who chairs these Sunday afternoon meetings, read some quotations which Jacques had selected from the Julian Green translation of Peguy's writings, both poetry and prose. As usual the talk was followed by coffee, cake, and a lively discussion. After listening to Jacques' well chosen excerpts—some of which have appeared in *The Catholic Worker* in past years—anyone familiar with Peter Maurin's teaching could hardly doubt the relationship between their ideas, especially those concerned with work, poverty, the distinction between destitution and poverty, the necessity of eliminating destitution, and Peguy's fine and beautiful concept of brotherhood which as surely flowered into many of Peter Maurin's ideas. It is

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36 East First

By PAT JORDAN

One of Martin Buber's earliest Hasidic tales ("The Chest of Herbs and the Golden Calf" c. 1914) ends with this (typical of Hasidic lore) succinct sentence: "When the Emperor heard, his soul was humbled." To hear the truth is the beginning of wisdom, the first step in turning, the initial motion toward repentance. But the paramount task, at least as we realize it in a modern technological metropolis such as New York, is to hear—to discern the other voices speaking in and to our selves, to relish the harmonies which exist beyond and sometimes in the junk noises which clutter about us.

Walking to the library today, I chanced upon a city garbage truck sporting this poster in a swirl of loud colors and pronouncing to the populace: "Quiet Week—May 6-13." The colors, their flair and brazenness, reminded me of another recent phenomenon in New York—the subway walls decked with whirling names of uncountable souls. I suppose they are mostly the names of youngsters (although one finds very few youngsters who are still young in N.Y.), but certainly they cry out for recognition in the caverns beneath the towering monoliths and miserable tenements of Manhattan Island. The graffitied names and the noise are one: anything but lyrical, never invited to play in the creation of beauty, each strikes out on its own to rage that its uniqueness, while unappreciated, is more precious than all the rot which oppresses it. But the folly is that in this protesting agony is sometimes sown a hatred of life which will never grant the humbling cleansing that, as the Buddhad pointed out, is an initial mark of wholeness. For a man's language (his soul), tells us of his soul. Unless his song beckons for harmonies among the dissonances, it will never rise.

It was the Baal Shem Tov, great illuminary and founder of Hasidism, who said, "Alas! the world is full of enormous lights and mysteries, and man shuts them from himself with one small hand." Hands (we have two not just one!) are our means of expression and our work, but they are also the sometimes vehicle of our defenses and our isolation. They can divide us and so conquer us. Indeed, we are such fragile creatures. At times we shield ourselves from reality with frenetic passion. It is all simply too much to be forever borne. The subway roles cry out names to passengers who do not look at them, cry them out with pounding and garish applause. But they go unheeded. Why should a wallname evoke contact, interest, when living faces go unappreciated? This death in the catacombs bites at passengers and emerges to the streets above. On First St., we often find a resourceless lack of fortitude to meet visitors and strangers squarely in the eye.

Hands At Work

But our hands, like the hand of God which Rilke spoke of, are indeed our means of creativity as well as blinds to the enormous heights and lights, are fashions of our work. At our First St. house, hands are ever involved, motion-filled. Tempos vary with time and among manipulators. Louie Prins's are perhaps the most striking pair. Worn with years of work in mailing rooms like the CW's, Louie's hands are furrowed with the treasured experience of years. Wise in themselves, they almost stand alone. They have touched daily the veins of life, and are marked with the erosion of labor. They are blessings because work is the tide of the Creator.

Joseph's hands, too, are manacles on the work of the world. Ora et labora: they turn a page of the New Testament as surely as they carry a heavy can of rubble for the Sanitation truck to devour. Jeannette's and Ida's hands are those of women who know the price-

less dignity of making everything a bit cleaner so everyone will feel a bit more human. Frank's piano-thin fingers dextrously clip away at typing stencils each night, Gordon's years' experienced fingers confidently file the new stencils which insure CW readers their paper and as our livelihood. Young hands, old hands—Sal making the powdered milk foam, Steve flaying the fish he has begged, Gus folding papers, Pookie slicing vegetables—hands somehow joined, gauging their maker's character in what they have done and are doing. It was the Baal Shem Tov who said it: "Just as the strength of the root is in the leaf, so the strength of man is in every utensil he makes, and his character and behavior can be gauged from what he has made."

Tradition

Traditions are built over long years, by work, repetition, dedication. On St. Joseph's Day, today, I recall old workers like Smokey Joe, now gone to peace. It was such makers of tradition as he that make us realize the treasure of our daily lives on First St. Without this, the violence, the bedlam and noise which daily bombard us would certainly overwhelm us. It is by some sense of tradition that we go on, that we catch for a moment some shadow of the Plotinian unities, that we breathe for a moment the wisdom of Peguy and Gill in their daily dedication to the task at hand.

Joan Levy came by the other evening, and with her the years past when she would, early in the morning, accompany John at making the soup. Occasionally Isadore stops in with one of his own glass lamps, and his years and work at Christie St. and here buoys us up. Every now and again when I see Jack Cook I am reminded of his searing, piercing expression in many issues of the *Worker*. Many people have moved on from the Worker, some have not without bitterness. But they must remind us here now of their generous, full dedication in years gone by to the people and the work. It is these people who have made the *Worker*, and in whose steps Charlie King and Mike De Gregory wait on table at the soupline.

Never more clearly was all this put in my mind than that humorous afternoon not long ago when two priest's cassocks came into the clothing room and made their way around the men of the second floor. Marcel and Walter, Arthur, Frank and Randy donned these soutanes. When they did, the whole building momentarily changed, stopped. While this masquerade evoked chortles from many of us (from Catherine Tarangul to myself), the building sighed when the cassocks were devested and its people returned from that clerical world.

Over a period of years, and precisely because of tradition, any work attains mannerisms and patterns that must be reexamined, perhaps debunked. Tony Equale has joined us again for a bit. It is his insight, and Mark Samara voiced it during Holy Week, that some of us have lost a sense of liturgy on First St. So we have begun saying morning lauds again, and attempted to revitalize evening prayer. These are insights of Peter Maurin which even we have let slip—the need for cult, for contemplation in a world of haste.

Not An Agency

Sometimes the world at our door would make us into a service agency like the rest. After all, the world today expects services in a certain way. Mass bureaucracy and a pathetic welfare mentality have, in some men's eyes, made us a dispensing facility for the enormous wealth of the Catholic Church. We certainly are not. What we are most consistently reminded of is our own inner poverty. We are fundamentally a small, pathetically small, community of often confused men and

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SUMMER WORKSHOPS AT THE CATHOLIC WORKER FARM

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Sundays, July 2 - Sept. 3

Weekend Workshops on Prayer,
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For information write to:

Claire Danielson
Box 33, Tivoli, N.Y. 12582
(Further details in next issue)

WAITRESSES STRIKE: Demand Respect

By JAN ADAMS

"I enjoy preparing food and serving it to people. No one looks down on a woman for doing this in her own home. But in a restaurant, they always ask a waitress 'What do you do?' No one asks a doctor, or a lawyer, or a secretary that. But they think you wouldn't ever be anything so 'degraded' as a waitress, unless you were really supporting something else. Well, I think you are what you do every day, what supports you. I'm a waitress; I serve food to people; and I will not look down on myself for that!"

The speaker is Pat Welsh, one of the twelve waitresses of Cronin's Restaurant in Cambridge, Massachusetts, who began a boycott for union recognition on Dec. 9, 1971. After four days of being picketed, Cronin recognized the women as the Harvard Square Waitresses Union and began contract

negotiations. However, he refused to yield to any of HSWU's demands, tried to fire the women illegally, and tried to get an injunction against their legal union activity. Unable to make progress in talks, the waitresses have been on strike against Cronin's since January 27.

The twelve Cronin's workers are, ordinary women who support themselves, and in some cases dependents, by working as waitresses. They don't know much about unions, or the law, or organizing for collective action, but by joining together they have learned to demand what they believe they deserve: a living wage, working conditions which take them into account as individuals, and respect for their work. They feel that by building their own union, they will assert their own worth and the worth of their work. They have certainly set off a response among other waitresses by their action, for

they meet with many inquiries from other Boston-area waitresses and even spontaneous strikes using the HSWU name, such as one at Boston's Jazz Workshop, of which they learned only after the waitresses had walked out.

Women and the Unions

This powerful response to the organization of HSWU arises from the powerless condition of women service workers in the labor force in general, as well as the especially exploited situation of waitresses. Although women make up over 40% of the American working population, 93% are unorganized. This reflects the concentration of unionization in industry, while most women workers are in the far larger service sector. Such unions which do have women members tend not to treat them as a serious constituency: male union leadership often sees women as somehow only auxiliary to the male work force, as frivolous tran-

sients who only work to pick up "extras."

Waitresses share in the general neglect of women by the unions. Women make up 85% of the people who wait on tables; in New England only about 15% of waitresses are members of the union, Local 277 of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders, which holds contracts with some national restaurant chains, such as Zum-Zum's. Pat Welsh, who has worked under Local 277 contracts, feels that the local pays no attention to the needs of its waitress members. She calls it a "company union." Moreover, the local has shown no interest in organizing waitresses in locally owned restaurants.

Low Waitress Wages

Restaurants make their profits by minimizing overhead. For example, Pat Welsh estimates that Cronin's spends \$400 a night in food costs, oper-

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The Catholic Worker Refuses Tax Exemption

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be in jail, to accept jail, never to give bail or defend ourselves.

I.R.S. Enters

In the Fifties, Ammon, Charles McCormack (manager of the House of Hospitality and of the finances of the CW), and I were summoned to the offices of the I.R.S. in N.Y. to answer questions (under oath) as to our finances. I remember I was asked what happened to the royalties from my books, money from speaking engagements. I could only report that such monies received were deposited in the CW account. As for clothes, we wore what came in; my sister was generous to me—shoes for instance. Also, there is free recreation aplenty in fun city. There are gifts to the house of radios and even television sets and there were always unemployed technicians to keep them in order.

Our accounts are kept in this way: contributions, donations, subscriptions that come in daily are entered in one book. The large check book tells of bills paid, of disbursements. Since we send out an appeal once or twice a year, we have to file with Albany our State Capitol, pay a small fee, and give an account of monies received and the expenses of mailing the one-page appeal, cheaply printed on newsprint, and tell how the money was spent. Our friendly lawyer, when consulted, deemed the report adequate. We always complied with this state regulation because it was local—regional. We knew such a requirement was to protect the public from fraudulent appeals, and we felt our lives were open books—our work was obvious. And of course our pacifism has always been obvious—a great ideal of non-violence to be worked toward.

Pacifism—Anarchism

Christ commanded (Matthew, 25) His followers to perform what Christian people have come to call the 7 works of mercy: Feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, shelter the harborless, visit the sick, the prisoner, and bury the dead. Surely a simple program for direct action. For all of us. Not just for impersonal "poverty programs," agencies, etc. Not to be funded by governments but help given from the heart at a personal sacrifice. And how opposite a program this is to the works of war which starve people by embargoes, lay waste the land, destroy homes, wipe out populations, mutilate and condemn millions more to confinement in hospitals and prisons.

Principle of Subsidiarity

On another level there is a principle laid down, much in line with common sense, and with the original American principle, that governments should

never do what small bodies can accomplish, such as unions, credit unions, co-ops, St. Vincent de Paul societies, etc.

Personalism means, "Be what you want the other fellow to be." Don't say "They don't do this, or that." But begin with one's self. And as Peter Maurin, our theorist of the Green Revolution, wrote: "Two I's make a we; We is a community; They is a crowd." Peter's Personalist and Communitarian Revolution stemmed from the economic principles of Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops," "Mutual Aid," "The Conquest of Bread," etc.—and from St. Francis, the Little Poor Man, and St. Benedict, whose motto was Ora et Labora, prayer and work.

Peter's anarchism is on one level based on the principle of subsidiarity, and on a higher level on that scene at the Last Supper where Christ washed the feet of his apostles. He came to serve, to show the new Way, the way of the powerless. In the face of Empire, the Way of Love. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he

lay down his life for his brother."

And here in small groups we are trying to talk of these things in the most powerful, most warlike country



in the world, during wartime, with the imminent threat of being crushed by this government. Because of principle, a principle so simple and so important!

STORY OF A LEGACY

By DOROTHY DAY

Here is a story that began March 19, the feast of our patron, St. Joseph. Every now and then someone came in and said, "Did St. Joseph send you a present yet?" And then later in the day the telephone call came, from a lawyer, saying that someone had just died and left us around five hundred dollars in a will.

We were overjoyed. St. Joseph had behaved as we expected him to do on his feast day. We were broke and that five hundred dollars could have gone to the printer, to the coffee man, to the bread man or for an installment on the farm mortgage.

We went around beaming for days. Only twice before had we been willed anything. An auto worker in Hamtramck had willed us five dollars, and a Finn miner in Minnesota had told his mother when dying to send us five dollars. And here another legacy!

And then this situation arose. We were unincorporated and we did not wish to be incorporated. Nor did we intend to be, either for five hundred or five thousand dollars. It is hard for our friends and readers to get the point of this. It is difficult to explain, too. It is one of those ephemeral things, felt rather than understood, even on our part.

The way we feel about it is this. No one asked us to do this work. The mayor of the city did not come along and ask us to run a breadline or a hospice to supplement the municipal lodging house. Nor did Bishop or Cardinal ask that we help out the Catholic Charities in their endeavor to help the poor. No one asked us to start an agency or an institution of any kind. On our responsibility, because we are our brother's keeper, because of a sense of personal responsibility, we began to try to see Christ in each one that came to us. If a man was hungry, there was always something in the icebox. If he needed a bed—and we were crowded there was always a quarter (now risen to \$1.50) around to buy a bed on the Bowery. If he needed clothes, there were our friends to be appealed to, after we had taken the extra coat out of the closet first, of course. It might be someone else's coat but that was all right too.

Our houses grew up around us. Our bread lines came about by accident, our round-table discussions are unplanned, spontaneous affairs. The smaller the house, the smaller the group, the better. If we could get it down to Christian families, we would be content. Ever to become smaller that is the aim. And to talk about incorporating is somehow to miss the point of the whole movement.

So all right St. Joseph, if you have brought about clarification of thought by your little joke on your feast day, all right, we are grateful to you.

(Reprinted from the Sept., 1942 Catholic Worker)

It is not only that we must follow our conscience in opposing the government in war. We believe also that the government has no right to legislate as to who can or who are to perform the works of mercy. Only accredited agencies have the status of tax-exempt institutions. After their application has been filed, and after investigation and long delays, clarifications, intercession and urgings by lawyers—often an expensive and long drawn out procedure—this tax-exempt status is granted.

As personalists, as an unincorporated group, we will not apply for this "privilege". We have explained to our donors many times that they risk being taxed on the gifts they send us to carry on our work, and a few (I can think of only two right now) turned away from us. God raises up for us many a Habakuk to bring his pottage to us when we are in the lion's den, or about to be, like Daniel of old.

The Peace Issue

Frankly, we do not know if it is because the government considers us a danger and a threat that we are faced by this crisis.

Our troubles began—I mean the renewal of the Federal government's interest in us began—when one of our readers left us a bequest, in May 1969. We were one of 5 residuaries, the others being Maryknoll, Sacred Heart Free Home for Incurable Cancer, Little Sisters of the Poor, and the House of the Good Shepherd. The I.R.S., on examining the bequest which was large, found the others "charitable," but us "political." We admired the government's perspicacity. But federal inheritance tax was taken from the entire bequest. It was decided by the estate to sue for a refund of the inheritance tax paid, the issue being whether or not the CW is in fact charitable. I am called to trial on July 3 this year (strange date, during a holiday week end) in a Federal court at Lewisburg, Pa., scene of all the strange doings brought out in the recent unresolved Harrisburg trial of Philip Berrigan and Sister Elizabeth McAllister and 5 others on conspiracy charges. My little case—my going to the dock—is to explain to the court that performing the corporal works of mercy is indeed charitable even under the standards imposed by our government, and I refuse to apply for tax exemption.

I beg the prayers of all our readers, whether or not they are sympathetic to us. I'm sure that many will think me a fool indeed, almost criminally negligent for not taking more care to safeguard, not just the bank account, but the welfare of all the lame, halt,

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Bus-Visits to Prisoners

There are over 1100 men and women from the San Antonio area who are in the Texas Department of Corrections. TDC has its 14 units scattered throughout East Texas. Seven units are north of Houston surrounding or in the city of Huntsville while the other seven are 30 to a 100 miles south of Houston.

In the past, in order for a visitor to make the trip from San Antonio, he or she many times would have to travel the 500 mile-round-trip alone in a car or bus. Since the majority of the visitors are women, there was the added fear of a car breakdown on Sunday or a four to five hour midnight to early morning wait in a bus lobby in Houston.

The trip by bus and taxi cost 30 to 50 dollars depending on the location of the unit, and how much the taxi driver would charge for the ride from the bus station to the unit, wait during the two hour visit and return to the bus depot.

Last October, we began to gather information to provide a bus service for visitors, and we scheduled our first trip for January 2nd.

The prison administration was very cooperative but emphasized that they would not change their visiting hours. This presented a coordination challenge since each unit has different visiting hours.

Because of 200 dollars in donations, we decided to sell tickets the first time for 3 dollars an adult and \$1.50 for children. Now, the tickets are \$5 an adult and \$2.50 for children for the 500 mile trip. The Catholic chaplain at TDC made certain that the inmates received the news of our bus trip in sufficient time to write their families. Also, the local papers gave us ample publicity. We had hoped for two busses but were pleasantly surprised to find that five busloads would be taking advantage of our service.

Essentially, from January to March, this is the way the bus service functioned. We had six buses on February 13th and five on March 12th.

In late March, we decided to enter an agreement with Inner-City, an organization helping poor children on the Westside. They have leased a brand new bus here in San Antonio and we have sub-leased from them on traveling days. Bus Service for Visitors will pay most of the money on Inner-City's lease and put most of the mileage on the bus. The bus is scheduled for delivery on May 20th.

In preparation for the new bus, we have changed to one bus every week to different units rather than covering all the units one Sunday a month.

The Referral is a building with two large rooms across the street from the Bexar County Jail. We thought that this would be an excellent location to provide referral service for the families of the incarcerated.

Our goal in both the referral and the bus service projects would be for the people themselves to take over the work and the decision-making. Volunteers from the riders are selling the tickets, phoning and coordinating the bus trips. One of the volunteers is planning a stamp drive to purchase a mini-bus to be used with our bus on trips. We need a smaller vehicle because we are expanding our service.

The most ambitious bus trip is tentatively planned for late August to Alderson, West Virginia where 80% of the women having federal sentences are confined. We feel very strongly about this trip because we have learned that the women are the group most forgotten in prisons. As yet, we have not had one person on our bus trips visit the Goree Unit where the women who comprise almost 5% of the TDC population are located.

There have been many spin-offs from the bus service. Austin begins its own service this week and people in Dallas are thinking about it.

Another product has been the com-

munity-formation of the visitors. The bus service having people with the same problems and travelling an entire day together every month is providing support for their struggle. As one lady said, "We look forward to the trip as well as the visit."

Communication is the result then of the bus service and this is true not only of families who were separated by prison and people with common problems, but also the guards we encounter every trip.



The key to reform and eventual abolishment of prisons is to have prisons become the responsibility of the community. Communication between the prisoners and the community then is the first step. By bringing their loved ones to the prisoners, we are beginning to bring the prison to the community.

Anyone interested in learning more about the Bus Service and the Referral should contact Charlie Sullivan, 808A S.W. 36th St., San Antonio, Texas 78237.

"It is individuals who are killing us today. Why should individuals not manage to give the world peace?"

Camus

AT THE HARLEM ARMORY

By PAT RUSK

On March 26 I attended a tribute to the heroes and heroines of what Reverend Jesse L. Jackson hopes will be a black nation. I had been given a ticket worth \$10 for the occasion at the Armory. As a white woman, not knowing what to expect, I entered and saw row upon row of tables with red checkered coverings, pitchers of kool-aid, platters of sandwiches, packages of bread rolls, fried chicken, and tin foil-covered paper containers of potato salad and cole slaw. This was to be a "Soul Picnic."

The floor was packed with people and it took quite a while for someone at the mike to get everyone seated down at the tables. Three hundred volunteers served the hot chicken and brought more kool-aid while the music played on. A song was chanted back and forth called "He Included Me." The ending goes: "What time is it?" The crowd shouted back uproariously: "Nation Time!"

Nearly fifty honored guests, poets, singers, musicians, athletes, a congressman, radicals and educators, were brought to a center stage to be wildly applauded. They included Brother Charles Kenyatta who recognizes the need for unity among all oppressed peoples, Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis, talented individuals who have worked zealously to improve the human condition, and Imamu Baraka, the writer (who has given up his American name, Le Roi Jones). Leigh Whipper, at 96 the oldest living black actor, made an appearance. A graduate of Howard University Law School, his films include "Set My People Free."

Jesse Jackson's new organization,

"Productivity" Means Speed Up

By MARTIN ARUNDEL

An ages old but still unresolved worker-boss dispute is heating up again in American industry. The issue: employer-set quotas; productivity is commonly defined as a worker's output per work hour.

Industry management and its skills in the Nixon administration are demanding that workers submit to a continuously rising rate of productivity, and they are deep in a Madison Avenue type campaign to sell the idea to the American people on the grounds that greater productivity is the only means of keeping American products competitive on the world market.

But the workers in ever growing numbers aren't buying it. To them, it is an "inhumane" scheme to increase the already high profits of Big Business, despite the present sluggishness of the U.S. economy as a whole. The workers also maintain that production "speed-ups" are safety and health hazards, and that they contribute heavily to widespread unemployment and the permanent elimination of thousands of jobs.

The productivity conflict has already produced a renewal of militancy among countless union rank-and-filers, especially those under 30 who are employed in the mass production industries—auto, steel, rubber, textiles, men's and women's clothing, electrical manufacturing and food processing.

In effect, the activist union duespayers have told their union overlords—"back us in this fight against the speed-up; or your cushy union job will be up for grabs at the next union election."

Since the first of this year, there have been several rank-and-file instigated strikes in which workers' resistance to "speed-up" was the overriding issue. One notable one was the six-week work stoppage of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1112 at the General Motors Lordstown, Ohio, plant; another at the Fontana, Calif., instal-

lation of Kaiser Steel, which lasted close to eight weeks. Rank-and-filers in both unions forced the strikes over the opposition of their top national leaders, and won spelled-out commitments from management for a union voice (though a small, "advisory" one) in setting hourly production rates in new contracts.

What adds to the significance of these two strike actions of auto and steel local unions is the youth of the strikers. The average age of the UAW Local 1112 was widely reported to be 24; the local's elected president is 28-year-old Gary Brynner. An official of the United Steel Workers Local at the Kaiser Steel Local in Fontana told the press: "Most of our guys are under 35, probably most of them in their twenties."

UAW national President Leonard Woodcock and other top UAW bureaucrats made it tough as they could for the Lordstown GM strikers to qualify for UAW weekly strike benefits to which the UAW constitution said they were entitled. But pressure from Local 1112 forced Woodcock and the other UAW executive council members to grant the strike benefits a few weeks after the stoppage began.

In their strike literature, UAW Local 1112 leaders labelled GM's increase-productivity-or-lose-your-job edict a gimmick to have two workers to do the same amount of work in an hour that four workers have done previously. The union estimated that at least 700 jobs at Lordstown had been eliminated permanently since GM management had decreed the new productivity quotas late in 1971.

Local 1112 also attributed the high rate of job injuries, including several cases of nervous exhaustion among Lordstown employees, to the "speed-up." The union further pointed out that many employed workers were forced, on pain of being disciplined, to put in long hours of overtime, despite a high jobless rate among Local 1112 duespayers.

Richard C. Gerstenberg, new GM board chairman, probably inadvertently disclosed industry management's root reason for its "speed-up" drive to the annual meeting of American Newspaper Publishers Association at a luncheon in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel April 27.

Gerstenberg, a one-time GM timekeeper, declared: "Only if we increase productivity will American industry be able to earn enough profits to provide and attract capital investment for further growth."

President Nixon, in several of his speeches since taking office three years ago, has harped on the necessity to "increase productivity," as have all members of the Nixon administration who deal with economic and labor relations matters. Such pleas—and in many cases threats of dire consequences—have induced some top union bureaucrats to go along with the "higher productivity" gimmick.

One in particular, United Steelworkers' President I. W. Abel has been touring the steel union locals urging the rank-and-filers to at least lend an ear to the bosses' "speed-up" proposals. Abel's tour has aroused militant caucuses within the steel union to launch a counter "speed-up educational" campaign.

It is no secret that Big Business, egged on by the Nixon administration, is out to reduce the American labor movement to impotency, if not smash it. The combined pleas of top industrialists and their minions on the Nixon team for more productivity, compulsory arbitration of union-management disputes, proposals for no-strike legislation all bode ill for the immediate good health of labor-employer relations in the U.S.



Peter Maurin: If the Present is Different...

By EILEEN EGAN

As we mark the 23rd Anniversary of the death of Peter Maurin, and his re-birth into eternal life on May 15, 1949, we remember that no one spoke more realistically than did Peter Maurin of the need for non-violent revolution and the renewal of society.

Every revolution predicates its success on the emergence of a new man. The new man, according to Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, must "learn the spirit of absolute selflessness" on behalf of the larger community. Karl Marx posited a non-exploitative, non-aggressive, new creature who would appear, shining and communitarian, in the classless society when the oppressive state had withered away. Bakunin believed that a new human being, able to enjoy and preserve the ultimate freedom of anarchist society, would follow the total revolution and the "destruction of all the structures that exist." Herbert Marcuse, in explaining the meaning of his revolution to French journalists, announced that in the new society man would have to be changed in his "attitudes, values, goals and instincts."

All prophets of revolution are clear that a new man is necessary, but none reveals with any clarity how this new man is to be born. Will he be forged in the crucible of violent revolution? Will he arise phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old society that he has overturned and destroyed? The so-called "scientific socialists", led by Marx, reject direct confrontation with this question. They allow themselves to operate on a hidden premise, seemingly hidden from themselves as well as from their true-believing followers. This premise is a faith in the possibility of the emergence of an entirely new man, a man whose negative qualities are erasable while his positive qualities are perfectible, a man who responds with a changed nature to changed institutions. This hidden premise forms the messianic core of much current revolutionary thinking, especially among the young revolutionaries of Latin America and the United States. Marcuse's predication of a new set of instincts is a rare breakthrough into rational speech of the essentially irrational demand by the revolutionary for a human mutant spontaneously generated on a massive scale.

"Be The New Man"

Peter Maurin addressed the revolutionary in simple, realistic terms, saying in effect, "The new man must be you."

He advised the prophets of change that putting down the capitalist, or arousing hatred for oppressors or calling upon the rich to change their ways, could be means of avoiding the basic issue. What he said was, "Be the person you want the other fellow to be." Such a course can be hard going. It demands a self-knowledge that can be painful, an awareness of hidden premises as mainsprings of activity, and a humility that is so often a stranger to the person who wants to change men and societies without delay.

There is a second premise that does not actually surface in Marx, but has come out from under the wraps of ideological verbiage in many of his activist followers, and particularly in such revolutionary manifestos as *The Wretched of the Earth*. In this book,

The Future Will Be Different

Frantz Fanon preaches that the new man will come into being through the purifying force of violence. The book ends with the humanistic hope that "For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man." It was Fanon's dictum, however, that humanistic means to this end were not enough, that it was shedding the blood of the oppressor that freed the oppressed from his inferiority complex and restored him to manhood. It is revolutionary bloodletting that "makes him fearless and restores his self-respect." Such a readiness for violent revolution is often condoned as a cure for alienation among the powerless young of sick societies. When I was in Calcutta, I wondered if the young

"offing a pig" cure alienation and restore manhood, or does it bind the young perpetrator to a given movement and to further alienated, anti-human forms of revolutionary protest?

Impersonal Violence

In Marx, the violence that would accompany the revolution is robbed of its personal (and even ethical) dimension because it is seen as developing out of historical necessity. The old society, as ready to fall as an over-ripe plum, would succumb to the irresistible drive of a proletariat awakened to the actual reason for its misery. As Marx envisioned the historical process, economic misery was tied to the political order, an order that ensured injustice through repression and violence. The counter-violence of the oppressed was therefore an inevitable reaction, no more than an alliance with historical necessity. Though Marx spoke from a humanistic base and gave us many valid insights into the evils of capitalist society, he is at his most simplistic and one-dimensional in a concept of social change which assumed "the immaculate conception of the proletariat" (to use I. F. Stone's phrase).

Healing Violence?

It takes a certain temperament to

accept another hidden premise of Marx, that violence is the cleanser and purifier of rotten societies. Many possessed of such a temperament would choose the way of violent revolution even if nonviolent civil disobedience or reformism were theoretically able to heal the wounds of society. Not all such temperamental revolutionaries are among the young. Simone de Beauvoir explained that she and Jean-Paul Sartre had rejected membership in the French Socialist party because "reformism was repugnant to our temperaments; society could only change globally, at a stroke through a violent convulsion." And Sartre himself, in his extended preface to *The Wretched of the Earth* makes the amazing and unsupported statement that "Violence, like Achilles' lance, can heal the wounds it has inflicted."

There are large numbers of Christians who see an urgent need for revolution in the sense of a basic change in power relationships within a society, relationships to include the political, social and economic. There are among them those who have bought the messianic core of secular revolutionary thinking, the myth of the purifying and healing power of personal and societal violence. There are many more who are deterred from such simplistic thinking by Christian realism regarding the new man and the new society. The Christian revo-



PETER MAURIN
1877 - 1949

Naxalites with whom I was working on flood relief would feel less alienated when it was their turn to bomb a police van or to swing the severed head of a village landowner in a sling. Travelling in a jungle area of Venezuela where a band of student guerrillas operated, I had grave doubts as to whether they would develop a constructive sense of power from "picking off" members of the army detachments who were busy about "civic action" projects for local villages. These projects consisted of such tasks as painting schools and building small clinics. The recruits were, of course, proletarians; the revolutionaries, upper class. In our own country does

"I Am A Radical"

By PETER MAURIN

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

they refuse to be fanatical about

anything.

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.

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.

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 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 they may understand

the message of the priest.

When Christ is the Leader

the politician assures law and order

And people would become better

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

we have a functional,

not an acquisitive, society.

The world would be better off

if people tried to become better.

if they stopped trying to become

better off.

Everybody would be rich

if nobody tried to become richer.

And nobody would be poor

if everybody tried to be poorest.

And everybody would be what he ought

to be

if everybody tried to be

what he wants the other fellow to be.

The Future Will Be Different . . .

lution is also predicated on the emergence of the new man. In fact, the Christian tradition has from its first beginnings been drenched with the need for the new man, the "new creature" of the gospels. The Christian Church has indicated the route towards the self-transcendence that undergirds the new creature, the prayers, the fastings, the self-denials, the long periods of thought and study, the flights into desert and cave; in short, to use an almost discarded word, the mortifying of the old man so that the new man can be born.

New Man and New Society

The Christian revolution of Jesus, undoubtedly the most total and radical ever to shake our planet, tells us something that it would be easier to overlook or bury—namely that the new man is the new society. The relationship between the one and the other is so close as to be one of identity.

With this insight, the Christian is sorrowful but hardly surprised at the course some twentieth century revolutions have taken. He is not surprised that the new man formed in bloodletting will not be "purified" once and for all, but will rather return to the same method to expunge other setbacks or humiliations. The expectations of the self-styled "scientific" Marxists that the post-revolutionary society would spawn an instant "new man" disembarassed of his exploitative tendencies can be seen as more

transformed as men are transformed, or that a sudden transformation of human nature through violence or the imposition of new institutions is a mythic concept.

Humility vs. Irrationality

A profoundly realistic Christian, Reinhold Niebuhr, made an observation that every one of today's revolutionaries might inscribe in the headband of his cap, "The whole art of politics consists in directing rationally the irrationalities of man."

It is in revolutionary thinking and in revolutionary activity that the irrationalities of man, his messianic thrusts and banked aggressions, blow the lid off the civil and political pot and emerge. It is precisely here that the Christian revolutionary has the task to remind himself and others of the need for self-awareness and self-criticism. He must be humble enough to accept the hard course of being what he wants the other person to be. He must be willing to admit that only the means are in his hands and under his control, and that if the means of revolutionary social change are corrupt and violent the ends will be no different.

Secondly, the revolutionary change in society must allow for a pluralist society, for the co-existence of various life-styles and patterns of belief. If this is not prepared for, then the result of change may be simply totalitarianism. This is the sort of thinking, however, which happens to be anathema to most of today's revolutionaries. The liberation that the revolutionary is willing to kill or die for is some apocalyptic convulsion that will change everything at once rather than make way for the evolution of new institutions within the shell of the old. Allowance for the ambiguities of human nature and of life itself is hardly part of the revolutionary mentality. A single system in which he will exercise power and control is another aspect of the hidden premise in most revolutionary thinking.

Third, for the Christian the most radical thing he can realize is that the revolution has already happened. It happened when Jesus called upon his followers to become "new creatures." His teachings awakened in them a new consciousness, and this new consciousness brought about a profound change in relationship between man and man, and between man and the institutions of society—precisely what constitutes a revolution. It is that revolution which waxes and wanes and has to be renewed by successive generations of those who profess to accept Jesus.

The First Christian Revolution

We can find the marks of that first Christian revolution in history. In Jerusalem there was a revolutionary re-distribution of property, so that all possessions were shared according to need. When famine descended on Judea, the first international aid collection was instituted. The believers in Macedonia and Greece were asked to make donations on behalf of people they had never seen and would never see. The Macedonians, themselves poor, gave not only of their surplus but of their necessities to ease the sufferings of the Judeans. Paul, in thanking them, evoked the words of Exodus, when the hungry Jews ate their fill of the manna that fell around them in the wilderness without being able to hoard it: "He that had much had nothing over, and he that had little had no want."

The possession of riches became not a mark of distinction but of obloquy among those first Christians. Being rich meant that one had not reached out to the fatherless and the widow. The commandment to love meant not a mere feeling but a translation of a new consciousness into concrete works of mercy. Mercy became the expression

of love, love under the aspect of need, love reaching out to meet the needs of the person loved. Jesus, as the Universal Brother, asked his followers to treat all men as brothers, and he counted as done to him what was done for any poor man anywhere, at any time. Thus for all time, to meet another's need became to meet Jesus.

Such a view of one's neighbor is so radical that radical change in society flows from it. Slavery was the norm in the Roman Empire. It was protected by the imperial power to the extent that after the slave revolt under Spartacus was crushed, the highway

south from Rome was dark with the blood of 6,000 crucified rebels. The Christians did not mount a slave rebellion, and some even owned slaves when they accepted Christ. One such was Philemon, whose slave, Onesimus, fled his house after stealing from him. Reaching Rome, Onesimus saw Paul in prison and soon became a Christian.

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Personalist Peter Maurin

By DOROTHY DAY

In 1932, Peter Maurin, founder of the Catholic Worker movement, was working at hard manual labor at Mount Tremper, New York, at a boys' camp where he mended roads, cut ice, and did other chores winter and summer and received his living, not a very munificent one, in return. As a French peasant he lived on soup and bread. His account at the grocer did not come to more than a few dollars a week. He slept in the barn which was as close to the stable as he could get. He spent seven years in the vicinity of Kingston, New York, studied, worked and prepared what he liked to call the Green Revolution. Before this he had travelled through the States and Canada as an unskilled laborer. Before that he had worked in France, where he was born, at the one thing he was skilled at, teaching with the Christian Brothers. But he believed too, that the scholar had to become a worker not only that he might understand the conditions and problems of the worker, but that the worker too might become a scholar, because Peter believed in THE PEOPLE changing their own conditions. He did not speak in terms of the THE MASSES, being swayed by some dictator demagogue.

Peter Maurin studied the prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church; he studied Proudhon, Karl Marx, Kropotkin and familiarized himself with utopian socialist thought as well as Marxist thinking. He knew to whom to turn among Catholic thinkers, and he introduced us to Romano Guardini, Karl Adam, Luigi Sturzo, Vincent McNabb, among the priests, and to E. I. Watkin, Christopher Dawson, G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc as well as E. J. Penty and Peter Kropotkin, who was in a way his favorite among the laywriters. When he waded the encyclicals at us, it was not only the social encyclicals of the Popes, but also that on St. Francis of Assisi. He preferred St. Francis' way to the industrial council way. He always aimed at the best, and to him voluntary poverty, manual labor was the beginning of all true reform, which was to begin with one's self. First of all he was a personalist and a Communitarian. "People are always saying, 'they didn't do this, and they don't do that,'" he would cry out in ringing accents, "WE 'is a community, THEY is a crowd." And a lonely crowd, David Reisman would say, himself crying out against "the damned wantlessness of the poor." Peter would have liked Reisman's book as he would have liked Martin Buber's book, PATHS IN UTOPIA. He wanted people to be taught to want the best, and the best for him was the immediate program of the works of mercy, practiced in the cities and farming communes set up in the country where workers and scholars could get together to try to rebuild society within the shell of the old by founding better institutions to take the place of soulless corporations. (He spoke and wrote in phrases so packed with thought, that to expand them would mean the writing of a book.) He saw the need for the works of mercy as a practice of love for our brother which was the great commandment and the only way we can show our love for Christ, and he saw too that such a practice would mean conflict with the State. "Personal responsibility, not state responsibility," he always said.

Peter's teaching meant the immediate establishment of houses of hospitality because it was a time of depression and not only the worker, but young Catholic college graduates were unemployed. Peter shocked people by calling for an "abolition of the wage system" and self employment. Young people gave their services and unemployed workers gave their skills, and readers of THE CATHOLIC WORKER sent in material goods and money, so that for the last twenty years we have kept going on this basis of voluntary poverty and "abolition of the wage system," for those who preferred to give their services rather than go out and earn a wage for them.

This self employment was an immediate remedy for unemployment but the long term program meant substituting a new social order to take the place of both capitalism and communism. Peter did not believe in the use of force to bring about the new society, so from the first we have opposed class war, race war, civil war, imperialist war, and have been surrounded by them all. There is even the war between the worker and the scholar, and Peter faced the reality of that. He spoke of the treason of the intellectuals and also of the fault of the worker who permitted his work to be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold.

The impact Peter made on us all, from one end of the country to the other, so that houses of hospitality and farms were undertaken from coast to coast, was because he personally lived a life of poverty and work. He knew the skid rows of the country. He never asked anything for himself. His speech was "yea, yea," and "nay, nay." He was a great indoctrinator, a great agitator. He believed in "a theory of revolution" and advocated much study. "The evil is so deep seated," he said, "that of course much of the time will be given up to an immediate practice of the works of mercy." But he believed too, in constantly trying to create order out of chaos. "To be a social missionary," he said in one of his essays, "requires social mindedness, historical mindedness and practical idealism."

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A. de Bethune

romantic than the dreams of the much-denigrated "utopian" socialists. It is hard to understand how revolutionaries, so alienated from their societies that they were willing to destroy them root and branch, could simultaneously harbor the hope that their new society would provide "unalienating labor" for the unalienated man. When such messianic dreams failed, what recourse could there be but to the trusted weapon of violence—and terror became the mark of new societies born in violence. The unexamined peacetime terror of Stalinism, with the deepening paranoia of the clique of revolutionary leaders, seems to mirror the essential pathology of violence. The irrational hope that violence is self-healing, that it can lead to anything but violence is the expectation of figs from thistles.

With his sense of realism and his realization of sin, what attitude can the Christian have towards revolutionary change? A few can be delineated. First, he cannot be seduced into forgetting that human beings enter the new society weighted down with all the old psychological baggage of aggression, acquisitiveness, power drives and numberless other qualities of human nature lethal to the new and perfect society. He does not hide from himself the reality that society will only be

CULTURE ATION ::

From his prison, Paul wrote to Philémon in Colossa asking him to take back Onesimus "as a dear brother in Christ" and to welcome him as if he were Paul. Liberation of the slave class could not be long delayed after such ideas were spread about.

The revolution in relationships referred not only to individuals but to

groups and to the establishment itself. The real sting of the Good Samaritan story is that if the wounded Jew met the Samaritan on the street, he would not recognize his existence. Yet a member of this heretic sect, despised by the religious establishment, was chosen as the very prototype of the good man. It was he who gave the example of putting aside all distinctions in caring for the Jew struck down by robbers. Even harder for Jews and early Christians alike to accept was the relationship that Jesus maintained with the occupying power.

Healing the servant of a magnani-

mous Roman centurion was one thing, but finding the Jewish nation, carriers of the word of God, occupied and leaving them so was too much. Where was the liberation promised with the advent of the Messiah? Not only did the ordinary Jews choose to release Barabbas, member of a violent liberation movement, over Jesus, but his own followers asked him after his crucifixion and resurrection whether he was finally about to restore the kingdom of Israel. Even those who were closest to him did not realize what kind of a kingdom Jesus meant, so it is not surprising that those who came after have been at least as confused.

Jesus had told those who were with him at the end that he could call on legions of angels to destroy his enemies and save him, but his way was not one of violence and his kingdom not a piece of planet earth. In his kingdom, a kingdom of a new consciousness and a new will, all distinctions between man and man were to be broken down and cast on the ash heap of history.

The collection in Macedonia and Greece was one of the clear proofs that the message had been received, and that a revolution had happened. There were many other signs of the new will, including the unnumbered witness of Christians who resisted to death for their truth rather than to use force and inflict suffering on others. When the sinews that held the Roman empire together began to give and tear apart, it was not too surprising that the Christian community was blamed by those looking for a scapegoat.

While many of the charges were baseless and represent the facile "scapegoating" of a frighteningly increasing sect, there was an element of truth in the more general charges, that disrespect for the old pieties, the old values, had helped bring Rome down.

Emerging Christian Countervalues

After the final fall of Rome when marauding bands swept unchecked through previously "secured" and "pacified" regions, the counter-values of the Christians emerged and began to take flesh in society. The most obvious carriers of these values were bands of monks who set themselves down by rivers and streams and made a promise of stability, a vow to spend their lifetimes in their communities.

The motto of these men, followers of

Worker movement, described the basis of the Benedictine communitarian revolution as cult, culture and cultivation. In all the history of Europe, this revolution stands out as having produced the most creative response to social needs in the form of widely scattered institutions based on non-exploitative use of the land and the exaltation of human labor. Civilization flowers only out of a measure of permanence, and European civilization took seed and flowered from the monastic experience.

Over half a millenium later, this revolution, in the manner of all revolutions, had waned, and the monasteries had grown fat in a feudal society where excessive mobility had been replaced by immobility. A new revolution, to shake up a society hardened into feudal structures, came from the teaching and actions of Giovanni Bernardone, known as Francis of Assisi. Francis did not preach against the wealth accumulated by the monasteries and by Rome itself. He stripped himself of all his possessions, including his rich clothing, and earned his daily bread through whatever work he could find. Failing to find any job of work, he begged for his food. On one occasion, he arrived to dine with a Cardinal to find himself surrounded by knights and nobles in brocades and silks. Francis had begged bread on the way, and during the meal broke this bread into pieces and gave a piece to the Cardinal and to each of the important guests. After the meal, the Cardinal told Francis that this conduct had embarrassed him. Francis did not argue but explained, "The bread of charity is holy bread which the praise and the love of the Lord God sanctifies."

Franciscan Revolution

As followers joined him, the Franciscan revolution took shape. The streets and by-ways of Italy were the first monasteries of the "friars minor," the lesser brothers, and they preached not from hand-carved pulpits in beautiful chapels but from the cold stone of street corners or from tree stumps in country villages. The rooted monastery was no longer enough to meet the needs of the time; the new monastery was one on the move.

In the feudal network of mutual obligations and services, was a military obligation to go to war at the behest of the feudal lord. The laymen who

Catholic Worker Positions

The general aim of the Catholic Worker Movement is to realize in the individual and in society the expressed and implied teachings of Christ. It must, therefore, begin with an analysis of our present society to determine whether we already have an order that meets with the requirements of justice and charity of Christ.

The society in which we live and which is generally called capitalist (because of its method of producing wealth) and bourgeois (because of the prevalent mentality) is not in accord with justice and charity—

IN ECONOMICS—because the guiding principle is production for profit and because production determines needs. A just order would provide the necessities of life for all, and needs would determine what would be produced. From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. Today we have a non-producing class which is maintained by the labor of others with the consequence that the laborer is systematically robbed of that wealth which he produces over and above what is needed for his bare maintenance.

IN PSYCHOLOGY—because capitalist society fails to take in the whole nature of man but rather regards him as an economic factor in production. He is an item in the expense sheet of the employer. Profit determines what type of work he shall do. Hence, the deadly routine of assembly lines and the whole mode of factory production. In a just order the question will be whether a certain type of work is in accord with human values, not whether it will bring a profit to the exploiters of labor.

IN MORALS—because capitalism is maintained by class war. Since the aim of the capitalist employer is to obtain labor as cheaply as possible and the aim of labor is to sell itself as dearly as possible and buy the products produced as cheaply as possible there is an inevitable and persistent conflict which can only be overcome when the capitalist ceases to exist as a class. When there is but one class the members perform different functions but there is no longer an employer-wage-earner relationship.

TO ACHIEVE THIS SOCIETY WE ADVOCATE:

A complete rejection of the present social order and a non-violent revolution to establish an order more in accord with Christian values. This can only be done by direct action since political means have failed as a method for bringing about this society. Therefore we advocate a personalism which takes on ourselves responsibility for changing conditions to the extent that we are able to do so. By establishing Houses of Hospitality we can take care of as many of those in need as we can rather than turn them over to the impersonal "charity" of the State. We do not do this in order to patch up the wrecks of the capitalist system but rather because there is always a shared responsibility in these things and the call to minister to our brother transcends any consideration of economics. We feel that what anyone possesses beyond basic needs does not belong to him but rather to the poor who are without it.

We believe in a withdrawal from the capitalist system so far as each one is able to do so. Toward this end we favor the establishment of a Distributist economy wherein those who have a vocation to the land will work on the farms surrounding the village and those who have other vocations will work in the village itself. In this way we will have a decentralized economy which will disperse with the State as we know it and will be federationist in character as was society during certain periods that preceded the rise of national states.

We believe in worker-ownership of the means of production and distribution, as distinguished from nationalization. This to be accomplished by decentralized co-operatives and the elimination of a distinct employer class. It is revolution from below and not (as political revolutions are) from above. It calls for widespread and universal ownership by all men of property as a stepping stone to a communism that will be in accord with the Christian teaching of detachment from material goods and which, when realized, will express itself in common ownership. "Property, the more common it is, the more holy it is," St. Gertrude writes.

We believe in the complete equality of all men as brothers under the Fatherhood of God. Racism in any form is blasphemy against God who created all mankind in His image and who offers redemption to all. Man comes to God freely or not at all and it is not the function of any man or institution to force the Faith on anyone. Persecution of any people is therefore a serious sin and denial of free will.

We believe further that the revolution that is to be pursued in ourselves and in society must be pacifist. Otherwise it will proceed by force and use means that are evil and which will never be outgrown, so that they will determine the END of the revolution and that end will again be tyranny. We believe that Christ went beyond natural ethics and the Old Dispensation in this matter of force and war and taught non-violence as a way of life. So that when we fight tyranny and injustice and the class war we must do so by spiritual weapons and by non-cooperation. Refusal to pay taxes, refusal to register for conscription, refusal to take part in civil-defense drills, non-violent strikes, withdrawal from the system are all methods that can be employed in this fight for justice.

We believe that success, as the world determines it, is not the criterion by which a movement should be judged. We must be prepared and ready to face seeming failure. The most important thing is that we adhere to these values which transcend time and for which we will be asked a personal accounting, not as to whether they succeeded (though we should hope that they do) but as to whether we remained true to them even though the whole world go otherwise.



A. de Bethune

Benedict of Nursia, was of course Pax, and their ideal that work was prayer. They cleared land that resisted the plough and worked with a regularity that eventually won near-savage nomads to the work of cultivation. The places where the communities of monks settled became and still are, the garden spots of Europe; and besides, they served as centers for education and for the preservation of culture.

Their program was not only culturally but ecologically sound, as one can see even today on the banks of the Loire, or the valleys of South Germany. Peter Maurin, animator of the Catholic

Worker movement, described the basis of the Benedictine communitarian revolution as cult, culture and cultivation. In this prophetic act of liberation, Francis sowed the seed of the dissolution of the feudal military system, and eventually of the system itself. Francis also confronted the crusade mentality rampant in his time. This mentality was tied to the myth that a particular piece of earth was more sacred than human creatures and it kept successive generations of Europeans at war for the liberation of the Holy Places where Jesus had lived and died. When Francis went to Damietta, Egypt, while the Christian forces were ranged

Different Present: Different Future

against those of the so-called infidel, he demonstrated that he did not share the crusade idea. He found a way to cross the battle lines from the Crusaders' camp to talk about the peaceful message of Jesus to Sultan Malak-el-Kamal, the leader of the opposing side. Returning courtesy for courtesy, the Sultan gave the brown-clad "instrument of peace" safe conduct back to the Christian camp.

Francis stands as the archetype of the Christian who realizes that the revolution has already happened. He acted out the reality that the new creature is the new society by incarnating the values that Jesus gave to his followers. He simply confronted the institutions of his time with these values. His responses to the wealth, the militarism and the "holy war" mentality around him arose not out of the time-bound ethos of that day but out of eternal values. He did not demand that everyone take to the road as a wandering friar, but allowed for pluralism among his followers. He presented a counter-community, a counter lifestyle for the "lesser brothers" who took vows, but allowed for a share in the new life for those who had family obligations. The wandering friars, who vowed to live minimally, were a constant goad and reminder to each Christian of the possibility, and even the responsibility, of living with less so that he can help ease another's need.

It was in the epiphany of the teaching act that Francis made his revolution; if the leper was the outcast, he kissed him; if the poor man was despised, he dressed and ate like him; if the "infidel" was considered "cannon fodder", he talked sweetly to him as to a brother; if a man of the soil could be dragooned into killing and dying for quarrels he knew nothing about, Francis found a way to liberate him from such bondage.

Wherever there was a collision between Christian values and the institutions and customs of his society, Francis found a way to sharpen the perception of the collision. His society had hardened into the acceptance of institutions and concepts that were antithetical to the teachings of Jesus. Chief among these alien institutions was the feudal oath that bound men to any military adventure declared by their feudal lord. High among the alien concepts was that of the "holy war" taken over from Islam during the Crusades.

Collision of Values

Today, Christians live a schizophrenic existence, aware yet unaware of a collision of values between the teachings of Jesus and the patterns of their society. The collision is particularly destructive in two areas which envelop and often strangle our lives, the capitalistic system and the war system. If for the Christian the revolution has already happened, how can the values of that revolution take flesh in new institutions to replace the anti-human institutions in which we live and breathe but from which we do not take our being? There is great reason for hope in that more deeply human and Christian values are thrusting themselves forward at every level of the church structure, from papal statements right down to small groups of Catholics alienated from their parish communities.

One of the chief bastions at the base of the pyramid of finance capitalism is the thrifty, sober citizen who invests his surplus so that his money can breed at the fastest rate possible. At the heart of the collision between capitalism and Christianity is the use of surplus funds. It is accepted that the logical use for money we are not using is to invest it in an enterprise that takes it into the nexus of the market. We are then no longer responsible for the condition of the human beings whose work results in the increased value of our stocks. How many people



Rita Corbin

realize that Pope Paul's "Development of Peoples" collides with such use of surplus when it proclaims the original Christian doctrine of property: "No one is justified in keeping for his exclusive use what he does not need when others lack necessities"? If we took this simple proclamation seriously today, when the cries of millions of destitute war-ravaged villagers of Bangladesh and Vietnam reach us through our television sets, could the anomaly, the scandal, of the rich Christian exist?

The long-term ban by the church on all forms of usury has more meaning today than ever before in history when the poor in the developing world are shackled by incredibly high rates of interest; from 3 percent per month charged to a Vietnamese peasant, to 25 percent per annum to a Latin-American townsman, to 1 percent per day to a Philippine fisherman. The unshackling of the poor of the world through credit and production cooperatives is taking place and is a more revolutionary act than simply burning down a bank. The cooperative, whose founding calls for education and the taking of power over their own lives by workers and peasants, is a counter-institution to capitalism and often the base for the necessary counter-community opposed to the prevailing community.

When Julius Nyerere stated "My purpose is to suggest that the Church should accept that the development of peoples means rebellion," he explained that he meant "constructive protest against present conditions." Through withdrawal from involvement with the capitalistic system and commitment to personalized institutions like that of the cooperative which move away from usury, from purely personal gain and from the impersonal nexus of the market, we can point to the necessity of alternative institutions. Crucial to the growth of counter-institutions is the pouring of our surplus into them, that surplus which as Christians, we are not justified in keeping for our exclusive use.

War is Murder

The collision between the institutionalized killing of war and the teachings of Jesus, long glossed over in the so-called just war tradition, became tragically clear in World War II, the Korean hostilities and the undeclared war

in Vietnam and Indochina. While in the first World War, civilian casualties were about 5 percent, in World War II they had climbed to almost 50 percent, and in the Korean conflict to over 80 percent. No figures are available for Vietnam, but the massacres of civilians that marked the war activity of both sides has caused a massive revulsion among the young to this and all war.

That killing the innocent is murder is a principle easily apprehended. The outcry of rage and disappointment about Pope Pius XII's role in World War II might not have been so intense if he had said to all sides engaged in the war, "To kill the innocent is murder. Do not take part in murder." Such a statement would have been a double-edged sword, piercing the evil of the concentration camps where the people were thrust into the flames, as well as the evil of bombardment of cities when the flames were thrown on the people.

The total revulsion against war that has taken hold of large segments of young Christians has given rise to new peace movements and has given new militancy to older movements. The *Man of the Year* for Pax Christi in 1971, for example, was a young Spaniard who chose jail rather than military service in the Spanish army. He took his stand on the nonviolence of Jesus. Departments and Institutes to study peace and nonviolence are springing up in such universities as Notre Dame, Manhattan and St. Louis. Catholic conscientious objectors are growing at a rate faster than that of any other religious group in the United States. The war objectors can point to declarations in favor of nonviolence and conscientious objection by the bishops of the World at Vatican II and by the American Catholic bishops in their 1968 collective pastoral letter.

In the growing revolution of saying "No" to war, young people are expressing a profound awareness of the existential reality in countries with war-making potential. They know that the United States counts among its arsenal nuclear bombs of 25 megatons magni-



Rita Corbin

tude. One such bomb was lost off the coast of Spain and only recovered after a massive convergence of naval vessels. The bomb had to be recovered because it could not be allowed to detonate by accident. If it were dropped over Columbus Circle, New York City, this one bomb could cremate alive from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 human beings. The one ban of the Second Vatican Council was pronounced against the use of such bombs, incorrectly called weapons, since they are antirecreation instruments of genocide. The bishops of the world banned their employment as "a crime against God and man." The young, who have

lived all their lives under the threat of such nuclear instruments, would want the church to disengage itself from the whole nuclear threat by condemning the preparation and stockpiling of these genocidal instruments. In point of fact, one Council Father, Cardinal Joseph Ritter, urged precisely such an all-embracing moral condemnation. This would have helped Christians to remove themselves from complicity in building up the stockpiles of genocidal weaponry that could incinerate most of mankind.

Much to Unlearn

In actualizing the Christian revolution, today's Christians have found that there was much to unlearn. In the light of the facts about modern war, they have been unlearning the myths about war and patriotism; and it is in freeing themselves from such myths about false patriotism, about the duty to kill for a country's honor, about the necessity to support a nuclear stockpile that threatens the human family, that they have found liberation. At the same time, they are freeing themselves from the myth that profit-oriented capitalism is the preserver, rather than the destroyer, of the right to own property. That "natural ineptness of the Popish religion to business" decried by Puritan burghers and confirmed by studies of the tax reports of the Catholic and other communities in Germany, was based on a moral aversion to usury-based finance capitalism. That aversion is re-aroused today after a period in which large segments of the world Catholic community seemed to have made their peace with capitalistic practices. Young People especially are seeing that capitalism, dependent on the profit motive and trusting to the nexus of the market, has at its core an ethical void. Though the United States is far from the unregulated age of primitive capitalism, speculators find a myriad of ways to escape regulation, the latest way being the conglomerate. Church leaders like Archbishop Helder Camara are openly voicing the collision of values between Christianity and capitalism, and echoes are being heard not only in Latin America, Africa and Asia, but in the United States and in the third World Synod of Catholic bishops in Rome.

Perhaps the greatest liberation for today's Christian revolutionary is the liberation from the myth of violence as the path to the new society. Arthur Gish, in his *New Left and Christian Radicalism*, offers a special insight on violence when he states, "Replacing the violence of the oppressor with the violence of the oppressed may bring some change, but it is far too inadequate a change. To continue in the old forms of violence is not revolutionary. Violence always tends to be reactionary, no matter what objectives it may be used for . . . it looks on people as objects." The use of people as objects is the first reason for the Christian revolt against war and capitalism; it is also his reason for opposing violent revolution.

In accepting the realization that the new man is the new society, Christians can harbor no apocalyptic dream of a regenerated society "after the Revolution." Since the revolution has already happened, we must act as regenerated creatures, a lifetime task that keeps us from messianic expectations. If every generation must be regenerated, then the concept of before or after the revolution is hardly a real basis for thought or action. What is involved is the continuous revolution, a continual cleansing of outworn institutions and building of new ones. What is also involved is the will to act now as if the perfect society of our hopes were already upon us. This is what Peter Maurin, founder of the Catholic Worker, meant when he said so pithily, "The future will be different only if the present is different."

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Bangladesh Chronicle: The Tide of Tragedy

By EILEEN EGAN

The countryside of Bangladesh can be very deceptive. It is green and well-watered with bamboo and other trees giving shade to the lanes that lead to palm-thatched villages. Crops grow quickly and village homes can be replaced in a matter of weeks provided the villagers have funds to buy the wood-staves for the frames. But too often, at the end of these deceptively idyllic lanes lies horror.

I was one of a group of seventy Americans who went out in teams from Dacca, the capital of Bangladesh, to see at first hand the needs of a scourged people. The trip was called the Airlift of Understanding and was organized by the Emergency Relief Fund for Bangladesh.

Widows and Orphans

One day, led by Sister Vincentia, a Dacca-born member of Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity, we walked along a path that cut a straight line through miles of rice paddy land. After the shelter of the thick, dark-green mango leaves, we emerged into a village clearing. It was mercilessly exposed to the sun because its shade trees were charred stumps. At our feet were smoothed-mud squares, once the foundations of the palm-thatched cottages that had been put to the torch. Sister Vincentia presented us to Kalamchand, a village leader, who then had us meet the woman of the village. Out of twenty-three women, seventeen were widows.

One morning, in November 1971, a group of burka-clad figures came to the Hindu village of Modumgram. (The burka is the all-enveloping, tent-like garment worn by Muslim women.) They turned out to be soldiers of the West Pakistan army on the lookout for guerrillas who were headquartered in a nearby village. Before they left, the soldiers had shot seventeen of the men of Modumgram.

"They even went out into our fields and shot the men who were working,"

said Kalamchand, a tall sad-eyed man who had lost a member of his family that day.

The fatherless families were living from day to day on the dole of rice shared with them by their relatives and neighbors. Some of the women had begun to trudge into Dacca to beg on its streets. As for those whose homes had been burnt, they were living under tenting. In sunny March, when we were there, this was possible, but during the June monsoons, life would become a nightmare.

With funds to buy rice and simple utensils, the women could start to work making puffed rice, *murri*, a much prized food. With further funds to rent a market stall in Dacca, a small business could be started and the families eventually taken out of the beggar class. The older boys in the families could staff the stall. It is rehabilitation that the Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, wants for his people, and it is rehabilitation that American voluntary agencies are concerned with in Bangladesh.

Two teams of Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity are working in Bangladesh, one in Dacca and the villages around, the other in Khulna. They have plunged into programs called for by the poorest of the poor, including the village women who need medical care and work, and the returning refugees who need everything.

Relief and Reconstruction

Catholic Relief Services has gone far beyond shipments of such emergency supplies as protein foods, clothing and medicines. Durable aluminum sheeting, for the speedy replacement of roofing and walls for homes and food storage bins has been procured from as far off as Singapore and flown into Dacca. The counterpart agency of CRS, CORR (Christian Organisation for Relief and Rehabilitation) is already utilizing this sheeting in its program of rehabilitation for 200,000 of the most victimized families of Bangladesh. The head of the projects section of CORR

is the Rev. Richard Timm, an American priest-scientist who formerly served as President of Holy Cross College, Dacca. His achievements in rehabilitation are incredibly broad and cannot be related in this brief space. Where carpenters have to be put back to work, he sends out a call for sets of carpenters' tools. Where bullocks cannot be replaced in time for the next planting, he procures small power-tillers from Japan and then sees to

cyclone), and 2,500 have been totally ruined. The nearly ten million refugees have returned from India, their homes often gutted and their fields unplanted. Twice that number were displaced within Bangladesh, and have been feverishly at work building and planting since the liberation in mid-December 1971.

To those of us who saw the fields and paddy land replanted since the liberation, who felt the spirit of "Jai Bangla," "Victory to Bengal" everywhere, who saw how gifts arising from the world's compassion were being put to work by the resilient, creative Bengalis, there is little doubt that the people of Bangladesh will put horror and tragedy behind them and survive as a people and as a nation.

The Year Ahead

The coming year is the crucial year for Bangladesh. International agencies are combing the world for what a denuded country and a denuded people need. Voluntary, people-to-people agencies like Catholic Relief Services, and its local counterpart CORR, reach right into the villages with the items the villagers need for independent life. The gift of a hundred dollars can put a new shelter over such families as those in Modumgram. Another hundred dollars can go far toward supplying the seeds, draft animals, cooking utensils and other local items.

It only remains for Bangladesh to put behind it the violence in which it was born, to find judicial, not vengeful, means of dealing with non-Bengalis who collaborated with the occupying army, and to carry out the spirit of the newly formed secular state in uniting even more firmly the Bengalis of all religious communities.

Help for Bangladesh can be sent through various channels. One channel is The Works of Peace, National Council of Catholic Women, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. All funds are distributed through CRS and CORR.



it that Japanese experts come to demonstrate their use.

It is true that out of 63,000 of the villages that comprise Bangladesh, 40,000 have been ravaged in some way by the war (not to mention the earlier

The Catholic Worker Refuses Tax Exemption

(Continued from page 3)

and blind—deserving or undeserving poor—who come to us.

July 3 Trial

The trial has nothing to do with the \$296,359 bill sent us by the I.R.S. except that that is another chapter in the story of this most recent crisis in Catholic Worker history. I mentioned it to begin this May Day story because we risk losing all in this conflict. \$296,359 dollars sounds so appallingly large, though a New York magazine this week tells tales of hundreds of New Yorkers whose annual wage is in those brackets.

We figure it costs us about \$100,000 a year to take care of our family of a hundred people (farm and country) and soupline of some hundreds each day. It is only two months ago that the N.Y. agents of the I.R.S. have through our Albany reports made this estimate of our indebtedness to government for the last six years. We have applied for delays which have been granted until May 17, and then we make our protest, as our lawyer advises.

By our June issue we may have more news for our readers and supporters.

The Inheritance

The poor know the importance of money. For McCawber in David Copperfield spending a little windfall on a feast in the debtors' prison comforted his soul even if it did not rehabilitate him. Our Lord Himself knew the joy of that fish breakfast by the shore which he prepared for his disciples after the crucifixion.

So money, which means to us food and shelter and community, is an en-

grossing and important subject, like food or sex. You can express a whole lot of love with a little gift of money. Mr. and Mrs. McCawber must have known it.

So what did we do with that huge hunk we got? Never so much came to us before. It was \$60,000. Later \$1,207 came to us for West Virginia mineral



or oil lease rights to some company—part of that same inheritance. We sent that to the survivors of the Buffalo Creek disaster in West Virginia. It was from W. Va. land which will eventually be sold and the money divided. Of our \$60,000 we gave \$30,000 for the beginnings of a co-op attempt in a tenement in Harlem. The building was good but vast repairs were needed. Two other friends of ours—Ruth Collins, John Coster, and our advisor William Horvath, are involved. They were doing all the work. More money went to provide tuition for a disturbed child (such schools are most expensive), a \$2,000 furnace for another House of Hospitality and many other disbursements. And of course all our bills suddenly were paid up. Assuredly the money was well used, immediately used.

Let me remark here that bequests are few and far between. There have been legacies of 6 and 8 thousand, and one which was the insurance money of a country doctor on which his school teacher daughter afterwards had to pay the taxes. Another time, during dire need, a young reader of the CW sent us suddenly an inheritance left him of \$10,000. God bless all these dear friends who expressed their love of the poor, and of us, too.

Protest

Let me end this too long account with a quotation from an article in *La Vie Spirituelle*, September 1971, by a Franciscan, Thaddee Matura:

"Protest as it is currently understood, is the critique, the challenge, the rejection of a global situation which pretends to impose itself as exclusive and unalterable. In the first place verbal, but above all practical and efficient, protest seeks to burst asunder a situation judged to be alienating in order to inaugurate one which is new, more authentic, and more in keeping with the dignity and freedom of men and women."

Our refusal to apply for exemption status in our practice of the works of mercy is part of our protest against war and the present social "order" which brings on wars today.

ACTION FOR A HUMAN FUTURE

We would like to call the attention of Catholic Worker readers to a New England Regional Conference on "Adequate Action for a Human Future" to be held June 23 through June 25 at the World Fellowship Camp in Conway, N.H. The purpose is described as "to gather for sharing those people concerned in achieving a better balance between agriculture and industry, city and country, decentralization and centralization."

The sponsoring School of Living, Freeland, Md., combines a vision of returning to a simple life in communities on the land with a considerable practical experience in doing just that—an experience which rescues the vision from its frequently encountered caricature, the nostalgia of alienated, privileged individuals for a mythical pre-capitalist idyll. We trust that many who share the Catholic Worker's concern for creating rural communities as alternatives to our exploitive, capitalist urban society would find much to learn from the conference.

Participants in panels and workshops will include Dr. Ralph Borsodi, founder of the School of Living, Mildred Loomis, editor of the SOL's publication, *The Green Revolution*, Helen and Scott Nearing, authors of *Living the Good Life*, Robert Swann of the International Independence Institute which is pioneering efforts in rural development (see CW, Jan. 1972), and Murray Bookchin, well-known anarchist.

Registration costs are \$18 per adult for room and board (\$10 if staying in your own tent or camper) if paid before June 10. Contact John TeWinkel, 4 Sanderson Ave., Northampton, Mass.

A Christian Monk and Peace

THOMAS MERTON ON PEACE. With an introduction by Gordon C. Zahn. The McCall Publishing Company; New York. Pp. vi-269. 1971. \$7.95. Reviewed by Richard Weber, Monk of Gethsemani.

For Thomas Merton the word "peace" was more than a utopian concept or a pious platitude. It was a symbol, a sacrament, a way of life. Being himself familiar with the great problems of sin, suffering, evil and death, he realized that working for and achieving peace was a difficult—indeed impossible task if man were left to himself, abandoned to himself without hope, without the help of God. How many wars has man engaged in—to

bivalence. It is a lie because it disguises real weakness and lack of commitment. It prefers love as an idea, but when this love is tried "poor pacifism" resorts to the use of force. Merton also discusses the problem of language.

Nonviolence is a kind of language aimed at the communication of love not so much in words as in act. Nonviolence must above all convey and defend truth. And Merton will have nothing to do with a nonviolence and pacifism which is weak and provisional, waiting for the first chance to go over to the side of force, on the grounds that nonviolence having been tried has been found wanting. Above all Merton warns against the temptation to use a language of efficacy—"We

who are disposed to fire them off. The danger lies above all in the climate of thought in which all participate—not excluding the pacifist. Well would have no part of a passive resignation to the evil of war. Unfortunately, Well went to her death before she was able to develop her thought fully on this problem, but she never gave up the hope that one might "substitute more and more in the world effective non-violence for violence."

In Merton's *An Enemy of the State* he discusses the pacifist-hero Franz Jagerstatter, an Austrian peasant who chose to die rather than fight in an "unjust war." Jagerstatter refused to turn the responsibility for his actions over to Hitler. Merton's interest in Jagerstatter revolves around the latter's relationship to the Church. Merton says that "the real question raised by the Jagerstatter story is not merely that of the individual Catholic's right to conscientious objection (admitted in practice even by those who completely disagreed with Jagerstatter), but the question of the Church's own mission of protest and prophecy in the gravest spiritual crisis man has ever known" (p. 138). An excellent study of Jagerstatter has been done by the American sociologist Gordon Zahn entitled *In Solitary Witness* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964).

Merton expresses his astonishment at the incredible brutality and inhumanity of Auschwitz in his essays *Auschwitz: A Family Camp*, and *A Devout Meditation In Memory of Adolf Eichmann*. In his attempt to understand the dynamic behind such atrocities, Merton is utterly shocked and sobered by the fact that what went on there was done by men who were devoted to duty, obedience, and sacrifice—misguided, misinformed, and misapplied as it was. Merton says that such camps can be set up tomorrow anywhere and made to work with the greatest efficiency, because there is no dearth of people who would be glad to do the job, provided it is sanctioned by authority. They can submit to this kind of ideology because it enables them to be violent and destructive without guilt. They are doing their "duty." They are serving the good of their own semi-meaningless political slogans. And Merton concludes that "as long as this principle is easily available, as long as it is taken for granted, as long as it can be spread out on the front pages at a moment's notice and accepted by all, we have no

need of monsters: ordinary policemen and good citizens will take care of everything" (p. 159).

Nonviolent Alternative

In Part II, "The Nonviolent Alternative," Merton gives us in capsule comment the teaching of people like Saint Maximus the Confessor and Gandhi. In Maximus, Merton studies the teaching on "the love of enemies."

In Gandhi, Merton admires the dedication to peace, even when Gandhi was engaged in a bitter struggle for national liberation. Gandhi believed in serving the truth by nonviolence, and his nonviolence was effective in so far as it began first within himself. Above all, Merton urges us to imitate Gandhi in "disassociating ourselves from evil in total disregard of the consequences."

In this section Merton also discusses at great length the problem of *Faith and Violence*. Theology today needs to focus carefully upon the crucial problem of violence. When it does it must insist on a theology of love. This theology of love must not be sentimental, but deal realistically with the evil and injustice in the world. Merton says that "a theology of love may also conceivably turn out to be a theology of revolution. In any case, it is a theology of resistance, a refusal of the evil that reduces a brother to homicidal desperation" (p. 189-190).

Part III contains some of Merton's "Incidental Writings." Among them, his comments upon receiving the Pax Medal in 1963; Retreat, November, 1964: *Spiritual Roots of Protest*; and in French "Message aux Amis de Gandhi;" *Nhat Hanh Is My Brother*; Notes for a Statement on Aid to Civilian War Victims in Vietnam; and a "Prayer for Peace" which brings the volume to a close.

Any comment on this valuable collection would be incomplete without a few words on the Introduction by Gordon C. Zahn: *Original Child Monk: An Appreciation*. Mr. Zahn, an eminent sociologist, scholar, and pacifist, has also edited this work, and being thoroughly familiar with Merton's thought and writing, is particularly qualified to comment on the same thought and writing. Merton would have been deeply moved by this introduction. It would have given him courage to go on in a difficult situation. In a word, it would be hard to find a deeper insight into and interpretation of Merton's contribution to the "peace movement."

Tivoli: a Farm With a View

(Continued from page 2)

preserve peace! How many souls live in an illusory peace that only cultivates the emotional hell they bear within. This sad irony affects man on all levels of his life—religious, psychological, political, social. Merton touches on all these areas in this collection of his writings on "peace."

Principles of Peace

This volume is divided into three parts, the first being "Principles Of Peace." The essays collected in this section present Merton's basic philosophy and theology of peace. His poem on Hiroshima opens this section, and throughout these essays his stinging insights are in evidence. Merton often uses the work of other writers as a take-off and stimulus for his own statements.

Some examples: *Peace and Revolution: A Footnote From Ulysses*, analyzes the Cyclops episode in Joyce's *Ulysses*: a pre-World War I commentary on the political situation in Dublin. Merton interprets the character Bloom to point out what he calls "poor pacifism." Merton says that this poor pacifism is an expression of weakness, confusion, frustration and am-

shall overcome." Rather, a language of *karios* is recommended—"This is the day of the Lord, and whatever may happen to us, HE shall overcome."

The essay *The Answer of Minerva* discusses Pacifism and Resistance in Simone Weil. The argument is Minerva's in Homer: "You must fight on, for if you now make peace with the enemy, you will offend the dead." In other words, the will to kill and be killed grows out of sacrifices and acts of destruction already performed. Merton points out that Weil's understanding of the experience of suffering, anguish and perplexity of modern man provided her with the core of a metaphysic, not to say a theology, of non-violence.

Weil's "pacifism" developed from something naive and popular to a deep commitment to nonviolent resistance. After the fall of France the emphasis was on resistance, including the acceptance of resistance by force where nonviolence was ineffective. Weil argued that the supposed objectives of war were actually myths. The problem does not lie in destructive weapons, but rather with those people

good to take a good look at Peter Maurin's root sources, and to see how sound the roots are.

Progress of Spring

Many little plants in our little greenhouses, I am told, are restless of root and dreaming of May, hoping for transplantation into the good earth, open air and sunshine of larger gardens. Mike Kreyche, Andy Cruschiel, Claudia Beck, Mary Wagener, John Fillgar, all give good progress reports of garden plantings. But Mother Nature is still the first in the field. Her salads are ready for picking. The other day John picked and prepared a delicious salad from tender young dandelion leaves and day lilies.

The progress of spring almost always seems to bring an increase of visitors here at the farm. This means an increase in routine work, in shopping, cooking cleaning, often even in maintenance since most of our utilities are almost at the breaking point. Hospitality is, of course, one of our functions. Nevertheless the many who keep the work going here will be grateful if all who wish to visit us will write or call Marge Hughes who is in charge. It does

take a little planning to be sure that there are enough beds, bedding, food, etc.

Our Easter liturgy this year, particularly the Vigil and midnight Mass, seemed to me most beautifully symbolic of the meaning of our religion, of death and resurrection, of dying we live, of that eternal verity, Nature, that mirror of God, so vividly dramatizes for us each Spring. Every seed, every bud, every blade of grass shouts the story. For Christians, death is the flowering of the Cross, the Way to God's eternal peace and love.

Carmen Ham, R.I.P.

I thought of Easter and the symbolism of Spring this bright morning in late April when Dorothy Day, Emily Coleman, Hans Tunnesen, and I drove to St. Sylvia's Church in Tivoli for the funeral Mass for Mrs. Carmen Ham, Rita Corbin's mother. Somewhere I heard a cardinal, that faithful singer, singing—it seemed—of life and love and SPRINGTIME which is hope.

Mrs. Ham came to live with us shortly after our move to Tivoli. In a community where mercurial tempers and

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WAITRESSES STRIKE: Demand Respect

(Continued from page 3)

ating expenses and wages, while she has heard the bartender call a take of \$900 a "bad night." Part of keeping overhead low is keeping wages low. Waitress wages are depressed even further by restaurant owners' practice of throwing the burden of paying their employees onto the customer through the tipping system. State laws support owners in this by allowing them to pay waitresses well below the minimum wage, in Massachusetts only \$1.05 an hour.

Most restaurants are patriarchal fiefdoms, the personal preserves of a male owner who insists on total and arbitrary control of his waitresses. Restaurant owners traditionally prescribe the clothes their waitresses will wear on the job (though the women often have to pay for them), set and change breaks and working hours on whim, and even demand that waitresses provide services without pay. Thus, Cronin often demanded a 9½ hour day, though legally his waitresses could only be asked to work 8 hours without overtime, and then would pay the women only for 8 hours. Since restaurant owners can fire waitresses whenever they choose, the women had no recourse.

Restaurant owners are supported in their exploitation of waitresses by the common public attitude which sees them as combination sex objects and degraded lackeys. The tipping system makes them vulnerable to and reinforces this public contempt. For fear of losing her tip, a waitress is forced to smile pleasantly at whatever suggestive or abusive remarks customers may throw at her. The custom of hiding tips under plates and napkin holders is symbolic of the public attitude

to waitresses: they are to be forced to work fast and amiably for a customer who is privileged to keep his, purely monetary, response unknown, to be given or withheld at whim. Tipping says to the waitress: please me and perhaps I'll throw you a bone.

Organizing Difficulties

Nearly everything in the waitress situation keeps waitresses separated from one another so that they cannot organize themselves. Confronted day in and day out with public disrespect, many come to accept the public attitude toward them and feel they don't deserve a better lot and ought to have to hustle for customers' and owners' favors. Restaurant owners encourage the women to think this way by assigning the better stations and customers to the subservient. Waitresses who do not fit into the mold, often younger ones, are forced either gradually to submit or to move from job to job. Breaks and work schedules are often set up so that the women have no chance to get to know one another and share grievances. In almost all cases, restaurant owners are quick to fire any discontented employee.

To overcome public disrespect and their own temptation to share in it, the women of the HSWU have been fiercely independent in their drive to organize themselves. They expect nothing from organized labor which has shown so little interest in them in the past. Yet they have no faith in the Women's Liberation movement either. These working women find the women's movement a group of middle class, educated women who wish to assume traditionally male roles for which their education and relative economic freedom prepare them, yet

which they find closed to them. Women's movement activists turned out in force to "help" the waitresses at the beginning of the strike, to lead their "poor, degraded sisters" out of their humiliation. Since the waitresses affirmed the value of their service job, these women activists have lost interest.

Since waitresses have no job security to protect them as they try to organize, and so much to overcome in their own attitudes toward themselves, the women of the HSWU plan to form a waitress collective in addition to the union. The collective would enable



waitresses to come together to discuss grievances and the possibilities of organization without tipping off bosses to their activities and endangering their jobs. Collective members could also help support union members on strike. The collective would do research on the laws governing waitresses and distribute this information. Many waitresses would benefit simply from knowing that in Massachusetts they are legally entitled to at least \$1.05 an hour.

Above all, the collective would enable the women to share their understanding of their work and frame demands which would restore waitressing to its proper character of "helping other people by bringing them food to eat." At this point, the waitresses see their demands as including a higher base wage paid by the employer plus a fixed percentage commission of each bill, a

voice in choosing uniforms (uniforms paid for and laundered by the employer), benefits such as paid vacations and hospitalization plans, and guarantees of job security.

Service Meets Human Needs

If the women of the HSWU should spread their organization and win their demands, it is going to cost us all somewhat more to eat out. But before we start complaining that we can't afford it, we had better ask ourselves if we can afford a society in which serving others is looked upon as shameful. The situation of waitresses is only one gripping example of how we have institutionalized our scorn of serving others. Organized labor has made little effort to organize service workers, though they outnumber industrial and building-trades workers. In our culture, male unionists, restaurant owners, much of the public, and even middle class women, would damn service as a "woman's role" and hence somehow unimportant and humiliating. Our practice of tipping says that we believe that service to others is so degraded that we can only extort it from some unwilling lackey by a combination of carrot and stick.

Yet if we would think for a minute, we would know that honest work is work that meets human needs—be it making tools, or building a house, or bringing people food. Where work meets human needs, it serves others. (Where work does not meet human needs, as in production of unnecessary consumption goods, or of reams of worthless memos, or of advertising copy which would invent "needs" and dependencies for us, it is not service but pollution, of the land and of our spirits.) And those of us who are Christians had better remember that Jesus came to serve many, even to wash the feet of His disciples.

If we are to restore service to its rightful respect, we need such efforts by those who serve as the HSWU represents. And the HSWU needs our understanding and support. Contributions may be sent to Harvard Square Waitresses Union, 595 Mass. Ave., Rm. 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

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women trying to create some green in the chaos, a simple community which will exist not for itself but in and because of its task. Some people (and it is rending that not a few of them are young and at least potentially healthy) come to us for what they now expect of the state: a life where needs will be taken care of so that personal gratification can be endlessly pandered. But we are not such a "foundation." We are simple, "non-professional" human beings trying to do well what precious little we aspire toward. And we are convinced that the one thing we cannot do is relieve others of what they must do for themselves, even those seemingly sentenced to lives of agonizing self torment. This is the sorrow and the pity: that while we cannot condemn another man; that while we can only wish to help him, our limited natures are but capable of a humiliating and bumbling presence, where we stand by and with a man in his torment. Daily we realize that God meant for putrefaction to be as much a part of life as ecstasy, and that our life consists in meeting and hallowing both.

The war has come home in the strong young man who saw just too much in Vietnam, and now, drunken, is felled by seizures on our floor and the sidewalks of the Bowery. But he and we must go on, as Dylan Thomas wrote, to "Rage, rage against the dying of the light," taking with D. H. Lawrence a "great kick at misery." We must go on. Each of us to pick up ourselves and others daily, each to ask for daily bread.

Finally Spring

It is finally spring. "The man who looks only at himself cannot but sink into despair," said the Baal Shem. "Yet as soon as he opens his eyes to the creation around him, he will know joy." How true of those of us on First St.

Our ginkgo tree is finally budding,

and from the palms of Passion week our Easter Sunday broke with music and candle light. We celebrated the Resurrection with a relish of dead men in a thawing country. Some brought us colored eggs, others created bright posters for the walls. Flowers beset the Easter tables. While these are now but remembrances, they tell us we can still get up, try again in spite of our past. So Eleanor has changed the decorations in her hat from Christmas bulb ornaments to artificial flowers. Jimmy has a new transformer for his electrical work, the advice of an electrical engineer, Elwood Alexander, who is staying with us, and a blazing jump suit which has quickened us along with his priceless smile. Wong plays Chinese operas these days, and Marcel sometimes dresses Scotty in a stately turquoise Nehru jacket that makes Scotty look universal, no longer a Westener but a living symbol of all men of age.

It is spring, and ideas flow again also. Friday nights have brought us the combined efforts of Bob Gilliam, Fritz Elchenberg, Jacques Travers, Clare Danielsson and Ed Gottlieb, stimulating us with poetry and wisdom, sensitivity, protest, and graphics. They have made us look up, realize the challenges which face us, but given us, too, the hope of their lives, of their own transfigurations.

Buber's old Emperor learned humility, and perhaps that is wisdom. So those who come to our doors, even those pitifully broken and those wallowing in their own misery and self-pity, for whom we are so resourceless, these, primarily these, teach us we must listen, listen again and most intently to the voice of the Lord in the noise and the crashing wilderness. These attempt to teach us again, as the Baal Shem did, that the greatness of man lies in his capacity for humility and repentance, that is, in turning, beginning, arising again.

Tivoli: a Farm With a View

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tempestuous temperaments often set the tone, she was always a gentle, peaceful presence. She had been in precarious health for many years, and this Spring had failed noticeably. She had been admitted to a nearby hospital, but died a few days after admission.

Mrs. Ham's funeral was attended by her sons and daughters, her sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, by some of her grandchildren, and many of her friends. Her pall bearers were men from the farm—Art Green, Alan Davis, George Collins, Florence Le Suir. Young men from the farm also dug the grave.

Fr. Andy Cruschiel, our community priest who celebrated the Mass, said in a brief but moving eulogy that in the years he had known Mrs. Ham, he had never heard her speak an ill word of anyone. Each one of us in turn, I think, had said exactly the same thing. Nor was this a mere negative trait. Mrs. Ham had a real gift for divining some good in everyone and relating to each person on the basis of that good. Yet she had suffered much. Now she dwells in God's peace and love.

Carmen Ham is buried now in the Catholic Worker plot—which Magr. Kane so kindly donated to us—where so many of our large family are buried, behind the lilac trees, under the white birch crosses carved by John Filligar and set up by Dominic Falso. For all our dead, O Lord: Eternal rest grant unto them, and let perpetual light shine upon them.

In a community like ours, which in-

cludes a number of older persons often not too well, death can hardly be an uncommon event. It is equally true that any community which includes as many young children can never forget the vital continuity of life. Mrs. Ham's youngest grandchildren were very fond of her, and little three-year old Coretta often slept in her room.

I think it is a great comfort to Coretta that Mike Sullivan is now back from the hospital; for Mike is a great favorite with Coretta, as she is with him. Mike has spent too many weeks this year in hospital. We are happy that he is much better, and hope he continues to improve in health.

Dorothy Day continues to spend much time with us. She keeps up with much correspondence, and is a great help with our prayer life. Her presence in the house is always a help to us all. The other evening, shortly after Compline, I passed through the living room and heard Dorothy reading aloud to Tanya, her great grandchild. That day Tanya had celebrated her third birthday with ice cream and a candied cake baked by her mother, and with much play with her favorite playmate, Coretta. She must have been very tired, as I suspect was her great grandmother, though one would never have known it from the voice of the one and the delighted listening of the other.

May Day draws near, the birthday of The Catholic Worker. Apple blossoms and wood thrushes shall celebrate the month of Our Lady. And in the early morning robins sing—Alleluia.

The Caprice of Punishment

(Continued from page 1)

function to the parole board. In addition to considering applications for parole, the board administers parole for deportation; issues warrants for parole violators; conducts revocation hearings; promulgates rules and regulations for the supervision, discharge from supervision, or recommitment of parole prisoners. Further, only five members can devote themselves full-time to adult matters because three members of the parole board are assigned to juvenile crimes under the Federal Youth Corrections Act.

A prisoner generally becomes eligible for parole when he has served one-third of his sentence, a condition controlled by law and the sentencing judge. The remaining two-thirds of his time falls within the jurisdiction of the parole board. In terms of length of punishment, therefore, the board wields more power than the entire federal judiciary.

Both Carrot and Stick

The parole board will usually respect the intentions of the sentencing judge. The judge, being aware of this and of other standard parole procedures, will set sentence accordingly. The board, however, is not legally bound to attend the judge's wishes. When the political interests of the Attorney General's office demand it, the board will ignore both judge and precedent.

The uniform denial of parole to war resisters in 1966-67 is one flagrant example. The most extreme case could be seen in the treatment of the young conscientious objectors sentenced under the Youth Corrections Act. Under this act youthful offenders are given a long indeterminate sentence—from sixty days to six years (referred to by prisoners as "zip-six"). The intention of the act is to imprison a very young man for a minimal time, while imposing a long parole period. He thus quickly returns to society but remains under strict supervision. At the end of the parole he is rewarded by having his record expunged. Traditionally this procedure is routinely observed with cooperative prisoners. In all the cases of the imprisoned COs, however, a punitive parole board extracted a higher price under the Youth Corrections Act than if straight sentences had been given.

In at least one case a young CO was given this "zip-six" sentence by a judge who was sentencing older offenders to two-year terms. The CO was told that if he were "a good boy" he would be out in less than six months. He ended up serving double the time of his older colleagues—since he served at the discretion of the board.

In an interview with George J. Reed, chairman of the federal parole board, I asked why, with these "political" prisoners, the intention of the judge was ignored. I was told bluntly that after 120 days the judge loses jurisdiction over a case. Indeed, that is technically true, but normally his intention is not so readily disregarded. The parole board, while part of our judicial procedure, is nonetheless an arm of a political executive branch, and, as such, can use the scales of justice to balance political debts.

Why Parole?

The punitive aspect of our current judicial procedure is a tripartite phenomenon. The range of punishment is set by statute; when a law is passed, it defines what will be considered a violation of that law and indicates the range of permissible punishments. Thus, from the beginning, the implication is that the determining of punishment requires an understanding not only of the statute violated but of the nature of the violator and the conditions surrounding the violation. The range of sentencing, then, gives the

judge a latitude in the second phase of the punishment procedure. The judge has discretion to decide each individual case and to allow for special considerations.

The parole procedure obviously is an attempt to extend justice beyond the point of trial. Its sole purpose would seem to be not law enforcement—which could be handled by alternating either the statutory penalty of the law or the sentence assigned—but rehabilitation. It gives the government an opportunity to evaluate the changed attitudes of a prisoner during the course of his incarceration. It allows for reward of "virtue" and punishment of "evil." Presumably, while it serves justice in the individual case, it also facilitates management of the imprisoned man by being a potent force of discipline. It is both carrot and stick. To accomplish this purpose, however, the parole board must define what is "evil" and what is "good." One would expect the board clearly and explicitly to state what is expected of all prisoners, and its basis for granting or denying parole in every individual case. Without rules it becomes difficult, arbitrary, and capricious to punish men for their violations.

Caprice

But, on questioning, members of the parole board deny even the existence of a general policy. They insist that each case is handled and adjudicated on an individual basis. Yet they refuse to indicate what it is they "individually" seek. The only published guidelines state that the decisions are made in such a way that they, "one, protect the public; two, conform to the law; and, three, provide fair treatment to the offenders."

But the very absence of standards violates fair treatment.

That this might be the case became evident to me during the course of research I conducted between 1967 and 1970 on imprisoned war resisters. I early became aware of the fact that all Jehovah's Witnesses in prison for violation of the Selective Service Act were routinely granted parole at fifteen to seventeen months. This was certainly reasonable, since they adequately satisfied the stated conditions for parole. But what was not understandable was that at the same period other Selective Service violators were routinely denied parole.

In an interview with an employee of the parole board, who demanded anonymity, this was conceded to be true. He stated that it was "the policy of the board" to grant parole only to Jehovah's Witnesses because they alone were considered to be "true COs."

When I asked Mr. Reed about board policy on these matters, he informed me that there was no such thing as "board policy" on any matter, that members function as individuals. This was astonishing. I pointed out that the statistics showed that Jehovah's Witnesses were granted parole while others were not, independent of which individual member of the parole board heard the case. He readily agreed to the facts but insisted that it was not "a matter of policy"—there was no such thing.

Of course there is such a thing as policy. Shortly after his appointment as chairman, Mr. Reed announced, in a dispatch reported in *The New York Times*, a new toughening-up policy. He proudly stated that since he had taken office, he had reduced the paroles granted from 45.2 per cent to 39 per cent.

The only conceivable reason for the board's failure to publish guidelines, for insisting, contrary to known facts, that it has no general policies, must be self-protection. As long as there are no rules, the board cannot be accused of violating them. If there are

no precedents, there are no violations of precedent. The absence of rules provides an effective defense against accusations of bias or malice. Each man is sui generis, and the multiplicity of factors involved in the psychological judgments about the rehabilitation of any one man cannot be compared with any other.

This could offer a base for an equitable, if complex, system. It would demand the most detailed exploration of each individual case with some analytic finesse. But the board's procedure is no more equitable than its policy—or lack of it. Each man must be visited at his prison by one of the five members of the adult parole board, or by someone from the group of examiners shared with the youth division. No brief is presented, either by the institution or by the prisoner.

This is in itself disturbing, because prison files are not consistent or accurate records. I have seen black men listed as white, and Harvard graduates listed with borderline IQs. Knowing how difficult and time-consuming it



is to evaluate a man even from an accurate record, I was particularly dismayed when I was advised by an examiner that each man's record could be adequately appraised in five minutes. I required more than an hour for each individual record; on the other hand, I had to allow for their greater experience.

When I came to the interview it was another matter. I had already heard from a number of prisoners that the length of time varied from two to five minutes (and a board member stated the interview generally required less than ten minutes).

After the five- to ten-minute interview, which is referred to as the "hearing," the interviewing board member will then call Washington, where a colleague has presumably reviewed the record. If the colleague concurs, parole is granted or denied, and the matter ends there. Only if there is a disagreement will a third member be consulted. This is what is referred to as a majority decision.

The documents produced in the parole process are incredibly sloppy, often pencil-written, with erasures and misspellings. Opinions and justifications are rarely offered in any detail. What is presented is often capricious or even unconstitutional, such as listing under "liabilities" that a man has "not regularly attended Sunday church services." These are official, potentially legal, documents, and the worst I have ever seen in Washington.

There is, of course, no research division to review the board's methods. The board, unlike the Bureau of Prisons, sees no need for it. With such awesome responsibility, peace of mind alone would seem to demand it—but here self-confidence reigns supreme.

Nor is the composition of the board any assurance of diversity or independence. While it talks "multidiscipline," it appoints "penologists," and over the

years the majority of board members have come up from the penal systems.

Prisoners without Voices

Parole board injustices are visited upon a group of people that have no representation. It is the problem with the prison system in general. Usually someone who goes to jail does not know anybody who "counts."

In addition, his very status as a prisoner works against him using the pitifully small resources available to him. It is possible for a prisoner to sue the parole board if he is denied parole unfairly. But given the fact that the same board will be reevaluating him later at another hearing, it is unlikely that he will bring suit.

If sufficient cases were to be taken to the courts, there is good legal opinion that the courts might act. Professor Davis, in his book, *Discretionary Justice*, offers one of the possible grounds for such action:

Because no one ever knows the reason for any decision of the board, no prisoner is ever told why the board has denied parole. . . . If he asks why, he is told that the board never gives reasons. If he presses far enough he may learn that the board itself does not know the reason . . .

The failure to state reasons has additional consequences. Even the most flagrant abuse of discretion is likely to go uncorrected if a board member is in such a hurry to get to his golf game that he votes in sixteen cases without looking inside the files; no one under the board system can ever know the difference, even though the personal liberty of sixteen men may be at stake. How could a board member have less incentive to avoid prejudice or undue haste than by a system in which his decision can never be reviewed and in which no one, not even his colleagues, can ever know why he voted as he did? Even complete irrationality of a vote can never be discovered. Should any men, even good men, be unnecessarily trusted with such uncontrolled discretionary power?

He concludes with the opinion that the board's failure to state reasons for its decisions constitutes a clear violation of the Administrative Procedure Act.

Perhaps the most encouraging recent development is a decision handed down last May by the United States District Court in Manhattan. Sitting in the case was Judge Marvin E. Frankel, who has earned enormous respect in the federal judiciary in a very short time. His decisions invariably show intelligence, care, open-mindedness, and, above all, a refined rationality. In the case of *Sobell v. Reed* (which challenged a parole board ruling denying Morton Sobell permission to travel to Los Angeles to give a speech to a Communist party group), the judge held that the parole board is, indeed, subject to review under the Administrative Procedure Act.

Judge Frankel found that the Board of Parole had violated the First Amendment rights of the plaintiff.

It will take more than one man's opinion to change the parole board. It will require a public awareness that crime and violence are not controlled by putting more and more people into prison for longer and longer periods of time; that you do not serve due process by mocking it; that men are not trained to value justice by being treated unjustly; that arrogance does not breed respect, nor humiliation pride; and that hope betrayed leads through despair to desperation.

The parole board will not change until the public becomes aware that the board is its servant, the prisoner its trust, and that justice is every man's comfort.

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