

# CATHOLIC WORKER



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## DiGiorgio Struck Huelga! Join By Not Buying

By DOROTHY DAY

Although the National Farm Workers Association has managed to win recognition from Schenley Industries and the Christian Brothers, the strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation, which is the largest grower and distributor of grapes and tree fruits in the world, with net sales last year of two hundred and thirty-two million dollars, is still going on. Anyone who has read such early novels of John Steinbeck as *The Grapes of Wrath* or *In Dubious Battle* will have some idea of what the struggle is like.

From the beginning of the strike, students, civil-rights workers, church groups, and our own Catholic Worker people in Oakland and other parts of California have assisted the farm workers by picketing the piers from which the produce is shipped, stores that sell the products of these corporations, and the growers themselves. They have also brought money, food, clothing and medical services to the rural communities involved. But everything ultimately depends on the workers; they are the ones who are giving birth to the new order, the new heaven and the new earth in which justice dwelleth. Here is an

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## Army Objectors Inprisoned

The second instance of members of the armed services refusing to serve in Vietnam occurred in New York June 30th, when three enlisted Army personnel served formal notice that they would not accept transfer to combat duty in Vietnam.

The three young men, all members of the 142 Signal Battalion, 2nd Armored Division are: Private Dennis Mora, 25 years old; Private David A. Samas, 20; and James A. Johnson, 20. All three announced at a news conference held in New York City on June 30 that they would refuse to obey their Vietnam travel orders. Declaring that the war in Vietnam is "unjust, immoral and illegal" the three were taken into custody by military police and are now being held in "investigative detention" at Fort Dix, New Jersey. The sailing orders of the three men have been delayed while Army officials decide whether or not their refusal to serve in Vietnam constitutes a violation of military law. Frank A. Bartimo, senior legal expert and the Pentagon's assistant general counsel, stated in an interview on July 2nd that members of the armed forces who refused to fight in Vietnam might be prosecuted under existing laws and military regulations and, in extreme cases, might be sentenced to death by firing squad. He warned that men in the armed forces cannot expect lenient or other special treatment for refusing to obey orders on the



Irving Amen.

grounds of "conscience."

"Once men have taken the oath to serve their country, they must obey lawful orders or risk a court-martial" Mr. Bartimo said, obviously echoing the fears of the Pentagon that refusal to serve in Vietnam might become widespread if the initial offenders are not dealt with harshly. The maximum penalty of death, Mr. Bartimo went on, is covered by Article 99 of the Unified Military Code. This entails nine specific categories of grave offenses in the presence of the "enemy" in wartime. A formal declaration of war is not necessary in order to invoke the death penalty, he said, because the courts have held since Korea that combat operations in the presence of the enemy are legally equivalent. The customary penalty for a member of the armed services who "refuses to obey the lawful command of a superior officer to engage the enemy" is 10 years at hard labor.

We refer those of our readers who have a continuing interest in the fate of the three members of 142 Signal Battalion who refused service in Vietnam to the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman Street, 10th floor, New York 38, N.Y.

## Morality and Vietnam

"Two factors should be kept in mind in examining our government's position in Vietnam. First, all-out nuclear warfare and bombing of innocent civilians in open cities have been condemned as morally reprehensible by Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant leaders. Second, a free and deliberate intent, here and now, to perform a seriously immoral act is itself an immoral act even though one may never be in a position to fulfill one's immoral intent.

"Our government has decided limited wars are necessary to contain communism in strategic areas of the world. It is also on record that it is prepared to use our total nuclear potential to wage limited wars if it finds it militarily necessary to do so. That intent is tragically immoral.

"It is often asked, 'What else can we do?' Notice how the argument shifts from a moral argument to one of power. 'Do you wish the world to be enslaved in communism?' If you answer 'no,' the reply is 'The only way to stop communist aggression is by limited warfare.' That means escalation, intent to bomb open cities, and all-out nuclear warfare if necessary. In other words, the position of our government officials—unless it is openly repudiated—is to go on to any lengths, even lengths already condemned as absolutely immoral, if necessary, to contain communist aggression. The intent to use immoral means, is, we repeat, itself immoral. To the extent that we as citizens knowingly and willingly approve of our government's position, we participate in this immoral intent."

REV. JOSEPH HASSETT, S.J.  
Chairman, Department of Philosophy  
Fordham University

## Love and Hate In Chicago

Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is holding its annual meeting for five days this mid-August in Jackson, Mississippi, met with more violence these last few weeks in Chicago from greater mobs than he had ever encountered throughout the South. Demonstrating against discrimination in housing and for economic freedom for the Negro, in five sections of solid white outlying sections of Chicago, Dr. King again met with personal assault when he was knocked down by a rock thrown at him by one of the mob.

Since 1955, this great leader of men, this great Christian, has been arrested and jailed many times in the South; he was the victim of a near-fatal stabbing, his home was bombed and he and his wife and children live under continual threats of death. He has stated that his emphasis on non-violent resistance to injustice and oppression is also to try "to achieve friendship with the men who are denying us these rights, and to change them through friendship and a bond of Christian understanding before God."

In an article in the *Christian Century* printed in 1960, Dr. King wrote, "In recent months I have become more and more convinced of the reality of a personal God . . . Now it is a living reality that has been validated in the experiences of every day life. Perhaps the suffering, frustration and agonizing moments which I have had to undergo . . . as a result of my involvement in a difficult struggle have drawn me close to God. Whatever the case, God has been profoundly real to me in recent months. In the midst of outer dangers, I have felt an inner calm and known resources of strength that only God could give. In many more instances I have felt the power of God transforming the fatigue of despair into the buoyancy of hope. I am convinced that the universe is under the control of a loving purpose and that in the struggle for righteousness man has cosmic companionship. Behind the harsh appearances of the world there is a benign power . . . God is a living God."

## Protester Jailed

On July 29th, Terry Sullivan, of the Catholic Worker, was sentenced to a year in prison after pleading guilty to destroying his Selective Service classification card. Although Terry is over draft age and in poor health, he had torn up his card and mailed half of it to the United States Attorney's office in protest against the Vietnam war and the Selective Service law.

Judge Edelstein, who pronounced sentence, said that since Terry was not an expert in foreign policy, he could not make a judgment about United States policy in Vietnam. Terry, however, believes that the prime lesson of the Nurnberg trials is that conscientious objectors must take personal responsibility to resist immoral policies, even when they are carried out by government authorities.

Terry has long been active in the civil-rights and peace move-

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## CATHOLIC WORKER

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## Di Giorgio Struck

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excerpt from their manifesto, known as the Delano Plan:

This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not just in pronouncements. We seek our basic, God given rights as human beings. Because we have suffered and because we are not afraid to suffer—in order to survive we are ready to give up everything, even our lives, in the fight for social justice. . . . Our revolution will not be armed, but we want the existing social order to dissolve; we want a new social order. We are poor; we are humble and our only choice is to strike in those ranches where we are not treated with the respect we deserve as working men where our rights as free and sovereign men are not recognized. We do not want the paternalism of the ranchers; we do not want the contractor; we do not want charity at the price of our dignity. We want to be equal with all the working men in the nation; we want a just wage, working conditions and a decent future for our children.

A few communications from readers in the area would have made the best news account of the strike. But I am afraid that the reportorial instinct is not very strong in Catholic Worker readers. Or perhaps they are busy helping the farm workers; many tend to be doers, activists in the good sense of the word, and they often do not realize the value of a short letter or post card describing the situation at first hand.

Strangely enough, I received the latest news of the strike in our local weekly newspaper, which covers Red Hook and Rhinebeck, New York, which are small cities surrounded by fruit farms. There are hundreds of small migrant camps scattered throughout the wealthy counties of Dutchess and Columbia. We have a migrant ministry in the area, and much of the housing is of the kind that caused farm workers in Tulare County, California, to conduct a rent strike.

#### Torture, California Style

The editorial, entitled "How Not to Do It," told of the arrest of eight striking grape pickers and two clergymen "who were arrested for trespassing on the Borrego Springs property of the DiGiorgio Corporation. They were stripped, searched, handcuffed and chained together for a long ride to a San Diego jail. After release on bail, those arrested said that they had been kept standing in a company truck for four hours pending the arrival of the sheriff's deputies.

"One cannot fairly prejudge the case; the facts will presumably be brought out at the hearing. But what is known of the story at this stage provokes thought."

Perhaps editors and readers will now begin to think about conditions here on the East Coast, some of which have been described in previous issues of the Catholic Worker.

#### DON'T BUY DIGIORGIO

There is one way in which every reader can render concrete assistance to the Western farm workers in their struggle for bread and dignity: by refusing to buy the products of DiGiorgio Corporation. Each issue of *El Malcriado*, the strikers' organ, includes a detailed list of products to be avoided. Please bear in mind that the following products are DiGiorgio products:

TREE SWEET • WHITE ROSE  
• TEDI-TEA • PIQUE • PREMIER • SUN VISTA • SUNNYLAND • JOLLY FARMER • S & W FINE FOODS.

For further news of the non-violent revolution that is taking place (and I count the Poor People's Corporation and the cooperatives and strikes in Alabama and Mississippi as part of this revolution), subscribe to *El Malcriado*, the Voice of the Farm Worker, which is published in Spanish and English (Box 1069, Delano, California; two dollars a year). There are first-rate drawings by Mexican artists, excellent cartoons, news accounts and letters from people directly involved. According to my dictionary, *malcriado* means ill-bred, rude, uncivil, spoiled. And so these farm workers must seem to the DiGiorgio's and Schenley's of this world, daring as they do to challenge them. But the strikers are using the word in the sense of St. Paul, who boasted: "We are fools for Christ's sake . . . we are weak . . . we are without honor . . . we are made as the refuse of this world, the offscouring of all, even until now."

Our Lady of Guadalupe figures prominently in this revolution, as she has in Mexican revolutions in the past. But this revolution, non-violent as it is, must be especially dear to her heart. "The flesh of Jesus is the flesh of Mary," St. Augustine said. And she knew in her heart, as Jesus did in His, the sufferings and the sweat of the worker, the exile, the poor man.

#### Friday Night Meetings

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

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

# POVERTY'S PROGRESS

## The Victim Soul

By JOHN McKEON

He sat loosely, half sprawled in the darkened doorway of the Catholic Worker, and the sight of his ravaged face with the cheeks gray as lard and the sweat gleaming on them could have spelt anguish, but his voice was mocking when he spoke, for all the quality of pain implicit in it. "You think I'm drunk." He made the words declarative, with no hint of question in them, removing the last soggy inch of butt from his mouth and flinging it from him in the direction of the gutter with a motion as stiff as a doll's. "Or nuts."

In the uncertain light of the street lamp he might have been either or both, and starved to boot, but the night was far spent and all the beds taken, leaving nothing but cigarettes to be offered and, hardest charity of all, the willingness to be bored by listening repetitiously, incapable of aid, to a repetition of the oldest story in history; the com-

mon, the given danger, the given relaxation, the given moment, without past or future—the timeless world of the immediate, and yet with an intense and melancholy awareness of the transience of things human; the deep and unspoken knowledge that man and man's desires are but aspirant dust blown by winds immeasurably and forever beyond the power of his control.

He had worked winters in the Rocky Mountains, part of the emergency crews that repair power lines broken by the sudden fierce blizzards and who, in the spring, return to San Francisco or Los Angeles to squander their back pay in one long Homeric splurge, and it had been on one of those returns that a fellow worker, a Catholic, had taken him to an Easter Sunday Mass in a church in Los Angeles. He grinned as he told about it, flattening his lips against toothless gums.

"I was young and stupid," he said, "and it was the first church I had ever been in. We were fresh out of the mountains with seven hundred bucks in back pay and I was still wearing my safety belt and shackles. I remember tossing them in the vestibule of the church as I went in." He stopped, dragging deep on the cigarette and exhaling slowly. "There were all those candles and the vestments and the priest making funny motions and speaking some kind of language. I couldn't figure what was going on, but I had a hunch it was important. Anyhow everybody acted like it was important. It was better than a play." He grinned mirthlessly again. "When I grined I wanted to go back and give the priest ten bucks because I enjoyed it so much, but the guy I was with had more sense and told me to stick it in the poor box. After that I went off and on and then regular and a couple of years later I took instructions and joined the Faith."

"That was how it began," he said, "and it was like God was testing me. I was young then and had plenty of heart. Plenty. I was built like a young bull. Even yet . . ." he said, thrusting forward his arm and rolling up the sleeve of his denim shirt, displaying the still full swell of deltoid and biceps among the wasted sinews. "I really had it then," he said, not in anxiety that he would not be believed, but in a kind of reminiscent wonder, as though contemplating a past miracle he was not aware of at the very instant of its happening.

"In '32 I was working on the Jersey Flats for the New Jersey Power & Light and one night that winter one of those trimotored passenger planes crashed into a power-line tower and the power failed all over Hoboken and up to Jersey City. They called us out on emergency and when we got there the plane was crumpled on the ground with the lines wrapped around it like spaghetti and the passengers inside frying like strips of breakfast bacon.

"There were sixty-four linemen standing around that tower and when the foreman asked for volunteers there wasn't anybody who'd go up it in the rain while it was still shot hot. You know what that means, hot? That tower was a hundred feet high and just like an electric chair every inch of the way to the top. One hundred and thirty-two thousand volts and if you slipped and any part of it touched you going up or while you were working up on top, brother, you were done. And that repair job would take an hour. They paid us high

for those jobs but there wasn't anybody who was having any."

His eyes glittered as he spoke, recreating that night seventeen years ago on the rain-swept flats from the tableau frozen forever in his mind: the crumpled plane, the dead passengers in the wreckage, the newsreel men, the silent group of linemen, the tall stalk of the tower looming overhead and the blue flames at the ends of the broken wires, spitting like cobras in the darkness.

"It was like a test," he said. "Like God was testing me to see whether I had heart enough or courage enough. There were sixty-three other guys but it was like I knew I was the one He wanted. So I got out in front and said O.K., I'll go up, and it was like in a church, no one said anything. They all thought I was nuts. I stripped to the waist and, brother, it was cold. That rain was turning to sleet but I had to strip, I didn't have a prayer if my jacket was to touch that tower and I tied the legs of my pants with twine to make them as tight as I could because the only part of me that could touch had to be in rubber, my shoes and my hands, that's all. I was praying, man, hard, when I started up and I was praying all the way and every minute until the job was over and it was ninety minutes by the clock when I got down but I did the job. They wanted to give me a bonus for doing it but there wasn't enough money in the world to pay me for going up there and it wasn't for money I did it."

He sank back as though exhausted in the doorway and for a time we were both silent, each with our thoughts. The rumble of a heavy truck sounded faintly from the direction of Canal Street and then died away in the direction of Brooklyn Bridge. The night was quiet, with a faint, scarcely perceptible twinge of autumn to the air. The summer was dying, the fiestas over, the barrows of the street vendors along Moti and Mulberry selling broiled sausage, shrimp and pork were gone, along with the stands of the pizza merchants, the mounds of popcorn and fresh roasted peanuts. The fierce, choking heat of a Bowery summer had disappeared. Overhead the equinoctial moon shone with all the inherent duplicity of a pawnbroker's smile, giving simultaneously the appearance of warmth and the effect of coldness and beneath its chill effulgence the city was like a pressed flower that held the form of summer hostage for the fled fragrance.

The man in the doorway straightened and leaned forward. "March the first Ash Wednesday Nineteen Hundred and Thirty-three," he said, threading the words together glibly and easily like a set, and often delivered speech. "That's when I got it," he said, smiling in explanation. Got what? we asked. He hesitated for a moment, nervously himself for what he was about to say. "When I got the privilege, when I asked . . ." he stumbled and then recovered. "When I got the privilege of carrying the Cross." He spoke quickly now, not looking up, the words coming in a flat rapid monotone. "I was a convert and I was eager. It seemed like I couldn't do enough or get enough of the Faith. It was like I had to make up for all the time I had wasted and so I offered myself to take some of the suffering."

And so your offer was taken, we said. "Yes," he said belligerently. We shrugged, covering the awkwardness by offering a cigarette. After all, admitting the supernatural, one can judge only the improbable, since the impossible is excluded. Or is it that we have an

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# A Farm With a View

By DEANE MARY MOWRER

It is night. Night of the Feast of the Transfiguration. I listen to the dissonant staccato of katydids, dominating, counterpointing the blithe summer symphony of crickets. Hot August dog-day weather; too warm for sleeping; the voices of some of our vacationing children still sound at play. And the katydids sing to the staccato refrain of their name—Play while you may; frost six weeks away. I sit by the window, feeling the soft, warm, insect-loud night about me, and think of the feast of the day, the great feast of the beauty and glory of Our Lord. Then I think—as I always must on this day—of the terrible deed we (the United States, you, I, all of us) committed on this very day, just twenty-one years ago. For a moment, a terrible moment, Transfiguration is lost, consumed, in the shameful holocaust of Hiroshima.

Perhaps it is just as well that in this world we can remain neither with the glory of the Transfiguration nor with the hell of Hiroshima. We must live out our lives where we are; and even in the midst of the incalculable horror and violence of our present world, try to live so that God's peace may enter into us, and then flow outward through our deeds to those around us. We must try to bring peace to the world, even though what we do seems impossibly minuscule. Christianity is a becoming. May God help us become more truly, more fully Christian, that we may enjoy, we may share His Peace.

Peace was, of course, the primary concern of the Pax Study weekend, which was recently held here at the farm. Although the subject of discussion "After Vatican II," did not seem to elicit much optimism, there is, I think, some reason for hope in the very assembling of such a serious, peace-oriented group—according to some estimates there were two hundred and fifty present—and in their obvious desire not to gloss over unpalatable truth, as well as in their recognition of the need for greater dedication, sacrifice, and perseverance.

Speakers included: Gordon Zahn, author of *In Solitary Witness*, and German Catholics and Hitler's Wars, and professor of Sociology at Loyola University in Chicago; Tom Stonier, author of *Nuclear Disaster*, and professor of biology at Manhattan College; and on the concluding panel—

Howard Everngam, chairman of the American Pax Association, Dick Leonard, professor of sociology at LaSalle College in Philadelphia; Marty Corbin, managing editor of the *Catholic Worker*; and Ed Turner, teacher and associate editor of the *Catholic Worker*. It was pointed out that the statement on peace promulgated by Vatican II represents after all nothing more than the traditional teaching of the Church as set forth in many of the great moral theologians, and that the job of persuading the average Catholic, whether layman or priest, of the truth of the Church's position on peace is almost as difficult of accomplishment as it has ever been, that in reality the great encyclical *Pacem in Terris* contains a fuller, more positive, statement on peace. Yet, as Professor Stonier pointed out so graphically, the dangers of nuclear disaster are so terrible, so pushbutton close-at-hand, that if we really want to save ourselves and our world, we must find effective ways to peace quickly. It is obvious that peace cannot be isolated from the struggle for justice and the endeavor to heal the poverty and social ills of the world. The road to peace, I think, must take this direction. Meanwhile we must do what we can, however small, and trust in God that the seed may grow into a tree of peace. Howard Everngam and Eileen Egan are, as always, to be much commended for organizing this stimulating Pax Study weekend.

## Music And Poetry

The Pax recreational program was also noteworthy; relaxation is, after all, essential to peace. It was ideal summer weather. Just right for walks in the woods, sitting on the lawn and talking, strumming a guitar under a tree and singing folk-songs; and there were many who took advantage of the swimming pool. Then on Saturday night there was a really brilliant entertainment. Dr. Karl Stern, eminent psychiatrist and author of *Pillar of Fire*, opened with a concert of classical music and a delightfully amusing improvisation. Mrs. Douglas Campbell, well known actress and member of a noted theatrical family, read a number of poems about peace and concluded with a memorable reading of some of Gerard Manley Hopkins' great poems. Then famed Mary Lou

Williams and gifted singer Deborah Robinson took over, and the lovers of more syncopated rhythms went wild. Then a most unusual young folk singer sang some of her own peace songs. Eddie Egan showed that his Irish tenor was as moving and beautiful as ever. To complete the evening, Allen DeLoach and Paul Mann sang a number of old favorites, with Alan singing a lovely song of his own composition, and Paul singing one he had composed for Terry Sullivan and Murphy Dowdells, both in prison for refusing to comply with the draft law. Pax also provided spiritual sustenance for its students of peace. There was a moving and beautiful Mass of the Byzantine rite, with Father David Kirk and Father Lyle Young as celebrants; and on the final day, the Father Rivers Mass, with celebrant Father Bonaventure. The homilies and rituals of both Masses emphasized peace.

Some of the questions left over from the Pax weekend were answered, I think, when Dr. Karl Stern opened the Catholic Worker Summer School with a brilliant lecture on the psychology of group prejudice. Certainly, if we are ever to learn to live together



peacefully, we must recognize our own violence, our antipathies, our our ambivalent feelings towards those closest to us. We must remember that hate and acquisitiveness can be organized and manipulated. Love, however, cannot be compelled. Behind love is still the mystery. In dealing with those who hate, it is not what one says or does that matters so much as what one is. Dr. Stern's lecture and the interesting question period which followed seemed to me to provide many valuable and practical insights, helpful to all who want to learn how to live at peace with themselves and others. We are grateful to Dr. Stern and to his wife for spending several days with us and sharing with us the riches of their minds and experience.

During the week of the summer school, there were a number of speakers who spoke on a variety of subjects exemplifying the variety of Catholic Worker interest and activity. On the afternoon of the first day Dorothy Day gave an introductory talk about the work in general to the summer-school students and a group of yogis and their associates who had come from their ashram at Monroe, New York. After Dorothy spoke, one of the yogis gave an introductory talk about yoga. Later another yogi explained some of the breathing exercises and demonstrated some of them. Breathing exercises help reduce tension; another help on the road to peace.

On the second day, Ruth Collins and Mrs. Rita Davis spoke on a plan to help poor people, especially the Negroes of Harlem, buy and maintain their own apartment houses. Ruth works in real estate, is practical and knows the angles, but speaks with the fervor and enthusiasm of one who is truly dedicated. Mrs. Davis is the mother of nine children and lives in the most densely crowded block in Harlem, with the highest crime rate. She is a warm, vital, courageous woman, who is working for her family and her race in a way that will help bring peace.

On the afternoon of the second day Helene Iswolsky, author of *Christ in Russia* and formerly professor of Russian at Seton Hill

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# CHRYSTIE STREET

By PHIL MALONEY

A consoling feature of the hot summer months is the large number of visitors to the Chrystie Street House of Hospitality. Priests, teachers, students, and members of peace and civil-rights groups have paid us calls. One recent guest was a ninety-year-old woman who had known Prince Peter Kropotkin, the Russian anarchist.

What does the visitor to Chrystie Street see as he walks through our red doorway? If the occasion happens to be a morning visit, the soup line will probably be in operation. Table after table of men are fed each morning; although the turnout is considerably smaller during the summer, the usual number of servings is a hundred and twenty-five. The visitor will see Arthur or Niels directing the men to a large room at the rear of the building, where they can wait their turn to be served soup, bread, and coffee. Charley Keefe, famous in the Bowery area for his delicious soups, is busily stirring the large pot of his latest concoction. Tony and John are either setting the table or serving the soup for the first arrivals. Irish Pat is our traffic director, making sure that all the places at the tables are taken and that good order is preserved in the rush to stave off hunger pains for another day.

On the second floor, the *Catholic Worker* is being mailed out. Tom Hoey is the coordinator of this operation and is assisted during the summer by Vince Maefsky. At the head of the large table where the work is done, Italian Mike presides in a large armchair. Although the process of cutting, sorting, pasting, and mailing appears to be slow and tedious, it is done in remarkably quick time. This fact is due to the persevering efforts of Pete, Mary, Tony, and friends who drop in to help out.

If the visitor happens to come in the late afternoon he will see a flurry of activity in the kitchen. Each day potatoes and vegetables have to be prepared for the evening meal, tables set, and about forty meals served. The girls, along with a few of the men at the CW, take turns in preparing and serving these meals.

On the third floor, Walter Kerell coordinates the business end of the House of Hospitality. Files of subscribers are kept in order and new subscriptions, changes of addresses, and occasional cancellations are taken note of.

Another pleasant feature of the summer months is the additional help that we receive from students who are staying with us before the fall semester begins. Vince Maefsky and Christine Bove, of Oklahoma, Maureen Stoehr, of Minnesota, and Sally Clisham, of Michigan, have pitched in to lighten the load for the regular crew.

Another married couple has joined our community. Jim and Raona Wilson, recently married in a Harlem parish, have moved into a nearby apartment and are a great asset to the House of Hospitality.

George Johnson has been helping some of the men get their discharge papers, naturalization papers, etc., so that they can receive Social Security payments and other benefits due them. George puts in long hours at this job and has enabled men to receive payments that they had not even known they were entitled to.

The weekend of August 6th to 9th was another occasion to register our protest against the escalation of the war in Vietnam and also to mourn the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, America's lack of atonement or con-

trition for this monstrous deed was symbolized in the marriage of the President's daughter on August 8th, which should be a day of mourning for the American people.

The prospects of obtaining a new house are still good and we hope to be able to move before the winter sets in.

Recent speakers for our Friday night meetings have included Dr. Edward Gottlieb, chairman of the War Resisters League, who spoke on the "Pacifist Conscience." Lincoln Lynch, assistant national director of CORE, gave a talk on the "Concept of Black Power." Allan Hoffman, of the New York Federation of Anarchists, spoke on "Anarchism." And two of our editors, Chris Kearns and Nicole d'Entremont, led a round-table discussion on "Houses of Hospitality."

As we go to press we learn of the arrests of two of our summer volunteers: Sally Clisham of Ann Arbor and Maureen Stoehr, a student at St. Catherine's College in St. Paul. Both participated in a sit-down on August 9th at the New York offices of the Dow Chemical Company, makers of napalm, a jelly-like substance that burns human flesh right to the bone. We ask our readers to boycott this company by refusing to buy their products, the best known of which is Saran Wrap.

## Tragic Suffering

261 Main St.  
Paterson, New Jersey  
07505

Dear Miss Day:

Through the British Vietnam Committee I have learned the tragic fact that thousands of young children are dying in unbelievable suffering from napalm and phosphorus burns. The gasoline jelly burns into their tender flesh to the very bone, while they remain unattended "at home" in their straw huts in the villages. The few existing hospitals are overcrowded, understaffed, lack hygienic facilities, ventilation, and protection against flies and insects.

The British Vietnam Committee was approached by *Terre des Hommes*, a Swiss organization without religious or political bias, which, in December 1965, undertook to find hospital beds for these unfortunate children. Finally a few hundred beds were obtained in hospitals scattered throughout Europe. Still, there was a problem of transportation. Therefore, *Terre des Hommes* appealed to the White House to furnish the necessary transport planes without charge.

The response of the White House was most disappointing. It reads: "The American Air Force cannot be used to transport Vietnamese children who might be in need of medical attention to Europe, and there exists no American financial means to assist your activities in Europe."

Regardless of anybody's opinions of this war, whether he feels that the way to peace is through mass bombing or through negotiations, the ugly fact remains that these innocent, tender victims are not soldiers engaged in combat, but helpless bystanders, caught up in a cataclysm which they had no part in creating.

The question that remains to be answered is simple. Will the American people, like the German people in an earlier war, remain deaf, blind and silent in the face of these atrocities, or will their humanitarian instincts reassert themselves in a massive outcry and insistent demand that the government furnish the necessary transportation to rescue as many children as possible?

You, my dear reader, hold the answer.

Elmer S. Frankel

## No Taxes for War in Vietnam

The Welfare State helped put across the Warfare State from the time of Bismarck's lying Ems telegram in 1879 to Wilson's "Keep us out of war," Roosevelt's "I tell you again and again I will send no boys across," to the Central Intelligence Agency's fiasco at the Bay of Pigs, and Johnson's pre-election statement on Vietnam at Manchester, New Hampshire, September 28, 1964, "I want to be very cautious and careful, and use force only as a last resort when I start dropping bombs that are likely to involve American boys in war in Asia with seven hundred million Chinese . . . so we are not going North . . . and we are not going South." The American people have been fooled again into senseless slaughter.

Since 1943 I have openly refused to pay my federal income tax, for three-fourths of it goes for war. I owe fifteen hundred dollars. I am fasting these twenty-one days because it is twenty-one years since we dropped the bomb at Hiroshima; I do this as a penance. I do not do it to coerce or embarrass tax officials, but to draw attention of those Christians who have forgotten what Christ said in the Sermon on the Mount: to turn the other cheek, forgive seventy times seven, not to cast a stone, to go the second mile, and to put up the sword, for those who live by the sword shall die by the sword.

I take this action because I am a Christian Anarchist who prefers to follow God rather than man. I honor those who enlist rather than wait to be drafted; in contrast to those "armchair patriots" who call for blood safely at home. I honor those like Norman Morrison and Roger LaPorte who enlisted for peace in another manner. I refused to register for the draft in both World Wars. Those who are interested in the story of my life can purchase my *Book of Ammon* by ordering it from me. Price: three dollars (no tax).

(Picketing Monday through Friday, July 17 through August 6th).

AMMON HENNACY,  
Director of the Joe Hill House of Hospitality for Transients  
P. O. Box 655  
Salt Lake City, Utah

# THE COUNCIL AND

By HERVE CHAIGNE, O.F.M.

"For you, brethren, have been called unto liberty."  
(Galatians 5:13)

"In our generation when men continue to be afflicted by acute hardships or anxieties arising from ongoing wars or the threat of them, the whole human family has reached an hour of supreme crisis in its advance toward maturity. Moving gradually together and everywhere more conscious already of its oneness, this family cannot accomplish its task of constructing for all men everywhere a world more genuinely human unless each person devotes himself with renewed determination to the reality of peace. Thus it happens that the gospel message, which is in harmony with the loftier strivings and aspirations of the human race, takes on a new luster in our day as it declares that the artisans of peace are blessed, 'for they shall be called the children of God.'" (1)

In the very first lines of the chapter devoted to war and peace, the henceforth famous Schema XIII specifies, in plain language, the major contradiction of our time.

Never has war been so threatening. "The horror and perversity of war are immensely magnified by the multiplication of scientific weapons. For acts of war involving these weapons can inflict massive and indiscriminate destruction far exceeding the bounds of legitimate defense. Indeed, if the kind of instruments which can now be found in the armories of the great nations were to be employed to their fullest, an almost total and altogether reciprocal slaughter of each side by the other would follow, not to mention the widespread devastation which would take place in the world and the deadly aftereffects which would be spawned by the use of such weapons." (2)

Yet never has mankind had so many resources for unification and peaceful development at its disposal. "Today the bonds of mutual dependence become increasingly close between all citizens and all the peoples of the world. The universal common good needs to be intelligently pursued and more effectively achieved. Hence it is now necessary for the family of nations to create for themselves an order which corresponds to modern obligations, particularly to those numerous regions still laboring under intolerable need . . . The international agencies, both universal and regional, which already exist assuredly deserve well of the human race. These stand forth as the first attempts to lay international foundations: under the whole human community . . ." (3)

Never before have so many men looked to the Church of Christ and called upon it to be an uncompromising witness and a privileged custodian of peace. "That earthly peace which arises from love of neighbor symbolizes and results from the peace of Christ who comes forth from God the Father. For by His cross the incarnate Son, the Prince of Peace, reconciled all men with God. By thus restoring the unity of all men in one people and one body, He slew hatred in His own flesh. After being lifted on high by His resurrection, He poured the Spirit of love into the hearts of men." (4)

Fear, hope, recourse to the spirit of Christ. We have all the elements of a dynamic of peace within our grasp, but we don't know how to combine them harmoniously and put them to work. The threat of atomic destruction hangs over us, yet all we can think of is "legitimate defense" and the "just war" and the dangerously ambiguous values of nationalism. The indispensable adventure of peaceful coexistence lies before us, but we adhere blindly to what separates

us and go on refusing both bread and dignity to the poor peoples of the world. The gospel of Christ summons us, but we still grant only grudging approval to those among us who, basing themselves on its inspiration, object to war.

## The Christian Conscience

Is it possible to extricate ourselves from this contradiction, in which all mankind is caught fast, without at the same time succumbing to the temptation (for it is one) of accepting complete banishment to the kingdom of utopia, sacred or profane? One wonders if it is when one considers that Pope Paul VI himself, in the very middle of his poignant message to the United Nations, could not bring himself to omit the traditional "realistic" reference to the legitimacy of possessing defensive weapons (5), thereby leaving wide open the door to war in the very same speech in which, as an "expert in humanity," he cried out: "No more war! War never again!" To tell the truth, in this instance, as in so many others, the Church seems to me far too imbued with a "worldly" attitude that gives undue weight to the role and importance of "those who hold in their hands the destiny of men on this earth, all those who hold temporal power" (6), and is not sufficiently mindful of the fact that her mission consists not in reinforcing and consecrating political wisdom and the vagaries of diplomacy but in bearing witness within the "earthly and temporal city to the good news of the gospel of peace" (7).

"And what does this Church ask of you after close to two thousand years of experiences of all kinds in her relations with you, the powers of the earth? What does the Church ask of you today? She tells you in one of the major documents of this Council. She asks of you only liberty, the liberty to believe and to preach her faith, the freedom to love her God and serve Him, the freedom to live and to bring to men her message of life. Do not fear her. She is made after the image of her Master, whose mysterious action does not interfere with your prerogatives but heals everything human of its fatal weakness, transfigures it, and fills it with hope, truth, and beauty. Allow Christ to exercise His purifying action on society. Do not crucify Him anew. This would be a sacrilege for He is the Son of God. This would be suicide for He is the Son of man." (8) Unless we are to suppose that words no longer have any importance for the Church of the Word Incarnate, how can we fail to hear in these powerful and compelling sentences a call for the kind of authentic evangelical pressures that will ultimately demolish the absurd, ruinous, and blood-stained "established order" of the nuclear stalemate? To allow Christ to exercise His purifying action cannot mean to bless, as in 1914, or in 1940, or today in Vietnam, the arms of "civilization." To allow the Church to bring to men her message of life does not mean to line up with the military and political "experts" who are ready once again to wage peace under the protection of the sword.

The severity of my remarks is prompted by the presence in the section of Schema XIII dealing with peace and war of two paragraphs that are surprising, to say the least. The first, in Number 79, appealing to the concept of "legitimate defense," puts worldly wisdom ahead of the demands of the Gospel and the realities of contemporary warfare; the second, in Number 81, inserts into a text that is intended to serve as a guide for Christian action a largely positive evaluation of the "balance of terror." But let us look more closely at these lines, which strike us as aberrant. (9)

"As long as the danger of war remains and there is no competent and sufficiently powerful authority at the international level, governments cannot be denied the right to legitimate defense once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted. Therefore, government authorities and others who share public responsibility have the duty to protect the welfare of the people entrusted to their care and to conduct such grave matters soberly." (10) Such reasoning, which is traditional in what is customarily called the theology of the just war, must be vigorously rejected. First of all, because, at least in modern times, "legitimate defense" has made it possible to consider every war as legitimate, and to exalt the aggressors and their victims at the same time. This alone suffices to discredit the principle fundamentally, since the hierarchy of the Church cannot fail to abuse it, short of resolutely supporting one of the two opposing sides. (11) We must not fear to be specific and recall some recent events that are in danger of being forgotten. Listen, for example, to what the historian Guenter Lewy has to say about the last World War: "The Papacy in World War II found it-



self in a particularly difficult situation. Far more than in earlier conflicts the war between the Axis powers and the Western allies was fought also on the ideological plane. The German bishops spoke of a fight against liberalism and a crusade against Bolshevism; the episcopate of France, England, and, later, the United States of America called for a struggle against Hitlerian barbarism. The Holy See made the best of this predicament. The Pope exhorted all Catholics to do their patriotic duty and praised those who served and died for their fatherland. In his letter to the German bishops of August 1940 Pius XII expressed his admiration for the German Catholics who "loyal unto death give proof of their willingness to share the sacrifices and sufferings of the other Volksgenossen." A Papal communication with a similar content addressed in 1939 to the French bishops, seeking God's blessing for the fight against these same Volksgenossen, has already been mentioned. Leaving nothing undone, the Holy See also sent words of appreciation to the Pallotine Fathers in Germany after one member of their society, Franz Reinisch, had been executed as a conscientious objector . . . The praise of the Supreme Pontiff thus could be earned by fighting and dying for Hitler, by giving one's life to the anti-Fascist struggle, as well as by refusing military service on grounds of conscience." (12)

I am well aware that we must not confuse the principle—defense is legitimate when there is no other way to prevent injustice—with the abusive application that can be made of it because of an anxiety not to condemn either side. I merely observe that this notion of legitimate defense, precisely because it apparently cannot be applied in the concrete without immediately taking sides and thereby running the risk of cutting oneself off from the party that is presumed guilty, entails in practice the "pure and simple" renunciation of morality and jus-

tice in behalf of a sordid Realpolitik. To talk about legitimate defense while refusing to say who is in the right inevitably means to reduce the moral judgment to pure subjectivity, and therefore potentially to legitimate all conflicts. All the more so since we live in an age in which, because of the nature of nuclear armaments, it is harder than ever to distinguish between the defensive and the offensive. In such circumstances, to grant to governments "the right to legitimate defense" is simply to grant their right to go on piling up weapons at a time when, as the Council has declared, this armaments race "is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which injures the poor to an intolerable degree. It is much to be feared that if this race persists, it will eventually spawn all the lethal ruin whose path it is now making ready." (13)

## War on War

After the conciliar debates, one could have indeed concluded that the Church had completely abandoned the theology of the just war, which is a legacy of the Middle Ages and has never been applied because it cannot be applied. A great many bishops had spoken along these lines, (14) and when the debates were concluded, such a privileged observer as Father Wenger, editor-in-chief of *La Croix*, was able to write: "The traditional concepts of just and unjust war are obsolete. The definitions to be found in manuals of ethics were formulated in regard to war as it could be envisaged in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, not in regard to the wars of yesterday, and certainly not to the kind of war that could exist tomorrow. Atomic weapons have made nonsense of the traditional definitions of just and unjust wars, of defensive and offensive weapons . . ." (15) The final text of the conciliar Constitution itself endorsed this view, (16) powerfully supported by two lines of reasoning. On the one hand, by reiterating, without any reference to legitimate defense, the condemnation of total war pronounced by the recent Popes, (17) it repudiated both defensive and offensive wars when they are conducted according to the exigencies of present-day strategy and tactics. (18) On the other hand, by stressing that the logic of all war today tends to bring about a process of escalation, which can only end, sooner or later, in a total war (whether nuclear or not), the Council included both defensive and offensive, just and unjust wars, in its condemnation. "The unique hazard of modern warfare consists in this: it provides those who possess modern scientific weapons with a kind of occasion for perpetrating just such abominations (total war). Moreover, through a certain inexorable chain of events, it can urge men on to the most atrocious decisions." (19)

In view of all this, there are grounds for concluding that the reference in the Constitution to the "right of legitimate defense" has no justification other than circumstantial (20) and that, under cover of providing for the "rights of the minority" who were determined to retain the theoretical possibility of a just war, it served to reintroduce and justify the old principle *si vis pacem para bellum*, which Chapter V rightly attempts to demolish. "Scientific weapons, to be sure, are not amassed solely for use in war. The defensive strength of any nation is considered to be dependent on its capacity for immediate retaliation against an adversary. Hence this accumulation of arms, which increases each year, also serves, in a way heretofore unknown, as a deterrent to possible enemy attack. Many regard this state of

affairs as the most effective way by which peace of a sort can be maintained between nations at the present time." (21)

## American Bishops

We must have the courage to assert that this last paragraph is, in the strict sense of the word, scandalous, for it represents a capitulation to what can only be described as a clerico-military lobby. As early as November 10, 1964, when the first draft of Schema XIII was being debated, two of the Fathers, Msgr. Beck, Archbishop of Liverpool, and Msgr. Hannan, who was then auxiliary Bishop of Washington and has since been named Archbishop of New Orleans, did not hesitate to act as spokesmen for NATO and the Pentagon, arguing that in certain circumstances peace can only be assured by the "balance of terror" and by threatening to use nuclear weapons as deterrents against unjust aggression. (22) During the final discussions, some of the bishops continued to harp on this theme, even going so far as to threaten to vote *non placet* on Chapter V and on the Schema as a whole, if nuclear weapons and the concept of deterrence were condemned. (23)

It is important to understand that the American Fathers who waged such a vigorous and spirited campaign to justify the "balance of terror" were relying on theologians whom they described as very competent and completely informed regarding modern weapons, including nuclear weapons. (24) Unfortunately, these theologians have usually been content to follow the advice of the Catholic Association for International Peace, whose resolutely "Atlantic" political orientation is no secret. (25) As Professor Gordon Zahn has pointed out in an article of capital importance to which I am indebted, (26) this explains why the position taken by the American bishops actually tends to reverse the evangelical approach of a Church ready to preach, in season and out, the pacific message of Jesus Christ, and represents a deliberate attempt to induce the Church to acknowledge to its disciples that, terrible as a nuclear war would be, it is permissible to take part in one, provided it be in a good cause.

Such a maneuver is obviously intolerable, because it attempts to shift the concrete center of Christian action within the world, from the sphere of witness in behalf of absolute values like justice and peace to the sphere of partisan stands in favor of a particular military policy. "The task of the Council remains that of proclaiming the Gospel of love, hope and reconciliation to modern man," Thomas Merton said in his open letter to the American hierarchy, (27) "in a language that he will understand, without any alteration or distortion of the essential Gospel perspectives . . . The Christian is called, as always, to a decision for Christ—not to a decision for this kind or that kind of society. He is called to obey the Gospel of love for all men, and not simply to devote himself to the interests of a nation, a party, a class or a culture. The message of the Church to the modern world therefore remains, as it has always been, an eschatological message. It is precisely this eschatological viewpoint, above and beyond limited and pragmatic options, that confers upon the Church's pronouncements a certain authority even in the minds of those who do not believe in her teachings. Not only should we resist the temptations to ignore or evade this aspect of the Council's task, but we should frankly admit its especial relevance in a time when man has in his hands incalculable power for destruction

# D NUCLEAR WAR

... We are aware, too, that in spite of a universal desire for peace and in spite of the Church's reiterated and anguished appeals for peace, governments continue to devote by far the greater portion of their budgets to armaments and preparations for war, and indeed continue to show a marked inclination to settle international disputes by violence, or the threat of violence, rather than by more peaceful and reasonable means. In a word, if we consider this as an expression of a basic moral attitude, we are compelled to admit that with all its humane possibilities, the modern world remains committed to force and, indeed, can be said to 'believe in' the primacy of power and of violence."

## A Deviation

One thing is clear: in agreeing to include an explicit reference to the outmoded theory of legitimate defense, with the aim of encouraging tacit acceptance of the "balance of terror," i.e. in indirectly endorsing the opinion of the American bishops, the conciliar Constitution has departed from eschatological witness and adopted a decidedly "worldly" view of human activity. Such a deviation is the more to be regretted, in that the deterrent, which the Constitution discusses in such mild terms, is actually an atrocious instrument of destruction and one that falls directly under the papal and conciliar condemnations of total war. "Whereas a few years ago," Thomas Merton wrote in his Open Letter, "it was common for our statesmen to protest that they never expected nuclear weapons would actually be used, or where perhaps they proposed the use of tactical nuclear weapons only, (28) more recently we find strategists and publicists, speaking with a certain note of authority, advocating the calculated use of nuclear weapons even on a large scale (e.g. "city-trading") as part of a rationale (if not a mystique!) of escalation. Such proposals may exercise a nefarious fascination on those theologians who are willing to equate 'controlled use' of nuclear weapons with an uncontrolled use that is in fact brutally and cynically calculated, and which includes in its calculations the deliberate and terroristic destruction of defenseless and innocent non-combatants precisely because they are defenseless and non-combatant." (29)

The presence in an ecclesiastical document of the two paragraphs we have been criticizing is, after all, wholly inopportune and contrary to the spirit of the Gospels, because these texts represent a concession on the part of the Council to the American hierarchy, that is to say, to the hierarchy of a country that is currently engaged, in Vietnam, in an undeclared war whose continued escalation could gravely threaten the peace of the world. Moreover, these paragraphs serve to confine Christian thought and action to a sterile casuistry that is militarily impracticable and morally untenable, which concerns itself with the limits that the military are never supposed to cross, when everyone knows that the logic of modern war tends to all-out combat. Besides, can anyone imagine political and military leaders agreeing to stay within the limits defined by the Church, even supposing that we could ever satisfactorily distinguish between permitted and forbidden slaughter? On the contrary, we can be sure that they are ready, and always will be, to seize upon the slightest ecclesiastical permission, however guarded and hesitant, to justify the use of force, both in theory and in practice.

What is astonishing is not that the warhawks are screaming for more blood or that the military

strategists are preparing the next peace by way of the next war, but that the disciples of Christ, in the name of the Natural Law (that chameleon-like concept which has exhausted itself in the effort to adapt everywhere and always to the most contradictory and least evangelical ethical codes) have succeeded in transforming the Beatitude of the peacemakers into a sinister jest. The real scandal is not that governments are compelling populations to take shelter beneath a canopy of iron and flame, it is not in the stockpiling of nuclear bombs and missiles, or in Mr. McNamara's escalation, or in the French force de frappe, which represents a desperate attempt to compete in horror and rival the melancholy prestige of potential mass-murderers like the Soviet Union and the United States. The real scandal is that we still find bishops, theologians, moralists and simple Christians by the thousands who are ready to accept the theology of terror, the casuistry of carnage, and the morality of murder. (30) If the Church of God is not yet capable of bringing to the world the peace of men, let her at least refrain from teaching us how to get around the Gospel! We will always have, alas, a thousand and one good reasons to take up arms and kill, we will always find ourselves weak and trembling before the powerful constraints of enraged governments, and we have no need of the Church to give us the taste for blood. What we require of the Church is a refusal on which to base our own refusal, an absolute non possumus that will help us to say No whenever the flesh and the world impel us to say Yes to hatred and to war.

## The One Way Out

If our lengthy critique has succeeded in its aim of demonstrating that contradictions exist in the conciliar Constitution and that it is obviously impossible, given the nature of modern war, to retain the notion of legitimate defense (even in theory and for the sake of its beautifully constructed principles), at least when it is applied to nations that possess nuclear weapons and are prepared to make use of them, it will be readily acknowledged that No. 79 of the Constitution, which addresses itself to the moral issues raised by "conventional" warfare and guerrilla or revolutionary struggles, is wholly inadequate in regard to nuclear war. For nuclear war means, in theory and in practice, a priori and a posteriori, total war. You can't tame an apocalypse. The "balance of terror" owes its formidable "efficacy" only to its character of indiscriminate and total menace. It is fundamentally and by definition, merciless. (31)

Only one way out remains. We must repudiate and categorically reject total war, of which nuclear armaments and the strategy of deterrence are only preliminary symptoms. The rejection must go as far as rejection of everything that involves preparation for such war or reliance on the threat that it poses to the unhappy future of this planet. To condemn total war, in theory while reserving the right to resort to it whenever it is necessary to defend threatened justice, to condemn the practice of it but employ it as a bluff in order to force the enemy to capitulate, in short, to keep on arming within the framework of the "balance of terror" is not logical or rational; it is, strictly speaking, madness, for "it is much to be feared that if this race persists, it will eventually spawn all the lethal ruin whose path it is now making ready." (32)

Despite the variegated and contradictory statements that the Council Fathers approved, as a concession to the minority that

was completely convinced by the deadly logic of the "balance of terror," (33) we must recognize that they have after all expressed radical objections to warfare, nuclear armaments, and the policy of deterrence. From now on, the Christian will be able to draw upon his Church for strength, he will no longer have to act as a solitary individual, groping tentatively for solutions, misunderstood even by his brothers in the faith. What is more, his right to refuse military service is recognized by the Church and within the Church itself. (34) Finally, nonviolence in its broadest and most positive sense, "nonviolent action which employs nonviolent methods to resolve temporal situations of injustice and violence" (35) has at last received the solemn approbation of the Church. (36)

## The Choice of Means

However, when we come to the choice of means that is offered as a way of combatting war and hastening the advent of peace, we are surprised, not by what the Council proposes, which is excellent, but by what it fails to say. To call for some "universal public authority acknowledged as such by all, and endowed with effective



power to safeguard, on the behalf of all, security, regard for justice, and respect for rights"; to endorse "efforts which have already been made and are still under way to eliminate the danger of war"; to support "the good will of the very many leaders who work hard to do away with war, which they abominate"; to "fervently ask God to give these men strength": it is obvious that all these things are necessary and praiseworthy. (37) Just as it is necessary and praiseworthy to point out that men must not abandon the quest for peace to governments alone and that different social classes must be molded and informed in such a way that they will be conditioned to peace. (38)

But what is missing in the final text of the Constitution is the attitude that inspired certain interventions of the Council Fathers in behalf of what may be called an *insurrection of conscience*. What this would imply was marvellously expressed by Cardinal Maximos, the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, in the course of the first discussions of Schema XIII. "We at the Council must make a declaration *urbis et orbis*, a declaration that will be plain, unambiguous, and precise. Such a radical condemnation on the part of the Church might well snowball, for all truth has the power to penetrate souls and spread. A groundswell of opinion from all over the world might impel the leaders, who are now immured in their nationalistic outlooks, to further reflection." (39)

## Called to Liberty

Christians (and especially the Christians of this country) must realize that they have a perfect right to succumb to the moral exigency that springs from the Gospel and impels them to reject all preparations for war, as well as the policies of terror conducted by those who are, deliberately or unwittingly, preparing an atomic war. The formal

declarations contained in the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, provide a rational and religious foundation for this positive approach, which combines refusal and struggle. When John XXIII speaks of disarmament that "proceeds from inner conviction"; when he calls upon everyone to co-operate "to banish the fear and anxious expectation of war," when he demands that "the fundamental principle on which our present peace depends be replaced by another, which declares that the true and solid peace of nations consists not in equality of arms but in mutual trust alone," when, finally, he declares: "We believe that this can be brought to pass, and we consider that it is something which reason requires, that it is eminently desirable in itself and that it will prove to be the source of many benefits," (40) one can be sure that he is not indulging in vague or sentimental exhortations designed to soothe "good" people and turn them towards purely "spiritual" efforts while the public authorities at the highest level attempt (or don't attempt) to halt the arms race and initiate the parallel and simultaneous reduction of armaments that John XXIII calls for in another passage of the encyclical. Actually, these words of the Pope are an invitation to direct action, addressed to men and women who, while remaining within the State and respecting its necessary prerogatives, must keep on exerting pressure on it until it willingly or unwillingly begins to make peace, to disarm, and to abandon its reliance upon the "balance of terror." "For you, brethren, have been called unto liberty."

Translated by Martin J. Corbin

## NOTES

(1) Fourth Constitution: "The Church in the Modern World" (formerly Schema XIII), Part 2, Chapter 5: "The Fostering of Peace and the Promotion of a Community of Nations," No. 77. Throughout we use the translation published in *The Documents of Vatican II* (Guild Press, America Press, Association Press, 1966).

(2) No. 80 of the Constitution.

(3) No. 84 of the Constitution.

(4) No. 78 of the Constitution.

(5) "As long as man remains that weak, changeable and even wicked being that he often shows himself to be, defensive arms will, unfortunately, be necessary."

(6) Council message to rulers. In *The Documents of Vatican II*, op. cit.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) I hope that the reader will bear in mind the exact meaning of this word and not mistake pained astonishment for deliberate insult.

(10) No. 79 of the Constitution.

(11) Which would land us back in the regime of "Christendom" or the confusion of Church and State. May God preserve us in future from taking partisan positions, as the Church is often tempted to do, always, unfortunately, in behalf of the more powerful side (once it has triumphed) and of "order." I would rather see the Church remain silent than bless the pious champions of injustice, as it did, unhappily, in 1939, in the case of Franco's insurgents. "The design of Providence, my dear sons, has been made manifest once again in heroic Spain. The nation chosen by God as the principal instrument of the evangelization of the New World and the impregnable fortress of the Catholic faith has given the proselytes of materialistic atheism the highest possible proof of the supremacy of the eternal values of religion and the spirit." (Pius XII, radio message to the Spanish people, April 16, 1939.) Franco, or the apologetics of blood! It is to this level that the theology of

the just war descends when it decides to be "realistic."

(12) Guenter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (McGraw-Hill, 1964, p. 251).

(13) No. 81 of the Constitution.

(14) Cardinal Leger, for example, declared: "The traditional theory of the just war has become practically inapplicable because of the extent of destruction in modern war and the number of deaths involved. We must set this theory aside." (Cf. *Le Monde*, October 8, 1965.)

(15) *La Croix*, October 9, 1965.

(16) "All these considerations compel us to undertake an evaluation of war with an entirely new attitude." (No. 80 of the Constitution.)

(17) "Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population is a crime against God and man himself." (No. 80 of the Constitution.)

(18) Pope Pius XII was already speaking in the same vein in 1954: "Should the evil consequences of adopting this method of warfare (total modern war—atomic, biological, or chemical—conducted in the course of legitimate defense) ever become so extensive as to pass utterly beyond the control of man, then indeed its use must be rejected as immoral. In that event, it would no longer be a question of 'defense against injustice' and necessary 'protection' of legitimate possessions, but of the annihilation, pure and simple, of all human life within the affected area. That is not lawful on any title." (Address to the Eighth Assembly of the World Medical Association, September 30, 1954.)

(19) No. 80 of the Constitution.

(20) I am thinking of the fact that a number of the Council Fathers, Americans for the most part, waged a campaign to insure that the chapter we are discussing (Chapter V) would not appear, by reason of its absolute condemnation of war, to condemn, in effect, those countries presently competing in the arms race.

(21) No. 81 of the Constitution.

(22) Letter issued December 20, 1964.

(23) Prominent among these Fathers were: Cardinal Spellman (New York), Shehan (Baltimore) and Bishops O'Boyle (Washington) and Hannan (New Orleans).

(24) According to the appeal submitted by Msgr. Hannan.

(25) Among the experts who drew up the memorandum on which the American bishops relied can be found men who acquired their experience in the State Department, the Defense Department, the War College, the Air Force, etc.

(26) Gordon C. Zahn, "American Experts and Schema XIII," in *The Catholic Worker*, June-July 1965. Dr. Zahn is Professor of Sociology at Loyola University, Chicago.

(27) Thomas Merton, "An Open Letter to the American Hierarchy," Schema XIII and the Modern World," in *Worldview*, September 1965.

(28) A whole "sacred" mythology exists, classifying nuclear bombs as "tactical," "legitimate," "limited in their effects," etc. Bishops Hannan and Beck, as usual, expended considerable eloquence in an attempt to demonstrate (with the aid of precise technical distinctions) that, on the whole, "tactical" nuclear weapons are no more dangerous than "conventional" weapons. This would seem a strange kind of argument for men of peace to advance, especially when we recall the destructive power of the weapons employed in World War II. But the whole subject is reduced to the level of tragic farce when the theologians

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# The Victim Soul

(Continued from Page 2)

instinctive aversion to the martyr who lets it be known that he is a martyr and who is not a religious? We are children of our time and St. Benedict Joseph Labre has been safely dead a hundred years and more. We no longer quite believe that sanctity and ragged strangers are possible traveling companions, finding it easier to associate sanctity with the cloister than with Skid Row.

"Someone has to make up the difference," he was saying, his voice rising. "How many meals do we offer up to God for the starving children of Europe, China, the world? How many personal sacrifices for the conversion of Russia? How much of our wealth do we pour out to help the people of India? The ones who die like flies from hunger and disease? I was in India once for two years, drilling artesian wells for the English two hundred miles out of Calcutta. Two years is all any white man can stand it. You know how it is out there? I could sit here all night and every night for a week and I couldn't get you to see it. I've seen children born in less decency and comfort than an alley cat in America. They're born hungry, live hungry and die hungry, in misery, filth and despair. You wouldn't treat a homeless dog the way those people are treated. You can't call them people; they're animals and they're human souls, children made in the image of God and how many of us pray for them, work for them, sacrifice for them?"

He continued to speak of India, drawing a picture of superstition, filth, parching heat, snake-ridden huts, the natives of the back-country villages who could not bathe because never in their lives had they seen more water at one time than would fill a calabash water bottle, who look on cobras as sacred, refusing to kill them, and who have the highest infant mortality rate in the world.

"We used to move from one village to the next, drilling the wells, and when we got the pump in the natives would huddle around in a mob, not believing what was going to happen, even though they had been told, and when I turned that valve I felt like Moses striking the rock. You couldn't quiet them down for two weeks; they used to live under the open valve like June bugs in a sink—the whole village bowing down, worshipping the fact that they had water enough for all to drink, to take a bath in, to irrigate those miserable little things they called a garden, and afterward when you passed in the street they'd bow down in the dirt before you in thanks. And how many of us worry about them in this country and sacrifice a meal for them? Sure, we all have worries of our own and they all add up to trying to latch on to an easier life for ourselves. To have it easy, soft, no responsibilities.

"I was young, and strong and I had a heart, and I wanted to do something, so I offered myself. Now I'm not young and my left shoulder and arm are crippled up with pain and I can hardly eat solid food, but I'm not quitting the job that was given me. Someone has to make up for the selfishness, the not caring because I'll tell you

something . . ." He heaved himself erect stiffly and flexed his arms wearily. "It'll be a rough day when no one stood up, silent. There was nothing to say to him. A problem of such heroic stature, self-imposed or otherwise, demanded at least the tribute of silence. He stood looking at us for a moment and then flipped a hand in farewell and started walking down the street toward Chinatown: a small man, bent and twisted by what might have been arthritis, and, watching him, as he disappeared into the darkness, a phrase that he had spoken earlier came into our minds: "You ask, you ask, and yet when God gives what you asked it's not what you wanted when you asked for it."

Perhaps he was right. Asking a favor of God is like unwinding a spool of thread: there is always so much more to it than we imagined, and the heart of the spool is hidden from our sight until the very end. Safer to ask for nothing and to accept and return thanks for what is given, knowing that the God of love; love in human terms, is also the God of Thunder and of Holocaust, who gathers His Creations to Him with sweeping gestures in wars, plagues, famines and earthquakes and Who is a Name not lightly invoked.

## JOE COTTER DIES

"The Victim Soul," which was first published in the October 1949 issue of the CW, is the story of Joe Cotter, who was with us from 1945 and who helped keep the work going in Easton, Pennsylvania, Newburgh, New York, Staten Island and, this last two years, here in Tivoli.

When I first met Joe, he was working on a pig farm in Secaucus, New Jersey. Anyone who has ever crossed the Jersey meadows by bus or train or car has had some acquaintance with the affront to eye, ear and nose and every other sense, exterior and interior, that such work can be. On his day off he gravitated to the Bowery, where there were always companions and forgetfulness of a kind. We kidnapped him one day, so to speak, and brought him to the farm at Easton. When he had recovered enough to think, he asked that we bring a companion of his, a certain John Ryder, to the farm. His first thought was for someone else. We looked John Ryder up and found a dying man, but one who had worked until the week before. He died at Easton, was laid out in our little barn chapel, and Joe joined with us in saying the Office of the Dead around the coffin. Next day we bore the coffin in our station wagon to the cemetery on that hilltop road, and he lies there now.

Joe soon became very much a part of our household and worked steadily at everything that came up — electrical work, plumbing, cooking, and dishwashing. Most of the time he was in pain with arthritis. He told me one Christmas Eve a few years later that he was going through the Stations of the Cross and had only reached the fourth station. How he longed to get through all fourteen of them!

But he was not a melancholy man. He had a sense of humor, and a broad smile and bright eye, though I don't think I ever heard him laugh out loud. He was a great lover of beauty and a man of compassion. Once, when some kids on the place built a fire in a great hollow dead tree and destroyed it, he remarked regretfully that he had been accustomed to go out and sit inside that hollow tree in the rain, look out over the fields around him and watch a swampy pond, where he could see all kinds of wild life. On another occasion, he saw a bird standing on its tail legs and crying out pitifully,

Thinking it was caught in some kind of trap, he waded out into the mud of the swamp, sinking knee-deep to rescue the bird, which when pulled up was found to be caught fast by a snapping turtle. That is all I remember of the tale but the picture of Joe and his love for that wild uncultivated spot comes to my mind.

He liked to build little shrines all over the place, using the excess supply of small Barclay Street statues that people were always giving us. Ade Bethune had taken some of those statues on one of her visits and turned a blond, blue eyed, pastel-garbed Madonna into a bright, blackhaired Jewish girl. If a trifle garish at first, it soon weathered to beauty.

God bless Joe for all he did for us, for all he meant to us. We who talk so much about poverty possess so much, interiorly and ex-



teriorly, that I am afraid on our deathbeds we will mourn the fact that we have scarcely made a beginning in the knowledge of what poverty and destitution mean.

Joe, when he died, left literally nothing but a change of clothes, washed to a ragged thinness. Pray for us, Joe, that we may, as you did, "take up the cross, deny ourselves daily, to follow Him, Jesus." D.D.

## Terry Sullivan

(Continued from page 1)

ments. As a Freedom Rider in 1961, he served a six-month sentence in a Mississippi jail. He has worked in houses of hospitality in Salt Lake City, New York, and Chicago, where he contracted TB. Terry has also lectured and passed out literature on Christian non-violence at colleges and universities.

The prosecutor, Paul Rooney, pleaded for a heavy sentence, stating that since Terry had burnt his draft card in defiance of the law, he might be throwing bombs tomorrow. This preposterous charge shows a complete misunderstanding of the purpose and dedication of Terry's life.

Terry was offered a suspended sentence with a year's probation on condition that he carry a draft card and obey future Selective Service orders, but he refused, pointing out that he had given the matter serious reflection before his action and did not intend to abandon his principled non-cooperation now. He is the first of the New York City draft card destroyers actually to serve time under the year-old law; the others have either received suspended sentences or are free on appeal bonds.

## Reply to Father Hugo

By CANON F. H. DRINKWATER

In answer to Father John J. Hugo in the June 1966 issue, I would not want to argue with him about St. Augustine, with whose writings I have little direct acquaintance. Instead I would refer your readers to Dr. John Noonan's book *Itself* (Contraception, Harvard University Press) which I have now been able to read and which on pp. 133-136 gives a full account of Augustine's controversy with the Pelagian bishop Julian. It seems that Augustine was not primarily defending the doctrine of original sin, but was defending himself from the charge of still talking like a Manichee. This led him to stress procreation as a reason, the only good reason in fact, for the lawfulness of married intercourse, and to stigmatize contraception as turning marriage into adultery. It seems fair comment to say that he was largely moved by revulsion from his own former behaviour and by his non-experience of real married love. He was frankly making use of the ideas and terminology of the pagan stoics. There is no sign that he envisaged the case of a married couple with eight or ten children already and another twenty years of fertility to look forward to. Such cases, and other comparable "hard cases" of daily occurrence, are what the present argument is all about, not about the selfish excesses of the merely carnal minded, whether married or unmarried, which are going to go on just the same whatever Popes and moralists say about them.

As for the doctrine of "original sin," anybody would surely be crazy to deny it in these days of Belsen and Hiroshima and Mississippi and Vietnam. Still there does seem to be a discussion brewing up in the Church's mind about the way original sin is transmitted. "Through the concupiscence of the flesh," St. Augustine said; but nobody, not even Father Hugo, would say that nowadays.

Let us leave such questions to the theologians who invented them and are happy discussing them, and let us concentrate on getting some control among those internal divisions and external discords, which are the effects of original sin. Some of us, like the present writer, have had plenty of trouble with our own sexuality, but after observing mankind for eighty years or so, with all the advantages of a pastoral viewpoint, my guess is that only a sizeable minority of mankind, considerably less than half perhaps, are more or less seriously inclined to serious sexual misbehaviour. (Of course even a minority can make quite a stir in the community!) Most of the rest no doubt are or were of the other six "deadly sins" or inclinations.

But I do so far agree with that bishop Julian as to declare that

I have known a good few people, some Christians by profession and some not, "once-born" sort of people, I suppose you might call them, in whom original sin seemed to have left no outward visible indications of its presence to speak of.

All this is rather a mystery, but with much respect to Father Hugo it has nothing whatever to do with the present questioning in the Church on birth control; which simply takes a good look at the innumerable Catholic wives who live in agony of mind and heart (and plenty of husbands too of course) and the innumerable families whose peace and happiness would be saved by the re-considering of some of St. Augustine's over-hasty generalizations; and it asks: Can it really and truly be God's will that marriage should turn into such a desperate conflict of conscience for so many devoted Christians?

I have just been reading a new French book called *3,000 Foyers Parient* (edited by P. & M. Lambert, 15 fr, from Les Editions Ouvrieres, 12 avenue Soeur Rosalie, Paris, 13). It is one of those experience-of-marriage enquiries, but covering three thousand replies instead of two or three dozen, and the enquiry was conducted during the Vatican Council by a Catholic magazine circulating in rural districts all over France. These are good would-be-practising Catholics, ordinary down-to-earth couples, not your over-sensitive intellectuals. Amongst them are a few who find that the Church's current directives can be made to work, when both partners can agree on a somewhat heroic self-discipline. But the great majority find that, especially after acquiring six or more children, they must adopt some form of contraception simply to preserve the happiness of their home, and their anxious prayer is that the Church may come to understand this. "By the time the Church makes up its mind to help us" says one wife wryly, "I could have six more children." (She already has eight). "God cannot judge you severely," says another "when you're only trying to keep your husband and bring up your children in a happy peaceful home." And others: "I hope the Council will find a solution to bring peace back to our consciences, for at present marriage is a hell." "Enlighten us some other way than by these prohibitions!" You can't lay down any general rule, say the more thoughtful ones, it is a different problem with each couple, let the Church give us a solution worthy of human dignity and Christian responsibility.

Ed. note: Since Father Hugo and Canon Drinkwater have now had two opportunities aplenty to express their respective points of view on the problem of birth control, we are terminating this particular inter-ference with the above rejoinder.

## If You Are Interested . . .

This is an invitation.

If you are interested in peace, in nonviolent alternatives to armed conflict, in conscience and conscientious objection, in the theology of peace, in any or all of a dozen related areas—if these are among your interests, we think you should be hearing from the Catholic Peace Fellowship.

Our suggestion is that you send us a note or a postcard placing your name on our mailing list. What this means is that we would like to be sure that you receive our occasional BULLETIN; the reprints we send out from time to time and so forth. It would make it easier for you to take advantage of our literature program or to use the tapes and films we are accumulating in the CPF library.

There is no charge for the BULLETIN or the mailings. Nor will your name be made available for mailings from other organizations.

If you are interested, please let us hear from you.

THE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP  
5 Beekman St., New York 10038

How ironic it is, that in Chicago, four days of rioting were precipitated by the shutting of water hydrants; the authorities then found ten thousand dollars for portable pools, but meanwhile the State was spending a hundred thousand dollars per day for the National Guard. America will have to see that the opulent life of so many of its people cannot exist in tranquility if other millions still languish in bitter poverty and hopelessness.

Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

# Council & Nuclear War

(Continued from page 5)

strain to provide examples of the "morally licit" use of atomic weapons. Thus the article on "War" in the scholarly encyclopedia *Catholicisme*, jointly written by Father Ducatillon, O.P. and the Abbe Jacquemont, contains this chilling specimen of crackpot realism: "The use of a weapon, whatever its nature, against a clearly isolated military objective, must be allowed. Even an atomic bomb can be dropped on a fleet at sea far from shore, on a motorized division crossing the desert, on a concentration of troops on the steppes, or on a base in the Arctic wastes." "Ah," as the father said in *Ubu Roi*, "if only cities could be built in the country!" Actually, all these ratiocinations fall to the ground in view of the necessarily total character of modern war, its inevitable tendency to escalate, and the fact that a distinction between civilian and military targets is no longer possible.

(29). Thomas Merton, *op. cit.* (Emphasis in the original.) Remember that the men who determine French nuclear policy have resolutely opted for an anti-city strategy.

(30). After acknowledging the right to legitimate defense, No. 79 of the Constitution warns that such grave matters must be treated seriously. Of course they must, but the seriousness of the Church derives from the absolutes of the Gospel, not from the wisdom of Machiavelli. Bishop Hannan complained that the Schema might be ridiculed in political and military circles all over the world. How terrible! In other words, it might encounter the same fate as the Gospel.

(31). On the other hand, if we were here discussing "scientific" non-nuclear weapons, such as the use of gas warfare and certain biological weapons introduced on a limited scale, or had to pronounce on the systematic destruction of population centers (even by means of "conventional weapons"), on torture, and on the "scorched-earth" policy aimed at starving out civilian populations (cf., for example, what is happening in Vietnam), paragraph 79 of the Constitution would provide us with powerful support: "Blind obedience cannot excuse those who yield to (criminal orders) . . . The courage of those who openly and fearlessly resist men who issue such commands merits supreme commendation."

(32). No. 81 of the Constitution.

(33). It is important to note that these paragraphs were far from satisfying the ten prelates who, as we mentioned earlier, had threatened to vote against Schema XIII. In a letter dated December 2, 1965, (part of which appeared in *Le Monde* for December 4th), they stressed the fact that there is a flagrant contradiction between No. 79 of the Constitution, which concedes the right of nations to legitimate self-defense, and Nos. 80 and 81, which condemn not only the use but, by the same token, the very possession of modern scientific weapons. This is quite true; the contradiction is certainly there, and we have stressed it. But the prelates proposed to resolve it by demanding, in the name of realism and patriotism, that no condemnation of total war and the "balance of terror" be included. The Council

has not gone along with them on this; instead, it has chosen not to choose.

(34). "It seems right that laws make humane provisions for the case of those who for reasons of conscience refuse to bear arms, provided however, that they accept some other form of service to the human community." No. 79 of the Constitution.

(35). The description is Professor Olivier Lacombe's.

(36). "Motivated by this same spirit, we cannot fail to praise those who renounce the use of violence in the vindication of their rights and who resort to methods of defense which are otherwise available to weaker parties too . . ." No. 78 of the Constitution.

(37). No. 82 of the Constitution.

(38). *Ibid.*

(39). See the *Catholic Worker*, July-August 1965.

(40). No. 113 of the encyclical. On this subject, permit us to refer the reader to our article "Clefts pour Pacem in Terris" in "Declarons la Paix," the special number of *Freres du Monde*.

Ed. Note: Father Chaigne's article appeared originally in issue No. 38 (1965) of the important Franciscan bi-monthly *Freres du Monde* (208 rue de Pessac, Bordeaux, France), of which he is co-editor. It also forms the introduction to a recently published book, *Folie Nucleaire*, (Editions de L'Epi, 9 and 13 rue Segulier, Paris) by Daniel Parker and Robert Benoit. Father Chaigne's article on "The Spirit and Techniques of Gandhian Non-Violence" was published in the Spring, 1961 issue of *Cross Currents*.

## Volunteer Cook

64 Chatham, St.  
Chatham, New Jersey  
07928

Dear Dorothy:

I want to thank you for Bill Esher's article "Farm Workers' Pilgrimage" in the June issue of the *Catholic Worker*.

During the past year I, along with two other girls, worked as an Extension volunteer in the small town of Del Rey. About twenty-five of the marchers spent the night there. Our women and high-school girls spent all day cooking for the marchers. I couldn't believe what the huelga had done for Del Rey. Every day the young children, from nine years old up to high-school age, kept up with the news. Young girls went around from door to door collecting food from those who could not afford to give it anyway—meeting with real charity.

Thank you so very much for following the cause of our brothers in Delano and the fields of labor all over.

Yours in Christ,  
Florry Ryan.

"Today, America is no longer the inspirer of the world revolution . . . By contrast, America is today the leader of the world-wide anti-revolutionary movement in defense of vested interests. She now stands for what Rome stood for. Rome consistently supported the rich against the poor in all foreign communities that fell under her sway, and, since the poor have always and everywhere been far more numerous than the rich, Rome's policy made for inequality, for injustice, and for the least happiness of the greatest number. America's decision to adopt Rome's role has been deliberate, if I have gauged right."

—Arnold Toynbee, *America and the World Revolution*



## AGAINST APARTHEID

The application of what might very well be a new, effective and revolutionary weapon in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa has been called for by A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Committee of Conscience Against Apartheid. The Committee, formed by the American Committee on Africa and working in co-operation with the National Student Christian Federation, has departed from the usual technique of demonstration against, and appeal to, the United States Government for its support of apartheid and decided to organize individual economic sanctions against the two American banks that extend the largest credit support to the government of South Africa: First National City Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank, both in New York City.

With Friday, December 9, 1966 (the day before Human Rights Day) as target date, the Committee of Conscience is calling on all depositors in both banks, both individuals and organizations, to withdraw their accounts in protest against the banks' policy of choosing profits over human rights.

The end results of the policy of apartheid in terms of human misery resulting from the deliberate physical, moral and spiritual brutalization of the blacks in South Africa are incalculable, but the economic facts of their degradation are a matter of record:

Out of a population of 15.5 million souls in the Republic of South Africa there are roughly four blacks to one white. White per-capita income is \$1,790; Blacks \$116. White average wage in the mines (the principal industry) is \$3,800; Blacks \$210. White education expenditure per pupil: \$300; Blacks: \$19. White infant mortality per 1,000 births: 29; Blacks: 200 plus. White life expectancy: 67-72 years; Blacks: 37-42; White trade union membership: 344,752; Blacks: none; White convictions for pass offenses (inhibitions on free travel within the Republic) none; Blacks: 5,000,000 in the period 1948-1966.

The effective protest alternatives on the part of men and women of good will in the United States to this situation are limited. They are: 1. Individual prayer, fasting and penance to demonstrate sympathy for, and spiritual unity with, the exploited blacks of South Africa. 2. Reasoned appeal to the government of South Africa to change its policy and mitigate the misery of the blacks. 3. The use of force to compel a change in the attitude of the South African government toward the blacks. 4. An appeal to the conscience of the whites of South Africa to change their policy toward the blacks. 5. The employment of economic sanctions by American citizens against institutions in the United States that are contributing to and supporting apartheid.

Since reason and appeal to conscience have proved fruitless and the employment of force is prohibited by pacifist philosophy, only the first and fifth categories remain as alternatives. Boycotting of banks has proven effective in the United States on at least two former occasions: by the Chinese and Japanese resident in the country at the time of the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act, and by the Jews against banks doing business with the Hitler regime prior to World War II.

# Roman Refusal

War objectors facing prison today (see stories on page 1) are continuing a long and honorable tradition of individual resistance to the claims of the warring State.

The refusal by Christians to bear arms in violation of their conscience and religious beliefs is of ancient tradition. The great official persecutions of 303 A.D. in the armies of Rome were preceded by many isolated instances of harsh discipline against those individual Christians who were soldiers and whose individual consciences on the matter of pursuing unjust wars hardened to the point of accepting natural extinction rather than kill innocents or participate in un-Christian practices.

Eusebius, in *Hist. Eccl.*, viii, 1,7 notes: "when (the Christians) were still holding their meeting . . . persecutions began against those brethren who were in the army." Lactantius (*cf. De mortibus persecut.*, 10) notes: "While Diocletian was in the East he was carrying out sacrifices of animals from whose entrails the haruspices were to foretell the future. Some Christians who were assisting at the sacrifices as court officials made the sign of the cross; the chief of the haruspices, who had been unable to foretell anything from the entrails, attributed this lapse to the presence of profane persons who were not pleasing to the gods. Diocletian became angry and ordered that the official and everybody present should immediately sacrifice to the gods under pain of flagellation. Orders were sent also to senior officers of the army that all soldiers should offer sacrifice or be expelled from the army."

Eusebius notes of this incident: "Very many of them who were soldiers of the kingdom of Christ preferred without delay to confess Him clearly rather than have apparent glory and well-being. Of these latter, however, it was rare that one or two should endure not only loss of rank, but also punishment of death, for he who directed the action was proceeding slowly and dared to shed the blood only of a few; it seems he feared the number of faithful and did not wish to declare war on them all together" (*Hist. Eccl.*, viii, 4, 3-4).

On March 12, 295 A.D., having attained the age of 21, Maximilian was called up for military service and in company of his father reported at Theveste in Numidia before the Proconsul Cassius Dio.

The Proconsul began the interrogation by asking Maximilian his name.

M. Why do you ask my name? I cannot be a soldier for I am a Christian.

P. (ignoring the reply and addressing his assistants) Inspect him medically and measure him.

M. I tell you I cannot be a soldier; I cannot do evil; I am a Christian.

P. (to his assistants) Measure him, I tell you. (This being done, it was found that Maximilian's height was five feet ten inches).

P. Mark him. (A Roman conscript upon being found acceptable for service was branded with a red-hot iron with the initial of the reigning emperor, and a leaden seal carrying the imperial effigy was hung around his neck.)

M. I cannot be a soldier. Cut soldier.

P. Be a soldier, or die.

M. I cannot be a soldier. Cut off my head; I cannot be a soldier of this world. I must serve only under my God.

P. Who has given you these ideas?

M. My soul and He Who has called me.

P. (to Maximilian's father) Persuade your son.

A. He is my son; he has a mind of his own; he knows what he is doing.

P. (to Maximilian) Accept the

seal.

M. I will not accept it. I already have the seal of Christ, my God.

P. You young fool. I will send you straight to your Christ.

M. Do it immediately. It will be my glory.

P. Mark him. (At this the assistants took hold of Maximilian but he wrested free, shouting.)

M. I will not receive the seal of the world. If you put it around my neck I will break it, for I put no value on it. I am a Christian . . .

P. In the sacred company of our lords Diocletian and Maximilian Constantius and Galerius, there are Christian soldiers and they are not afraid to fight.

M. They do what they think is right. As far as I am concerned I am a Christian and cannot do evil.

P. Do you say that those who fight in our armies do evil therefore?

M. You know what they do.

The proconsul Cassius Dio thereupon pronounced sentence, "Maximilian, since with disloyal spirit (*indevote animo*) you have refused military service you will be punished as an example to others, by the sword." Maximilian's reply was brief; "Deo gratias." Led to the place of execution, Maximilian asked his father to give his new uniform as a conscript to the executioner and thereupon suffered the sword. Eusebius notes that Maximilian's father returned home full of joy and thanking God for what had happened. (But Eusebius was a priest and Maximilian was not a son of his flesh.)

In the year 298 A.D., during the ceremonies attendant on the renewal of the oath of loyalty to the Emperor, the centurion Marcellus, a veteran of more than twenty years service and many campaigns in the Near East flung his belt to the ground before the legionary eagles and, casting his sword and insignia of rank after it, declared, "I am a soldier of Jesus Christ. I will serve in the army of the emperor no more." Arrested and taken before the prefect of the Legion, Fortunatus, he was sent to Agricolaus, vicar of the prefects of the praetorian guard. The interrogation opened with a reading of the details of the offense sent in by Fortunatus. "This soldier, throwing away his military belt declared himself a Christian and uttered blasphemies against the gods and against Caesar . . ."

Upon completion of the reading of the charge Agricolaus turned to the accused:

A. Did you say the words reported by the Prefect in his letter?

M. I did.

A. You serve as a centurion.

M. I do.

A. What madness was it that made you refuse the military oath and speak in such a way?

M. Among those who fear the Lord there is no madness.

A. Did you say all the things mentioned in this report?

M. I did.

A. Did you throw away your arms?

M. I did. It is not right for a Christian who serves in the army of the Lord Christ to serve also in worldly armies.

A. Let it be written that Marcellus who served as a centurion in the 1st Cohort of the Legion of Trajan publicly refused to take the oath; said that it was foul and uttered other words full of madness referred to in the report of the Prefect; we order that he be executed by the sword.

M. Deus tibi bene faciat.

At this, the non-combatant scribe at the interrogation, one Cassian, flung down his tablet and pencil. Rebuked by Agricolaus, he replied, "You have pronounced an unjust sentence." His successor scribe noted that, "For the sin of insubordination the scribe Cassian was also executed by the sword."

# LETTERS

## Song & Dialogue

c/o Engel  
625 Gayle Avenue  
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Dear Dorothy:

Our pilgrimage on wheels temporarily collapsed with our crankshaft three hundred miles south of San Francisco. Used the last of our money to get towed into San Francisco. But since our last letter to the *Catholic Worker* (September 1963), we have had some beautiful experiences, which we can only outline.

In Chicago in September a sad yet hopeful dialogue on Christian pacifism with Joe Breig, who remembers you and the CW from many years ago. Sad because of the many we could not reach—hopeful for the few that we could. A great lesson learned from this: to make full use of our talents (music and song) before entering into controversy. Also attended a beautiful Mass at Christian Family Movement-Young Catholic Student headquarters, celebrated by a New Zealand bishop. Visited with Karl Meyer.

Played for the coffee house and Sunday service of the Lutheran student group at the University of Wisconsin, and sat in on a meeting of the Catholic Pax group while they drew up a leaflet against the Vietnam war to be passed out in the churches of Madison.

In Minneapolis, stayed with the Humphreys just at the time that eldest son Michael received his conscientious-objector classification. At the invitation of Kathryn Brown, wife of the dean of graduate students at Kansas State University, we did a program for the Quakers and another in the religious student group's coffee house. In St. Louis, we stayed with Bob and Pat Rudolph and their four children. Pat was nearing completion of her soon to be published booklet on breast feeding. A young man calling himself Joaquin, whom we met through the School of Living, gave us three days of love labor on our old truck, and helped us buy tools so we could fix it ourselves in the future. We did a program for Webster College experimental grade school, and then one at their Mullanphy Street project, where two nuns from the Sociology Department and several of their students are living in an old building in a slum area and working with the Negro people there.

Stopped by the Sons of Levi community in the Ozarks, showed the slides of the communities I'd visited in Europe, and sang the Levites' own songs with them. Then a group from this hundred-member community, which preaches and practices integration and ecumenism, came to Mass with us in the small local mission church. In Oklahoma City, Father John Vrana arranged programs in a seminary and a Montessori School for Negro children.

Spent December in Brownsville, Texas, with friends from my Navy days. Lived in a little Mexican shack next to the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Then comparatively quick moving, camping out through the cold of west Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

In the warmth, climatic and human, of San Diego, we did several programs arranged by Toni Kran, one for the La Jolla Quakers with Peace Pilgrim, and another for a group of high-school students. We also did an international song program at the Cardijn Center. Spent a most active ten days in Los Angeles. Because of the large reactionary sentiment in the area, those trying to follow the all-embracing Christ certainly have an adventurous, almost catacomb-like, time of it.

In San Francisco, we met many wonderful people and did programs for the Catholic Family

Movement and The House, a fantastic group of students from Berkeley who have a fine CW-type commune going. Worked over a month fixing the truck, and when we got it going, drove over to Stockton and marched along with the Delano grape strikers through the town. Before leaving, Albert Sperisen, a book collector, showed us one of the best collections of Eric Gill's work we've ever seen. We met Paul Goodman at The House and saw the amazing Callagys.

We are now heading for Michigan and will spend the summer in and around the area. Hope to make the School of Living home-steaders festival in southern Ohio on July 4th. Want to be back in New York in the fall to set things up for our next project: a few years' work with Abbe Pierre's group in Lima, Peru. Our son Blaise grows happy, though, and curious, as only a nomad baby can.

Love to all in the city and at the farm.

Barney and Pat McCaffrey

## Contra HUAC

Suite 101  
3757 Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California  
90005

Dear Dorothy Day:

For the first time since a national campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began six years ago, the Catholic press has begun to present the issue with some frequency. The latest coverage is in the Boston Pilot of June 11th, in the form of a letter from Rev. Joseph Fichter, S. J., Professor of Catholic Studies at Harvard Divinity School, who carefully spells out the reasons why Congress should investigate HUAC.

Just last month I flew east to attend a two-day meeting in Chicago of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC (of which I am a vice president) and spent an additional three weeks just talking to fellow Catholics in Boston, New York and Chicago on my favorite topic: the need to rid ourselves of the inquisitorial HUAC.

I had the privilege of talking to groups at Newton College of the Sacred Heart, Holy Cross College, the national Young Christian Students and the Phoenix. I also had informal visits with faculty members at Loyola University, De Paul and St. Xavier College, all in the Chicago area. House meetings in Chicago, Newton, Massachusetts, and Tarrytown, New York, brought me in contact with many important community leaders as well as fellow Catholics.

On returning home I was delighted to see a piece in the National Catholic Reporter about the campaign to prevent three Chicagoans from being cited for contempt of Congress for refusing, on advice of counsel, to testify before HUAC in May, 1965. The Reporter story pointed out that nearly a hundred Catholic priests were among the four hundred religious leaders of all faiths who signed a recent petition opposing the contempt citations. Rev. Robert F. Drinan, S. J., Dean of the Law School of Boston College and a member of the National Lawyers Guild, was one of the originators of the petition.

Dorothy Marshall

## Socialist Man

Box 462  
Brooklyn, New York  
11201

Dear Editors:

The second annual Socialist Scholars Conference will be held in New York at the Hotel Commodore, from September 9th through September 11th. The noted historian and political analyst Isaac

Deutscher and the social philosopher Herbert Marcuse will participate in a discussion "On Socialist Man," to lead off the conference.

Other discussants and topics include: American historians Eugene D. Genovese (Rutgers) and C. Vann Woodward (Yale) on "The Legacy of Negro Slavery"; economists Alexander Erlich (Columbia) and Lynn Turgeon (Hofstra) on "Liberalism and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union"; anthropologist Oscar Lewis and sociologist Richard Cloward (Columbia) on "Poverty and Powerlessness." Economist Paul M. Sweezy will participate in a discussion of the study *Monopoly Capital*, on which he collaborated along with the late Paul Baran, and which has been called one of the most significant works of contemporary Marxist scholarship.

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, author of *Writers and Politics*, former United Nations official, and now Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at New York University, will address a dinner meeting.

The first Socialist Scholars Conference, held at Columbia University last September, attracted over a thousand students, scholars, edi-



tors, and others. The Conference intends to bring together intellectuals of many disciplines who share a broadly socialist perspective. No one's ideological credentials will be scrutinized, nor will partisan purposes be entertained at the meetings.

Persons who want to attend, or who are generally interested, are urged to write to the Socialist Scholars Conference, at the above address.

Louis Menashe

## Dynamic Peace

Box 338  
Monterey, Massachusetts  
01245

Dear Editor:

"The Enjoyment of Peace," by Jim McMurtry (June issue) is a wonderful presentation of realized eschatology; yet, as he hints in his long last paragraph, he has not told the whole story. For that, or to approach that ever-advancing goal, we need to investigate the nature of eternity.

Isaiah 9:7 (though not in the Confraternity version) says that of the increase of Messiah's government and of peace there will be no end. Eternity, in one sense, is the sum of time past, present and to come. Yet there is a pattern in continuous time; insofar as we perceive this pattern by partaking in its evolution, we are lifted (or lowered) out of time into eternity, which thus can be conceived as different from time.

So what I believe in is a dynamic, a lively peace. Endless calm would be enduring death. Rapture ought to be prayer, and prayer ought to be work, and work is not always play but sometimes pain. To be truly redeemed, emancipated, is to share in emancipating others; but those others often shrink back from the prospect of liberty, it is difficult to wean them from slavery.

I refer you to the seventh or eighth strophe or chapter in the *Franciscan Fioretti*, where St. Francis defines perfect joy.

Kelly Jones

## A Farm With a View

(Continued from Page 3)

College, now fellow-communitarian at the Catholic Worker, spoke on Social Justice and Russian Literature. By means of well-chosen anecdotes and perceptive insights, Helene gave us a better idea of the whole texture of Russian literature than most of us had, though most of us consider Dostoevsky a must for everyone who wants to understand the Catholic Worker. The Russian revolution grew out of the denial of social justice to the great masses of the Russian people. Social justice is a way to peace.

During the remainder of the week Stanley Vishnewski spoke on the history of the Catholic Worker. Marty Corbin and Tom Cornell spoke on pacifism. I spoke on houses of hospitality on the land; John McKeon spoke on social writing. Tom Murray spoke at the concluding session on civil rights, with emphasis on the significance and applicability of "black power." Whatever the subject, peace was not far away.

Some of the events planned for the remainder of the summer will also be related, directly or indirectly, to peace. The intercultural exchange program, which Tom Murray has organized for August 9th, 10th, and 11th, is certainly the kind of program which will help promote better understanding and good will among people of different cultural and racial backgrounds, and so ultimately help people to learn to live together peacefully. The Peacemakers will hold a ten-day conference period here at the farm, beginning August 20th. Some outstanding pacifists will be numbered among the speakers, including the number-one pacifist, A. J. Muste.

### Haven of Hospitality

The fact is that most of the events which have occurred at the farm this summer have had some bearing on peace. Certainly the week-long retreat that Father John J. Hugo gave us during the latter part of June can only be regarded as spiritual preparation for peaceful thinking and living. The two weekend retreats, which Tom Murray, working with some young priests from Brooklyn, organized for some of the young people—teen-agers mainly—from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn ought also help prepare the way to peace. We are glad, too, that Jerry Lehmann and Bill Henry bring the Harlem boys and girls who vacation on the Ammon Hennacy Farm to enjoy our swimming pool. We are also glad that many of the young people and their guests on the new Roger LaPorte Farm, which is located on land adjoining ours, have also been frequent visitors and hope that their center will grow into a true haven of peace and hospitality. More such farms and centers are needed. Every child in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant should have the chance to vacation in the country, to breathe fresh air in freedom and uncrowded leisure, to learn in the quiet and beauty of the country how to live peacefully.

But there are other peacemakers among us, those who do the work, who make it possible for others to come for retreats, conferences, and vacations. Some of those who help look after the never-ending chores of house, kitchen, garden, and general maintenance, have been with us for some time; others have recently joined our community; some are summer visitors; all have rendered important service. I think particularly of John Filliger, Hans Tunnesen, Mike Sullivan, Fred Lindsey, Jim Canavan, Alice Lawrence, Rita Corbin, Kay Lynch, Marge Hughes, Bill Patton, George Collins, Steve Amdur, Allen De Loach, Brooks Erickson, Bob Stewart and John McKeon.

For all our concern with peace, summertime often seems a frenetic time to those of us who live here at the farm. There seem to be innumerable comings and goings, with waves and waves of

visitors. The voices of children at play are heard throughout the day. Often in the evening young people gather around a guitarist to sing their favorite folk songs or songs of protest. Later on there are gatherings in the dining room over tea or coffee and toast, with roundtable discussions led by Helene Iswolsky, Marge Hughes, or John McKeon. Every weekday afternoon our swimming pool is still used for swimming classes for Tivoli school children; at other times it is, as always, a recreation center for everyone living round about and for our community and guests. With so many cars driving in and out, and the dust—we have again experienced a prolonged drought—blowing in through my windows, once again I feel that I am living in the middle of a parking lot. The noise and stench of cars, however, do not deter the birds from singing—though the bird-song season is now almost ended—nor me from listening to them. One afternoon, late in July, several wrens gathered on my window boxes and gave me a concert that lasted all afternoon. They sang so happily, so ecstatically, that I thought they must intend it for me personally, a kind of farewell concert before migration time and the long quiet.

As to visitors, I think that if we kept more accurate records, this summer would prove a record breaker. We are glad that so many of those associated with the work in former times or other places have been able to visit, that several second-generation Catholic Workers have spent some time with us, that so many large families in need of a change have come to vacation with us. We are particularly glad that Dorothy Day's daughter, Tamar Hennessey, and most of the grandchildren were able to spend time here during July.

Our preoccupation with peace has not exempted us from the problems of daily living. One of these is—as it is with so many families—the high cost of living. Our garden—over which John Filliger, Eric Marx, Catherine and David Miller and George Collins expended so much worry and effort—was somewhat retarded because of the late spring and the drought. The beans, beets, cucumbers and squash have been excellent; the tomatoes and sweet corn are beginning to come in. These vegetables are a great help, but there is still much to buy, and so many to feed. There are as always some tensions and friction among us. There are a few who take advantage of the rare kind of freedom prevailing at the Catholic Worker. There are many who come to us with serious problems. Fortunately, too, there are many who come with a serious desire to help.

Sickness and death have not been absent from our community. On the eve of Father Hugo's retreat, Joe Cotter, a true Catholic Worker, died. Joe's obituary, written by Dorothy Day, and an article about him written some years ago by John McKeon, will be found in this issue of the paper.

Nature always seems to maintain a balance of life and death. Two baby boys were born here at the farm during July; and one of them—Wamwego Christopher—was christened and received into Christendom to the happy singing of a choir of Christian Brothers in St. Christopher's Church in Red Hook. Tom and Jan Murray have been a great help to the two young mothers and their young sons.

Once more in the hot dog-day evening, the sun moves toward its enthronement on the Catskills, trailing fire and gold across the Hudson. The great bombers fly over Vietnam. Napalm bombs rain fire. The burning villages, the living torches, hide the sunset. The hawks of war cry: Escalate. Escalate. O Lord, where is your peace? Dona nobis pacem.