On the Dignity of Labor

RACE PROBLEMS

1. Not Better
   a. The Jews think that they are better than the Negroes.
   b. The Germans think that they are better than the Jews.
   c. I don't think that the Jews are better than the Negroes or the Germans.
   d. The way for the Jews to be better than the Germans is to behave the way the Prophets want the Jews to behave.
   e. The way for the Negroes to be better than the Jews or the Germans is to behave the way Saint Augustine was instructed to behave.

II. Germans and Irish

1. Hitler wants all the Germans to join the German Reich.
2. Hitler says that only the German Betch can make good Germans out of the Irish.
3. According to Hitler's way of thinking, to make good soldiers out of the Irish is to make good Germans out of the Irish.
4. When the Irish were Irish, they did not try to make good soldiers out of the Irish, but they tried to make good scholars out of them.

III. Soldiers and Scholars

1. Soldiers rely on the power of the sword.
2. Scholars rely on the power of the word.
3. Soldiers think in terms of Empire.
4. Scholars think in terms of culture.

We are weighty with great issues this month, so this is a very long column, as one of our seminarian friends called it, and we're not going to let you down.

Maryfarm

As we left Maryfarm, Fr. Roy was still looking at the list of plumbers and carpenters, and three Irish girls, sent out as shock troops, were taking over the important work of making the retreat. We are grateful to the girls for their efforts, and we are looking forward to our winter retreats.

CATHOLIC WORKER

POPE PIUS XII

November, 1944

Price One Cent

FR. GARRETT'S CONDEMNED WAR

Dear Miss Day:

Your request for more letters in regard to war was very welcome to me. For a long time I have been desirous of denouncing this War World II as improper. The way of modern war is not the way of Jesus Christ. Nor is this way effective in bringing peace into the world. Out of War World I came greater evils than we attempted to eradicate. Force clearly breeds more force. Instead of doing away with evil we are only creating greater evils by trying to do away with them by employing more force. It is incentive and refreshing to read of your work against war and for peace, if it will help you to know that I am opposed in conscience to this war and to all that I have known of modern war I am only too happy to put my convictions in writing.

My own attitude is that Chris- tian life is the blood of Christ and Paul's blood. Paul has taught us other ways of correcting those who err and admonishing those who follow evil ways. Neither should we shed the blood of infidels and heretics. History is certainly clear enough, by way of the Cru- ci-...
Day by Day

(Continued from page 1)

(b) pleasures, having such good ex-

ample around. "What social

worker," he says, "would even
think of working in this way?"

These are the techniques—volun-

tary poverty and manual labors.

Visitors come and go at Mary-
farm and one never knows when

the Newmans will arrive at two a.m. (the last

train from New York). They

come on their way to Cali-

fornia in one case. They

come from New York and Phila-

delphia, Connecticut. One

never knows who is going to sit down to

lunch or dinner. We have to have plenty of home-made

wholesale. We must have enough to

eat on our guesthouse. We have

one of our friends named Vomico,

who has been installing a stove.

Simplicity

Fr. Roy eats his usual cooked

milk for breakfast and supper.

There is plenty of bread and

home-made butter, and apple

sauce and pears, and cabbage

and carrots. Anne Marie

usually has about ten over the most tempting cakes and pies

which she toasts off outside.

But we are still hungry and hot and the bread turns out to

be undercooked.

Well, she has been baking the bread in the boulangerie

barn. Tamar has been supply-

ing us with butter and cereals

and her parsnips are good too

she says. But in general gardens

were a failure this year. We

gave to our neighbors for potatoes

and cabbage. We did not mention in

the paper that our horse, Jim,

died. We had had him eight years and it was a great grief
to us. So the full plowing was
done by a neighbor and we put in

a field of winter wheat. The

seed is paid for, but not the work

as usual. We heard of one girl

who sells us a smile for a hundred

dollars. We are debating about

raising oxen too, eventually.

For a silly old farm as ours, oxen

could do good. I will write new

stories that Stanley Vishnewsky

whispered to me in Grailville.

We are back with appendicitis.

(Friends please write).

On the Great

After a day's visit in Pitts-

burgh, I took an all-night train
to Chicago, and there was a

time in there for Mass on All

Souls' day. Although I had spent

a long time on the train, I was

other farm connected with the

other farm in Grailville. I had

never visited the school

at Grailville. It is a big

farm, at least a thousand

acres, with pigs, goats, chickens, bees (the

bees have been killed by

twenty-five girls attending the "We

come around, and we were going through the

laundry in the basement of the

big house, we thought of Canon

Bundy's Window, a phrase too

pitifully, how neat and spotless it

always was, by very well managed

and developed!

And just as I was thinking

how wonderful it is to

be alive, I remembered that the farm

at Foster is now in the process of

conversion, that the washing was

done in galvanized tubs, over

open fires, the water out of

houses too, as in Easton, and

no central heat, no water, no

baths. Indeed Foster is a most

special small farm, to

show how little good can be

abundantly without some of the

so-called essentials.

It was a most beautiful hol-

iday, and we feasted on roast
duck, and vegetables, and

fruit, milk, butter and honey-

all things grown on the land

thereby.

Fr. Eumnann, of Rochester,

was there for the holy days, and

conferences on plain chant and

on the feast of the day, were

stimulating.

In Chicago I spoke at the School

of Social Study, at Friendship

House, at the Catholic

College, at the Alexian Brothers

Hospital in the Loop, to

organizers and to a general

meeting of our fraternity.

I was astonished at the

auditorium of Corpus Christi

parish on the South Side. Several

nights I stopped in at the


cayn, Margaret Blazer, and Florence

Weinhard, a German, and three of the girls

founded as associated with

the Milwaukee House and now

working for the welfare of the poor.

Put the time of the Martin de Por-

center on the west side, where we

work as Friends House does with

the Negroes.

As usual one is struck by

the ghastly slums of the great

cities, and one wonders how poor

can get used to them. Dream

of a Barack Obama in

parachutes, on miles of unpainted

garage, tin cans and

refuse, where one, stuffed in

sky blue in smoke. Here in these

and endless streets, miles

and miles of box-like homes on

the south side live Negroes in

hovels. They buy their food

at the price while people must pay.

There is a very dull period and

the colored feel keenly this

exclusion. There were horrifying

tales of Jim Crow and

the difficulty of getting

parchment for the white

house. These papers were

full of these stories, but the

white papers did not mention them.

of what the world was

becoming the tool of selfish

interests greedily plotting to in-

volve more and more of the

powers of big business. I had

never visited the school

House of Hospitality. John Cog-

nery, Mary farm, which began October

first and at Grailville.

I could not find a school

in the victims of an unhealthy social and economic order

propagates the false conception.

that effective concentrations of economic

the paper that our

readers will look up

slums are staying in Maryhouse, 2024-25th St.,

we put up our guesthouse,

a new paper out

from page 1) 1944.

W. "crowd and ac-

institutions and legislation, coopera-

and a few miles away,

We considered

the technique of working in this way.

been installing a stove, who

in the past two years. She was delighted

to have a visit from

with Justine Lenupercy in

Martin House, Detroit, for the

conference. It was not

enough for the future, though she was eager for

news of the C. W. group and ac-

tives.

these are some of the issues taken

over way. The September, 1944, issue

of the CATHOLIC WORKER

While I am in Minneapolis, I

write Maryfarm, 2024-25th St.,

which opened on September

first, as a House of Hospitality.

acter and social workers, a

nical and spiritual works of mercy,

in the neighborhood." Since I

had met most of the women

living there at that retreat at Oak-

mound, I have felt much at home.

in the south. They have worked,

some of them, for New York,

Mobile, and we hope eventu-

ally to establish an exchange of

books and experiences.

The houses for men which were

in other words, the need is great but there is no one
to take the responsibility right now. It seems to me

one of the best things one can do. I am

living on the farm at Aikin, and

Catherine Rivers, who has the

adjoining farm, has gone to

Chicago for the winter.

There is also the small

house from Boston, asking why we

please write. We have a list

of houses! What an overnight!
The house there on Rollins St.

over there. The work and the

work has continued for many

years now, with only a few

intermissions.

Leaving here I am visiting Su-

Edward Mariani, one of the founders

of the Catholic Worker, and

the Chicago House of Hospitality. John Cog-

nery, editor of the former Catholic

Worker, where I had spent

regularly. The subscription is a

dollar a year.

"We chose WORK as our name

because it expressed our aim to

work for the community in our

society . . . Today's great need is

regarded as some sort of nec-

essary purgatory leading to a

better order." (August, 1943.)

Unemployment and land dis-

pension, housing programs, racial

justice, the annual wage, union

issues and legislation, cooper-

atives. . . .

THE EDITORS.
The Immorality of Conscription

By Father John J. Hugo

To fight war we must fight conscription, the acceptance of conscription. To this fight The Catholic Worker pledges itself as long as we are permitted to exist.

The Popes opposed it. The German Bishops opposed it. Cardinal Mannix of Australia defeated it. It was defeated in Ireland.

We urge all our readers to enlist with us to fight conscription in America.

The above lines are quotations from the leaflet, "FIGHT CONSCRIPTION," by Dorothy Day, published four years ago. In the May and June, 1943, issues of The Catholic Worker, Father Hugo has published the pamphlets, "War and Conscription at the Bar of

PART I

Introductory:

The State of the Question

UNIVERSAL military conscription alone is what makes modern war possible. More important even than technological advance for carrying on the wholesale slaughter characteristic of modern war is the collecting of modern armies. Were it possible to end this practice, war, as it is known in the twentieth century, simply could not exist.

Accordingly, in examining the ethical justification of modern war, there is no aspect of the question more important than that of the morality of conscription. Yet, despite this obvious importance, the subject has been little discussed, and the ethical reasoning for conscription service is commonly taken for granted. Even moral theologians have to a great extent allowed conscription to go unchallenged. For this reason it may seem a little late to take up an inquiry into the question. Whatever may be the reasons for this tardiness, there seems to be little doubt that the present is the best time to make a rounded and complete study of conscription. For admission, although existing now for a century and a half, is reached as an ethical principle only in the present, for the first time, it can be viewed in its fully matured form. This fact has undoubtedly been greatly responsible for preventing moralists from attempting to make a definitive judgment in the past. They have not had all the facts before them. Only it takes time to do so. You do not plant a seed one day and go out the next day with a basket to gather the fruit. The evil of conscription, in a similar way, can only be revealed to us if we are given greater opportunity for intelligence and veneration, than is given to men. As Chesterton pointed out, even many of the so-called disabilities of women proceed, not from contempt, but reverence; they are like the exceptions from secular activities conceded to priests. We did not even need the father's permission to take down the fruit when we had windowed with intelligence and have therefore a right to education. If in former times women were not generally given greater opportunities for intellectual culture, this was due to social and historical reasons, as well as to stubborn male prejudices, which any doctrine of Charity must attack to women the advantages of instruction.

Functional Differences Ignored

The Catholic Worker, of course, believe that the function of women, both in human society and in the Mystical Body of Christ, is distinct from that of men. This is the only reservation that must be made.

2. An Instructive Parallel

A somewhat similar case is found in the development of extreme feminism, that is, the demand made by some women for complete emancipation from their own peculiar duties and responsibilities. And because this case, besides providing an instructive parallel, provides useful material for a later stage of the argument, it will be well to pause here and consider briefly.

It was difficult, when women first began to agitate for freedom, for Catholics to assert that it was impossible to interpret the movement as evil. With this present stage of religious history, the movement is certainly evil and was eventually condemned by the Church—for the reason that it is a very real admixture of good elements prevents the errors from at once appearing. We Catholics do not need feminists to point out to us the dignity of woman. We believe, and have believed from the beginning, that women have immortal souls and are equal to men in dignity and worth: in the kingdom of heaven there shall be neither male nor female. Indeed, because of our Lady, so uniquely privileged among all human beings, we have always had a high veneration, than is given to men. As Chesterton pointed out, even many of the so-called disabilities of women proceed, not from contempt, but reverence; they are like the exceptions from secular activities conceded to priests. We did not even need the father's permission to take down the fruit when we had windowed with intelligence and have therefore a right to education. If in former times women were not generally given greater opportunities for intellectual culture, this was due to social and historical reasons, as well as to stubborn male prejudices, which any doctrine of Charity must attack to women the advantages of instruction.

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(Continued on page 4)
However, of course, conscription became a possibility. It first became a reality in Russia in 1820, with the passage of a compulsory service law that established liability for all citizens, regardless of sex. Women are conscripted into some armies, and conscription of women is often controversial. Although their greatest service has been in non-combatant work, they have also served in the armed forces in several branches of the service.

Totality in Germany

In Germany, total conscription came into being with the National Defense Law of 1890 (amended in 1930), by which every male German is obligated to perform compulsory military service. The total service obligation of 18 has in his 45th year. All women are obligated to work for the military service. Although conscription has not yet become a reality in Russia, in 1930, with the passage of a law that established liability for all citizens, regardless of sex. Women are conscripted into some armies, and conscription of women is often controversial. Although their greatest service has been in non-combatant work, they have also served in the armed forces in several branches of the service.

The History of Conscription

The history of conscription is closely tied to the development of the nation-state. The idea of conscription can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, who used it to defend their city-states against outside threats. In the Middle Ages, conscription was used by various European states to raise armies for wars and campaigns. The French Revolution brought about the widespread use of conscription, as the government sought to create a national army to defend the revolution against foreign enemies. Conscription became a permanent institution in France, and was later adopted by other European countries.

The Modern Era

In the modern era, conscription became a tool for national mobilization and state-building. During World War I, conscription was used to mobilize large numbers of men for military service. After the war, conscription was maintained in many countries, as a way to ensure a steady supply of soldiers for future conflicts.

The Post-War Era

After World War II, conscription was reduced or abolished in many countries, as the focus shifted to professional military forces. However, conscription was reintroduced in some countries during the Cold War, as a way to ensure national defense in case of a war with the Soviet Union.

The Contemporary Period

In recent years, conscription has been widely criticized as a form of state violence and human rights violation. Many countries have abolished conscription, or replaced it with alternative forms of military service. However, conscription continues to be used in some countries today, as a way to ensure national defense and security.

The Future of Conscription

The future of conscription is uncertain. Some countries are considering the abolition of conscription, while others are exploring alternative forms of military service. The debate over conscription is likely to continue for some time to come, as countries balance the need for national defense with concerns about human rights and state violence.
act that would authorize "total" conscription. Moreover, the United States has used volunteer forces in wars, and volunteers in services organized as auxiliaries for the armed forces. Clearly, it is not principle that the United States government from conscripting women now.

Following the Leader

One of the last and most lurid of the flowers of conscription is the use of enforced labor and the deportation of conquered peoples for purposes of labor. In some instances, the use of U.S. government from conscripting

Are There Limitations?

Now if there are limits which a State cannot exceed in conscripting impersonal wealth, what limits can it place on conscripting personal use and needs? Is this without limit? Suppose that a State’s demand amounts to a repudiation of human personality: suggestion means as to: creatures of the State—is this within its rights? Assuredly not! Yet this is what universal conscription has been made, morally acceptable. It signifies that which is most perfect in the whole of society, and the representatives of the community, and is therefore under the authority of the State. The State, therefore, whose end is temporal, is not above the temporal uses of its citizens, has power (through within limits) over their temporal possessions and activities. But man is not only an individual, a person, a rational person, and a spiritual person, he is also a person, a rational and spiritual substance, a complete agent of action, free and responsible in his actions, if not in his ends, regarded for any right. We will now give our attention to the evil lying at the root of the development.

PART II

Conscription and the Human Person

1. The Alleged Ethical Basis of Conscription

There is the argumentation upon which con-

Supernatural Destiny Is Paramount

Hence the Angelic Doctor teaches that "man is not subordinate to the community in his total being and in regard to all matters." "Person signifies that which is most perfect in the whole of society, and the representatives of the community, and is therefore under the authority of the State. The State, therefore, whose end is temporal, is not above the temporal uses of its citizens, has power (through within limits) over their temporal possessions and activities. But man is not only an individual, a person, a rational person, and a spiritual person, he is also a person, a rational and spiritual substance, a complete agent of action, free and responsible in his actions, if not in his ends, regarded for any right. We will now give our attention to the evil lying at the root of the development.

The Answer of Peter

The person "can be considered either under the formal aspect of an individual part of the city or under the formal aspect of a person destined to God: in the first place its own good is to be re-

Confusion of Terms

Let us add that, if scholars, realizing the value of words and concepts, present the argument carefully, as it appeared in its first form ("and served" a "religious" man, and not just a "person"), it is not possible to draw any further consequences.

Pius XI on Atheistic Communism

Moreover, the end of the State is not only in-ferior to that of the person, belonging to an allo-


19 Pius XI, Sapientiae Christianae, 1931, p. 5.

20 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

21 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

22 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

23 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

24 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

25 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

26 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

27 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

28 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

29 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

30 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.

31 Leo XIII, Divini Redemptoris, 1904, p. 33.
State's claim, concede the second position, i.e., that it has authority over the human person. It is only by such confusion, by such swamping of the spiritual with the temporal, that this kind of conception persists to understand the spiritual things, that the popular mind is enabled to accept consecration as a duty. Were men merely dealing with material things, and with material consequences in perceiving the realities of the spiritual world, they would be troubled by these huge consequences in practice. But wars rarely if ever meet the requirements of justice laid down by theologians, that is, they are in fact never wholly just on one side and wholly unjust on the other, owing to the fact that in the long run, justice cannot live up perfectly to the requirements even of natural justice. The tangled claims and counter-claims of the unending wars have decided the history of mankind and Christendom give ample evidence of this fact. Least of all can the modern war be said to be religious, for conflicting national imperialisms be fitted into the pattern of justifiable warfare, even with the powerful assistance of nature's dispensation; and that, in fact, this pattern of just warfare is scarcely looked for outside the laboratory of a philosopher's brain.

Evils Means Never Permissible

Furthermore, as de Victoria observes, "much attention should be given to the fact that a war may be just and lawful in itself and yet owing to some collateral circumstance may be unlawful. A cause of a war may be clearly just (and therefore clearly unjust on the other side), the wages of such a war may be evil, the cause of some extrinsic circumstance. A principle of ethics states that an action, to be good at all, must be entirely good; one evil would make it bad, though to conform to the will of God. Now consecration, as it exists today, is a circumstance inseparable from modern total war; and in a sense a thing evil, because of its effects both on the individual and society, that it alone is enough to make a war, not just may be the cause of such evil. Evil is never to be done for a good end; and even when the waging of a war would seem to eliminate a thing evil, the universal consecration (if such a possibility can be imagined), still must be affirmed, again in the words of the gospels, 'it is not to be done even in order to avoid greater evil still.'"

What remains now is to establish the minor premise. The fact that God-given spiritual rights are not respected and practiced by the great powers today does in fact violate the most sacred rights of human personhood. It is not the State which is free to get married if that is their need, but the individual man who is free to get married if that is their need. Knowing all the secret and unrecorded potentialities of each person, God appropriates to each his own field of life work, pulls them out of their normal activities, and then, in their education, in many cases putting a stop to it altogether, the State has the right to place men in the way of their true vocation. It is a call from God to some particular life-work, as a means of glorifying Him here below and of preparing them for the next world above. The word of the gospel, "Ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body," is not therefore in vain. And in the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, everyone has his own unique and necessary place in each sphere of human society. For, as long as there is need of a division of labor, in the Mystical Body there are "diversities of ministries." The work given for each man is in accordance with his special abilities, the providential direction of his life, and the opportunities placed in his path—is his task not only to carry it on in his own way but with the gift of serving God, of doing God's will, of working out his own soul's salvation. Military consecration forces men who act in this way to abandon their true vocation. It forces them to depart, in many cases permanently, from the path tended by the State in which they were to find happiness, salvation, and the graces necessary to obtain these ends.

Danger of Presumption

No doubt—to meet an inevitable objection—in whatever difficult circumstances men find themselves. God can and will provide them with the strength needed to overcome temptation. Yet the fact that God can circumvent evil and injury is no permission for men to do it. God forbid, as St. Paul says (Rom. 6, 1) that we should go on doing evil because we know that God can turn it to good. Moreover, there are certain situations favorable, others unfavorable, to the practice of virtue and correspondance with divine intention, and these situations vary from person to person. Now it is a false and dangerous, nay, certain way to have individual, surely it is the one chosen by God and not by man, consecrate himself as his vocation. But the State, by consecration, gives the individual no liberty to accept less favorable, or even unfavorable, circumstances in this way hinders them in their efforts to save their souls.

This argument based on vocations is a very strong one, although it may not seem so today, since the individual being conducted into the armed forces, have been deprived of their vocations by mass production, uncontrolled materialism, and other iniquitous practices that are part of the capitalistic system. However, two wrongs do not make right when the first wrong makes even the second right when it prevents the latter from being felt or understood.

Vocations Cannot Be Imposed

If you should say, again by way of objection, that the career of a soldier is itself a vocation, as is indicated by many Catholic writers and taken for granted, (Papal precepts and the practice of the Holy See), it will be readily conceded that you are right—if by a soldier you mean a soldier in the army, whose work is to keep the public order, and not the army which is providing for the interests of its individual members, and that work given to each person when it fails to provide, with its intrinsic circumstance, aiding the community, but should have at heart also the Body spiritual, in many cases putting a stop to it altogether, the State has its "diversities of ministry." The same Providence who gives vocations would also require the proper consecration, which led to follow this one voluntarily. In any case, such a consideration does not give the State the right to do this, even when it prevents the latter from being felt or understood. But the State, for that reason, compel all its citizens to become executioners?

5. The Evil of Enforced Celibacy

DEPRIVING men of their vocations involves still greater evil, more so when most men, who are ordinarily married, are compelled by the State to accept a condition for the sake of the army, is the "graces of state" which are needed for this higher and more difficult mode of life. Even when the people are not able to get married, the State, by conscience, is regard as a thing evil. In the case of the State, being of the natural order, is infinitely inferior to the supernatural order which the human person is bound to pursue. According to the will of God, when it fails to provide, within its own sphere, the assistance which men need to seek after their supernatural end, the State's duties are to educate, to form the concept of education. The State, therefore, should not only safeguard the well-being of the community, but also have at heart also the well-being of the individual man in such a manner not to hinder, but in every way to render as easy as possible so that the man may determine good for which all should strive. For this purpose, care must especially be taken not to undermine the practice of religion which is the bond connecting man with God.

4. The Rights of the Person

The next task is to apply these truths. In order to prevent any misunderstanding in making this application, let us distinguish at the onset between peace-time and time consecration. The arguments here given, as shall be evident as they unfold themselves, apply with full force and without any reservations to peace-time consecration as it is known in the great nations today; this kind of consecration has also been evidenced to be wrong, as we shall see in Part III. What about war-time consecration? Obviously, in the case of an unjust war, consecration (as well as all other means used to
The CATHOLIC WORKER

November, 1946

An Impossible Situation

The State itself recognizes the impossibility of the State itself forces its conscripts, for it is required, according to individual needs, in order to renew themselves interiorly through spiritual exercises. For therein lie the Church's justifications about the
army life. Now, if priests are thus exposed to great danger; of what, laymen, who, without the privilege of being enjoyed by the conscripts for a period of training, are sent on a strange crusade, these persons must be excluded from every occupation of virtue, even to the observance of celibacy and complete chastity, in circumstances unfavorable even to ordinary virtue.

6. The Corruption of Youth

It is necessary also as part of the indictment of
conception, to take account of the other
hierarchies which are so indispensable for the practice of virtue.

Fruits of Hatred

precisely because Nazi youth organizations cor-
rupied youth, they were condemned by Pius XI: "If the
State, itself, makes this organization obligatory upon all, then,
without prejudice to rights of religious associa-
tions, or to the right of parents to see to it that this organization
is purged of all manifestations hostile to the Church
and Christianity. These manifestations are even
today placing Christian parents in a painful alter-
native, as they cannot give to the State what they owe to God, viewed as a spiritual and temporal endowment of the
State, as it pleases, that is, as though it had no other end.

The Confirmation of the Devil

Surely the barbarous cruelty attributed to the Nazis is no worse than this. Such a statement, which might be matched by others of the same kind, is often heard. That is what the enemy hates the most; it hates the very idea of his own destruction which every instant and every place demands. Catholic priests, therefore, must be extremely careful to prevent such tendencies from finding expression.

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The Confirmation of the Devil

Surely the barbarous cruelty attributed to the Nazis is no worse than this. Such a statement, which might be matched by others of the same kind, is often heard. That is what the enemy hates the most; it hates the very idea of his own destruction which every instant and every place demands. Catholic priests, therefore, must be extremely careful to prevent such tendencies from finding expression.
rules for burial, that the body is not to be treated with contempt. Hence, whatever may be the legitimate authority of the State over man's material rights, the body is always his own; his mortal soul is an immovable protection against the tyranny that would wholly absorb his bodily life.

8. Conscription and the Family

If what has been said so far is of itself enough to condemn conscription, it is by no means the whole of the indictment. To the evils so far mentioned, this still other great evil has recently begun to follow their vocations, if they have begun at all. As the general draft has prolonged itself, in which it has taken them perhaps many years to become established. Everything must be dropped at once, or they remain (if they do return) after their period of military service, it will be almost impossible for them to resume their work or former occupation, or to take up anew the struggle to get started. Once more, it is not merely the question of material goods, but also and at the same time subject to the abnormal strain and extraordinary temptations that attend conscription.

Materialistic governments would not dream of depriving men of such precious things as marriage, their vocations, or their family obligations. The latter type forces men to be killers so labor conscription compels them actively to perform those services for their own personal liberty, which, while freeing them from the burden of one's own family, subjects them to those services as those which accompany war; for the sixth commandment, "thou shalt not kill," is itself a negation of the false freedom; the freedom from spiritual values, which in eyes of political realists are non-existent.

Bad Effects on the Family

In the case of married conscripts, the break-up of the family and the violation of family rights are disastrous. If a married man who already exists is divorced.

Husband and wife are both compelled to accept an enforced celibacy, since the very nature of conscription and the same time subjected to the abnormal strain and extraordinary temptations that go with such a system. There is no question of a man removing entirely from the home. Already, modern industrialism has created a grave family problem for the military draft. The very nature of conscription removes the father from the home entirely. It does not even stop to ask the number of families, which has no care about virtue; it does not concern itself with safeguarding the virtue of women. Yet the modern State, when acting as a Christian conscience, exposes souls to the danger of being deflowered with their consent, in order that the family may be fortified by the sacrifice of young women, is itself acting immorally.

Reputation of Purity

The moral dangers of enforced celibacy, following from conscription, are the same for women as for men. They are placed in a situation in which their reputation is irreparable.

The consequences of conscription for women also acts on the female conscience. The State, when sacrificing the honor and virtue of young women, is itself acting immorally.

Labor Conscription Equally Undesirable

An absolutely universal policy of conscription, which would include labor as well as military service, would be a disaster, if not a catastrophe. It would mean, in the real sense of the word, a guarantee of universal and irremovable results of military conscription. As the latter type forces men to be killers, so labor conscription compels them actively to perform those services for their own personal liberty, which, while freeing them from the burden of caring for their own families, subjects them to those services as those which accompany war.

The economic process brings grievous harm to the family. Unmarried women are hindered from entering into married life, the married are hindered from having their own children, establishing families, and accepting their married obligations. It takes those married away from their home, from their religion, from the care of children hired nurses or public agencies. Conscription for women also deprives men of such services as those of the armed forces, their mobilization for industry, as this has taken place in England. Mothers are no less to labor under worse or more degrading conditions.

be because it is not yet a military necessity. If the need arises there will be labor conscription here also.

9. The Conscription of Women

The final desecration of the home and of family rights comes with the conscription of women. Having moved the father from the home, the State now removes the mother. True, women do not fight in any sense for war in this country as yet. But this fact is scarcely relevant to our discussion, for we shall have to consider whether it is necessary for this or in another war. England, our sister, "democracy," has it already; and as for us, it is quite enough that we, as has been said, are not opposed to it in principle. We do not find—at least the greater number of us do not find—that the army of women is isost completely ideal. Accordingly, against the proposed law providing for the conscription of women, there was no general opposition. The first reaction was certainly justified. The danger, indeed, courageous protests made by a few special groups; but these, too, were not without a moral or political consideration. Out of political considerations, or because the need was not proven, Congress did not accept the bill for universal conscription. Congress will debate holier enough to the result of universal conscription. As the wave of javelin delinquency that has spread over the country following our entrance into World War II, the whole mass of individuals and nations is involved in the life of its families. To tamper with it, or with marriage, as a condition demanded by war results. For the State to interfere with normal family life and force the members of families into situations that expose them to great moral risks, is submitting to a commitment of an tyrannical and irresistible injustice.

The Christian ideal of women's, and of family life has, of course, already taken place, long before their general conscription. Whether women were not drafted though voluntarily, the auxiliary services of the armed forces and to take the places of men in different fronts. No one cannot fail to see what is necessary for his spiritual welfare; and the State, while not having direct concern for the question of the life of its members, must nevertheless do as far as possible in its own sphere to see that these interests are cared for, and in case any question emerges, or at least to encourage, what is opposed to them. The moral dangers involved in the use of women in the war services, the denial of personal needs and of the right to vote, as also the infringement upon family rights, the conditions to the affect, as much as is possible to the mother, of the family, is itself acting immorally.

Enforced Celibacy of Women

Moreover, the fact that women enlist voluntarily (as the situation stands today in our country) should not blind us to the fact that many of them, which they suffer and which induce them to take this step are quite involuntary. There is, here again, the violation of the essential rights of the individual: In this case by an evil situation—the removal of women from civilian life. That women are now equally as many men marriage, that they are unable to fulfill their married obligations, as far as the fact that conscription has removed the men who are supposed to be their partners in marriage. Then the State, having thus prevented marriage, takes advantage of the situation and seeks to attract women into auxiliary military service, in this it is aided by "patriotic" movements which assume that they are opposed to the true welfare of women, is itself acting immorally.
family, especially the moral values of family life, for immediate military interests or material aggrandizement. The unmarried women who do not join the auxiliary services are also prevented from entering married life by an artificial and evil situation. Married women with families neglected these families to go into industry. They are compelled to take on arduous tasks unbecoming to their sex and their families. The pretense for this abandonment of the family is patently, often so flagrantly, in the air. In any case it is a violation of the family itself and the rights of the family.

11. Conclusion

CONFISCATION—this will be our general conclusion. A severer war for the sake of military service and the nobility of the state is a war not for freedom but for slavery. By neglecting the family and society, the woman of the rich has done as much for the war as has the wife of the poor. They have both of them shown that there is in fact no difference in principle between themselves and the totalitarian dictator. Conscription teaches, as August, national, power, honor at any price, military necessity—these are the things, and not moral principles, which fix the abominable code that is observed by all participants in the modern war system. As for conscription, the ethical theory which is used to make it acceptable is that of nationalism, which, inseparable from State absolutism, holds that the State is a panacea for the whole variety of rights, that rights enjoyed by individuals are conferred by the State, and that the State may therefore take away any rights. This is the direct opposite of that other ethical system which, based on reason and natural law, lived an independent and free life of its own, with its own teaching and practice of Christianity; for the latter system teaches that human rights are rooted in God Himself! What is the divine mission? If phlegm and suffering should follow everywhere as the Second Coming, revelation, completed, the vast reservoirs of divine grace were opened up to all mankind, to man himself, to his family and society, and received: henceforth, men should reconcile differences among themselves on a higher plane. With the weapons of the spirit—prayer and penance—they can remove the causes of war, with grace and charity they will be able to effect a last and final bond among men, to convert the heathen: “When the ways of a man shall please the Lord, He will convert even his enemies in peace.” (Ps. 32: 8)

2. The Testimony of the New Testament

If we cannot find any trace of conscription in the New Testament, it is clear that it was not sanctioned by Providence, then a fortiori we are not likely to find it commanded in the New Testament. As a matter of fact, in the New Testament we find no explicit approval of war at all, as in the Old, so commandment to go to war, no war legislation, no war propaganda. The success of the Old Testament was not unknown, neither was the Old Testament embittered by the gloom of war. The Divine is nationalistic; the Gospel is universal. Henceforth, there is neither Jewish nor Gentile war (Gal. 3:28). The Word of God is what all peoples should understand, “What is God’s body?” (1 Cor. 12:27). What Christ is Eph. 2:18). Accordingly, there is no further need for nationalistic war, no question to be decided between one people and another against all others. God’s plan of redemption, as revealed in the New Testament, included the establishment of the Christian society, in which all, including the Christian society, were to unite to remove all wars. The beginning of Christian society, revelation, completion, was not made to the one true God nor to Jesus Christ but to the State, to the whole Christian society. The Christian society was not a national society, but a universal society.}

PART III

The Theology of History

1. Lack of Scriptural Support for Conscription

UR general conclusion, which proceeds at once from doctrinal principles and direct observation of the actual conditions produced by conscription, is confirmed by tracing the history of the idea of conscription back to the alleged duty of the alleged deity to accept it. It is certainly remarkable that throughout most of Europe’s history for two thousand years, a religious and therefore most deeply impressed by moral obligations, there was no consciousness of such a doctrine of conscription was not as such a duty. There was no such thing as conscription in Christian Europe until 1800. This is simply inapplicable. It is impossible to conceive the idea of a national war, and of this war. Henceforth, men should reconcile differences among themselves on a higher plane. With the weapons of the spirit—prayer and penance—they can remove the causes of war, with grace and charity they will be able to effect a last and final bond among men, to convert the heathen: “When the ways of a man shall please the Lord, He will convert even his enemies in peace.” (Ps. 32: 8)

The Things That Are God’s

True, Jesus told us to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s. But He also told us not to render to Caesar the things that are God’s, and as we have seen, by conscription Caesar tries to take over the things that are God’s. Accordingly, it is the Church’s duty to maintain and develop the Church. However, during all this war the false idea of war was deathly. The Middle Ages, it may be truly said that in the Holy Roman Empire, it was impossible to advance toward realizing even on the political plane the Christian ideal of an international society as taught by the Church. Consequently, the chief wars of those times were fought with non-Christian nations, i.e., the Moslems, in Egypt, Persia, the Franks, in the Latin East, for the Moslem. Francis of Assisi, even medieval men did not yet see, at any rate in practice, that all nations are Christ’s and must be converted rather than killed.

Crusaders Were Volunteers

In the Crusades, which were fought against infidels, the armies were raised by voluntary enlistments. St. Bernard, in his sermons, used all his eloquence and his vast theological knowledge to gain recruits for two Crusades. But the military service was voluntary. The conquests of the Crusades were the work of God and of the Church. It was certainly not decreed by God Himself!

3. Machiavelli and the French Revolution

THUS, both natural rights and moral theology had completed a long history in Europe, and the most influential part of their history, before the law of the state was used to enforce the moral duty of man or of a moral obligation attached to it. When conscription did at length appear, it came with the social development of the age of absolutism or of a moral upsurge, and the rise of absolutism. In a word, it came with the development of absolutism, and we therefore find it in the Renaissance as part of the general European movement to secure the pagan past. Its beginnings are to be sought in Machiavelli’s infamous idea of submission to the pagan religion of State-worship as well as to the pagan ideal of the nation in arms;

Machiavelli Proposed Conscription

Machiavelli was the first modern to propose universal compulsory military service. Quite in line with the interest of the period, but contrary to the moral motives of the age, it is a strange beginning for a moral obligation! It is, in fact, with Machiavelli that the modern conception of conscription is born. Machiavelli’s idea, taking its beginning: the modern concept being one of unrestricted war—physically unrestricted in the extent of its destructiveness, morally unrestricted in its rejection of ethical limitation and control. Essential also to the modern idea is the idea of the nation, derived from the requirement of traditional ethics, but as a normal, though alternate, means for securing national unity. When diplomatic measures fail. As is to be expected, Machiavelli, true son of the Renaissance, went back to the example of the Roman Empire. For, as we have seen, Machiavelli was by temperament a man of action, and for his studies during the Christian centuries, he then, in an environment of neo-paganism, thought of the Roman Empire as the only example of true Cathoicism. The breath of Christian thought and idealism, was born the idea of universal conscription.

Christian Ideals Debased

The subsequent history of this moral duty is long and strange. The theory of conscription proposed by Machiavelli, conception did not actually begin, as we have already observed, until the French Revolution. But the Revolution, in its first conception, thus issued from an explicit rejection of Christianity. It came, in other words, from the technicalities rather than from the truth, but on the contrary from the illegitimacy of the Revolution and the conscious rejection of Christian principles. The beginning, was not made to the one true God nor to Jesus Christ but to the State, to the whole Christian society. For if much good has come to the world from the Revolution, the idea of a universal government has been much abused because of consistently unchristian spirit and conduct.

4. Conscription and Democracy

The revolutionists saw universal conscription as a concrete realization of the Christian ideal and a measure necessary for the defense of their newly won liberty. Their choice of means was an unhappy one. They did not
foresee that their invention was destined in the end to destroy brotherhood by setting men all over the world at one another’s throats; and that it would realize equality and freedom by making all men equal in a terrible bondage. For who is a master slave, the ancient millions would answer, under the threat of a whip to build the pyramids, or the modern millions who must abandon their homes, the pursuit of happiness, and their very lives, in order to take up arms and kill their fellow slaves. The end belongs to a doctrine of compulsion.

Moloch of the Carthaginians, who is satisfied only with the blood of human victims! There might have been use for the madman’s creed then, but not for the world today where the revolutionists possessed sufficient spiritual perception to distinguish the dross from the ore, and the revolutionary ideals were betrayed in their beginnings. The bourgeoisie—the rich, the merchants, the manufacturers—are the ones responsible. The revolutionaries, or the modern millions who must abandon their homes, the pursuit of happiness, and their very lives? This in the service of a demonic god, like Moloch of the Carthaginians, who is satisfied only under a concept of equality and fraternity, which is rooted in a disordered sense of personal honor, soldiering is not intrinsically evil, nevertheless it holds that both are extrinsically evil because of the great harm they bring upon the whole world. Indeed, it holds that there is no such thing as a military service, the very extreme of militarism, by which they were “bound” to divorce from rational and objective morality, is found in the will of the majority, the voice of the people, the blood lust of the majority. Thus the Prussian system best fulfills the requirements of nationalism and militarism is demonstrated by the fact that it has been copied by the other nations. At present, the President of the United States is recommending peace in the midst of a war effort. Yet this willingness and need to imitate the German methods, Prussianism and militarism, are indications clearly of how impossible and destructive is the whole war system in a civilized world, for it shows that, if left to itself, the moral order anarchy and the measure of national greatness, then civilization will never know sound peace beyond the condition of the most barbarous nations, since the others will be compelled to adopt the same methods of barbarism in order to safeguard their power and national interests. And it is conditioned, more than any other single factor (apart from the spiritual decline of the West), of the process), which has in our day brought men back to the standards of barbarism, to the primitive ideal of the nation in arms.

6. The Position of the Holy See

The Holy See, God’s appointed teacher of morals to the peoples, has remained singularly unimpressed by the alleged moral duty we are considering. Pope Leo XIII, in 1894, having watched the frenzied arms race that followed the Franco-Prussian war, protested against it, as follows: “We behold the condition of Europe, for many years past has been rather an appearance than a reality. Possessed with mutual suspicions almost all the nations are arraying themselves against one another with the aid of the most formidable war machines invented by the military armaments. Inexperienced youths are removed from parental and national control, to be thrown into the arms of a soldier’s life, and to die for the mere de-
Priests and Movies

(Continued from page 1)

calling, they should be true to their nature as priests, and not just as He was. Does any priest feel inclined to say and to do what our Lord said and did? Has he any such role in his life as priest as our Lord had? If so, he is a priest in天天真格, and not just as He was. Does any priest feel inclined to say and to do what our Lord said and did? Has he any such role in his life as priest as our Lord had? If so, he is a priest in the true sense.

The "raison d'etre" of the priest is to be another Christ in the world, not in a parochial sense, but in a true spiritual sense. He should be a priest of the world, not a parochial priest. He should be a priest who preaches the Gospel of Peace, not the Gospel of War. He should be a priest who preaches the message of the Cross, not the message of the Sword. He should be a priest who preaches the love of God, not the love of hate. He should be a priest who preaches the truth, not the lies of the world. He should be a priest who preaches the justice of God, not the injustice of the world. He should be a priest who preaches the truth of the Gospel, not the falsehood of the world.

The priest is called to be a witness of the Gospel of Peace. He is called to be a light in the world. He is called to be a salt in the world. He is called to be a leaven in the world. He is called to be a light that shines in the darkness. He is called to be a voice that speaks the truth. He is called to be a hand that reaches out to help. He is called to be a foot that walks with purpose.

The priest is called to be a servant of the Gospel of Peace. He is called to be a servant of the people. He is called to be a servant of the poor. He is called to be a servant of the sick. He is called to be a servant of the hungry. He is called to be a servant of the thirsty. He is called to be a servant of the imprisoned. He is called to be a servant of the bound.

The priest is called to be a shepherd of the Gospel of Peace. He is called to be a shepherd of the sheep. He is called to be a shepherd of the flock. He is called to be a shepherd of the hungry. He is called to be a shepherd of the thirsty. He is called to be a shepherd of the sick. He is called to be a shepherd of the imprisoned. He is called to be a shepherd of the bound.

The priest is called to be a witness of the Gospel of Peace. He is called to be a witness in the world. He is called to be a witness in the church. He is called to be a witness in the family. He is called to be a witness in the community. He is called to be a witness in the world. He is called to be a witness in the church. He is called to be a witness in the family. He is called to be a witness in the community. He is called to be a witness in the world.

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"I should like very much to know how people who refuse to work with their hands pass their lives, how they occupy their time. They say: with prayers and psalms, with study and prayer. Truly they enjoy singing and praising -in short, all the things that the Church of Christ. Yet if we are to be wholly withdrawn from external occupations how are we to eat, how is food to be prepared and set before us? Further, if we concede, as we must, that human infirmities compel us to devote a certain amount of time to such necessary occupations as these, then I fail to see why we should not also devote a certain amount of time to Apostolic occupations. For there are many of us who are sent not merely to declare the Gospel forthwith, but to make it, to bear witness to the civil society."

Bob Walsh Writes From England


Dear Friends:

I have just received your Catholic Worker far May. The copies that came make a round and I know that those who read them really enjoy doing so.

Reading David Mason made me stop to write this and to send you belated greetings on ten years of wonderful work. We in the Catholic Worker movement in this country owe far more to you than we can ever acknowledge.

There is something very happy about Dorothy's account of Tom's marriage, and though she probably does not remember it, I would send her every wish for happiness.

The reference in David's article to the making of children into wards of the state is made, taking away the crowd of young people, is something we want the world to know. Everybody seems to be in the forces or working long hours away from home in some war industry. But yet The Good Lord keeps up flourishing. And so much as far as the paper and occasional pamphlets go far from diminishing anything else. Charlotte Spils in London is the only one able to keep up with a House of Hospitality.

Are you receiving our paper regularly? Several copies should reach you at once and we must have our pamphlets and leaflets as they appear. If there is anything else we can send you, please ask. I have not seen your latest pamphlets, but I imagine they are either on the way or with Mary Bonds.

With prayers
In Christ the Worker,
BOB.

Job Accidents Kill 37,000 in Two Years

On the Home Front: In the first two years of World War II, industrial casualties were 37,000 killed (7,500 more than military dead); 210,000 permanently disabled and 4,500,000 temporarily disabled (thirty times more than military wounded or missing). These facts were disclosed by the OWI.

The OWI also revealed: (1) nine-tenths of all worker accidents can be prevented; (2) while industry spends more than a dollar a year for accidents that have happened, it spends not more than $6 a year for safety equipment to keep them from happening; (3) the three- to one ratio is the only two-thirds as frequent per 100,- 000 killed (7,500 more than military dead); 210,000 permanently disabled and 4,500,000 temporarily disabled (thirty times more than military wounded or missing). These facts were disclosed by the OWI.

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