

CATHOLIC WORKER



Vol. XXXII No. 4

DECEMBER, 1965

Subscription:
25¢ Per Year

Price 1¢



Irving Amen.

The Human Family and Vietnam

By JAMES DOUGLASS

We are told that the first war in the human family was between a farmer and a shepherd. "Now Abel was a keeper of flocks and Cain a tiller of the soil." They were both men of faith, and each brought his offering to the Lord. But the offering of the farmer proved unacceptable one day because it represented something less than his whole self. It is said that the farmer then became angry and downcast and was further rebuked by the Lord for his attitude.

So the farmer suggested to the shepherd that the two of them take a walk in the field, perhaps to discuss the religious differences which had arisen between them, and there Cain killed Abel in the first war of aggression. We do not know if Abel tried to defend himself, and so we can only speculate if this was also the first war of defense. But the brevity of the only battlefield report we have—"In the field Cain turned against his brother Abel and slew him"—suggests that Abel did not wage much war in return. He may not have had time, of course, and may have barely seen the flash of death descending.

But there may be another reason why Abel offered so little re-

sistance, and why this first act of aggression ended so quickly in his death. If in the quiet of that field, as the two men talked together of their problems, Abel suddenly saw Cain turn against him with upraised knife, his surprise would have been due to more than the stealth of the farmer Cain. The bewilderment and helplessness of the first casualty in war may have come primarily because Abel knew in a deeply personal way who his aggressor was: that he was Cain, his brother, whom he loved and whom he could not kill in defense without killing something of himself. And if the identity of his sudden attacker, his own brother, shocked Abel and made him hesitate to draw his knife in defense, then the war would have ended quickly. For a soldier's life on the battlefield is already half gone when he begins to act on the personal recognition of the enemy as his brother.

But Cain had no hesitation. No thoughts of brotherhood kept him from raising the knife. We can understand why this was so from Cain's answer to the Lord's question afterwards, "Where is your brother Abel?" Cain answered with a denial and another ques-

tion, "I do not know. Am I my brother's keeper?" It is this question which makes it possible to wage war on one's brother, a question which is an effective denial of the bonds of care and responsibility which make two brothers one in active love as well as in flesh and blood. "Am I my brother's keeper?" is the

(Continued on page 6)

PRISON LETTER

Dear Friends:

As you know, I have been here since November 17th. I would not post bail, even if the twenty-five hundred dollars had been available. On Thanksgiving Day, I was ordered to report for work in the kitchen. I refused, saying that I had no intention of supporting this institution in any way. I remember that once when I was still paying taxes a friend told me that Federal taxes are used to keep conscientious objectors in prison and that by paying them I was part-jailer of all political and religious prisoners. Now that I was in this position the argument took on more real significance. So I told the officials: "I won't work for you." I was then locked up in segregation with a few other men, mostly fellows kicking dope. Barry Bassin learned that I was locked up there and joined me by not cooperating with

(Continued on page 8)

ON PILGRIMAGE

By DOROTHY DAY

It is a happy thing to feel gratitude, so we thank our readers for these feelings of ours, as well as for the help they have sent us to pay our bills, and for the good letters upholding us in a difficult time, making us realize how widespread the Catholic Worker family is throughout the world.

Every night, as a small group of us go into the house chapel to say the rosary and compline, we pray for the individuals who have asked most especially for prayers and for the living and the dead, believer and unbeliever, our own family, as well as our correspondents. And we pray with deep gratitude for those who send us help to enable us to do the work of hospitality.

In the daytime you can see the wooded hillside from the chapel windows, where one of the men from the Bowery has cleared away underbrush so that the stone walls which terrace the hillside here and there are visible. The setting sun on these terraces colors the rocks a deep rose, and the trees come alive with light and color. My room faces the river, not the hill, and as I write this morning I look out at the Hudson River and marvel at how the Atlantic tide reaches all the way up to Tivoli and covers the rushes, which in turn cover the mud flats across the river. Bits of driftwood float upstream. The channel is on our

side, and just now a great oil tanker went by under my window.

Downstairs in the room below me, Agnes Sidney, who is eighty-five, is bedridden. Brother Raphael, of the Christian Brothers in Barrytown, saw to it that we had a hospital bed, and six young novices brought it over last week and set it up so that Agnes can face the river and look out at tanker, freighter and barge. Her husband, long dead, was barge captain and she herself lived for thirty years on barges, sometimes making the perilous journey from New York to Boston, via coal barge.

Good News

The happy news on the radio this morning is that the Vatican Council has passed with an overwhelmingly majority vote, the Schema on the Church in the Modern World, included in which is an unequivocal condemnation of nuclear warfare. It was a statement for which we had been working and praying. We will report further on the details of the condemnation of modern war in next month's issue.

As to the questions this condemnation will raise in the hearts and minds of all men, Catholic or otherwise — I can only feel that such questions and the attempts to answer them will lead to more

(Continued on page 2)

CATHOLIC WORKER

Published Monthly September to June, Bi-monthly July-August
ORGAN OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

PETER MAURIN, Founder

DOROTHY DAY, Editor and Publisher
MARTIN J. CORBIN, Managing Editor

Associate Editors:

CHARLES BUTTERWORTH, EDGAR FORAND, JUDITH GREGORY,
WILLIAM HORVATH, WALTER KERELL, KARL MEYER, DEANE
MOWRER, HELEN C. RILEY, ARTHUR SHEEHAN, ANNE TAIL-
LEFER, EDWARD TURNER, STANLEY VISHNEVSKI, CHRISTO-
PHER S. KEARNS, PETER LUMSDEN, NICOLE D'ENTREMONT.

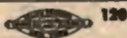
New subscriptions and change of address:
175 Chrystia St., New York 2, N. Y. 10002

Telephone OR 4-9812

Editorial communications to: Box 33 Tivoli, N. Y. 12583

Subscription United States, 25c Yearly. Canada and Foreign 30c Yearly
Subscription rate of one cent per copy plus postage applies to bundles of one
hundred or more copies each month for one year to be directed to one address.

Reentered as second class matter August 10, 1939, at the Post Office
of New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879



On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

enlightened knowledge, more enlightened conscience on the part of all men. It will lead, as Peter Maurin was always fond of saying, to clarification of thought, a state of mind which should precede all action. I am sure that he thought that our action very often trod on the heels of thought too quickly and so was very imperfect. But I always felt, with St. Francis of Assisi, that we do not know what we have not practiced, and that we learn by our actions, even when those actions involve us in grave mistakes, or sin. God brings good out of evil, that evil which has come about as a result of our free will, our free choice. We learn, as the saying is, the hard way. But the promise remains: "All things work together for good to those who love God," or who want to love Him, who seek to love Him. As Pascal said: "You would not seek Him if you had not already found Him." In other words, the promise is there, "Seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened to you." And to repeat again, since there is no time with God, the promise, the finding, and the seeking go together. Even when one is following a wrong or ill-informed conscience.

For me, this answers the question as to whether we, at the Catholic Worker, think that a man is in the state of mortal sin for going to war. I have been asked this question so often by students that I feel we must keep on trying to answer, faulty and obscure as the answer that each one of us makes may seem to be. To my mind the answer lies in the realm of the motive, the intention. If a man truly thinks he is combatting evil and striving for the good, if he truly thinks he is striving for the common good, he must follow his conscience regardless of others. But he always has the duty of forming his conscience by studying, listening, being ready to hear his opponents' point of view, by establishing what Martin Buber called an I-Thou relationship. I suppose this is what priests mean when they talk about loving one's enemies, trying to reconcile the teachings of the Gospel with war. The intention, they feel, is to bring about peace and initiate rational discussion around the conference table, and from there on try to establish a relationship of love by building hospitals, repairing the damage done by war, restoring prosperity to a country exhausted and ravaged by war. (Because our modern wars are always fought on the soil of others.) But what means are being used to accomplish these good ends? The means become the ends, a Benedictine writer, Augustine Baker, brought out forcibly.

And even those good ends. Cardinal Leger's richly provocative talk, published in this issue of the paper, brings out that we are always trying to make others like ourselves, convinced as we are that we white, Anglo-Saxon,

(Protestant usually goes with this in opposition to Negro, Catholic, and Jew though we Catholics have taken on the same formula) are right.

It seems to me that those of the hierarchy who opposed the inclusion in Schema thirteen of this condemnation of nuclear war were leaving out of account Divine Providence, when they thought that without these weapons of destruction we could not face up to the threat of Communism's taking over the world. The idea of arms being used as deterrents, to establish a balance of terror, and so keeping the world at peace was long ago condemned by Benedict XV, who spoke of "the fallacy of an armed peace." Abbot Christopher Butler brought out the fallacy of such reasoning even more strongly in the quotations from his intervention at the Council which we printed on page one, first column, of the October issue of the Catholic Worker. (We are continuing to use other interventions, as they are called, from other members of the hierarchy in the paper, for the sake of clarification of thought on this all-engrossing problem of war.)

The primacy of conscience in the life of a Catholic is more and more brought out by the deliberations in the Council and by the very conflicts that take place there. The promulgation (a solemn word) of the doctrine on religious liberty is an example of this. When I was in Rome, one bishop (it may even have been an archbishop) said to me: "You need not worry about the problem of conscientious objection to war, since freedom of conscience is already thoroughly established in the schema on religious liberty." I always hesitate to name the bishops when I am quoting them, for fear of not being entirely accurate. We would not think of printing their letters of commendation of our "good work" when they send us their frequent contributions, knowing that they would seem to many an endorsement of our position, when it is actually our works of mercy that they are commending. Of course we consider enlightening the ignorant and counseling the doubtful works of mercy, as indeed they are. As for "rebuking the sinner" we are told not to judge, by our dear Lord, and we are only too conscious of our own all too imperfect state. However, our positions seem to imply a judgment, a condemnation, and we get the "holier than thou" accusation often enough.

Whenever this question of conscience comes up, the question of obedience immediately follows, obedience to Church and State, even when commands are not personally directed at us lay people, nor obedience exacted of us, as it is of the clergy. We have pointed out again and again the freedom the Catholic Worker has always had in the Archdiocese of New York.

(Continued on page 7)

Dorothy Day and Lenin

By ROY LISKER

When I mentioned to Walter Kerell that I knew how to type, he was very glad to hear it. And when I agreed to help out at the Chrystie Street office, there was not enough he could do for me. Full of unconvincing solicitation, he let me experiment with all the typewriters in the office, until I found the one that I liked the best; then he made a place for me at the best desk in the upstairs office, next to the window. The next day, he played classical music for me on his ancient phonograph, while telling me of the glowing accounts he was giving Dorothy about me. And while I was working, he continued to tell me all sorts of stories to keep me cheerful.

There were good causes for Walter's joy on hearing that I knew how to maneuver the typewriter keyboard. (Walter always finds some excuse for expressing his joy anyway). The recent turmoil of events, which filled up most of last month's issue, had brought all work in the upstairs office to a standstill. Also, partly because of the unprecedented publicity which these events have given to the C.W., new subscriptions have been pouring in by the fistful. The result is that there was more than the usual amount of clerical work to be done, at a time when it is not possible to get much work done. Indeed, until (according to Walter) I saved the CW, it was feared that all the new subscribers might have to go without the important November issue until January.

At the same time, some new group of reporters arrive at St. Joseph's House every day, picking up information from everyone in sight about the Catholic Worker movement, the draft-card burnings, Roger LaPorte, the arrest of Murphy Dowdus. C.B.S., N.B.C., the New York Times, French newspapers, Pennsylvania newspapers, large, small left- and even right-wing newspapers cluster daily about our doors, noting down every detail as living news, despite the fact that the Catholic Worker has

will remember that I am one of the five pacifists who burned our draft cards last month in Union Square, New York, to protest the war in Vietnam, the Selective Service system, and the war hysteria which is sweeping this country. The Russian reporter had been attracted to the CW because of its relationship to the recent peace protests.

My interviewer was formidable and somewhat bearish, but his general manner was gentle and interested. He had no trouble understanding my English. I had the feeling that many of the ideas I was presenting to him were falling on receptive ground. Though he was well-dressed, it was clear that he understood the nature of poverty and was able to appreciate many of our solutions.

I told him what I knew about Dorothy Day, Peter Maurin, Ammon Hennacy, the farm at Tivoli, and the daily round at Chrystie Street. He asked me about poverty and pacifism, my reasons for being at the CW, where and how people lived. Despite his sympathetic attitude, he did not entirely agree with the methods and ideology of the CW. Naturally, he was very interested in the work of American groups involved in social reform. All the same, he had never previously visited the Catholic Worker, even though he has been stationed in New York for four years.

Later we went over to one of our Kenmare Street apartments, where he interviewed Terry Sullivan and Nicole d'Entremont. When the conversation turned to Roger LaPorte, Terry and Nicole, who had both been acquainted with him, gave a wonderful picture of the person he had been, and of how terrible his loss was to those who knew him. Our interviewer was evidently moved; he seemed to understand that a young man could be this dedicated to the cause of peace. Our differing ideological frameworks seemed to fall away in a common recognition of the need for peace in this world, the terrible tragedy of Roger's death, the way in which it transcended all political considerations.

Toward the end of the interview, the correspondent remarked that, although he admired many things about the Catholic Worker, his general impression was that it had not done very much to make effective changes in American society during the thirty-two years of its activities. There was still poverty in America, there were still Skid Rows, still a selective service; capitalism was as powerful and entrenched as it had ever been. "After all," he said, in an attempt to make a graphic contrast, "Lenin changed Russian society overnight."

I was not sure how to reply to this, so I said: "But look how long it took for a Marxist society to appear on earth after the publication of the Communist Manifesto."

"True," he said laughing. "It took sixty-nine years."

Later I had the idea of writing this article to give the full answer which I think his question merited.

To begin with, no one who knows about the history of the Catholic Worker can possibly claim that it has not had a tremendous effect on American society—far out of proportion to its monetary resources and the numbers of people involved with it at any time. The most valuable resource is not money or arms, but ideas. As a fertile field for humanitarian, radical ideas about society and man, there are few organizations to compare with the CW.

Michael Harrington's book *The Other America* launched the War on Poverty. Harrington learned about poverty from living at the Catholic Worker. The whole world has recently been stirred by the new reforms in the Catholic Church. Many of these reforms have been a way of life in the CW for thirty years. Because of the constant agitation of peace groups,

among whom the Catholic Worker has always been in the forefront, there has been a general alleviation of the severity of draft legislation and of treatment of conscientious objectors.

It is true, however, that the CW cannot claim that its objectives have been achieved; indeed, things are, from the Catholic anarchist point of view, almost as bad as they have always been; whereas, it can be argued that Lenin was able to see the most significant of his views become social realities in his lifetime. We must remember, though, that Lenin had money and arms with which to impose his ideas on a great nation; the CW disavows these means in the very nature of what it is trying to accomplish.

And thoughtful people might well argue that Lenin failed. I do not think that my interviewer would have liked to be reminded of Stalin, who singlehandedly destroyed the substance of Lenin's radical reform of Russian society. Despite the justness of Marx's criticism of capitalistic society, the social order created by Stalin in the name of this great thinker could not have been more ruthless, more oppressive, more class-structured, if it had characterized a nation ruled by a coalition of Wall Street bankers.

But I have not touched on the basic reason for the Catholic Worker's "failure" to transform American society radically. The real reason why Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker have not changed the conditions of American society overnight is that she wants to accomplish something far, far more revolutionary than anything Lenin ever dreamed of.

Lenin wanted an economy which guaranteed abundance and limitless creature comforts; the Catholic Worker teaches voluntary poverty. Lenin believed in a powerful army, and in his vision saw the overthrow of entrenched capitalist power around the world, by violent revolution; the Catholic Worker wants an end to all war, all war "just" or "unjust." To Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat, which has in reality become the bureaucratic rule of the state, the Catholic Worker opposes self-government, the principles of Christian anarchism.

These ideals are not realized in a day, not in three years, not in a century. They were enunciated two thousand years ago by Christ, they are clearly stated in the writings of Lao-Tzu, they are the basis of the Buddhist Sangha (monastic order). But mankind is not much closer to them today than it has ever been.

When William Buckley was asked what he would do if he were elected mayor, he said that he would demand a recount. Dorothy Day and William Buckley are alike in this respect. If American society were miraculously transformed "overnight" into the image of the CW, I am sure that she would think it a practical joke or perhaps that some Madison Avenue agency was trying to deceive people into thinking that American society had really changed overnight.

For to bring about such a revolution it is not the external institutions that must be changed, but the souls of men. And this, thank goodness, is not accomplished overnight, by a violent revolution, by a change in Presidents, or even by a change in ideology. The process of self-improvement which each man must, sooner or later, take upon himself, is of necessity a slow one. The very slowness is a measure of its value; if it were to come easily, it would hardly be a real change.

This is the full answer I wanted to make to the correspondent of *Izvestia*. The result of exchanging our articles, this in the *Catholic Worker* and his in *Izvestia*, might contribute much to an understanding of our differing viewpoints.



A Farm With A View

By DEANE MARY MOWRER

Now in December—this month of diminishing days and lengthening melancholy darkness, this the last month of the year, when no sap stirs in the bare-boughed trees to rouse even a dream of springtime budding—the Church bravely, ceremoniously proclaims her own new year, crying to us in all the beautiful Masses of Advent—Rejoice. Again I say rejoice. Drop down dew, ye Heavens from above. Let Earth bud forth a Saviour.

Yet it is hard to rejoice in a world so distraught with news and rumors of wars, in a country where every day more men are called up to fight and die in Vietnam, whose own blood-bathed people have known no peace for many years, in a world where the great war lords of the "great" powers seem poised with tense, nervous fingers ready to press the push-button signal for man's annihilation. Meanwhile—safe for the moment from the bombs and missiles of Vietnam—what kind of Christmas cheer do we find in the expensive temples of Mammon, where frenetic crowds move hypnotically from thing to thing, irresistibly lured on, as by a siren song; by the nostalgic voice of a Christmas carol imprisoned on a whirling disc until the raucous clangor of the cash register breaks the hypnotic trance? O Christ-Child, where is your star? Help us to find you as the shepherds and Magi did. Help us to prepare our hearts for your abode. St. John the Baptist, make straight the way of the Lord.

Although we here at the farm live in a setting of great natural beauty, and most of our days pass peacefully enough, we are not untouched by the prevailing anxiety induced by the escalating war in Vietnam. We are concerned, too, for our Catholic Worker young people who are taking such an active part in demonstrations against this war, particularly for those young men who are burning their draft cards or refusing to cooperate in any way with the military machine—acts which will very probably result in their being condemned to spend some of the bright years of their youth in a dreary prison cell. Remembering my own thirty-day sentence when I took part with Dorothy Day and others in the protest against the compulsory air-raid drill, I can sympathize. Yet we must rejoice for them, too, rejoice for their courage, their faith, their enlightened consciences.

We have also had other worries here at the farm. Sickness and death, as I wrote in last month's column, have touched us closely, more than once. Shortly after I had finished writing the November column, our community was stricken by another serious illness. Agnes Sidney, our octogenarian, who has been such a bulwark of strength and sanity for many years at the Catholic Worker, fell gravely ill, with an extremely high fever and a serious heart ailment. She spent some time at the hospital in Rhinebeck, but is back at the farm now, though still seriously ill. Jean Walsh, who has taken care of so many of our sick, has been doing a wonderful job of nursing. Alice Lawrence and Fred Lindsey have also helped a great deal, and Katherine Mayo, of Princeton, spent much of her visit here helping Jean nurse Agnes. I know that many of our friends and neighbors will remember Agnes, particularly those who visited us here or at Peter Maurin Farm; I hope that a great many will pray for Agnes, who is not only very ill but also undergoing much suffering.

Hugh Madden, I think, will surely say some very special prayers for Agnes when he visits the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Hugh, who has been living with us since his return from California last summer, is making his annual pilgrimage to the famous shrine of Our Lady in Mexico. An excel-

lent way, I think, to spend Advent, to prepare for Christmas.

The men who do the work about the place miss Hugh, for he is always a quiet, efficient, faithful, unobtrusive worker. But the work goes on. Hans Tunnesen continues to turn out good meals and deserves particular credit for the Thanksgiving feast he prepared. But it takes more than one to do the work for our large family, and Joe Cotter, who is also a good cook, usually puts in a full day's work in the kitchen. Marcus Moore and Fred Lindsey are also very helpful, in the kitchen and dining room area and elsewhere. Mike Sullivan and Fred have been putting up plastic storm windows, etc. to make our house more secure from the cold of winter. Alice Lawrence, as always, has a full-time job with the housekeeping, and is certainly grateful for the assistance of Joe Ferry and Jim Canavan. John Filliger, who is a very versatile and capable worker, usually has some farm or maintenance chore to do, but spends his spare time in helping Eric roof over a thick-walled foundation up in our woods, in the hope that this will make a more winter-proof habitation than the little house Eric constructed earlier.

Arthur Lacey helps look after the chapel, and walks to the Post Office (it is something over a mile) twice daily, taking with him the outgoing mail, bringing back whatever comes our way. Since Rita Corbin has more than her hands full with her family, her art work, her weaving, she is always glad for Arthur Sullivan's assistance in taking clothes to the laundromat, shopping, and looking after the children. Arthur Sullivan has become a great favorite with the children, as was evidenced when three-year-old Sally approached Arthur Lacey with the piping query—"Where's the first Arthur?" Arthur Lacey accepted his demotion with a good grace, though he said he was "mortified." After all, Arthur Sullivan had earned his place in Sally's affections. Stanley Vishnewski, who is also a great favorite with the Corbin children, has been busy with various printing projects.

Peter Lumsden, who has had his right arm in a cast since he fell from the barn roof he was repairing and broke his wrist, has been reading some books for review and learning to type with one finger. Betsy Zwicker, who has recently joined our family, not only helps with the car-driving but has also given Dorothy some much-needed help with her correspondence. Marty Corbin, who is in charge, has more than enough paper and editorial work to keep him busy. Marty, Peter, and sometimes Stanley, also give talks about the Catholic Worker to nearby colleges, seminaries, etc. Marty's most recent speaking engagement was a talk to the Newman Club at Vassar College. As for Dorothy Day, since her return from Rome, she has had so many speaking engagements, interviews with the press, radio, and television that she has had no time to rest and very little time to spend with us. We are grateful, however, that she was able to talk to us one Sunday afternoon, and that a number of interested persons from nearby towns and religious orders came to hear her talk.

During the uneventful, sometimes dreary months of late fall and winter, visitors are doubly appreciated. We were delighted to have Caroline Gordon Tate and Cary Peebles spend Thanksgiving with us. It was good to see Beverley DeVoe and her children, after their two-years' sojourn in Spain and Morocco. We are grateful to Katherine Mayo for her visit and her help. Roger Constant and his wife and family, who are from Haiti, told us more of this neglected country than we had ever known. According to Roger, there is great poverty in Haiti and

(Continued on page 8)

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.

CHRYSTIE STREET

By CHRISTOPHER S. KEARNS

Things have been pretty good around here during the past month. Thanksgiving provided luxurious meals for most of the population on the Bowery. It is one of the two or three days of the year when the other agencies on the Bowery give a meal without a "nosedive" for God. Some students from a parochial high school gave us eight turkeys and we got three more from individuals. We also got plenty of canned vegetables to fortify our daily bread. The merchants at the Washington Street market have been their usual generous selves, providing us with kohlrabi, rootabagas, dandelion greens, fennel, as well as common produce such as turnips and potatoes.

The holiday season has also brought us two fine cars—a 1961 Volkswagen bus and a 1960 two-door Ford. The Volkswagen was donated to us by Tom Brown, who is a Doctor of American History at Boston University and lives in Newtonville, Massachusetts in a large, warm, rambling house with his seven kids. When I went up to get the car he invited me to spend a few days, which I enjoyed as much as getting the V.W.

My father called me up one evening and announced that he had been given a very nice '60 Ford with a stick shift and a six-cylinder engine—just what I had asked for in the October CW. Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Reisinger, of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, had given him the car for us and he asked me to come up and get it. I have known the Reisingers for years and years—attended grammar school and high school with several of their daughters and felt especially happy that someone I had known before my stay at the CW was showing concern. I didn't think that Basking Ridge's social conscience had been stirred since the American Revolution, but we learn from Genesis that the Lord would not destroy the city if ten just men could be found. When it came to dispose of the '49 Chevy, which had functioned quite faithfully the last five years, the junkyard was too far away, being on the other end of Brooklyn, so it was handed over by Ed Forand to the Department of Sanitation at a spot underneath the Williamsburg Bridge.

The paper has been going out rather promptly of late. Tony, Pete, Frenchie, Mary Galligan, Tom Likely, Irish Pat, Miriam, Dolores and the rest of the second-floor crew have been as efficient as I have ever seen them. We have been commanded by the postal authorities, along with all second class mailers, to change our addresses to the ZIP code system in one year's time. With approximately sixty-five thousand addresses, the changeover is quite a task, considering the casual atmosphere of our office.

Father "Chick" Tooker came over to say hello to us soon after he arrived from Cuernavaca. He, along with three other Jesuit priests and a scholastic from Fordham, is living at the Nativity Mission Center on Forsythe Street and attempting to become part of the Spanish-speaking and Italian communities. Almost every Sunday a group of us from the

(Continued on page 8)

Joe Hill House

By AMMON HENNACY

P.O. Box 655
Salt Lake City, Utah

A large picture of Joe Hill along with material about his songs and the books that have been written about him were displayed on a bulletin board in the Salt Lake City Public Library to announce a "Joe Hill Concert-Lecture" held on November 14th. Fellow worker Bruce Phillips, staff member of the State Historical Society, was chairman and told of the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World. Bill Haywood, of Salt Lake City, was one of the founders, along with Eugene V. Debs and Father T. J. Hagerty. Bruce described how each of Joe Hill's songs was written, and he, Dave Roylance, Doug Rich, and Polly Stewart took turns in singing the songs, including "The Rebel Girl," which Hill wrote in prison and dedicated to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. When Bruce introduced me as director of Joe Hill House, he mentioned that, in going over the papers of Governor Spry, who refused to commute Hill's sentence, he had come across a letter from me asking the Governor to take action to deter the execution. I had nearly forgotten having written the letter in 1915. In my talk, I said that if Gurley Flynn had not died last year she would no doubt have been here to speak. I also told some stories about the early Wobs, for I had joined them in 1912.

In 1937, I organized a meeting in Milwaukee on the fiftieth anniversary of the execution of the Haymarket martyrs. I hope to be alive twelve years from now to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

At the University of California, Los Angeles, I was introduced by Dr. Thomas Rusch, whom I had known when he was a young Socialist in Milwaukee in the thirties. Because of the fight the Berkeley students have made, there is now free speech outdoors every noonday at all California colleges.

We went on to Palm Springs, where we visited our old friends Cornelia and Irving Sussman. In Phoenix we stayed with John Van Kilsdonk and his fine family. I also visited my banker friend Frank Brophy and his two sons. He says that I am his favorite anarchist, so I expect he is my favorite Bircher. We were glad to visit Bill and Alice Mahoney, who had just returned from three years in Ghana, where Bill was Ambassador. And of course we were at home with Rik and Ginny Anderson and Joe Craigmyle.

The Newman Club chaplains at Tempe and Tucson were cordial, but the Bishop would not allow so controversial a man as myself to speak, so I spoke in Tempe under the auspices of the Student Religious Liberals. Several young Birchers made some noise and spoke in favor of the war. I asked them why they didn't enlist if they liked war so much. Don Deder had a good-natured column about me in the Arizona Republic, entitled "Comes the Revolution Where'll Ammon Be?"

In Tucson, I spoke to the young Methodists at the University. Several old-time Socialists tried to argue that you couldn't be a pacifist and a radical. One of them said that the CW was a good paper when Peter Maurin was writing against "the system," but that now we spent all our time acting against war. I was introduced at the meeting by Sam Corr, who had been head of the American Legion in Milwaukee when I debated him there in the thirties. We stayed at Phil Burnham's and visited the Allens, Byrd Sweltzer, Tom Bahti, and the Basquettes. We drove up the beautiful Oak Creek Canyon, said hello to Platt and Barbara Cline in Flagstaff, and then visited the

Hopi, admiring the straight rows of corn of many colors they were harvesting. Then to Four Corners and a pleasant visit with Father Leibler, at the Episcopal Mission, Bluff, Utah.

Through the courtesy of Bob Hoyt, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, I flew by jet plane to Toronto to speak on his Sunday program, "This Hour Has Seven Days." I have known Bob for years, and spent a few days with his charming family. Paul Harris, of the Catholic Information Center, arranged a small meeting at which I spoke. Jim and Pat Milford came from Fort Erie.

We held a poster walk at noon on November 27th against the war in Vietnam. A new law stipulated that we had to have a permit, but they allowed us to go without one this time.

A few men are still staying at the old House until it is sold. The Health Department is driving me around trying to find another place. I will not give up, and we will get one sooner or later.

S.C.L.C. Appeal

332 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friend:

Ten years of progress in the South have resulted in fewer deaths than five days of violence in Los Angeles. The adherence to nonviolence by Southern Negroes has won major social and political victories with a minimum of bloodshed.

Submerged by hopelessness and lacking nonviolent leadership, the frustrated victims of subtle and covert injustices in the North rioted as much against themselves as against their oppressors.

SCLC is faced with this challenge to nonviolence. Many Negro leaders are urgently calling us North. We must respond because we have refined a method of social action which has never been systematically used there. The discontented can be given constructive direction for their anger. We will seek to implant the techniques of nonviolent direct action that have rent fissures in the mighty monolith of Southern injustice.

However, our major work continues to be in the South. Our successes in stimulating national legislation present us with hugely expanded Southern programs. We must intensify the work in which we pioneered—voter registration. We must continue to develop programs of community organization, political education and our unique projects of self-help literacy education. We must assist those who are being reborn as citizens to employ the rights of citizenship responsibly and effectively.

America cannot afford to forget the unfinished tasks in the South, nor can it cruelly persist in the neglect of the human needs of the Northern ghettos.

SCLC has the trained, dedicated veterans to pick up both tasks. Although 75% of our staff of about 400 are subsistence workers who earn only \$25 per week, our work—spread over hundreds of communities and thousands of miles—involves great expense.

We need the continued support of all people of good will—of all races and beliefs. We are facing the challenge; the heaviest of our tumultuous career. Will you pick up the challenge of financial and moral support? Contributions are more than money—they are affirmations of confidence in and dedication to democratic change.

Delay is hazardous—we are moving ahead on faith. Please send your check today and be a part of America's most imperative moral and social mission. (Please make check payable to SCLC.)

With warmest good wishes,
Martin Luther King, Jr.

+ + + BOOK REVIEWS + + +

THE FLIGHT FROM WOMAN, by Karl Stern. 305 pp. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. \$4.95. Reviewed by CAROLINE GORDON TATE.

Dr. Karl Stern's richly documented new book is a critical and psychological study of the lives and works of six influential authors: Descartes, Schopenhauer, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Kierkegaard and Goethe. We have had many such books, from Dr. Joseph Collins' *The Doctor Looks At Literature* to Leslie Fiedler's *Love and Death in the American Novel*. Dr. Stern's book differs from its predecessors, however, in one important respect: he reads literature as if he were a poet. In consequence, each of his "case histories" contains the kind of literary insights which we are accustomed to find only in the writings of artists and literary critics of the first rank. They are the more convincing because they stem from a solid substratum of clinical knowledge and experience. In the end, this work seems to me a plea for integration—a kind of integration which not only underlies the racial integration now in process in our country but is inherent in every problem which modern man confronts. The integration which Dr. Stern is immediately concerned with is the union or reunion of two elements of human nature: the masculine and feminine principles.

This dualism is, of course, older, even, than the famous passage in Plato's *Symposium* in which Aristophanes explains the mutual attraction of the sexes as arising out of man's need to regain an original wholeness which he has somehow lost. Dr. Stern's examples of this contradictory aspect of man's nature range all the way from the account given in *Genesis* of the making of Eve from Adam's rib to the findings of modern psychiatry. For him these findings are summed up in Helene Deutsch's statement that "Woman and Man have at one time arisen out of a common origin which is still living on in the bisexual anlage of every human being."

In his introductory chapters Dr. Stern draws on the scientists—not to mention metaphysicians—for definitions of the nature of the "praeter-logical thinking" which appears in early childhood in the form of primary images and, according to Merleau-Ponty, remains an indispensable foundation for mature cogitation if there is to be for the adult "one single intersubjective world." Dr. Stern quotes a poet, Ortega y Gasset, however, as giving the most felicitous expression of this essential dualism in man's nature:

The more a man one is, the more he is filled to the brim with rationality. Everything he does and achieves, he does and achieves for a reason, especially for a practical reason. A woman's love, that divine surrender of her ultra-inner being, which the impassioned woman makes, is perhaps the only thing which is not achieved by reasoning. The core of the feminine mind, no matter how intelligent the woman may be, is occupied by an irrational power. If the male is the rational being, the woman is the irrational being.

Dr. Stern points out that "irrational" might better read "trans-rational," since the word in English often has the connotation of "foolish" or "stupid." His immediate concern is with the seeming opposition between the two forms of knowing. Why, he asks, has this problem become so acute in our own times? "Why have so many minds become acutely preoccupied with a distinction which is as old as the history of philosophy?"

His answer is that "one mode of knowing" has taken such precedence over the other as almost to extinguish it or to drive it underground, into the darkest levels of consciousness. The polarity of union which has immemorially characterized the man whom we

call "well-adjusted" (and whom the ancients spoke of as being "fortunate" or "happy") is in danger of becoming a polarity of disunion, is, indeed, in danger of becoming a rout, as modern man, more and more, turns his back on the feminine principle of knowing.

One important aspect of Dr. Stern's book is his discussion of "Woman's Rights." Man, he appears to be saying, has no right to flee from Woman—even "Mom!" He pays his respects, with psychiatric aplomb (and without "quotes"), to the phallic woman, of whom Hedda Gabler, with her father's pistols and her own sharp-shooting proclivities, is still an outstanding example. But he reminds us that women may engage in a variety of occupations without losing their womanliness, as is evidenced by the careers of Mme. Curie and other women who have had distinguished careers without becoming "career women." Nevertheless, he maintains that women are still suffering the same kind of injustice they have suffered for thousands of years, in being "the victims of a kind of interior colonization."

In his opinion feminism will not solve the problem, since in late years it has substituted an assertion of "sameness" for its original demand for "equality." The most misogynous of the early Church Fathers had a higher regard for woman than is expressed, for in-

claim to omnipotence... modern man, the un-historical, up-rooted self-reliant victor, is a haunted fugitive.

Dr. Stern cites Goethe as the first writer to perceive the self-destructing motivation of man's "Flight From Woman." He calls upon other artists, however—not to mention the metaphysicians—in support of his hypothesis. There is, for example, Coleridge's observation, made before Freud or Jung were born, that "The Truth is, a great mind must be androgynous."

His studies of Goethe and the five other writers are, however, as clinical as he can make them. The novelist and the serious reader of novels will perhaps find the essay on Tolstoy the most provocative. Dr. Stern compares passages from *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, in which Natasha, Princess Marie, "the little princess," Kitty and even the ill-fated Anna are lovingly portrayed, both as persons and as examples of archetypal Woman, with *The Kreutzer Sonata* which he finds, in its entirety, "pathological material presented by a wily craftsman."

He argues that religion is Tolstoy's central theme, both in his early and in his later work. With "Tolstoy the poet"—that is, with Tolstoy in his early years—faith was a matter of the "immediate, non-reflective insight of genius." For "Tolstoy the preacher"



stance, by Simone de Beauvoir, in her erudite study of the differences between men and women, *The Second Sex*. To Mlle. de Beauvoir

... the very sense of otherness, usually expressed by men, implies alienation, even reification of woman, and with this a loss of value... as though a man's very gaze were enough to lower the dignity of woman... No matter what way he looks at her, she cannot win...

When Mlle. de Beauvoir speaks of "the static myth of woman," Dr. Stern finds her guilty of a kind of loose thinking commonly associated with the feminine intellect. He thinks that in her use of this phrase she is trying to make a "transcendental idea, timeless, unchangeable, necessary" take the place of "fact, value, significance, knowledge, empirical laws." The scientist feels that she is here attempting the impossible. He finds this statement typical of her thinking as a whole.

Dr. Stern holds that the final result of Mlle. de Beauvoir's thesis would be "an extraordinary impoverishment. What began in feminism as a movement of liberation is bound to end in a slavery worse than the first. For if there really existed a world in which 'sexual characteristics' are the mere product of a 'culture,' in which Mark might just as well have Martha's personality or Antigone the personality of Achilles persons would be reduced to fleshless ciphers, to mere interrogation points in the graph of a social structure."

According to him, however, we first encounter the pure masculinization of thought typical of our times in Descartes, whom he calls "the Saint Augustine of the Age of Reason." After Descartes... There is nothing childlike left in man's gaze. Sophia, the maternal, is rejected, and a proud, intellect lays

—Tolstoy after his "conversion"—religion became a "matter of conscious, intellectual rumination," with results that were disastrous for both the artist and the man.

Dr. Stern discusses the emotional crisis of Tolstoy's middle years in the light of the patterns of such depressions which have been recorded by psychiatrists and points out that Tolstoy's is an almost "textbook case" of involuntary melancholia. The result of his study of this great man's life and work is to evoke a deeper sympathy for him in the mind of the reader. The conclusion Dr. Stern comes to seems to us of today more poetic than psychiatric, although it is one which would have occurred, off-hand, to almost any fifth-century Greek. The "voices of guilt" which Tolstoy heard, in common with all sufferers in depression, were not the accusations of any primitive juridical authority but came from "deep sea monsters" surfacing from the "geological stratum of dread" which lies buried in each one of us.

The clinician traces the links of motivation and "troubled destiny" in the lives of the five other writers he has chosen. He exercises professional caution, however, reminding us of "the plasticity of genius": the fact that Descartes was orphaned at an early age does not account for Cartesianism any more than Joanna Schopenhauer's character is responsible for the dualism in her son's philosophy. In short, motherlessness (as in the case of Descartes) and the denial of motherhood (in the case of Schopenhauer) cease to be haphazard psychogenic factors and become features of a larger picture if we look at philosophy as an "expression of the countenance of history."

NO PIE IN THE SKY, the Hobo as American Cultural Hero, in the works of Jack London, John Dos Passos and Jack Kerouac, by Frederick Field, Citadel, 1964. Reviewed by AMMON HEN-NACY.

In 1893, when I was three months old, my mother baked ginger cookies for Coxey's Army, which Jack London described in one of his books. I hopped freights in Ohio and West Virginia in 1915. When I was a social worker in Milwaukee from 1931 to 1942, I saw the disconsolate, the weak, and the strong man blind with rage and hate against a system that deprived him of work. From 1942 to 1953, I walked the desert roads, slept along the irrigation ditches, and lined up for work at the slave markets of the Southwest. From 1954 to now I have lived around the Bowery in New York City and Skid Row in Salt Lake City, sleeping on the floor with derelicts, hoboes and tramps. Since 1917, I have done a total of three and a half years in city, county and Federal prisons.

Like Dos Passos, I saw the hopelessness of revolt against the depression. I saw rebels who asked for more relief for the unemployed; when they were offered jobs as foremen, the fire was taken out of them. When Dos Passos announced his support of World War II, I asked him why he had turned against the worker. He replied that he had chosen capitalism as the lesser evil to Communism. I have been an anarchist since 1919 and wondered why he had not chosen the ultimate good: anarchism.

I see little hope for man en masse, no matter what religion or economic theory triumphs, for the emoluments of war have bribed and quieted nearly everyone. (Pacifist civil-rights workers, for example, call on Federal troops for protection.) I am not disillusioned, so I have not retired to a cave in order to meditate. I am not discouraged with being a one-man revolution, so I have settled in Salt Lake City among the Mormons, who teach that the United States Constitution was given by God, and who believe, like most Catholics, in capital punishment. Like the old-time Industrial Workers of the World, I am seeking to build a cell of good will at our Joe Hill house, where we feed and house transients, hoboes, tramps, and derelicts.

With my revolutionary spirit of Jack London, with the realization of the nearly hopeless misery (now made worse by automation) that Dos Passos faced, with Kerouac's search for new truths (but without his erratic withdrawal), I aim to light this candle in the Stygian darkness of a war-mad and devil-worshipping world.

This book gives a good account of the works of these three authors. It should enliven the minds of those interested, who ought to read a lot of London, Dos Passos (before he joined the right wing), and Kerouac as he continues to write. As the author succinctly puts it:

"It had been London's glorious task to hail the one big union of hoboes and working-stiffs as the instrument of revolution, it was his good fortune to chant its praises and eulogize its founders in the dawn of revolutionary hope; it was given to Dos Passos to assess, in the bitterness of defeat, the reasons for its demise, to compose a fitting eulogy for its dead and to construct, at least, a cenotaph for its banished and fallen leaders. This he did in the enormous triptych "U.S.A."... But Kerouac's treatment is romantic and allegorical rather than scientific or sociological. His thought is a cheerful, if indiscriminating, blend of Catholicism and Existentialism, Buddhism and Bop. Impressionable in the extreme, he takes on the imprint of all he

comes in contact with. In his own person he unites all that is incredible and incongruous in American life."

A NEW WORLD IN THE MAKING by Danilo Dolci; Monthly Review Press \$7.80. Reviewed by PETER LUMSDEN

When I heard that Danilo Dolci had written a new book and that it was about planning I was a little concerned, for so much of the planning we are subjected to seems to have as its basic premise that people can be treated like things, and can in general be pushed around, as they are in urban renewal, for example.

But the first chapter heading dispelled this fear; it is "Reflections on Conscientious Objection, Groups and Planning," and the words *conscientious objection*, if a little unusual in this context, make it clear that the all important right to oppose is uppermost in his mind. The book is an account of a tour Dolci made through the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Senegal, and Ghana, and he is insistent, in his questioning of the planners in these countries, in finding out how much autonomy the individual and local group has in the overall national plan. The Workers Councils in Yugoslavia seem to respect this right the most; in characteristic fashion Dolci quotes verbatim from a Workers Council in a building enterprise, and there is no doubt, that within wide limits, pay and conditions of work are set by the workers themselves. Traditional democratic procedures of voting and electing delegates are followed, but throughout the whole book planning as applied to production is Dolci's sole concern. Larger questions of peace and war, social justice, or fundamental changes of the social order are (with one exception) not mentioned.

But it would seem that in the vital area of work the socialist countries are more democratic than the capitalist ones, and there is obviously a very different attitude towards work in a large Communist enterprise than there is under capitalism. Dolci speaks continually of the to-and-fro element in planning, in which the central plan drawn up by experts is sent out to the local groups, who send it back with their suggested alterations, whereupon it is issued with some of these changes incorporated. But ultimately it is the central government which calls the tune through its control of funds, and nowhere does Dolci document defiance of the central plan or authority. There is a large section of libertarian thought which holds that this is inevitable and that many features of modern technological society (e.g., airliners, atomic power, development of plastics) can be achieved only by large-scale authoritarian organizations and that such developments would therefore be impossible in a free society. But to say that large-scale technology is fundamentally inhuman and can never be achieved in an anarchist society is to place a limit on human development. This is something no Christian can ever do, for he knows that human development has God's assistance. We must humanize and libertarianize everything—even technology.

And in fact, Dolci, at the end of his book, in a reprint of his address to the War Resisters International in 1964, gives an example of a truly libertarian large-scale undertaking: the Gato dam in northwestern Sicily. Here the local people, led by Dolci, combined in such numbers that they were able, by means of non-violent demonstrations, to force the Italian government to give funds for a genuine community project. Only when the initiatives come from below and government functions simply as a coordinator of the plans of the local groups will the true demands of freedom and progress be met.

WAR, RACISM AND MASS MEDIA

Following is the text, minus a few introductory paragraphs, of an address delivered by PAUL-EMILE CARDINAL LEGER, Archbishop of Montreal, on the occasion of his reception of an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, at the University of Toronto. The full text appeared in the Montreal Star for June 7, 1965.

In August 1917, Pope Benedict XV sent a letter to the heads of the warring nations. "In the voice," he said, "of humanity and of reason, we raise once more a cry for peace and we renew an urgent plea to those who hold in their hands the destiny of nations." He then went on to outline seven points, such as the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, international arbitration, reciprocal renunciation of war indemnities, evacuation and restoration of all occupied territories, and an examination in a conciliatory spirit of rival territorial claims.

The appeal failed, the war went on for over a year longer, millions of lives were lost, not to mention the maimed, the bereaved and the untold material damage which was suffered. The Pope's reward was to be called the German Pope by the French, and the French Pope by the Germans. The reasons for the failure were many and complicated, but at least some of them can be seen in the letter of President Wilson's Secretary of State:

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world, to every people to whom truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German government ought to be repaired . . .

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guaranty of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will of the German people themselves . . .

The response of the Central powers, although initially much warmer than that of the United States, was in the end equally unhelpful. It is clear that on both sides there was an attitude which made negotiation impossible, and each side sincerely believed the other to be dangerous and untrustworthy. It would not, said the American letter to the Pope, be realistic to discuss matters with the German rulers. Yet who in the long run was shown to have possessed the larger realism—in the end Germany surrendered, and Wilson's 14 points for settling the peace bear a striking resemblance to the seven which Benedict had put forward a year before. Where was the realism if we look at the matter in terms of human lives and suffering? Where was realism even in terms of the final settlement?

Basic Realities

I have not recounted this story to make a point about the wisdom of the Papacy, but because it illustrates in a very pointed way that those who work for peace are usually thought to be a bit soft in the head; whereas, in fact, they are often speaking in terms of plain common sense, and of the basic human realities which tend to get lost in the complexities of competing ideologies and half-understood technicalities about law, economics, politics, armaments and technology.

Now, first of all, to want peace and to work for peace is to strive after a positive good, something to be worked out and sought for in the world as it actually is now. It is not just a negative concern of not wanting war, but of seeking to establish an order in truth, justice, charity and liberty.

I make this point as I do not want what I am saying to be taken as a plea for pacifism—at least as that word is often understood to-

day. If the pacifist sees war as an inevitable aspect of the human situation, and has opted out of the struggle, then I want no part with him. That is, if he regards war as a necessary evil and an aspect of a world which it is part and parcel of his duty to renounce, then by that very fact, he tends to join in the pessimism of those who see no hope for the world, and plan to destroy before they are destroyed. This, I certainly do not think is the Christian view of the world.

It is within the positive reference of taking the world in a spirit of hope that Pope John XXIII, in 1963, published a letter of about forty pages in length called *Pacem in Terris*. In this Encyclical, he sought to lay the groundwork and to trace the outlines for a better world society. He recalled the minds of men to the fundamental ideas on which peace among nations and races must always be based. He tried to establish a climate of opinion where men could see their objectives in a human and even a hopeful light. And for a moment the world stopped and listened. The bells which rang out

complete only when it includes all races, and when the contribution which each of these has to make is fully and gladly accepted by everyone.

Looked on this way there is the most terrible failure all around us, because, instead of accepting and respecting other people for what they are, we secretly half expect that when they are completely civilized, they will be just like us. But this is, in some ways, as dangerous as out and out racism, as it is only a parody of unity, and is a one-sided and arbitrary attempt to reduce others to a condition of identity with ourselves. Thus, to be quite frank, so long as the norm of a good Canadian is either an English-speaking Anglo-Saxon, or a French-speaking Latin, there is bound to be bitterness and resentment on the part of those who do not share the particular qualities in question. And similarly with Jew and Gentile, black and white, in each case both sides must learn to respect those qualities possessed by the others, as

and encouraged. If our universities succumb to the temptation to take the easy way of racism what hope is there that we shall ever have an enlightened public opinion?

Just as there are trouble spots in the world where the bitterness, resentment and hatred which are all around us have boiled over, so universities must be the centre of the opposite process. They must be places where reason, respect and good sense are diffused to a world which is in sorry need of all these qualities.

Organs of Hate

In both *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*, Pope John spoke out against the abuse of mass media. A falsely informed public with a distorted idea of political reality, and an over-simplified, negative, cliché-ridden view of other races and countries cannot be expected to react in any other way than with irrational and violent responses. The Pope, therefore, condemned the dissemination of prejudice and hate by mass media and said:

Truth . . . demands that the various media of social communication made available by modern progress, which enable the nations to know each other better, be used with serene objectivity. That need not, of course, rule out any legitimate emphasis on the positive aspects of their way of life. But methods of information which fall short of the truth, and by the same token impair the reputation of this people or that, must be discarded.

In Canada we are relatively fortunate in this regard. Our own internal difficulties have forced us all to make an effort to understand each other, and in this effort, most of the press has shown a seriousness which has contributed, rather than the reverse, to creating an informed public opinion about our own problems. This in turn has made Canadians more wary about the crusade attitude when applied to peoples and problems beyond our boundaries.

In spite of this, however, there is a tendency in certain places to identify "truth" with some new wickedness on the part of those who disagree with us. And the misfortune is that there is enough such wickedness around to make the concoction of sensational news items quite easy. In such a climate of opinion, there is a fatal tendency to use truth and justice with a double standard: one for "our side" and one for "theirs"; and what is criminal or barbaric on their part is simply realism for us.

We must add to this that the constant repetition by everyone of words such as justice, right, international law, democracy and the like, tends to make them sound hollow and meaningless. This is especially dangerous as it tends to induce a climate of disillusionment in which there is no confidence in reason, and there is a despair as to the basic human capacities of man to organize his life in a free and orderly fashion. This in turn engenders a deeper pessimism, a more tenacious hopelessness, and communication becomes more and more precarious.

An awareness of other people precisely as people is an indispensable requisite for peace, and here the mass media can play a tremendous role. But it is not enough to expect this to be done for us. It is the duty, not a more or less desirable option when you have the time, it is the duty of educated people to be as well informed as they can about the problems of our world, and then to exercise their own judgment. Educated people should not be swayed this way and that by every current of opinion, but should take their responsibilities as citizens of the world seriously, and learn to make up their own minds instead of letting others do it for them.

This is not a plea for perverse or idiosyncratic behavior or

opinion; but it is a plea that when you agree, or disagree with other people, it will be as the result of a personal and serious effort to understand the situation in which we all find ourselves. The mere acquisition of knowledge is no substitute for this personal activity, for as Cardinal Newman said: "You must be above your knowledge, not under it, or it will oppress you; and the more you have of it, the greater will be the load." (*Idea of a University*, Ch. 6) Your learning and competence will be of service to others only if you have mastered it, otherwise it will be one more barrier between you and the realities of life.

The Light That Failed

Finally, I will draw together some of these ideas by returning to the failure of Benedict XV to establish peace in 1917. On the one side were the allies, on the other the Central Powers. Both believed in the justice of their cause, and each still thought they could win. Each thought that God was on their side. Why was there then a refusal to even talk?

First of all because of the existence of racism. The Americans, but especially the French, were determined the Germans were to be punished for their wickedness, *les sales boches* were to be put in their place. This attitude was heartily reciprocated by the Central Powers, and the sound of Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles is not the voice of reason. In a word, all parties concerned loathed and mistrusted one another, not only as an opposing country, but as people.

This hatred of the other race led to the view that right or even God was on one side or the other—depending on which side was speaking. But here let us be clear that God is not on the side of nations in this sense. All people are the children of God, and the slaughter of his children is not something in which he takes delight. In 1940 Archbishop Roncalli—later to become Pope John—was Nuncio to Turkey and wrote the following:

The murderous war which is being waged on the ground, on the seas and in the air is truly a vindication of divine justice because the sacred laws governing human society have been transgressed and violated. It has been asserted, and is still being asserted, that God is bound to preserve this or that country, or grant it invulnerability and final victory, because of the righteous people who live there or because of the good they do . . .

We forget that although in a certain sense God has made the nations . . . he has not given to any the guarantee of special privileged assistance . . .

The law of life, alike for the souls of men and nations, lays down principles of justice and universal harmony and the limits to be set to the use of wealth, enjoyments and worldly power. When this law is violated, terrible and merciless sanctions come into action. No state can escape. To each its hour . . .

In the dialectic of human relations, and in the relations between states, the desire to punish for real or imagined wrongs—especially if this desire is embellished with a super-structure of racism—only breeds hate and further injustice.

The invitation also failed because of the lack of objective news media. I suppose this is hardly surprising in time of war, but if the people of the world had been given a chance to know what had been offered them, and had not been subjected to propaganda, they would not have allowed the war to go on. Benedict said, with gentle irony, that after three years of war the honor of arms on both sides had been satisfied. This must have been the source of abundant consolation to the ordinary people of

(Continued on page 7)



that Thursday of Holy Week when the document was published seemed to find, for a little while, an echo in the hearts of men all over the world.

Part of the reason for this, of course, was the extraordinary courage and simplicity of the Pope, and everyone's recognition that he meant what he said. He turned to the world and said he loved it. Not because he hoped to gain anything by the affirmation, but as a simple statement of the truth. And such was the power of his goodness that the world believed him, and for a little while began to believe in itself.

There are, in this document, two points which I think are of special relevance to us today. The first is the Pope's condemnation of racism, and the second is his plea for a more responsible use of the mass-media.

No More Racism

The Pope's condemnation of racism is found in the first of his four points governing the relationship between states, that is, in his discussion of truth. "Truth," he says, "above all for the elimination of every trace of racism, and the consequent recognition of the principle that all States are by nature equal in dignity." States differ, of course, in riches, in cultural development, but they have a right to exist and to develop. Furthermore, those more advanced have a duty in the contribution which each and everyone must make towards mutual improvement.

But states are made up of human beings and 'it is not true that some human beings are by nature superior, and other inferior. All men are equal in their natural dignity.' It is easy enough to accept this in principle or in the abstract—it is not, in public anyway, usually denied in Canada. It is necessary, however, to recognize that because of this principle all men are brothers, and that men need each other, we must learn that the human family is

part of the patrimony of the universal human family.

Without this respect, without this openness to learn and to be enriched, there can be no hope for a just and lasting peace. If we really think that all human values are already incarnated in us, and in our way of life, then we are only one step away from the assumption that those who are different from us are wrong, and probably they are expendable, that they do not matter, and here we are in danger of beginning to deny our principles and throw bombs. We cannot solve our problems by throwing bombs at people—and this applies to little home-made affairs as well as to atom or hydrogen bombs. When we get to this stage, we have stopped thinking of others as persons, but as abstractions—they are communists, or fascists, socialists or capitalists . . . beings to be mistrusted, hated, and if possible destroyed. We have forgotten that they are our fellow human beings with the same anxieties, the same hesitations, problems and perplexities before the mystery of our existence.

Universities must give a lead on this question, not only in ensuring that there is no racism in the official life of the institution, but also, in a more positive way, that an out-going sympathetic attitude towards other races is developed

Important Notice

In the near future, the Post Office is going to require ZIP codes on the mailing of all periodicals. We ask our readers to help facilitate the extra work this will involve for us by including the ZIP code on all new subscriptions, and changes of address.

THE HUMAN FAMILY AND VIETNAM

(Continued from page 1)

sinners' recurring response through history to God's invitation to join his brothers in a community of love.

But what can I say to the brother advancing on me with a bayonet other than the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" implicit in the pull of my trigger? I am reassured, however, by the thought that he is the murderer Cain advancing once again on the innocent Abel, whose innocence has simply been fortified by the adoption of Cain's weapons, or perhaps something with more firepower. In war the enemy is always Cain, and ourselves a more realistic Abel.

From the standpoint of revelation, and of Cain and Abel, it is therefore not difficult for the Christian to recognize that every war is a civil war. The Christian's faith goes a dimension deeper than the humanist's affirmation that our humanity makes us all citizens of the same city of the world. Today believers and non-believers alike of every nationality, drawn together by the effects of modern technology, are being forced to recognize the interdependence of mankind and the crucial need for worldwide political institutions to embody that interdependence. A belief in man alone—in his dignity, his achievements, and his future—is sufficient to make us see the deep civic failure of war in a world grown small by positive inventions and menaced by modern weapons. Every war is a civil war because men live on the same homeland, earth, and are thus destined to share the same political institutions, especially when such global institutions have become the social condition for man's survival.

But the Judeo-Christian vision, while affirming the truth of this typically modern perspective, goes beyond a recognition of the civic failure of war in the one city of man. For the Christian, men are not only citizens of the same city of the world, in which every war is a civil war, but more basically all men are members of the same family, sons of the same Father Creator, bound to one another in origin and nature, so that war is waged not so much by fellow citizens as it is by brothers. The mutual civil dependence of men rests on their deeper brotherhood in the human family under one Father, so that the essential nature of man's division and counter-violence is not civil but rather family war. The history of wars is the history of fratricide, of brothers slaying one another before the eyes of their Father God. It is also the history of the survivor's unvarying response to his brother's blood on his hands: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Genesis tells us that war is an expression of the kingdom of sin. First Adam sinned, disintegrating his integrity and splintering the community of God's children. Harmony became conflict, and unity division. Death entered the world, and with it the possibility of murder. Then in the wake of Adam's sin Cain arose and in his sin slew Abel. All wars and all killing are an expression of sin. They have the same ultimate source, our human father's rebellion against our divine father. But the immediate source of war is always our personal renewal of this rebellion. Sin is our declaration of war. We go to war only when our love has failed.

Peaceable Kingdom

Just as war is an expression of the kingdom of sin, so is peace an expression of the kingdom of heaven. To the perspective of Genesis, and to an Old Testament filled with the vision of battle, must be added the final perspective of Christ and the coming of a new kingdom. Christ is our peace. With the advent of Christ God has become present in man, and man in God, Adam's sin has been over-

come, and death itself has been killed by the death and resurrection of Christ. All men have been reconciled in Christ.

But war has continued. And Christians have continued to wage war. How is that possible?

The question has been raised by a French Jew of Polish descent, Andre Schwarz-Bart, in his novel *The Last of the Just*. It is a question which in the novel occurs to a young Jewish couple in Paris destined to die together in a Nazi gas chamber, the culmination of a centuries-old war of Christians against Jews:

"Oh Ernie," Golda said, "you know them. Tell me why, why do the Christians hate us the way they do? They seem so nice when I can look at them without my star."

"Ernie put his arm around her shoulders solemnly. 'It's very mysterious,' he murmured in Yiddish. 'They don't know exactly why themselves. I've been in their churches and I've read their gospel. Do you know who the Christ was? A simple Jew like your father. A kind of Hasid.'"

"Golda smiled gently. 'You're kidding me.'"

"No, no, believe me, and I'll bet they'd have got along fine, the two of them, because he was really a good Jew, you know, sort of like the Baal Shem Tov—a merciful man, and gentle. The Christians say they love him, but I think they hate him without knowing it. So they take the cross by the other end and make a sword out of it and strike us with it! You understand, Golda," he cried suddenly, strangely excited, "they take the cross and they turn it around, they turn it around, my God..."

The transformation of the cross into a sword has been a recurring phenomenon in the history of the Church, so that the Christian today stands on a history of sword-like crosses, discovering the blood of his Savior on the weapons of the faithful departed. Nor have the faithful present ceased to militarize the dying Christ against his own humanity in an age where Christians give massive support to a nuclear nationalism. Today anti-Communism is the badge of a renewed crusade in the name of Christ, which preaches the gospel, as we have come to know it, in the form of counter-repression and counter-terror to the Communists.

Accommodation to Violence

This story of cross into sword is perhaps symbolized best at the point of transition in the Church's attitude toward violence and war, the Age of Constantine, when war began to be accepted into the Christian ethic. At that time Christians began to bear the cross into battle as the imperial military emblem, and saw nothing incongruous or tragic in the fact that the supposed nails of the cross, sent to Constantine by his mother, were made into bridle bits and a helmet, which were used in battle. The victory of God's absolute non-violence and patient suffering into death became the sign of imperial conquest. The power of redemptive suffering made way for an ethic of self-defense. The sword was baptized and sought confirmation in the guise of the cross.

The basic problem with the Christian tradition of the just war is that it has so little to do with the person and teaching of Christ. From the theological perspective of man's origin from a Father-Creator, the just war is legalized fratricide. From a Christological perspective, it is the substitution of the sword for the cross as the norm for the Christian's response to evil. Combining the two perspectives, it is difficult to see how killing a brother in God's image is compatible with the Christocentric norm of suffering love. Nor does the New Testament at any point suggest a reconciliation of such apparently opposite responses to aggression as are represented by the just war doctrine, on the one hand, and Jesus of Nazareth, on

the other: homicidal counterforce and accepted crucifixion.

Ever since St. Augustine, whom we should revere for other reasons, made his sharp distinction between a violent act of war and a benevolent intention, the Christian conscience has found itself unable to confront problems of violence and war with the full power of the Gospel. What Augustine's distinction did, in effect, as elaborated by the great scholastics and eventually corrupted and exploited by chauvinists, was to render impotent in war Christ's doctrine of an Agape-based non-violence which is summarized in his Cross and that of his disciple. The Christian conscience, divorced from its fundamental resistance to all war as a witness to the Peace of Christ, has subsequently dug itself into a deeper and deeper pit of rationalization where today we can construct theoretical nuclear wars that will squeeze into our just-war categories and where any light from the words of the Gospel seems to have become all but impossible. Yet, through a grace for our age, it is at this point that the Vatican Council in its Schema on *The Church and the Modern World* may fully restore to the Church her peace mission in the world and set her unalterably



against the nuclear sword of world-destruction.

All war is a family war, for men are brothers made to the image of God. Our peace in war is the cross of Christ. Even if we grant the scriptural basis for such a theocentric and Christocentric vision, we may still ask of what value it is in interpreting the world and living as Christians in it. What does such a vision mean today in the concrete situation where we as American Catholics live?

In response it must be said that we Americans are today guilty in Vietnam of waging a war which can only be understood as the destruction of brotherhood on whatever level of truth we wish to interpret it, philosophical or theological. Our war policies constitute a violation of the deep civil and familial bonds of men in three major areas: in the country of Vietnam, in the community of nations, and in the community of Christ. It is not surprising therefore to find such deep opposition to our policies coming from precisely these war-violated communities: the Vietnamese people, the world community, and more and more, the churches. Moreover, the overlapping and co-operating membership of internationalistic organizations, on the one hand, and church-affiliated groups, on the other, has given to the current peace movement a strength and diversity which neither a liberal world view nor a sectarian pacifism could have achieved by itself. The redemptive effect of our military policies has therefore been a peace movement whose size and

vitality could not have been imagined short months ago.

The peculiarly fratricidal character of our policies in Vietnam can be seen with reference to that formulation of human brotherhood by which we have declared our own independence as a nation, namely, our belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

First, as a country which believes in the human family's right to liberty, we have prevented the people of Vietnam from choosing the system of government they want and have maintained instead by military and economic force a series of pro-American dictators.

The basic assumption of our publicly stated policy in Vietnam during the last five years is untrue, namely, that the war against the Saigon government is due primarily to aggression from the North. The insurrection in the South began as a reaction to the Diem regime's systematic repression of all groups that had taken part in the Vietminh struggle against France. It gradually took on the character of a civil war after Diem's American-supported refusal to permit elections in 1956 as specified by the Geneva Convention for the reunification of Vietnam. Our obstruction of elections then, which as President Eisenhower states in *Mandate for Change* would almost certainly have resulted in an enormous victory for Ho Chi Minh, and our continuing refusal since to settle a growing conflict by allowing Communist representation in the South Vietnamese government, are the basic causes of the war. These policies, carried out as elements in our overall policy of containment, raise the question: Do we as Americans and as Christians believe in the inalienable right of liberty only when it is used to ratify our own interests?

Secondly, as a country which believes in the human family's right to life, we have joined in the systematic destruction of the Vietnamese people in the name of preserving a freedom we have already denied them.

Hans Morgenthau, among many commentators, has warned that the war in Vietnam can be won only "by the indiscriminate killing of everybody in sight—by genocide." We have embarked on a scorched-earth policy by destroying villages, forests, and crops. We constantly saturate jungle areas with bombs and napalm without knowing who is beneath them. Our reaction to Viet Cong terror, which we rightly condemn, has been American terror, which we are slow to acknowledge. We are daily becoming more and more indiscriminate in our killing simply because discrimination in such a war is virtually impossible. Fighting against the guerrilla tactics of a native force leaves us little choice. To destroy the Viet Cong we must destroy the Vietnamese people, and with them our own moral integrity.

Thirdly, as a country which believes in the human family's right to pursue happiness, we are moving inexorably toward a third and final world war.

Both the enormous build-up of our forces in Vietnam and the increasing proximity of our bombing raids to Hanoi are evidence enough of the dangers ahead. China and the Soviet Union cannot be expected to tolerate the obliteration of North Vietnam industrial centers. Few steps are needed now to bring Eastern and Western nuclear forces to the point of an all-out conflict. At this point in history, on this question, is it so impossible for us to identify our values as Americans and Christians closely enough with that of the world to avoid world destruction?

It is obviously not enough to say that the war in Vietnam is against our national self-interest. The war is against our self-interest

because it is, more basically, against our moral self-identity. It is against the moral principles on which our American revolution rests, and as such raises serious questions about our future in a world of growing aspirations where only a revolutionary America holds out any promise. We must recognize the urgency of the questions, how we can hope to encourage anti-Communism in Southeast Asia by decimating one of its peoples, or how we can heighten our prestige in a world of newly independent nations by repudiating the moral base of our own independence, or how we can keep the world safe from Communism by igniting a thermonuclear war.

Devil Theories

It is worth noting that it is only on the basis of a counter-theology to the theology of the human family under God, that one can dismiss these questions and argue for our present position in Vietnam: namely, the theology that the Communists are Satan, that the United States is God, and that it is time for God to show Satan what hell is really like. For God cannot compromise with Satan, nor agree to his presence in any government. The only basis for negotiations between God and Satan is Satan's total surrender, and God's sensitive antennae know that Satan has not yet been reduced to that.

The Communist theology, on the other hand, normally reverses these roles, so that Satan appears in the grey flannel suit and God in a pair of overalls. Christians do in fact believe that God once appeared in overalls, or their equivalent for a Jewish carpenter two thousand years ago. The Communists at least celebrate those closest to God, the oppressed and exploited. But any cold-war theology, whether it be of the East or the West, which tries to confine God to one ideology or one side of a border, can only stifle hope today, for the divinity of both sides is too much in question to promise much salvation. It is not surprising to see such a God, whose only purpose is to annihilate Satan, taking up the arts of napalm and flame-throwers to meet an enemy beyond redemption.

These absolutized politics are theologies of despair, and their common heresy is the denial of man's humanity. We are not God, and the Communists are not Satan. They are men like ourselves, beautiful and ugly, great and small-minded, humanitarian and terrorists. We are all men, all members of the same family, and we are all capable, Americans and Viet Cong alike, of rising up from our mutual slaughter to a recognition of our mutual human dignity and brotherhood.

For we must go beyond national self-interest, and beyond our self-identity as a revolutionary nation, to reach the ultimate ground of a politics which can be both moral and realistic in Vietnam today and in the nuclear age as a whole.

This politics has been described by an Italian peasant who became first a saint and then, in one of God's wisest jokes, a pope. In *Paxem in Terris*, John XXIII developed his theme of peace in the family of mankind. He wrote, "There will always exist the objective need to promote the universal common good, that is, the common good of the entire human family." *Paxem in Terris* is both a hymn to the unity of the human family and a political program embodying that unity institutionally for the sake of man's survival. In the nuclear age the universal common good demands the abolition of war and the gradual surrender of national sovereignty to world order and government. Mankind has always been a family, by nature if not by practice, but today we must either begin to live together as brothers, without war, or die divided in nuclear chaos.

Pope Paul summed up the size of our task in his address to the United Nations: "The hour has struck for our 'conversion,' for personal transformation, for interior

(Continued on page 8)

On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 2)

We have been rebuke on occasion, when we advised young men not to register for the draft; when we spoke of capitalism as a cancer on the social body, as Count della Torre, the former editor of *Osservatore Romano*, did; and on only one occasion, for our use of the name *Catholic*. This last reproach came up again in a news report recently, and we can only repeat what I said to our former chancellor, Monsignor Gaffney, (God rest his soul) that we have as much right to the name *Catholic* as the Catholic War Veterans have.

Obey God and Men?

As to my oft-quoted remark that if the Cardinal asked me to stop my writing on war, I would obey, which has been brought up quite a number of times recently, I will try to clarify it: First of all, I cannot conceive of Cardinal Spellman's making such a request of me, considering the respect he has always shown for freedom of conscience and freedom of speech. But in the event of so improbable a happening, I have said that I would obey. "What becomes of your obligation of conscience to resist authority? You have quoted St. Peter's saying that we must obey God rather than men."

My answer would be (and it is an easier one to make now that the Council has spoken so clearly) that my respect for Cardinal Spellman and my faith that God will right all mistakes, mine as well as his, would lead me to obey. A respect augmented by the way he has carried out his physical duties in connection with military ordinariness, in visiting the soldiers in far-off parts of the world. This Christmas, as during the Korean conflict, he will be in a war area, since there is not a spot in Vietnam which can be considered safe. We have been a troublesome family to the chancery office, and I am sure that there are plenty of bishops around the country who are glad we are not in their dioceses. It is fitting, of course, that the Christian revolution (it has scarcely begun in its pacifist-anarchist aspects) should struggle on in New York as it has these last thirty-three years. Let us pray that it continues.

Immediate Effects

As to what change will be brought about by the pronouncements of the Council? None immediately, just as there was none when Pope Pius XI spoke out against Fascism in Italy. (And was it not Cardinal Spellman who flew out with that encyclical, which was suppressed in Italy under Mussolini?) Popes speak out, as Paul VI did recently at the United Nations, but wars go on. There are cheers and rejoicings, and seeming assent to what they say, but action does not seem to be influenced, that is, immediately. They are respected for what they say because of their lofty position. But a Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J. is "even another assignment" to Latin America. But in the long run, these words, these pronouncements, after much blood had been shed, influence the course of history, which progresses more and more towards a recognition of man's freedom, his dignity as a son of God, as made in the image and likeness of God, whether he is Communist or Imperialist, Russian or American, "North" or "South" Vietnamese. All men are brothers, God wills that all men be saved, and we pray daily, *Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.*

Meanwhile, to go from the general to the particular, I rejoice that Father Berrigan has this new assignment. He has done magnificent writing on race relations and war, he has spoken and walked on picket lines, and undoubtedly he needs some rest, some time to think, to research, to learn more about solutions to the problems that make for war, such as world poverty and hunger. If we had peace tomorrow, in Vietnam, the

problem of poverty in Latin America would still be there, fermenting more violence and hatred, more use of force. Are pacifists in this present war going to be pacifist still when revolts break out throughout Latin American countries? Are we going to have trained and resourceful people ready to deal with these problems? And above all with accent on the primacy of the spiritual and knowledge of "the little way?"

A Jesuit priest from Madras, India, came in the office to visit us the other afternoon. When he spoke of the war in Vietnam he spoke as one nearer to it than we were, and he reiterated the familiar argument: If Vietnam is lost to the Communists, all Asia goes too. One of the Midwest senators answered this in a most very successful in an address printed in the *Saturday Review* last April.

But from the Christian point of view (and in this case from the Jesuit point of view) when he asked "What are we to do?" I could only point to the example of St. Ignatius, who first of all laid down his arms, then went to support himself by serving the poor in hospitals, and then went back to school to study. Peter Maurin not only emphasized such a "simple" program, but pointed out that we should study history by reading the lives of the saints, which throw a light on what is happening in the present day. He also had a famous essay, "They and We."

Community or Crowd?

People say: "They don't do this, They don't do that, They don't do that, They ought to do this, They ought to do that, Always 'They' and never 'I.' The Communitarian Revolution is basically a personal revolution. It starts with I, not with They. One I plus one I makes two I's and two I's and two I's make We. We is a community, while 'they' is a crowd."

When a mother, a housewife, asks what she can do, one can only point to the way of St. Therese, that little way, so much misunderstood and so much despised. She did all for the love of God, even to putting up with the irritation in herself caused by the proximity of a nervous nun. She began with working for peace in her own heart, and willing to love where love was difficult, and so she grew in love, and increased the sum total of love in the world, not to speak of peace.

Newman wrote: "Let us but raise the level of religion in our hearts, and it will rise in the world. He who attempts to set up God's kingdom in his heart, furthers it in the world." And this goes for the priest too, wherever he is, whether he deals with the problem of war or with poverty. He may write and speak, but he needs to study the little way, which is all that is available to the poor, and the only alternative to the mass approach of the State. Missionaries throughout the world recognize this little way of cooperatives and credit unions, small industry, village commune, and cottage economy. And not only missionaries. Down in our own South, in the Delta regions among the striking farmers of Mississippi, this "little way" is being practiced and should be studied.

From California comes news this month, not only of the strike in the Delano region of the grape pickers, well covered by the *National Catholic Reporter*, but a letter too of co-op development in the California Valley. "We have visions of a complex of co-ops in the California Valley, owned and controlled by the farm workers. It will be interesting to see how long it takes vision to be translated into reality."

Dom Chautard, in his *Soul of the Apostolate*, in answer to the question as to how to find workers in all these vineyards, called attention to our Lord's words: "Pray ye therefore, for workers." So right

where we are, at this moment, we can pause for a moment and send up such a prayer.

The Lord knows we need to around the Catholic Worker. Sometimes it seems that the more volunteers there are around the place, the less gets done. I have letters from six volunteers on my desk now. Not only are all the beds full, so that we cannot put them up for the Chrystie Street work, but also, it seems in regard to these we already have that their interests in peace keep them from the clothes room, or from the paper work connected with the thirty or more subscriptions which are coming in each day. Paper work is scorned and yet it is an essential when you are dealing with the people who receive the eighty-five thousand copies of the paper which go out each month. Paper work, cleaning the house, cooking the meals, dealing with the innumerable visitors who come all through the day, answering the phone, keeping patience and acting intelligently, which is to find some meaning in all these encounters—these things too are the work of peace, and often seem like a very little way.

But as Pope John told the pilgrimage of women, Mothers for Peace, the seventy-five of us who went over to Rome to thank him for his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, just the month before his death, "the beginnings of peace are in your own hearts, in your own families, schoolrooms, offices, parishes, and neighborhoods."

It is working from the ground up, from the poverty of the stable, in work as at Nazareth, and also in going from town to town, as in the public life of Jesus two thousand years ago. And since a thousand years are as one day, and Christianity is but two days old, let us take heart and start now.

LEGER

(Continued from page 5)

Europe who were forced to suffer and endure for another year.

The applications which you my listeners, make of this peace effort which failed, to either the contemporary international scene, or to our own situation in Canada, is your own affair. But if university people would first take the lead in ensuring that racism became a dead letter, and second, sought to ensure that communications with other men were kept open and improved, then we should have at least the beginning of a world community. Universities should recognize no color and know no boundaries, and if they live up to this they will be not only havens of refuge from a world in danger of going mad, they will also be centres where truth, justice, charity and liberty will be put to work to help rebuild the world. It is up to you all to work for sanity, for discussion, in a word, for humanity. There is no necessary process which determines that hate, division and war will win the day. Let us see to it they do not.

Ed. note: As far as we know, the text of Cardinal Leger's remarkable address has not been extensively reproduced in any United States publication. Ten days earlier, the late Adlai Stevenson had been similarly honored by the University of Toronto and had delivered a speech on "Modern Conditions of War and Peace." For the contrast between his views on the nature of international violence and those of Cardinal Leger, cf. Professor Leslie Dewar's article "The Ambassador and the Cardinal" in the Summer 1965 issue of *Continuum* (Saint Xavier College, Chicago 55 Illinois).

"The future of the Church depends on whether lay people are to be found who are prepared to live directly from the Gospel teachings and transform the world in the light of them."
—Hans Urs von Balthasar.

How to Open A House of Hospitality

By STANLEY VISHNEWSKI

We are indeed happy to know that more and more people are thinking in terms of hospitality in order to take care of the poor and the unfortunate — those who are broken in body and soul. The works of mercy are sorely needed in these troubled times and a House of Hospitality run along correct Christian principles can become an effective center of rich Christian life. It is the dream of the Catholic Worker that a hospice will be part of every Catholic parish in the world.

A House of Hospitality is not just a place where the poor come to be fed and to receive emergency treatment at a personal sacrifice by its staff. A hospice should be a cell of Christian living that seeks to give the world an example of what the full Christian life is.

To the rich it would provide the opportunity of winning heaven by serving Christ in His poor. The poor would then come to realize the great dignity of their lot and would not strive for riches, but for holiness. The rich would become poor and the poor would become holy.

A House of Hospitality cannot remain silent and passive in the face of the great injustices of the present capitalist system. A House of Hospitality — and by this I mean the staff and guests — will try to create a new social order within the framework of the present system. They will do all that lies within their power to bring about a social order in harmony with the Gospels.

It is true that there will be a multiplicity of problems (as there will be human beings) in the operating of a hospice, but rarely will they be the problems that people tend to bring up as an excuse not to begin.

Fortunately, there is always a small core of dedicated persons who refuse to become discouraged. The thought of the difficulties to be met seems to imbue them with the courage to start.

The next problem is where to begin. The logical place is in the most poor and most run down district of your community. It is always good to get a house with a store front. It must be (if the laws allow) a place where people can be given shelter for as long as they wish to stay. No arbitrary time-limit must be placed on this phase of hospitality. No one would ever tell a rich man or a king to leave his home — the poor are the Ambassadors of God.

Sometimes there is just enough money for a month's rent. But the workers go ahead and rent the place. They don't let the lack of money stand in their way. They know that if God sends the poor he will also send the means. The Lithuanians have a saying: *God who gave the teeth will provide the bread.*

Having rented a store or a house the people now go ahead with their plans for operating. They get their friends to come down and clean the place. It is important to try and get a cheery, homelike atmosphere, with pictures on the walls, books and papers. When the place is ready and clean, an appeal is sent out to all interested persons for gifts of bedding, furniture, clothing and food. It is surprising how this stuff does come in. Most people have an extra cup or dish that they can spare for a hospice. Some of them volunteer to give a small sum of money each payday for the upkeep of the place. Others volunteer their time.

It does not take long for the poor to come. This is where the real test begins. For the poor are not a thankful lot. They are very suspicious — and who can blame them! Have you ever been on the receiving end of "charity" administered by efficient social workers? Don't expect any gratitude for the work that you are doing. The work is being done for the

love of Christ and not for a material reward. No one could stick long to this type of work if the love of Christ was not his primary motive.

But it is true to say that after a while some of the original group get discouraged. They see no results and begin to ask: Why should we be wasting our time in taking care of a bunch of bums who do nothing to help themselves? Perhaps they feel hurt because one of the men they have been helping turns out to be a thief and steals their coats and cloaks. Or it may be that there is no end to the drinking around the place.

As a result of this discouragement many of the best workers quit and go elsewhere. There are those who stick in spite of the troubles, and after a period of crisis the house begins to function more smoothly. But there will always be crises of sickness and death in a hospice.

Some Suggestions

The hospice could have some of the following departments; that is, if there were enough dedicated persons on the staff:

- An unemployment bureau.
- A craft shop.
- A washing machine.
- A shower room.
- A clinic.
- Meeting rooms.
- A good circulating library.
- A mimeograph machine.

Of course, not every hospice has the departments that I have listed. Each House of Hospitality has its own problems and finds its own method of running things. Every Catholic Worker house is autonomous, but they are all united in practicing the Works of Mercy.

But do try and give lodging to as many people as the House is able to accommodate. It is important to have a family spirit about the place. Do your best to avoid an institutional atmosphere. The staff and the guests should eat at the same table, and there should be occasional spiritual reading at meals. But no person should be forced to participate in religious observances.

It is good to keep the hospice small and to maintain a family atmosphere. Our present hospice in New York City is much too big. We wish that we had several smaller places. But it is good to keep the ideal in mind, even though circumstances will often force one to overcrowd.

You will just have to learn to love people to folly — to forgive them over and over again. But above all, don't exploit the poor who come seeking aid. Far better that they take advantage of us than that we take advantage of them. But you will find that many of the men will take over the running of the House and do an excellent job. They must be made to feel part of the family. At first, they will be suspicious and will quickly sense if you are not sincere. But if treated with love and respect, they will respond. St. John of the Cross said that if you put love where there is no love then you will find love.

The staff members (the voluntary poor who live with the involuntary poor) must seek to advance in sanctity. They must get to daily Mass and to Communion, if possible. It would be good to have Compline in the evening as well as the Rosary. It would be ideal to spend an hour before the Blessed Sacrament and to find time for spiritual reading. Read the lives of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Vincent de Paul, St. John Bosco, St. Martin de Porres, and the other saints who were interested in social reform. It will help you from getting discouraged.

But above all never forget that you are the servants of the poor and that they are your masters.

Chrystie Street

(Continued from page 3)

CW fill a small, joyfully decorated chapel on the second floor of the Mission. The chapel is the creation of Bob Rutman and a small band of artists who live on the Lower East Side. The altar is a simple wooden table, and kaleidoscope-like prints are placed over some of the windows, so that the light shines through them on the floor. The wall in back of the altar is brilliant blue, with painted gold squares superimposed upon it. The building fund for this project amounted to twelve dollars. As in the Eastern Rite, we stand for the entire Mass; however, the incense, pomp, and pageantry are absent, so the sole experience is that of a close community worshipping together.

We have heard that Nativity Church, on Second Avenue, will be closed in two years; we hope that the center of religious life will be spread through the parish in small places of worship like the mission chapel.

Another Jesuit friend of the CW, Father Dan Berrigan, has felt the wrath of some mysterious power inside the corporate-managerial structure of his order and/or the diocese. Father Dan has lectured at our Friday night meetings, led conferences at our farm, and is active in the Catholic Peace Fellowship. On Saturday, December 2nd, we joined a group of students from Fordham, an editor of *Commonweal*, the religious editor of a large publishing house and many other prominent and lesser known individuals in a manifestation of our concern outside of the Chancery office. The Fordham students had previously demonstrated outside the Provincial's office at Fordham. We hope that all those concerned will make their feelings known to those at the top. Father Dan Kilfoyle, S.J. and Father William Keating, S.J. of St. Peter's College, Jersey City, Father Anthony Mullaney, O.S.B., of St. Anselm's College in Manchester,

New Hampshire, have in one way or another felt the ire of "the Church reactionary" for their activities toward gaining a peaceful Christian community.

Dave Miller returned to us from Onondaga County prison, where he had received a thirty-day vacation, paid for by the county, for his conscientious work in seeking jobs for Negroes with the Niagara Mohawk Power Company. On his arrival, we found two of the Miller boys instead of one; Dave and his younger but larger brother Dan. Dan has just filed Form SS150 with his local draft board for a classification as a conscientious objector.

The speakers over the past month have been exceptionally fine. Tom Paxton, a well-known folk singer, honored us with an extremely enjoyable evening's entertainment. We thank Gil Turner for calling Tom, at the last moment, to be with us. Unfortunately, Gil, who was originally scheduled to sing, got sick and couldn't come but he has promised to come in the future. On another Friday we had a forum on draft-card burning. Speakers were: Dave Miller (number one on the FBI's draft-card-burning list), Jim Wilson and Roy Lisker (also members of the top ten) and myself, whose picture in *Life* magazine burning my "internal passport" helped provoke Congress to pass the law which the other three violated. Ned O'Gorman spoke to us concerning his recent trip to South America, which was sponsored by the State Department. Most of us had read the account of his journey in the *National Catholic Reporter* several months ago but to hear his personal presentation and to realize his emotion was much more than one could get from reading his articles. Ned spoke primarily about the social unrest in Chile and Brazil and of the total ignorance of the U.S. State Dept. toward the realities existent in Latin America. After being there only

a short time he stirred up the State Dept. by his abandonment of the status quo and his insistence on speaking to those people he thought most relevant and not just those on the approved itinerary. It is a certainty that he will never again be sent as an emissary of the United States government.

Prison Letter

(Continued from page 1)

the officials that evening. The next morning Barry was taken to Chillicothe and later that day I was placed in isolation: a small cell with no other inmates.

Other prisoners, however, are able to come up to the door and occasionally I get a cookie or a piece of writing paper. One man slips me the newspaper, just one day old, so I have it somewhat easy for isolation. I doubt that I'll be here long, as papers have been signed to transfer me to Louisiana.

In the *New York Times* on Saturday I read that President Johnson champions the right to dissent of minority groups. Now, if one sincerely dissents from American military action in Vietnam, it is not consistent to support that military



action by going into the Army. Actually, what Johnson means is that those opposing the war, sincerely and totally, have a right to spend five years in prison because of such convictions. It is like the prison official telling me that I am "privileged" to be granted a pencil while I am kept in this cell. But Americans, like sheep, bleat their enthusiasm for such rights and rush to slaughter, with sterile slogans ringing in their ears.

I miss you all. Resist and sing! Much love,

Murphy Dowouis

Ed. note: Murphy Dowouis, a valued friend and co-worker and a talented folk-singer, sent us this letter from the Federal prison on West Street, in New York City. Six years ago, when he was eighteen, he registered for the draft in his home state of Louisiana, but later became convinced that he should not cooperate with Selective Service, so he returned his classification cards and refused to report for induction. (See November 1965 *Catholic Worker* for his statement of principle in regard to conscription.) During the last two years, Murphy has worked at Joe Hill House, in Salt Lake City, and St. Joseph's House, on Chrystie Street. We exhort our readers to send Christmas cards to Murphy and the other young men imprisoned in various parts of the country for their conscientious refusal of military service. Their names and places of detention follow:

Murphy P. Dowouis, 531 S. Broad St., New Orleans, La.

Russ Goddard, Gene Keyes, Federal Prison, Springfield, Missouri.

Robert Switzer, Federal Prison, Sandstone, Minnesota.

Dennis Weeks, Bill Cunningham, Bruce Hicks, Jon Jost, Barry Bassin, Federal Prison, Chillicothe, Ohio.

William McMillan and Peter Harris, Federal Prison, Danbury, Connecticut.

Jeff Keith, Jay Allen Moss, Gregory Beardall, Federal Prison, Petersburg, Virginia.

Donald Hoffman and Fred Moore, Federal Prison, Allenwood, Pennsylvania.

Michael Yankee, #699-93-78, U.S. Navy Brig., Honolulu, Hawaii.

The Human Family

(Continued from page 6)

renewal. We must get used to thinking of man in a new way; and in a new way also of man's life in common; with a new manner too of conceiving the paths of history and the destiny of the world, according to the words of St. Paul: "You must be clothed in the new self, which is created in God's image, justified and sanctified through the truth."

Our reigning philosophy of "political realism" must today give way to a politics of global realism. We must learn a politics which can truly respond to man's development of what can be called "eschatological" weapons, that is, weapons which can draw down on man the end of his world and of himself. As a working philosophy political realism rests on national self-interest and the power of matter as an ultimate arbiter of conflict. But in an age where the power of matter has revealed its essence as global self-destruction, in eschatological weapons, we must develop a politics of spirit whereby man can both settle his conflicts and live.

In such a situation, which will continue as long as man continues because we cannot forget nuclear knowledge, the only politics realistic enough to be able to prevent, rather than simply postpone, man's self-destruction, is a politics of the entire human family, a politics in which national and global interests will converge more and more in the conscience of mankind. This is the political vocation of our time, and a vocation which corresponds to our vision as Christians: to learn to act in international politics only from the widest loyalty to the whole of mankind. The politics of global realism is a recognition of our radical dependence in every sense on the entire world community.

As the politics of the human family, global realism is also the politics of moral rather than armed resistance, because members of the same family must fight only with the weapons of truth. It is therefore a politics which was tested and explored by Mohandas Gandhi in South Africa and India and applied brilliantly by Martin Luther King in America. It possesses a power of resistance through conscience which must be developed in a world community made fragile by nuclear power.

Global realism is also the politics of an open world expressed by John F. Kennedy in his American University Address, and practiced by Kennedy and Khrushchev together in the limited test-ban treaty. It is a politics which has been practiced habitually by the statesmen Dag Hammarskjöld and U Thant, and by Adlai Stevenson when he was free to speak his own mind. It is a politics we have only begun to learn and a politics which so clashes with our actions in Vietnam and Santo Domingo that it must now seem a wonder that we shall ever learn it.

In Vietnam the politics of global realism, the politics of reason and of spiritual power in an age where the power of matter has revealed its essence as self-destruction, is a politics of negotiation and reconciliation. It demands our attention to the people of Vietnam, to their history and their present needs. It demands our recognition that the program of social reform so long and so desperately needed by these people cannot be accomplished in the intervals between bombing raids on their villages. Such a politics asks that we give our attention to the position of a revolutionary party which enjoys massive support among the South Vietnamese, and thus requires our openness to those interests which constitute half of any possible settlement of the war. In short, global realism in Vietnam means that we must scale down our self-image and our demands from the divine to the human level, recognizing that here as elsewhere war comes from the baptism of our own interests, and

peace from the acknowledgment of God's presence in our enemy.

For our deepening commitment to a politics of the entire human family, and our increasing support of institutions which embody the truth that all men are brothers in the family of mankind, represent our only hope today as Americans, as world citizens, and as Christians. We shall either go out to meet in negotiations, and eventually know in brotherhood, the Viet Cong guerrilla and the Chinese Communist, or we shall learn what it means to live and finally die in an America of deepening hostility, suspicion, and fear toward a gathering global storm.

Ed. note: James Douglass is an assistant professor of theology at Bellarmine College, in Louisville, Kentucky. He has contributed articles on the morality of war to the *Catholic Worker*, *Commonweal*, *Cross Currents*, the *Catholic World*, and other publications. His article here is the text of a talk given last month to the Holy Name Societies of Pittsburgh.

A Farm With A View

(Continued from page 3)

the people have much need of help.

It was good to have some of our friends and co-workers from Chrystie Street stop by for a visit on their way up to Albany to take part in a teach-in. Those in the group included—Catherine Swann, Walter Kerrel, Terry Sullivan, Felix McGowan, Terry Becker, Ned O'Gorman, Marty, Peter, and John Kosuda, accompanied them to the teach-in.

As for other means of combating monotony, the favorite one in our community is, I think, reading. Peggy Conklin makes frequent trips to the library to procure mysteries for herself and for others addicted to this kind of literature. If any of our readers have mystery or detective fiction they would like to share with other readers, such books would be welcomed here at the Farm. Peggy has also gathered bright berries and greenery from nearby woods to decorate our house and chapel. The Corbin children play a variety of games, and on the whole do much to keep things from becoming too deadly dull. For some in our community, Bard College, with its free lectures, movies, concerts, and dramatic performances, provides welcome diversion. As for me, I, too, read by means of talking books and tapes. I also derive much enjoyment from listening to the birds that flock to the bird-feeding station outside my southern window. Although I cannot see them, I hear the flutter of their wings, their twitterings and cheepings. The chickadee and jay, of course, usually announce themselves by name. My own food tastes better, it seems to me, after I have fed the birds.

There are, of course, other means of spending one's time than in diversion or recreation. There is prayer, that necessary spiritual work. Since Father Kane permitted us to transform one of the rooms in the house into a winter chapel, it is much easier for some of us to make visits to the Blessed Sacrament. May this Presence in our house hold us in His peace.

Now on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, we move toward Lactare Sunday, toward the Birthday of Our Lord. May the Christ Child bring to all of our faithful friends, benefactors, and readers, a happy, holy Christmastide and His peace, which will endure. *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

"It is preoccupation with possession, more than anything else, that prevents men from living freely and nobly."

Bertrand Russell

The Road to Peace

Achille Cardinal Lienart, Archbishop of Lille (France) and member of the Coordinating Commission of Vatican Council II, speaking in the Council Hall in Rome on October 6th, said that in the modern world, "there exists a sorrowful discrepancy between the vehement desire for peace which stirs the hearts of all men and the permanent state of war which is to be found everywhere and threatens to bring about universal ruin." He said that Mother Church has always considered war as a calamity, putting it on a par with epidemics and hunger. Not being able to wipe it out altogether, she has tried to make it at least more humane. But today the Church sees "that her doctrine and the action she takes must be extended, because there now exist arms so terrible that they not only can kill the combatants, but also threaten to annihilate even cities, populations, immense regions, and even the world itself." He said that it would be "a crime against God, the creator and father of all men, and against humanity itself, to inflict such destruction upon the world." The distinction between just and unjust wars therefore no longer suffices, he said. The type of armaments as well have to be taken into consideration.

Cardinal Lienart said that the only justification for taking up arms is "to vindicate justice." But how can it be possible to reach this goal through use of inhuman means? Would an offensive war, he asked, "although carried on for a legitimate cause, not become an unjust war today because it should involve the use of such arms?" He said that the hour has therefore come "for men no longer to seek to defend even their legitimate rights through war; instead they should become mindful of the injustices which people bewail and which wars generate. And with a sense of justice and sincere brotherliness they should patiently try to work out a reasonable solution." Rather than return to a state of barbarism worse than ever before, "the nations of today ought to prove that they are capable of undertaking this truly human progress."

Cardinal Lienart said that this teaching in the schema had a solid foundation in the encyclical letter *Pacem in Terris* of Pope John XXIII, "which was recently received by the entire world so enthusiastically, and which so clearly shows the way to be followed." He said that the Second Vatican Council "therefore ought to convince all men to follow that path and to collaborate in a spirit of unanimity for the rejection of war and the promotion of peace, especially through international organizations having this goal." The possibilities which the Church has for promoting peace have been exemplified, he said, "by our most beloved leader, Pope Paul VI, who graciously took it upon himself to bring a message of peace to the Assembly of the United Nations." He said that the Pope's example ought to be diligently followed by the Council Fathers.

(Divine Word News Service)