



ON Pilgrimage

By DOROTHY DAY

I'm sure that God means us to be happy, but these last few months we've had a pretty hard time of it, at least around 175 Chrystie Street. A major disaster in the way of clogged drains made it seem as though we were living in a sewer for a few weeks. We had to stop the breadline, stop the clothes line, stop the meetings. Somehow the "family" (which is anywhere from forty to sixty of us) had to keep things going. We continued to feed this number, get out and mail the paper, keeping to the upper floors of our three-story building and staying out of the basement and Siloe House, which is on the soggy ground.

This was the first time we had stopped the "line," except for the emergency of moving three times in the last twenty-eight years. Those two weeks, when there was a threat of having to stop altogether, made us take stock, make new beginnings, examine ourselves as to how we were working, in fact, do a little planning. So we are looking for advice and help.

First of all, since we are short of cash, the report is that my Spring appeal was not an appeal really, and not taken as such by our readers. We've been short many times before, and we believe that one of the great things about our work is that it shows God's providence for us and gives us an opportunity to exercise our faith. Of course it needs to be "tried like fine gold" as Saint Paul says, which indeed it is, and far more precious.

But it's this plumbing business which has made us take stock. First of all, the landlord wanted us to pay half the plumbing bill, which he said would result from needed repairs, of sixteen hundred dollars. It's one thing to be meek and humble of heart, but it's another to be lacking in common sense. We refused, of course. We also refused to pay our rent, and were threatened with eviction. The landlord has five hundred dollars of our money in security — usually the poor are made to pay a month's rent in advance. I've seen many an eviction, and I know that one has to go to court and there are delays and then if it is finally carried out, there is at least the advantage of having the marshal's men carry our worldly goods out and onto the street. A few friendly truckmen would have only half the burden of moving us. But moving us to where?

That's the problem. How to find a place to house such a family as ours, to get a house in shape to pass the building inspectors who like to consider us a multiple dwelling, a rooming house, a hotel, a hospice. Standards were applied to us that are never applied to the landlords, or the corporations that own the tenements all around us.

As it looks now, we will not have to move right away, that is, until this section of the city is demolished by the coming of the Cooper Square project. Five of our apartments are threatened by the Lower Manhattan Expressway, which has finally been okayed by Mayor Wagner. The neighborhood had defeated the project many times, but now at last it looks as

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NO MORE HIROSHIMAS

"During these days, as you know, the entire world press has taken note of the twentieth anniversary of the explosion of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima.

"We have noted that official ceremonies in that most unhappy city, which has been modernly rebuilt, have been voluntarily and nobly without any political or polemic character whatsoever. And we have observed, looking at some publications which were sent to us, the picture of a group of persons who are crying and praying, honoring the memory of the innumerable victims of the infernal slaughter and imploring humanity and asking God that this butchery of human lives, this outrage against civilization may never repeat itself. This is a pious, human, and moving gesture.

"And we, who many times have likewise in various ways desired that atomic weapons may be banned, unite ourselves with the plea and prayer and with that hope with this our humble Sunday prayer.

"Let us pray that the world may never again see a disgraceful day such as that of Hiroshima, that men may never again place their trust, their calculations and their prestige in such nefarious and dishonorable weapons."

POPE PAUL VI
(August 8, 1965)

St. Maximus the Confessor On Non-Violence

By THOMAS MERTON

Christians are sometimes so disturbed by the enemies of Christianity that they become convinced that hatred of these enemies is a proof of love for Christ, and that the will to destroy them is a pledge of their own salvation. At such a time it is necessary to go back to the sources and try to recover the true Christian meaning of the first and all-embracing commandment to love all men including our enemies. Failure to understand and observe this commandment brings down the wrath of God on our civilization and means damnation for those Christians who are wilfully blind to the clearly expressed teaching of Christ and of the Church from the Apostolic times down to John XXIII and Paul VI. This obligation is not a merely theoretical matter, or something that calls for a rectification of one's inner intentions, without any effect on one's outward conduct. It is on the contrary one of the crucial ways in which we give proof in practice that we are truly disciples of Christ. It is by love and not by hatred that we demonstrate the authenticity of our faith.

Therefore it may be useful to present here a few excerpts from one of the great theologians of the Greek Church, St. Maximus the Confessor (7th century), on the love of enemies. These quotations are taken from his book on the ascetic life, which is to say that they are part of a context in which he deals with the essentials of Christian holiness.

The theme of the book is our response to the call of Christ who came into the world offering us the gift of salvation, which we will receive if we obey His commandments and become followers of His example. In this book, which is a dialogue between a master and his disciple, the master at one point reminds the disciple of the Christian's obligation to renounce his selfish desires, because "No man can serve two masters" (Matthew 6:24) and if one follows his own desires he will not take seriously the commandments of Christ, but will seek to evade them. The disciple protests that after all the love of food, comfort, money, possessions, praise, etc. are all good natural desires. If they are good, and if they come from God, why should we renounce them?

It is in replying to this objection that the Master brings up the

subject of our relations with our enemies: in fact, it is because we love money, possessions, comfort etc. more than other men that we enter into conflict with our fellow man, in order to take for ourselves what we do not wish to share with him, even if in order to fulfill our desires we must destroy our enemies.

The Master continues: "It is true that we can please God by making a good use of the things He has given to us. Nevertheless we are weak, and our spirit is weighed down by matters, so that now we prefer profane and material things to the commandment of love. Because we are attached to these things we fight against other men, whereas we ought to prefer love for our fellow man to every visible thing and even to love for our own body. Such preference as this would be the sign of our authentic love of God, as the Lord said Himself in the Gospel: 'He who loves me, keeps my commandments.' (John 14:15). And what is this commandment which proves our love for Him? Let us hear Him tell us Himself: 'This is my commandment: that you love one another.' (John 15:12).

Do you now see that this love for one another is the proof of our love for God, and this is the way to fulfill all the other commandments? It is for this reason that He commands anyone who would like to become His disciple in truth, to renounce all his possessions rather than to become attached to these things.

At this point the disciple protests again: how can he love another man who hates him? This is the usual justification of all enmities: we always claim it is the enemy who hates us. We assert that nothing we can do will make him treat us fairly or kindly. He is indeed confirmed in evil, since he is a kind of diabolical being: how could he otherwise be our enemy? He envies us, he insults us, he is always trying to deceive us. This is of course characteristic of enemies! They are always trying to deceive. We do not reflect that perhaps our enemy sees in us the mirror image of what we see in him. Has he perhaps reason to think that we hate him and wish to destroy him? That we would gladly trick him? That our claim to be ready to come to an agreement with him is itself a trick,

because our invitation to negotiate is always offered in terms that we know he cannot possibly accept? Is that why he treats us accordingly?

The Master replies to this allegation that love of enemies is simply impossible. It is after all important to show that it is not impossible, for if the love of enemies is impossible Christ could not have commanded it, and in fact those who today say that we are not seriously obliged to love our enemies are contending that Christ could not have meant what He said when He told us to do this. The Master's reply:

Of course it is impossible for snakes and wild beasts, dominated by their instincts, to keep from resisting with all their power anyone who causes them to suffer. But for us, created in the image of God, guided by reason, to whom it has been given to know God, who have received our law from Him, it is indeed possible not to have an aversion for those who cause us pain. It is possible for us to love those who hate us. And so when the Lord says "Love your enemies and do good to those who hate you" (Matthew 5:44) and all that follows, He is not commanding the impossible, but obviously what is possible. Otherwise, He would not punish those who disobey this command.

That it is possible to love our enemies and not retaliate by meeting hatred with hatred, is shown by the example not only of the Lord Himself, but also of His disciples, the saints, the martyrs, and thousands of heroic Christians who have taken His commandment seriously. What was possible for them can, with God's grace, become possible for us. Meanwhile, if it does happen to be impossible for some of us to love our enemies, there must be a reason for it. The reason is that we love money and possessions more than we love our fellow man, and so when he seems to threaten our material interests, we are compelled to hate him.

The Master continues: "We are held by the love of material things and the attraction of pleasure, and since we prefer these things to the commandment of the Lord, we become incapable of loving those who hate us. Rather we find that because of these very things we are often in con-

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"WE DECLARE PEACE..."

By TOM CORNELL

The Peace Movement is escalating. Not enough to impede the military escalation in Vietnam, certainly, but enough to give the lie to President Johnson's claim of general consensus for his Vietnam policy, and enough to have evoked legislative response from the Senate and the House of Representatives.

On August 9th, nationwide television broadcast films of the largest mass arrest in the history of Washington, D.C. Three hundred and sixty people, participants in the Assembly of Unrepresented People, attempted to march to the steps of the Capitol, while the Congress was in session, to read a Declaration of Peace:

Because for twenty years the people of Vietnam have been tortured, burned and killed; because their land and crops have been ruined and their culture is being destroyed; and because we refuse to have these things done in our name, we declare peace with the people of Vietnam.

Because millions of Americans had hoped and expected that their votes in the 1964 presidential election would move our country away from war toward peace, and because these hopes and expectations have been betrayed in Vietnam, we declare peace with the people of Vietnam.

Because the Congress of the United States, without adequate discussion, has permitted the waging of an undeclared war, we symbolically assume its responsibility for this day in the name of those people of the United States and of the world who oppose this war, and declare peace with the people of Vietnam.

Because we believe that the steady escalation of the war in Vietnam threatens all people with nuclear death, we declare peace with the people of Vietnam.

Because we believe that people all over the world must find ways to make peace with each other and to keep their governments from ever waging war, we declare peace with the people of Vietnam.

Following the film clip of the Washington police carrying the demonstrators to the paddy wagons was a film in which President Johnson soothingly reassured us all that the nation is united behind his war in Vietnam.

Hiroshima Day

The Catholic Worker took an active part in the four days of demonstrations that led up to the mass arrest. On August 6th, Hiroshima Day, we gathered across the street from the White House, in Lafayette Park, for addresses by Father Philip Berrigan, S.S.J. and about twenty peace leaders. We walked silently across the street, carrying with us a few placards announcing our purpose and our Declaration of Conscience, which many Catholic Worker readers had signed. There were over six thousand signatures on the Declaration, denouncing the violence in Vietnam and asserting that the signers would support civil disobedience in efforts to halt it. Our

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On Pilgrimage

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though it will go through. It probably means a few more years here at most.

Our immediate trouble is that we are faced with such rents. Already we have paid the landlord of the three-story loft building seventeen thousand dollars during our four years' occupancy, and have had to heat the place and make repairs besides. We rent several apartments for eight hundred dollars a month; five of them are "old law" and have to be heated by gas stoves, which means an enormous utility bill. Rents and utilities cannot wait. We beg for vegetables, we buy groceries and meats from day to day, but the other big bills must wait.

When we consider these sums going out month after month, we agree with Louis Murphy, head of the Detroit CW, that it is expensive to be poor. Like the Negro and the Puerto Rican, we pay double rents because we are poor, abandoned, derelict, and hence degraded.

We want to do better. We want to serve better. We would like to have a big house, as we did farther up Chrystie Street, before the city razed the entire block to make way for subway entrances. The only help we have comes from our readers and visitors. We must not only have faith in God's providence, we must also have faith in the rich; as Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi's aide, has, and pray that their hearts will be moved to come to our help, so that we will do better and be better ourselves. Part of poverty is the pettiness, the envy, the resentment, the discouragements, and the biggest part of our job is to overcome these things. But we also know that they too are all a part of poverty, real poverty, real suffering, to be recognized and accepted cheerfully.

One great step forward is our having acquired the property at Tivoli, which we were able to buy thanks to the land boom on Staten Island and our selling the Peter Maurin Farm. Already we see the great good such a beautiful place has done the sick, the afflicted ones who are brought there. No one can ever say to us again that nothing can be done about such a place as the Bowery or that the men that are part of that community cannot change.

So we want a place in the city, in the slums, maintained in decent poverty, but not the destitution which is so weakening and degrading.

"Blessed are those who understand concerning the needy and the poor." If you can help us to get a real House of Hospitality, please do. Not a big one, but one that can be more of a model, so that those who visit us can say: "Let's try and do that too. Let's start such a little mutual aid center in our poor parishes." As it is now, our work may arouse the conscience, it may make men aware of

the depth of the poverty around us, but it is scarcely imitable.

Please, too, if you know people who are rich in this world's goods, show them this column. Say to them: "If you were travelling around this beautiful world and saw art treasures, shawls, vases, music, you would not carry them along home with you. You would send them ahead, and enjoy them when you end your journey." Someone has said: "You can take into heaven only what you have given away."

The paradox is that just as in the natural order, if you sow sparingly you will reap sparingly. What you give away will come back to you a hundredfold, even in this life, Jesus said, and "knowing what was in man," he added, "with tribulations too."

Readers Respond

When some of our friends read the foregoing, they made contributions of two thousand, three hundred dollars. So we have the start of a building fund now, although when they gave it to us they said, perhaps doubting whether we could gather the money together to get a house: "Use it for daily needs, for food and utilities if you have to." But we are putting it aside for the house, which we will eventually have to have, considering the slum clearance going on all around us.

And even as I write this, I am on my way to Rome again on a pilgrimage for peace to fast with some twenty other women in penance there. My fare is paid on the Italian lines through a kind friend of the work and I have hospitality in Rome, so my trip will not be an expensive one. But of course I feel apologetic, thinking of all those who cannot go and who would like to. The only way I can make up to them for their deprivation is to write a good travelogue, a true *On Pilgrimage*, for them next month.

During my absence there will be plenty of help in both Tivoli and Chrystie Street to keep things going, and perhaps a house will even be found in the city by the time I get back, so that we can begin to move.

Johannine Wisdom

When Pope John was journeying in North Africa before he was made a Cardinal, he wrote that his trip brought home to him vividly "the problem of the conversion of the people without the faith. The whole life and purpose of the Church, of the priesthood, of true and good diplomacy is there: Give me souls: take all the rest."

And I thought to myself, "We are the Church too, we the laity," and this is our problem also. This is why we are opposing war, and right now the war in Vietnam. Souls are being lost. War is a sin against Love, against life. God is Love, and he wills that all men be

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St. Maximus the Confessor on Non-Violence

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flit with those who love us. In this we show that we are even worse than wild animals or snakes. For this reason we are incapable of even understanding the aim He has in view. But knowledge of this aim would give us strength.

Here the Master puts his finger on the center of the trouble. When we are dominated by a selfish and materialistic scale of values, we are not only unable to love our enemies, we even hate our friends when they come between us and our love for possessions and pleasures. And since this is the case, we are completely unable to see any point in the idea of loving our enemies. We cannot really believe it is commanded us because we are not even able to grasp what it is all about in the first place.

The disciple naively objects that he has left the world and abandoned all possessions in order to become a monk, and even then he is not able to love a brother, another monk, if the latter hates him. Why is this, he inquires. Is there some way in which he can learn to love his brother from his heart?

At this the Master returns to the question of understanding what the Lord has in view when he commands us to love our enemies:

Even one who thinks he has renounced everything in the world,



still remains unable to love those who make him suffer, as long as he has not yet truly understood the Lord's aim in giving us this commandment. But if the grace of God once gives him the capacity to see this aim, and if, having seen it, he conforms his life to it with fervor, then he will become able to love even those who hate and torment him. The Apostles did this, once they had received knowledge of the Lord's aim . . .

Here the Master returns to the theme which is central to the whole treatise on the Ascetic life: the Word became Flesh in order to save man. To be precise, Jesus made Himself subject to the Law in order to carry out the injunctions of the Law as man and thus accomplish in Himself what Man had been unable to do since Adam. All the Law and the Prophets are contained in the twofold commandment of Love. "You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart and your neighbor as yourself." (Matthew 22: 37-45).

The demon, says the Master, seeing Jesus keeping the Law of Love, wished to make Him break the Law. Therefore he tempted Him in the desert with those things which men ordinarily, in their weakness, prefer to the Law: food, money and honors. But having failed in this, the demon then sought to tempt Him with hatred by raising up enemies to plot against Him. But instead of hating His enemies, the Lord continued to love them and even laid down His life for them.

Out of love for His enemies, the Lord fought against the evil instigator of their hatred . . . He was not weary of doing good to those who were stirred up to hate Him, even though they might have refused the temptations of the evil one. He endured blasphemies. He accepted suffering with patience and showed them every kind of love. In this way He fought against the evil one who was the instigator of their actions. He fought by kindness for those who were burning with hatred towards Him. A strange,

new kind of warfare! In exchange for hate, He returns only love! By His kindness, He casts out the father of evil. It was for this reason that He endured so much evil from them; or rather to speak more accurately, it was for their sakes that He, as man, fought even to death in order to obey the commandment of Love . . . Hence the Apostle tells us that we "should have in ourselves that same mind which was that of Christ." (Phil. 2: 5).

This then was the Lord's aim: to obey His Father, as man, even to the point of dying, and to fight against the demon by submitting to those sufferings which the demon inflicted on Him through the men whom he incited to hatred. It is thus, in allowing Himself freely to be overcome, that He overcame the evil one who planned to win and who had already wrested the world out of the Lord's grasp.

Thus the Lord was crucified in weakness (2 Cor 13: 4) and by means of this "weakness" He destroyed death . . . and in the same way Paul "gloried in his infirmities in order that the power of Christ might rest on him." (2 Cor 12: 9).

After this the Master goes on to quote many New Testament texts on the courageous acceptance of suffering, on the love of enemies, on inflexible patience under persecution. The most important thing is to understand how important all these things are in the Christian life, and to see how they are essential for anyone who wants to attain his aim as a Christian, namely, salvation in imitation of Christ, in participation in the sufferings of Christ, in order to vanquish the enemy of Christ by the power of Christ's love.

Hence the disciple must learn that the love of enemies is not simply a pious luxury; something that he can indulge in if he wants to feel himself to be exceptionally virtuous. It is of the very essence of the Christian life, a proof of one's Christian faith, a sign that one is a follower and an obedient disciple of Christ.

The point the Master is making is this: that a superficial and even illusory Christianity is one which professes faith in Christ by verbal formulas and external observance, but which in fact denies Christ by refusing to obey His commandment to love. Since no man can serve two masters, and since the Christian life is a bitter struggle to keep the commandments of Christ in spite of everything in order to hold fast to our faith in Him and not deny Him, the enemy of Christ seeks in every way to make us deny the Lord in our lives and in our actions, even though we may remain apparently faithful to Him in our words and in our worship. He does this by leading us to hate others on account of our attachment to money and pleasure or, when we have apparently renounced these, to hate others when they attack us in our own person or in the society to which we belong. But in all these cases we must see that the evil that is done to us, apparently, by others, is a summons to greater faith and to heroic obedience to the word of the Gospel.

The significant thing for us, in this remarkable passage from the Greek saint, is that he portrays non-violent resistance under suffering and persecution as the normal way of the Christian, and shows that the Christian who has recourse to force and hatred in order to protect himself is, in fact, by that very action, denying Christ and showing that he has no real understanding of the Gospel.

Very often people object that non-violence seems to imply passive acceptance of injustice and evil and therefore that it is a kind of cooperation with evil. Not at all. The genuine concept of non-violence implies not only active and effective resistance to evil but in

fact a more effective resistance. St. Maximus takes pains to make very clear the absolutely uncompromising obligation to resist evil.

But the resistance which is taught in the Gospel is aimed not at the evil-doer but at evil in its source. It combats evil as such by doing good to the evil-doer, and thus overcoming evil with good, (Romans 12:21) which is the way our Lord Himself resisted evil.

On the other hand, merely to resist evil with evil, by hating those who hate us and seeking to destroy them, is actually no resistance at all. It is active and purposeful collaboration in evil. It brings the Christian into direct and intimate contact with the same source of evil and hatred which inspires the acts of his enemy. It leads in practice to a denial of Christ and to the service of hatred rather than love.

How do we learn to love our enemy? By seeing him as a brother who is tempted as we are, and attacked by the same real enemy which is the spirit of hatred and of "Antichrist." This same enemy seeks to destroy us both by arming us against one another.

The Master continues:

If you meditate without ceasing on these truths you will be able to see through all the deceptions of the evil one in this regard, provided that you also understand that your brother is moved by an evil power to hate, just in the same way that you too are tempted. If you understand this you will pardon your brother. If you refuse to fall into the trap, you will be resisting the Tempter who wishes to make you hate your brother who is tempted . . . Resist the devil, and he will fly from you. (James 4:1) Meditating on these things you will understand the aim which the Lord and the Apostles had in view, to love men, to have compassion for those who fall into sin, and thus by love to hold in check the malice of the demon.

But if we are negligent, lazy, and blinded in spirit by carnal desires, then we do not make war on the demons but on ourselves and our brothers. Indeed by such things we place ourselves in the service of the demons and in their name we fight against our fellow man.

The Gospel does, indeed, teach us to make war—but only on our real enemies, lest we serve our enemies and the enemies of Christ by making war on our brothers.

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Status Quo and Revolution

By HILDEGARD GOSS-MAYR

In June 1964, a large international Christian peace conference was held in Prague. (See Jean For-est's "Report from Prague," November, 1964, Catholic Worker.) Christians from East and West participated. In one of the reports, the following statement of position is to be found:

Status Quo and Revolution
In our preparatory studies the following phrase occurred, "Christ breaks belief in the status quo." This should mean: Where there are revolutions, Christians do not stand aside. They are to be found at the heart of the changes. But how do they maintain their position? In the spirit and strength of love! But what does this mean? Some say: "If we use limited violence in certain cases, this can be a paradoxical form of love." It is clear that love is the deepest energy of divine transformation in the world. The revolution of love took place on the cross, a revolution unlike any other. But what are the consequences of this for the position of Christians faced by different revolutions . . . ?

We are very glad that the question of revolution has been discussed so openly and radically by young Christians of East and West and that they had the courage to show clearly the two conflicting positions of non-violence and limited violence which are taken by Christians in our time, everywhere in the world. If, after years of struggle by peace movements, the majority of Christians in Europe and in the United States have understood that violence, as it is used in modern warfare, cannot be accepted by Christians; if, even in the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, the theory of violent revolution has been replaced by that of peaceful co-existence and by unarmed competition between the different economic systems—the question is being posed in a very different way in China, as well as in numerous regions in the Southern Hemisphere, especially in Africa and Latin America. In these countries the question of revolution is to be found at the very heart of the life of the people.

Revolutions take place when, in a certain region, the injustice suffered by part of the population becomes unbearable; when the people who suffer the injustice begin to become aware of their situation and to struggle for their rights as human beings. We have to admit that, at least during recent centuries, it has not been the Christians who have taken up the cause of the oppressed in the great revolutions. We have left that to the non-believers. They struggled for the cause of the middle classes and later for the rights of the workers; we contented ourselves with condemning the wrong orientations of these movements and their methods. We Christians were, for the most part, on the side of the status quo, on the side of the possessing classes and their privileges.

Comfortable Christians

Most of the upper classes in Latin America call themselves Christian. These Christians not only affirm the status quo and accept the resultant privileges for themselves, but, in addition, consider that the present structure of society is an essential prerequisite for the life and work of the Church. Many hold these views in good faith, almost without scruples or doubts. The most tragic aspect of this position is that a great many of these Christians no longer realize, are no longer sensitive to the injustices which surround them and for which they bear the responsibility — "He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart" (John 12:40). To their way of thinking, every change, large or small, in the present situation, every revolt of the people, signifies

the establishment of Communism. It is only in this perspective that we can understand why Catholic women from the privileged classes of Brazil organized a great "march for the faith and the country," mobilized the masses and, thereby, helped to bring about the change of government in April 1964. These political events have reaffirmed the privileges of the possessing classes and reinforced the existing economic order.

This lack of understanding of historic evolution, of the struggle for a truly human life for all people, this lack of a conception of Christian revolution has produced equally extreme reactions among Christians who are trying to follow their awakened consciences. They engage in working against the status quo, against the existing form or structure of society and struggle against the social injustices which result from this structure. Their tragedy of faith lies in the fact that the Church has not clothed them sufficiently in the "armour of God" (Eph. 6, 11). She has not taught them to struggle with the weapons of light and of the spirit. On the contrary, has the Church not rather left them alone and defenseless before immense injustices, complexity, violence, lies and brutality, which seem all but insurmountable? Who can condemn those who, in their bewilderment, join with those at the Christian Peace Conference who said: "If we apply limited violence in certain cases, this can be a paradoxical form of love?" Concretely, this means that there are "advanced" Christians who think that it is necessary, in certain situations, to join forces with those who see the only possible solution in the violent overthrow of the existing social order, so that, in a new situation, they will be able to work for the establishment of Christian principles. This position is held by many convinced and courageous Christians of Latin America. This argument—which seems untenable to us on the level of world realities—raises, however, for the Christian the basic questions: How to act as a Christian? How to commit oneself as a Christian? What is the essential basis of Christian revolution?

After the Coup

After the change of government on April 1, 1964, the majority of the organizations which had been working for the alphabetization (or civic education) of the illiterate were banned. Members of Catholic Action were arrested and accused of being pro-Communist; so were a number of priests. The farm workers who tried to continue the alphabetization were threatened or ill-treated by the landowners or their managers, and their tiny salaries reduced even further. The barrier between conservative adults and the younger generation is so great that in many families the young people, broke off close contact with their parents. The same barrier exists in many organizations and even in the Christian churches; it divides the clergy as well as the bishops.

The latest measures taken to stop the inflation seriously afflict the poor. The fares on public transport have almost doubled and the costs of basic foods have increased forty per cent — sugar a hundred per cent. The minimum salary, however, has not increased. Unemployment is growing as a result of automation and the restriction of economic expansion. In spite of the efforts of the government to put an end to corruption, dishonesty still reigns on all levels.

Spiritual Weapons

On which side would Christ be in this situation? The political circumstances in which He lived are in some ways comparable with those of Latin America. Roman imperialism dominated and op-

pressed the Israelites. Many of the possessing classes had submitted to it, but Christ was not on their side. And there were the nationalists who fought with all means available for the liberation and independence of their country (they represent the application of "limited violence") — but Christ was not on their side either.

Christ took a way which was quite new. The new and radical way which He gave to the world was precisely Christian revolution, the divine method of struggle, the only power which is capable of overcoming the injustice at its source, that is, the consciences of those responsible. Christian revolution is the realization, by committed and active Christians, of the divine strategy with the weapons of Love, Truth and Justice; it is the strategy of sacrifice of the cross; it is the incarnation of the power of God—the greatest power of all existence—in man's struggle against injustice.



The Sermon on the Mount is the manifesto of the divine revolution. In this manifesto Christ placed Himself between the two extremist forces—He rejected the violence and the conception of struggle of both sides. Is this not the rightful position of the active Christian in Latin America, in Africa, or between East and West?

Such a revolution will entail the greatest possible identification with those who are suffering injustice. Christ, the Son of God, identified Himself with the poorest section of His nation; He was born in a stable as the son of a worker. Today He would be born in a favela or slum. It is not enough to criticize our own bourgeois class, our government, or the social conditions. We cannot feel and understand the injustice if we do not suffer it ourselves. (Gandhi lived and Vinoba Bhave lives with the poor people in the villages of India; Martin Luther King belongs to the Negro population of the United States; the Action Civique Non-Violente movement in France identified with the Algerians held in concentration camps; Danilo Dolci and Tullio Vinay are spending their lives among the peasants of Sicily.)

It is necessary:

- to have unconquerable faith that the power of God in us is stronger than all evil, in whatever form it may appear;
- to have unconquerable faith that our adversaries, who are responsible for injustice, are created by God, that they have consciences and that these consciences can be transformed by the power of God (which exists in us);
- to recognize our own guilt and responsibility for the existing injustice (even if this has been only

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LANZA'S ARK

By CLEMENT LECLERC

The first Ark was Noah's. When he became aware of the danger of destruction by flood, Noah took a pair of each species of animal into his Ark. In our time, a European named Lanza del Vasto, recognizing the peril in which Western civilization has placed all living things, has constructed a new Ark, this time on dry land.

Lanza del Vasto was born in Sicily sixty-four years ago. He is tall and thin (some people would say that such a physique is likely to indicate the development of a highly distinctive personality). His complexion is pale, very pale; he has a white beard and wears white robes and sandals. He is obviously an ascetic. Most Southern Europeans are men of short stature; Lanza del Vasto's height and complexion suggest that he is probably descended from the Norman conquerors who settled in Sicily after the fall of the Roman Empire.

Before World War II, Lanza picked up his pilgrim's staff and, alone and on foot, visited a number of countries in Europe and Asia, spending most of his time in the Holy Land and the Indian subcontinent. In India he became a disciple of Gandhi, who christened him Shantidas (servant of peace). Shantidas described his visits in a number of books, including *Pelerinage aux sources et Principes et Preceptes du Retour a l'Evidence* (both published by Editions Denoel, Paris).

While still in India, Lanza had conceived the idea of founding an evangelical community. He had disclosed his intentions to Gandhi, who told him: "The important thing is to know if you have been called. If you have, you will overcome all obstacles. If not, you will fail."

In order to make sure that he was not on the wrong track, Lanza decided to test himself. He meditated on his plans for a decade, courageously performing all the tasks that came his way, without telling anyone what he had in mind. One day, two young people came to see him and said: "The world is in chaos, mankind is in danger. You must do something to save it. We will follow you all the way, if necessary to death." This encounter marked the actual beginning of the Ark. The early years were very painful, difficult and disappointing, but today the Ark is living, thriving and growing.

What Is the Ark?

The Ark is not a ship but a house, surrounded by fields and woods. Celibate men and women as well as families with children live in this house under the direction of a patriarch. Since they have all taken vows and obey a common rule, they are religious. This then is a regular order, differing from other orders only in that it is mixed.

The Community of the Ark has three principal aims:

- To prove that, on the material plane, Western man can do without technical civilization.
- To prove that, on the spiritual plane, it is possible to live by observing the Ten Commandments and putting the principles of the Gospel into practice.
- To constitute a reserve of human beings adapted to the living conditions that will prevail after the next nuclear catastrophe.

Let us examine more closely the material standard of living of the brothers and sisters of the Ark. The community is installed on an old estate in Bollene, which is in the department of Vaucluse, in France, between Orange and Montelimar.

The number one goal is to reduce the consumption of food and services to the level actually needed by the human body. All of us living in the world might profitably consider how much of our expenditures are devoted to the satisfaction of really essential needs

and how much to superfluous, to needs created by civilization, to imaginary needs, and to sheer luxury.

A decade ago, the average income of a family of Indian peasants was ten dollars a month. Granting that we live in a period of continual inflation, this would represent about eighteen dollars a month today. How many Americans could support their families on eighteen dollars a month? If my reasoning is correct, every American family that spends five hundred dollars a month is squandering four hundred and eighty-two dollars.

I have made these calculations to demonstrate that little communities can live simply, healthfully, and pleasantly without machines, without antagonism, and without excessive labor. We have met workers of advanced age who are firm believers in technological progress because they remember the days when they were riveted to their machines from dawn to sunset and received starvation wages. They were miserable and exploited; they had returned to the condition of slavery. In those days, the proletarians were slaves of the capitalists. Nowadays Americans and Russians are monotheists: they worship the same god, whose name is Progress. Russians and Americans alike are slaves of the very mechanized civilization they imagine they are controlling, a civilization that is relentlessly crushing them and that will destroy them physically after it has annihilated them spiritually.

Real Needs

Men, women, and children can live healthy lives on infinitely less than it costs to maintain most of the inhabitants of our "civilized" societies in poor health. Meals in the Ark are vegetarian. Three meals a day are taken: in the morning, brown bread, jam, milk and malt; at noon, grated vegetables, rice cooked in milk, fruit, and water; in the evening, vegetable soup, flour, fruit and water. Meals are taken in the common dining room, where the diners sit on mats. The setting consists of a bowl, a spoon, and a goblet. Everyone takes turns at cooking and serving.

The day begins at 7:00 a.m. and ends at 10:00 p.m. The community does not use electricity, gas or city water. Members do not listen to the radio, watch television or smoke. Wine is served only on Sundays and major feast days, and then sparingly.

Where does the community's income come from? Mainly from agriculture and cattle raising. The community rarely has to call upon the outside world for service. It has several workshops: forge, carpenter shop, printing press, saw-mill, textile mill, and dairy.

The entire spiritual life of the Ark is based on two commandments:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, thy whole soul, and thy whole strength.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

The spiritual life of the Companions is nurtured by private and public prayer, religious instruction, chant, Yoga exercises, assistance at Mass, and reception of Communion. Each brother or sister assumes personal responsibility for seeing to it that justice prevails among the members. If a brother or sister sees anyone doing something wrong, he must call upon the offender to repent. If he refuses, the one who has witnessed the offense must assume responsibility for it by doing penance himself.

Grace is said before and after meals. After the evening meals, the entire community gathers around a wood fire. The brothers and sisters form a circle, men on one side and women on the other,

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A Farm With A View

By DEANE MARY MOWRER

After a light rain through the night, the first day of September dawned damp and humid, though much warmer than the last days of August, which, chilled to record lows by a mass of cold Canadian air, caused us to forsake the swimming pool for the comfort and beauty of open fires in our living room and the library-conference room where the Peacemakers have been holding their discussions. Perhaps September and August decided to trade weather for a few days.

In any event, except for an occasional stalk of goldenrod, there was no hint of fall as we drove to Mass this morning, but rather the fresh smell of green grass washed clean by rain. Although New York State is still listed among those suffering from drought, here in our particular part of the Hudson River Valley—thanks to our prayers, I like to think—we have received enough rain so that the last days of summer are as beautiful and green as we expect the first of summer to be. Yet the katydids have been warning us since the first of August against the approach of frost. The song birds have stopped their singing, and have left the strident jay and raucous crow to make their own dissonant music without benefit of melodic aria. Even the crickets sing with a hurried note, as though they had heard the katydids' warning and knew that they had not much time left to sing.

Although our bird chorus is diminished, indeed almost extinguished, our human chorus is continuing at a livelier rate than ever. As with the birds, not all our voices are harmonious. Many of us—with a loud *mea culpa* for myself—give way at times to angry speech, to querulousness, or to disparagement of others. Yet if talk of peace could bring about peace, then surely our farm with a view has made a contribution this summer.

These peace talks began formally during the Pax Study Weekend. The American Pax Association led by Howard Everngam and Eileen Egag, is not pacifist but has a serious interest in peace. Some hundred-seventy-five persons attended the conference. Father Michael Deacy spoke on "Peace and the Eucharist." Father Peter Aiga spoke on the war in Vietnam and whether or not it could be justified, giving both sides. Jim Douglass, who teaches at Bellarmine College, in Louisville, Kentucky, and who spent some time in Rome studying the theology of war and peace, gave the most exhaustive and scholarly paper. Several of Jim's articles have appeared in the *Catholic Worker* and other periodicals. There was also an entertainment session, with famed Mary Lou Williams playing the Steinway piano that the American Legion of Tivoli donated to us too late to be repaired for the concert. Dr. Karl Stern wanted to give us, but just in time for Mary Lou's lively jazz. A young poet, Michael Goldman, read us a number of his poems. Sheila Mackenzie sang folk songs. There was much lively, and sometimes heated, discussion throughout the weekend. We are grateful to Howard and Eileen for bringing together so many persons interested in peace, especially since they included so many of our own CW workers and friends. The greatest source of peace, however, of the Pax weekend was certainly found in the beautiful Father Rivers' Masses so joyfully sung in our chapel, and in which we were privileged to participate.

Summer School

Although peace was not the only topic under discussion during the Summer School week, which opened two days after the Pax weekend, it certainly came up for much discussion. This summer school, a kind of orientation course

in Catholic Worker theory and practice, was planned and organized by Clare Bee. About twenty-five girls—some from college, some from high schools, a few vacationing from jobs—came from different parts of the country to participate. The week was opened, as it should be, by Dorothy Day, the co-founder of and principal spokesman for the Catholic Worker, who gave an introductory talk touching on many facets of Catholic Worker life. The next day, Peter Lumsden spoke on Peter Maurin and the Green Revolution, and Marty Corbin spoke on pacifism. On Thursday, Father Joseph Ciparick, a Jesuit from Nativity parish in New York City, where he has done much work among the Puerto Ricans, gave a day of recollection. There was much discussion that day, too, and most of us, I think remember gratefully Father Ciparick's rendering of some of Gerard Manley Hopkins' poems, especially "The Windhover" which Father Ciparick gave as a homily during the early morning Mass on Friday before his departure. Later Friday morning, Stanley Vishniewski spoke on the history of the Catholic Worker, enlivening his talk with some of those amusing anecdotes for which Stanley is justly famous. That night, I spoke on community living.

The next morning, Ruth Collins spoke so enthusiastically on the subject of cooperative housing projects for the poor that the girls wanted to continue during the afternoon. Ruth is a vital and dedicated person, who has hold of a really practical idea for helping the poor. It was a real tribute to her that her audience stayed with her during the hottest afternoon of the week. That night, Helen Iswolsky gave the concluding talk of the school, speaking, as only Helen can speak, on a subject so dear to her—ecumenism, a subject which has also been close to the Catholic Worker. We are certainly grateful that Helen was with us during the Summer School week, for she spent much time talking with them, sharing with them the riches of her wisdom, insight, and experience. The young women participated in work projects throughout the week, and one afternoon Rita Corbin demonstrated the baking of whole wheat bread.

On Sunday afternoon a film about the Catholic Worker, made by CBS, was shown. There was much socializing and folk singing, and Stanley Vishniewski provided enough jokes to keep everybody happy. Each day began with Mass, and it was wonderful to have so many participating in rosary and compline with us. We are grateful to Clare Bee for planning this program, and sorry she could not be with us. Next summer we hope to have another summer school week, and will make further announcement during the months to come.

Training Program

The Peacemakers, who have been with us for about two weeks and will be here until after Labor Day, have played the emphasis on non-violence, both as a technique for securing justice and as a way of life, the only true way, I think, to real peace. Wally Nelson and those who have worked with him deserve much credit for a well-planned program and a roster of speakers who are not merely theoreticians but veterans of pacifist and civil-rights non-violent direct-action projects. Like St. Paul, they can boast of their stripes and imprisonments. These speakers include: Brad Lytle of Committee for Nonviolent Action, Dave McReynolds, the Reverend Maurice McCrackin, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden, Bob and Marj Swann, Ralph Templin, author of *Democracy and Nonviolence* (Porter Sargent) and Conrad Lynn.

I am certainly grateful that we of the Catholic Worker have been privileged to attend these meetings, and I have been much im-

pressed both by the insight and information of the speakers and by the seriousness of the discussions. We have learned much about non-violence from Gandhi and Martin Luther King. But, as Dorothy Day has told us so often, non-violence as a way of life grows directly out of the teaching of Our Lord. God, send us this transforming inner peace which we can share with others, even with our enemies.

In addition to all those attending our conferences, we have had a number of visitors. We were certainly delighted one sunny August afternoon when that splendid group of Minnesota women whom we usually refer to as the Maryhouse women, drove in for a short visit. The group included Jane and Marian Judge, Lucille Lynch, Rose MacDonald, and Dorothy McMahon, all of whom helped run our Maryfarm house at Newburgh. We hope they will be able to return next summer for a much longer visit.

Other visitors include our good friends, Bill and Dorothy Gauchat and their two sons from Ohio; Dr. William Miller, of Marquette University, who is writing a history of the Catholic Worker and who brought his wife and children for a visit of several days; Dr. and Mrs. Rufus Rorem, who spent a two weeks' vacation with us; Dotty Sunshine, who brought a group of

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Past Issues: DISARMAMENT & THE WAR ON POVERTY, by Seymour Melman; WAR: APATHY OR ALTERNATIVES, by Philip J. Scharper; CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND WAR, by Archbishop Thomas D. Roberts, S. J.

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children from New York City's West Side slums to vacation here; Anne Marie Stokes, who delighted us all by coming for another weekend; Dr. Richard Green, of Johns Hopkins, who brought his family by for an overnight stop on his way up to their Vermont mountain cabin.

Several of the young people who took part in the Washington demonstration have also come for visits. These include Pat Rusk, who served a five-day sentence, Murphy Dowdells and Vincent Maefsky. As usual, we have had large groups of priests and seminarians, who have come to listen to Dorothy Day, Marty Corbin, Peter Lumsden, or Jean Walsh, and to enjoy a guided tour with Arthur Lacey or Stanley Vishniewski. Yesterday afternoon, the Reverend Simon Bowie and Mrs. Vivian Rosenberg, of Hudson, brought over about twenty-five children from migrant workers' families to picnic on our grounds. Catherine Swann helped to make their day enjoyable. With Dorothy's daughter, Tamar Hennessy, and her children here for a visit, we have certainly had our quota of children.

With all the talk and all the visitors, there is, I suppose even more work to do. Those who are keeping things running in house, kitchen, grounds, garden and office include: Alice Lawrence, Ed Donahue, Hans Tunnesen, Marcus Moore, Joe Cotter, John Filliger, Mike Sullivan, George Burke, Fred Lindsey, George Roehm, Larry Evers, Frank O'Donnell, Peter Lumsden, Catherine Swann, Jean Walsh, Rita Corbin, and last but

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BOOK REVIEW

OUR DEPLETED SOCIETY by Seymour Melman. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., \$5.95. Reviewed by PETER LUMSDEN.

Reading Dr. Melman's book, one has a curious sense of having heard it all before. This sense of "déjà vu" nags one all the way through. It is not that he is being unoriginal, for he is describing the evil effects of military procurement on the economy. So here he is original, for the commonly accepted view is that the arms budget has a beneficial effect upon the economy, and it is generally accepted that the rearmament program at the beginning of World War II, rather than the measures of the New Deal, was the main factor in ending the Depression. Dr. Melman nowhere discusses this view, but it is obvious that were the arms program to be suddenly withdrawn there would be a return to the catastrophic conditions of the Depression. (The present situation, although not as bad as the 30's, is bad enough and getting worse.) No, the sense of having been there before comes from something different, and it is only on p. 109 that the mystery is cleared up. It is Soviet Russia he has been describing, not the U.S.A.

We are all familiar with this description of Russia; the poor housing, schools, hospitals, the vast bureaucratic, inefficient and overbearing. The ancient capital equipment in the factories, production without regard to cost, "firms without enterprise," and corporations wholly dependent on the government. The paranoids of the Right are correct, after all, when they say that the country is being submerged in a red tide of creeping communism. But they are facing the wrong way when they point to the peaceniks as the fomenters of Communism. Robert Welch was more nearly right when he called Eisenhower a dedicated Communist agent. Actually it was Eisenhower who warned us against the military-industrial complex, and it is the military-industrial complex which is the basis of the Communist society.

The demands of the military distort the whole structure of society. Major industries which sell their products on the open market are unable to compete with the military in attracting research talent or in raising capital for retooling. Dr. Melman documents this assertion very clearly with regard to shipbuilding, civil aircraft, machine tools, sewing machines. The most obvious example is that of the railroads; the difficulties of the New Haven Railroad are well known. For a solution to this particular problem he cites the Japanese Superexpress, which covers 320 miles in 3 hours, and he shows that other industrialized countries do not suffer from this problem because they do not spend so much of their money on arms. But the effect of the United States arms budget on the underdeveloped countries is in no way beneficial; and in his chapter entitled "Depletion for Export," Dr. Melman calls attention to an unpublished aspect of military aid.

"If you were an official of one of the big governments of the world, and one day you decided to slow down the economic development of a less developed country, how would you accomplish this without looking like a big bully pushing a little fellow around? Is there in fact a way in which you might do this that would even produce a political profit, leading you to be hailed by the considerable number of people as a stalwart friend of independent statehood among the developing countries? The experience of the last fifteen years points the way to a straightforward and quite reliable solution to these apparently complex problems. The key formula is called 'military aid.'"

By inducing these countries to undertake a costly and useless military program, the United States effectively holds up their development. Very neat. Another quotation: "When the United States closed down several missile installations in Turkey, early in 1963, the Turkish economy reaped an immediate bonus: 2,000 Turkish technicians suddenly were ready for employment." Ready for productive employment, in terms of human ease and comfort, i.e. production for the common good. This cannot be emphasized too strongly, for if all those engaged in arms production were paid to do nothing we would be better off.

The blight of the military infects even such apparently unrelated fields as education and health. Dr. Melman quotes Clark Kerr, president of the University of California at Berkeley: "The University has become a prime instrument of national purpose. This is new. This is the essence of the transformation now engulfing our universities. Basic to this transformation is the growth of the knowledge industry which is coming to permeate government and business and draw into it more and more people raised to higher and higher levels of skill." Melman points out that the idea of a "knowledge industry" is a travesty of the process of inquiry, and recent events at Berkeley have borne him out. "National purpose" has only one meaning: war.

The decline in the nation's health caused by the diversion of federal funds from welfare to military spending is shown dramatically by the increase in the rejection rate of young men for the draft. Using the same standards, this has increased from thirty percent in World War II to eighty percent in 1963. During the same period, Federal non-defense spending per person, declined, in real terms, from \$83 to \$56. Of course it will be argued that Dr. Melman's proposal to divert the arms budget to productive purposes would be fine if there were no question of national security to consider. But he makes it clear in his opening chapters that because of the United States' fantastic "overkill" capacity, his proposals could be carried out without endangering national security, and that the arms budget could be cut sufficiently to implement all his proposals and still leave the United States with sufficient second-strike capability to make the concept of deterrence credible. (Of course this is no position for a pacifist to uphold! I would like to place much of the preceding sentence in inverted commas! But I am here concerned to convince the non-pacifist.) In his second chapter, Dr. Melman shows that even if ninety per cent of our strategic aircraft and seventy-five per cent of our missiles were lost in a Soviet first strike we would still have enough destructive power left to obliterate the main Soviet industrial population centers 220 times!

Seymour Melman is both optimistic and practical in his concluding chapters, where he offers solutions to the problem of converting the economy to peacetime uses. But he speaks harshly of what he calls the "Cold War Institutional Machine" (RAND Corporation, Hudson Institute etc.) "The method for dismantling these is uncomplicated. Since all these institutions are financed from the public purse, the Congress has only to cut off new appropriations." He goes on to show how the task of restoring our run-down society to full health will more than absorb the 6.7 millions now engaged in useless war work. But he avoids the trap of making this conversion the sole responsibility of the Federal government, and says that there must be studies carried out at every level of society; trade

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Five Days In Jail

By PATRICIA RUSK

"Ain't gonna let no policeman turn me 'round, turn me 'round, turn me 'round" was the refrain to which the arrests began on August 9th, during the sit-down protesting American involvement in Vietnam, which concluded the Assembly of Unrepresented People in Washington, D.C. One at a time we stood up and either walked or went limp and tried to fall gracefully into the arms of the waiting police, who threw the bodies, often roughly, into the police bus at the curb. One girl was yanked back onto a pile of bodies in the aisle of the bus. A blond-haired fellow sat awkwardly by the girl's side, blood streaming down his face. We thought at first that he had lost an eye, but it turned out to have been glued shut by the blood.

Our first stop was the District Court of General Sessions. For the first hour there were only ten of us in the cell and we wondered if we were the only women who had been arrested. Then women began to pour in. One group of them looked like drowned rats, their hair matted and their clothes drenched with sweat. They had been detained for forty-five minutes in the paddy wagon, which had no windows, just two tiny air vents on each side.

The heavy weight of rules and regulations caused the proceedings to move slowly, so tension was high. Everyone wanted to use the telephone, and there was only one available in the outer office. As I sat on the long bench waiting my turn for court, a bright-eyed art student assured us that her father, who is with the State Department, would bail her out. Another girl said that she would refuse to give even her surname, because her father is a scientist and she did not want him to be troubled on account of her activities.

By 7 o'clock all the women who had been arrested were now jailed; at one count we numbered 46. Most of the women received fines of twenty-five dollars or three days in jail. Some of us adhered to the principle of refusing to pay fines or bail and thereby identifying with the poor.

A well-dressed Washingtonian who had been arrested for demonstrating with the police over their rough treatment of the demonstrators, spoke to us briefly on the importance of a respectable appearance and then paid her fine and left.

A nervous young woman with a heart condition pleaded for the return of her pills, which had been taken from her. The matron patiently explained that she could not retain them and assured her that someone would be on hand at all times to give them to her when she needed them. One of the demonstrators was a nurse, and when she learned that the girl had an aneurism, she stressed the serious nature of the case to the matron and explained that anyone with such a condition must have her pills on her person at all times. The smiling matron continued to repeat the rules: "No one is allowed to keep pills with them while in jail." Luckily for the girl, she was released on bail soon afterwards.

Later that night we were transferred to the D.C. jail. Since the cells were filled up, we were put into a gymnasium-type room which is used for the inmates' recreation and for church services. There was one bathroom with two showers nearby and we had access to an automatic washer-dryer, so we were able to change clothing by putting on prison garb: a light grey-blue skirt and blouse starched stiff.

By the second day we were pretty well settled. The inmates had brought in more than enough mattresses and everyone found her own spot on the floor. One girl, whose case was to be appealed, went on a fast and never once

changed her clothing; she would cover herself with a blanket and sleep on the bare mattress. It was not that she was careless about her person, simply that she chose not to cooperate in any way with the jail authorities. A young teacher from New York had come prepared to spend some time. She had several changes of clothing, put on her own pajamas at night, and did up her hair. No matter where women find themselves, there are certain rituals that must take place, and jail is no exception to this. And wherever there is a bunch of college students gathered together there is bound to be some fun.

The women in prison are issued white nightgowns which look as if they are made of flour sacking. Stenciled in bold, black letters across the front are the words

D.C. Jail
Women

When a girl asked me if I knew what the initials stood for, I said, "D.C. stands for District of Columbia." "No," she said. "Destroyers of Christ." Perhaps this was an appropriate comment. This girl had come all the way from California to commit civil disobedience. She was a Catholic and a pacifist, and that there was a connection between her birth and the dropping of the bomb. Her mother had been excited by the news of President Truman's decision to use the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and perhaps as a result, she had been born prematurely on August 9, 1945.

On our third day, we were happy to learn that the regular inmates were being allowed to go outside. The days were long and hot, and there was a garden outside our windows, with a huge expanse of lawn and mimosa trees clustered at one end. We listened to the inmates sing as they sat under the sky enjoying the evening breezes; they were harmonizing the Lord's Prayer. When recreation time was over and they filed past our tiny window in the door each woman glanced in and smiled. One girl pressed a rose to the pane of glass.

Although we were kindly and fairly treated in this House of Correction, we were carefully separated from the regular inmates, as if we were untouchables. "Who likes to be confined?" an older

THE ARREST

(August 9)

People sitting like
sand
with our voice like
the sea,
waving freedom.
Faces young as
spring
and hair white
as sun in winter.
Surrounded by the
grey blue wall
with its flashing
silver specks
and wooden vines.

"We shall live in peace
someday"
and people limp like
pillows
falling into the wall,
the wall closing in,
the feathers floating,
the dove let loose
in song.

"We declare peace"
the wooden vines falling
hard down
but defeated.
The blue grey wall
falling down
to the trumpet of
the silent taking.
And the stones
of black and
white
and slanted gold jade
rise on the seas
making new
walls.

Carol Shields

inmate said as she cheerfully offered to stitch up a rented seam in the skirt of a girl who had been kept in jail after her three-day sentence was up for refusing to divulge her last name.

One senses a profound peace acquired through surrender in these women, whom Fate has abandoned to a joyless existence. Some were awaiting trial and others had been detailed to minor duties like caring for the prison clothing and clerical services. A life lived out in cold stone under lock and key. An endless, grey monotony of days, marked only by sunup and sundown. These women are convicted again and again on charges of drunkenness and drug-taking. But deep in their hearts there is hope, as they sing out under the mimosa trees in the back yard of the D.C. jail.

One Year Old

By DAVID MASON

The plan for a non-profit restaurant for Social Security pensioners was outlined in the *Catholic Worker* one year ago this month. Several subsequent articles gave further details and noted the progress of Project Loaves and Fishes. Because this article is being written very close to the deadline, it must be brief, so a detailed recapitulation is not possible.

The plan proposes establishment of non-profit co-operative restaurants under the Anti-Poverty Act for the benefit of aged Social Security pensioners who are unable to prepare adequate meals for themselves because they lack facilities or ability to do so, and cannot afford to pay for adequate meals in regular restaurants. The restaurant must be a neighborhood project, located within walking distance of the homes of a sufficient number of pensioners to support it. In the big cities many of these "homes" are rented rooms which have no cooking or refrigerating facilities. It is particularly for these aged city-dwelling pensioners that this plan is proposed.

A unique feature of the plan is that the restaurant will be self-supporting, once it is established and in good running order.

Locally, in Philadelphia, I have been working for the establishment of a pilot project restaurant under the anti-poverty program. City officials have expressed interest and promised co-operation, but action has been slow. Now, however, it is possible to report gratifying progress toward realization of the idea. This dates from the city's anti-poverty election last May, which resulted in my election to the Community Action Council in my area, one of twelve designated "pockets of poverty." As a member of the council, I presented a formal statement of the project to the central body, the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee (P.A.A.C.). It is now in the hands of Mr. Theodore Erickson, of the program planning committee, who has characterized it as "a very fine program, well thought out." He is working on a proposal to an important philanthropic foundation, requesting it to act as sponsor for the project; this is an alternative to the organization of a non-profit corporation for that purpose. He has talked to the national administrator of the Surplus Food Program about the availability of surplus food for the restaurants, with encouraging results.

It is expected that the plan will be ready for consideration by P.A.A.C. at its September meeting. The next step after that will be presentation to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

There have been reports of rumors that Project Loaves and Fishes has collapsed. They are greatly exaggerated. At the age of one year, it is toddling. I will be glad to hear from anyone who is interested in its progress. Address:

Project Loaves and Fishes
2002 E. Madison St.
Philadelphia, Pa., 19134

Joe Hill House

By AMMON HENNACY

While speaking in the Midwest recently, I received word from the Salt Lake City Health Department that the City Commission had acted in response to a petition signed by my neighbors by ordering my house closed within five days. I had heard something about this petition and had been told by the Health Department that I would be called into court, where the judge would decide what was to be done. While this action is clearly illegal, since it was decided in my absence, I am never one to stick to the letter of the law. I was asked on television about the petition and about my twenty-day fast and picketing in reparation for Hiroshima, and I replied that if Christians wish to nullify the example of the Good Samaritan, this is nothing more than they have been doing for centuries. I added that I would try to find a house on the edge of town, nearer the railroad tracks, where transients get off the freights. I am not going to feud with any individuals whose ethics differ from mine. The *Catholic Worker* in New York City has in the past had to move because of the animosity of Christian neighbors, so I am in true form in experiencing the same difficulties.

LET IT STAND THIS YEARTOOC
SO THAT I MAY HAVE TIME TO
DIG & PUT DUNG AROUND IT
PERHAPS IT
MAY BEAR
FRUIT



ST. LUKE
13: 6-9

CW readers can address me at P.O. Box 655, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Many things have happened since my last column in the CW. We held two poster walks downtown protesting the war in Vietnam. Both were televised. One dairy had been giving us a gallon of old milk daily. I was called into the office and told that I would get no more milk, because I was picketing the government. I answered that I had been doing this all along and that they knew it. "But you were on television and everyone knows it. We can't have you getting free milk from us." Some young Unitarians who come to my Friday night meetings have since ordered a quart of milk for us daily. We also picketed Camp Douglas twice; some young Mormons and Unitarians helped us. And I picketed the general offices of the Mormon Church with Mormons and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Trip to Bountiful

I spoke at Fireside Chats at the University 6th Ward and in the suburb of Bountiful to Mormons, and was greeted kindly. The older ones present knew of Joe Hill and helped me present my case. I also spoke to a group at the First Methodist Church, and to a class in Political Science at the University. Late in August, I spent three days speaking to Catholic College students, seminarians, and priests who came by bus from Chicago to

Edgewood Sacred Heart College, in Madison, Wisconsin. Father George Hagmaier, a Paulist psychologist from Washington, gave a very interesting talk. Dorothy Hunt, a Stanford student, spoke very much to the point on the New Left. Father McCarthy gave a very theoretical talk on Martin Buber, but opened up during the question period. Daniel Callahan, an associate editor of *Commonweal* whom I had met at Joe Dever's house years ago, said that Catholics in this country should learn from the terrible example of Spain and not seek to obtain help from the state, but that as individuals they should support the efforts of the state to achieve the Great Society. I said that there are two ways to present a problem; one is to oversimplify, as I was doing in order to get my ideas across; the other is to complicate issues, which intellectuals are very good at doing. At Mass everybody sang "We Shall Overcome." Some young folks wanted to come at once to help me at Joe Hill House, but I felt that it would be wiser to wait until I had found a new place. The sisters at the college know of and appreciate the CW.

We drove to Cleveland to visit my mother, who is ninety-four. She is mentally alert, but people of that age tire easily, so we took our time and spent three days with her. We also visited my birthplace, Negley, Ohio, where I met friends I had been to school with sixty years ago. We then drove to Grasston, Minnesota, and found Paul Marquardt, who is eighty-seven, working in the field. Paul and a dozen of his relatives refused to register for the draft and went to Sandstone Prison. Although he is a non-church Christian, the priest at nearby Pine City once told a class he was preparing for confirmation to "have faith like the Marquardts."

In my twenty-day fast and picketing of the tax man I lost twenty-one pounds. John Van Kilsdonk, of Phoenix, who works in the Indian hospital and has read my book, came and fasted a week and helped me picket. (He lost seventeen pounds). For the last week he did not fast but picketed and got the groceries. John is a devout Catholic who sought inspiration in the *curriculum*. Professor Hugo Bedau was chairman of the Hiroshima Day protest at the University of Portland. At the end of his speech he read my leaflet aloud.

Another printing of the *Book of Ammon* is ready, so CW readers can now receive a copy from me by return mail. This printing is costing me \$1.83 a copy, which will help make up my loss on the first printing. As Dorothy says, I should have charged four dollars a copy instead of three, but I am not in the money-making business.

A taxi driver told me that when the House was at Postoffice Place cops used to put town drunks in his cab and tell him to drop them off at Joe Hill House. Manny, an ex-Marine, took care of the House while we were gone. He wants to continue to help out.

Darrell Poulsen, convicted of murder, is to be sentenced for the sixth time on September 8th. In June, when he lost his appeal to the United States Supreme Court, his lawyer obtained a deferral of sentence. This lawyer, who is court-appointed and not a radical, has done all the legal work free for the past four years.

PAX BULLETIN

(Quarterly journal of English PAX)
Issue 97: A RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE,
London Tablet; AN ENEMY OF THE
STATE, by Thomas Merton; HOW TO
AVOID WAR, by Bernard Daly.
Every Issue: Book Reviews, PAX Diary.
Subscription: With American PAX (see
advertisement in this issue) or direct
to Editor, PAX Bulletin. Separate sub-
scription: Five shillings (one dollar).

69 Huntingdon Road
London, N.2
England

ON PILGRIMAGE

(Continued from page 2)

saved. The whole purpose of our life is Love. Why did God create us? Because He loved us. Why do we love Him? Because He first loved us. And God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son to us, to show us our salvation, knowing that in the exercise of our freedom we were going to continue to crucify Him to the end of the world. We are doing it now in Vietnam, in the death of every man woman and child. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me."

In his *Journal of a Soul*, Pope John wrote: "while the war rages, the peoples can only turn to the Miserere and beg for the Lord's mercy, that it may outweigh His justice and with a great outpouring of grace bring the powerful men of this world to their senses and persuade them to make peace." "The two great evils which are poisoning the world today are secularism and nationalism. The former is characteristic of the men in power and of lay folk in general. The latter is found even among ecclesiastics."

This last month I have been reading many of Pope John's Encyclicals—realizing that he will always be known for *Pacem in Terris* and *Mater et Magistra* (Peace on Earth and Mother and Teacher). Gordon Zahn reviewed the *Journal of a Soul* in *Peace News* and said that if the pious practices and devotions which were played down in most appraisals of what Pope John has meant for the modern world were capable of producing such a world figure we should pay more attention to them.

Last night I read *Poenitentiam Agere* and wished we could print the entire plea for penance, "an invitation to the faithful" to prepare for and make fruitful the work of the Vatican Council, which is this month beginning its fourth session.

I could not help thinking how little penance we have done these last years, how little mortification, how little dying to self, which is what mortification is. To mortify is to put to death, to do violence to oneself. "You have not yet resisted unto blood," St. Paul said. "Without the shedding of blood there is no salvation." Blood means life in Biblical terms. Some years ago I saw a man die of a heart attack before my eyes, and his skin became like wax as the blood stopped moving in the veins and seemed to drain back to the heart.

If our cause is a mighty one, and surely peace on earth in these days is the great issue of the day, and if we are opposing the powers of darkness, of nothingness, of destruction, and working on the side of light and life, then surely we must use our greatest weapons—the life forces that are in each one of us. To stand on the side of life we must give up our own lives. "He who would save his life must lose it."

Combining these thoughts of penance, mortification, and sex, I can only write what I truly believe, and that is that outside of marriage, and to some extent inside of marriage, there must be a fine regard for chastity and purity, and emphasis on their necessity.

"Puritanical" has come to be a term of opprobrium, used to describe those who regard sex as purely an animal instinct, characteristic of brute force and energy, indeed somewhat filthy, mixed up with the plumbing operations of the body. Little children get things mixed up in this way.

But a young person falling under the attraction of another human being for the first time discovers the transforming quality of sex, and sees it truly for the expression of love that it is, used throughout the Bible as an illustration of God's love for man. There is nothing higher, nothing sweeter, nothing more beautiful

than this love. It is sung in the Canticles of Canticles, it is told in the Book of Osee.

Sometimes the Scriptures seem full of one great love song in the midst of tragic and gory history. Sexual love is seen as a mighty force in man, his creative power. Man is co-creator with God, made in the image and likeness of God. What a gift of oneself then is this celibacy that is embraced by clergy and religious, and by laymen—in some cases willingly, in other cases unwillingly. When marriages are broken up by death and separations the unwilling celibate (since there is no element of self-will in it) has the power to offer this great gift to God—no trivial gift this sex, so often used in life as a plaything.

Puritans probably started out by considering everything as dress compared to the love of God. Indeed, St. Paul used still stronger words—he considered all as dung, and for using such words he suffered the same criticisms as the Puritans do.

But we all surely know the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing and it is the same with the other senses. To look for satisfaction is to find only momentary well-being and fulfillment, and in the end satiety may result in the loss of all desire and striving, and a deadening of all sensitivity.

Aldous Huxley presented a vision of hell in his novel "After Many a Summer Dies the Swan," where he portrays sex turned to sadism. Looking for a paperback by Dr. Benjamin Spock, on the treatment of abnormal and crippled children. I was horrified to see how sex and sadism seem to be the theme of so much of our paperback literature. Sex and war, which is the opposite of the works of Mercy, are closely allied.

In the Book of Maccabees, the young men were supposed to be in the state of grace before going into battle. Nowadays, young men going on leave before battle are given contraceptives. And our country calls itself Christian. What a misuse of life forces!

The best thing to do with the best of things is to give them up, some spiritual writer said. Give up your life to save it. Sow in order to reap. Sow blind sex to reap love, a transfiguration of the senses.

To take this position is not to consider sex wicked and secret and ugly. Secret and solitary sin is ugly, as D. H. Lawrence pointed out, because it is solitary, it is unnatural, directed to solitary pleasure, not a natural sharing with another of a human and natural need. It is misusing something great and powerful—a lever that could move the world toward life, not death, that horror of nothingness toward which it seems to be moving.

This plea for penance, a giving up of so great, beautiful, powerful and even terrible a thing, is an offering worthy of God, if indeed any offering can be considered worthy. It is seeing sex in its context, marriage in its perspective. It is a plea for penance. It is a plea for purity of all the senses, through voluntary mortification, a word used constantly by Pope John, who said, "Many importunately seek rather frantically earthly pleasures, and disfigure and weaken the noblest energies of the spirit. Against this irregular way of living, which unchains often the lowest passions and brings eternal salvation into grave danger, it is necessary that Christians react with the strength of the martyrs and saints, who have always given testimony for the Catholic Church."

In such a way all can contribute, according to their particular status, to the better outcome of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, which must bring about a reblossoming of Christian life."



"WE DECLARE PEACE..."

(Continued from page 1)

announced purpose was to present these signed declarations to the President himself, and to demand that the President meet with all the signers present to discuss his Vietnam policy. We had started the day with a forty-minute silent vigil outside the White House fence. Some knelt, some sat and most stood, utterly silent, at least five hundred of us, in an extremely impressive vigil line. A very prayerful atmosphere, in which I am sure many were led to pray for the success of our four-day mission in Washington, for one another, that we might all have wisdom and courage, and for the people whom we had come to see and to move, that they might at long last hear the cries of people all over the world in their agony of violence and depravation.

As we had expected, the President refused to see us. We were sorry to hear that his daughters were emotionally upset by our presence, just as the wife of Mayor Joe T. Smitherman had been upset by our presence in Selma. We sensed the bitter contrast of these sheltered and tender souls with the equally tender but less well protected and sheltered women and children of Vietnam and our own South. Had we not seen films, just days before, of the United States Marine protectors of democracy in Vietnam putting the torch to an entire village? (National television has been more candid than the President in reporting our operations in Vietnam. The officials call the victims Vietcong terrorists, but we see old men and women. They call their villages nerve-centers for the guerrillas, but we see humble thatched cottages, the return for a lifetime's work in the rice fields, set afire by Marines with flamethrowers and common pocket lighters.)

We sat for two hours before the White House gate, Bradford Lytle holding the signed *Declarations of Conscience*, A. J. Muste seated. White House guards had provided a chair for A. J., who is over eighty years old, and brought him water, for the heat was intense. Joan Baez fanned my face with the summer issue of the *Catholic Worker*. Pat Rusk sat squeezed beside me. The police made no arrests, and we were glad to be free to participate in the following days' activities.

We the Unrepresented

The Assembly was an experiment. It departed from the traditional procedure of pacifist demonstrations in recent years in that it had no predetermined structure, no leaders except those who exerted leadership and to whom it fell by reason of experience and persuasiveness. There was no clearly stated discipline, though a general adherence to tactical non-violence was understood. Anyone who wanted to could join, distribute literature, and participate fully in discussion and decision-making. Decisions were not made according to majority vote, which is repugnant to most of us. Nor was

rule by consensus quite the form. "Participatory democracy" is the phrase coined to describe the process by which purposes and plans of action are formulated by free discussion, with no policy set in advance except that implicit in the *Declaration of Peace* and the *Call to the Assembly* itself.

The inclusion of members of student leftist organizations was a matter for contention on the part of some of the more conservative peace leaders. The best way to determine whether an action project including non-pacifist elements could work successfully is to launch one. We found that with over two thousand participating, covering the entire range of political opinion, from young Republican conservatives to "Mao Now" types, insignificant divisive action occurred and nonviolence was substantially, if not perfectly, maintained. A very few hurled invective at the police or struggled when arrested. The police, on the other hand, proved that our nation's capital is indeed a Southern city.

Saturday and Sunday were devoted to workshops, discussions of the problems of poverty, racial injustice, war, the draft and conscientious objection, community organization, and preparation for convening the Assembly of Unrepresented People at the Capitol steps. Catholic Worker folk gathered at the home of Frank and Ann Speltz, near the center of the city. Frank and Ann accommodated nearly thirty people in their home and on the floor of Frank's office nearby. Mary Ruddy, Nicole d'Entremont and Chris Kearns organized the Chrystie Street people into a kitchen crew and assumed responsibility for feeding hundreds of demonstrators at Fellowship House every evening.

August 9th, Nagasaki Day, is also the day on which Franz Jagerstatter was beheaded for his refusal to serve in Hitler's army. It seemed appropriate to have a public Mass, the Mass for Peace, to commemorate both these events. Similar Masses were celebrated in numerous cities the same day, at the suggestion of the Catholic Peace Fellowship. It became clear, however, that we could not have Mass in a church, so we gathered our friends together, some thirty of us, for Mass at the Speltz's apartment, said very simply and beautifully by a Benedictine priest who had come to participate in the weekend's activities. With this preparation, singing and sharing the Bread and Wine with each other, drawing the strength and the seriousness of purpose we needed for the day's work, we set out once again to the base of the Washington Monument to begin our march down the Mall to the Capitol.

On The Mall

Eight hundred of us, three abreast, made an impressive column, streaming from the Washington Monument down the Mall. We were singing "We Shall Overcome," the leaders, Dave Dellinger, Staughton Lynd and Bob Parris, at the head of the column, Vincent Maefsky, Jim Wilson and I in back

of them. Suddenly two men in the front ranks of our march jumped out of line and ahead of us. "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! Heil Hitler!" American Nazi infiltrators. They hurled two cans of red paint at us, filling Dellinger's eyes and splattering paint on demonstrators and reporters alike. Vince jumped to Dellinger's side to swab the paint out of his eye sockets. The police apprehended the Nazis, but apparently only after they were sure they had no more paint. No one broke step. We marched, singing a little louder perhaps, but completely controlled.

We had been warned that we would be arrested if we attempted to pass Third Street. At First Street, two blocks past Third, the police tried to make it appear that they really meant it this time. We passed beyond First. On the Capitol grounds we were effectively stopped by the police in a cul de sac. We sat, convened the Assembly, and read our *Declaration of Peace*.

Massive Civil Disobedience

For over an hour we sat, making it clear to the police that we wished to proceed to the Capitol steps. They made only four arbitrary arrests until Staughton Lynd, history professor at Yale, told the police that he intended to pass. He was arrested. Shortly thereafter, we stood and moved slowly toward the police line, coming right up to them. When they pushed us back with their nightsticks, we sat again, or tumbled. One photographer landed on me.

We were now very closely packed in the front rows, right up against the police. They began lifting certain demonstrators and taking them to the wagons. Then they paused. It seemed that perhaps they were simply trying to thin out the crowd and take the leaders. Dellinger and Parris were gone. I noticed that they were taking those who stood to lead the singing, so one by one, Jim, Vince and I stood, turned our backs to the police, started clapping our hands and leading the freedom songs. As the police put their hands on us, we simply fell back and allowed ourselves to be carried to the police vans. Hundreds followed.

The catalogue of police brutality during and after the arrests would be difficult to condense fairly in this article. (Depositions were taken from the victims and are being circulated to the press and the authorities.) Those who refused to walk into the First Precinct were handled most brutally, one of them nearly losing an eye. When I was put in the bullpen I could hear Dan Shay, of the *Detroit Catholic Worker*, in solitary cell nearby. He was reading a passage from the essays of Franz Jagerstatter. We gathered at the bars of the pen and heard him clearly through the wall. Every new arrival of vans disgorging more civil disobedients brought rounds of applause from

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Status Quo and Revolution

(Continued from page 3)

the complicity of silence or neglecting to act against the injustice);

- to be determined to maintain non-violent behavior;

- to pray together and to meditate on the Gospel;

- to be willing to make sacrifices and suffer without regret the consequences of our actions (which may include the loss of our professional privileges and even blows or imprisonment), knowing that this suffering is an essential contribution to the overcoming of our adversary, whom we love.

We must have accurate knowledge about the existing injustice, those responsible, and the legal situation, as well as clear understanding of the aims and extent of possible action. (Even in a small effort like requisition of uninhabited dwellings, there will be numerous people who must be approached: the owner, the neighbors, police, the town authorities, the parish, the responsible clergy.)

The first appeal to the conscience of those responsible for the injustice in question is most important. It must be made with confidence and in a true spirit of love for the opponent. It must be followed up with repeated visits, letters, delegations and demonstrations.

Usually the populace (including Left and Right) has only a superficial or distorted knowledge of the existing injustice. In order to promote understanding and gain the cooperation of the people, it is essential to give them, through individual contact and if possible through the use of press, radio and television, a truer interpretation of the situation and an explanation of the action being undertaken.

Non-cooperation is the refusal to accept and thereby participate in the injustice. If the contacts have failed to produce a positive result, attention must be drawn to the injustice more urgently and vividly by means of direct action. For example, the working population of a city cannot accept an increase of eighty per cent in the cost of public transportation. The workers might therefore decide to go to work on foot. Such actions, which aim at obtaining negotiations with the highest authorities, must be carried out absolutely without hatred or violence, in a spirit of love for the adversary. In most cases, an action carried out in this spirit of truth, justice, and love, will overcome the injustice. However, since it is a matter of creating a new mentality, the struggle may last for a long time.

Civil disobedience is the most forceful weapon used in non-violent action and carries the greatest responsibility. It involves disobeying unjust law, those contrary to the will of God and consequently against the welfare of men (laws upholding racial discrimination, profit, etc.). The breaking of a law is a direct challenge to the decision of the legislators. Even dictatorships have been overthrown by civil disobedience. However, its application demands a high degree of discipline and much courage, which must in certain cases go as far as heroism, the complete giving of oneself as witness to the cause of justice.

The aim of non-violent action is to overcome the evil in ourselves and our adversary and re-establish liberty and justice. If our action achieves its aim, it overcomes the conflict at its source. The opponent is not "defeated"; on the contrary he gains a greater knowledge of truth and justice. If our first action is unsuccessful, it is renewed after further reflection and common prayer and meditation. It is continued until the injustice has been overcome, even if the activities have to be temporarily reduced or postponed because of the difficulties encountered. There are innumerable ways in which non-violent action can be carried out which have not yet been tried;

we are only just beginning to discover them.

Purity of Means

There is one basic condition which must be observed throughout this struggle: the good end desired cannot be achieved except by means that are in themselves morally good. If, in the course of the action, we deviate from the means of non-violence, we cannot obtain the good end desired; we compromise our whole action; it loses its credibility and our struggle loses its interior force. If we allow ourselves to be drawn by the adversary to the level of violence, we can no longer obtain his conversion, because the injustice will not be transformed from within. Moreover, by adopting the means of violence, lies, etc., which are used by our opponent, we thereby confirm his belief that these weapons are justified. Because the oppressor is usually the better armed, it is probable that our compromise will cause us to lose the struggle. By accepting evil means, we abandon the principle of absolute respect for human life and become one more link in the chain of reciprocal hatred and animosity which stretches out over the centuries.

The result of such a compromise with violence (which would be the case if we employed "limited violence") is that in accepting it we abandon the principle of all human community life: absolute respect for the human person. If we use violence and constraint in the struggle against our opponent, we cannot overcome the evil that is in his heart. This evil will continue to exist in his thought, even if he has, to all intents and purposes, been defeated. He will take the first opportunity that arises to try to re-introduce the conditions of injustice, not having yet grasped the truth about these conditions.

That is why we are convinced that the use of "limited violence" within the framework of Christian revolution (or any revolution) cannot be a "paradoxical form of love". It is rather a tragic betrayal of our true strength. And the ultimate consequences of our betrayal will be suffered by those who have always borne the brunt of inhuman systems—the ordinary people.

Ed. Note: Hildegard Goss-Mayr, an Austrian Catholic, is, along with her husband Jean, a travelling secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Goss-Mayrs have spent over a year in Brazil exploring non-violent methods of conflict resolution. This article appeared, in slightly different form, in the Reconciliation Quarterly (3 Haddon Avenue, London N.3, England, \$1/year).

Mme. Goss-Mayr will be the featured speaker at the CW farm, Tivoli, N. Y., for the October 8-10 weekend. She will talk on the Revolutionary Force of the Gospel and the Vatican Council. Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J. will talk about the "Peaceable Conflict" on the 9th. The Conference will be under the auspices of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C.

THOUGHTS ON PROPERTY

"The accumulation of capital by private persons was impossible except through violent means . . . What was gained by violence could not only not be defended by non-violence but the latter requires the abandonment of ill-gotten gains."

"I hate privileges and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo with me."

"If we are to be non-violent, we must then not wish for anything on this earth which the meanest or the lowest of human beings cannot have."

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

BOOK REVIEW

(Continued from page 4)

unions, town, county, corporation, university, to see how their local problems of conversion can be met by their own efforts. He discusses automation and dismisses it as a danger to the truly productive society because the most valuable part of human work cannot be automated. This is the "human care of human beings." One could say in effect that all work should be social work, and that persuading people to love one another should be the end of all our activities.

Here we move into a field outside the scope of Dr. Melman's book, the vast and fundamental shift of values necessary to undergird his proposals. To bring about this shift is fundamentally a religious problem. But given the will to escape from our present dilemma, he has given us a thorough and practical handbook on how to implement this change, very necessary in arguing with the hard-headed and pessimistic men who presently provide our society with its ethics.

LANZA'S ARK

(Continued from page 3)

and hold hands, with the patriarch in the middle. The community collectively recites the principal rules of the order. Prayers are then said, and at their conclusion, each brother embraces all the others and shakes hands with each sister. After this, everyone retires to his pallet.

Some Conclusions

For the past ten years, the inhabitants of the Ark have been able to get along without commodities that the rest of us use every day. They are in good physical condition and excellent spiritual condition. They find their way of life austere but gratifying. If our physicians do not manage to poison our air, fields, and water completely, the residents of the Ark will be able, after the cataclysm, to continue leading their new existence. They will be the only Westerners, except for a few similar communities (if there are any), capable of surviving. From the historical point of view, the Ark will then have justified its name. It has already attained its spiritual aim, because the men and women who inhabit it are liv-

ing in peace, free from anxiety. How many civilized people can say the same?

(Translated from the French by Martin J. Corbin).
Ed. note: Clement Leclerc lives in Brussels and was formerly a chemist. Although Lanza del Vasto's absorbing book *Pelerinage aux Sources* sold three hundred thousand copies in France and was translated into three languages, it has never been translated into English. The only one of his books that has is *Gandhi to Vinoba: the New Pilgrimage*, which was published by Rider (London, 1956). His other writings include a commentary on the Gospel, a treatise on the spiritual life, a Biblical novel, poetry, plays, musical compositions and numerous articles on non-violence. An enterprising American publisher could inspect this material, most of which has been published by Editions Denoel, 14, rue Amelie, Paris VII, France.

Barbara Uhrig was given thirty days for contempt of court after getting up in court to express her contempt to the judge who had just sentenced her husband Al to ninety days. Dave Miller and Cathy Swann of Christy Street led a picket line at the jail in support of the imprisoned.

"WE DECLARE PEACE..."

(Continued from page 6)

us—especially when the new arrivals were girls. Pat Rusk was in one group of them.

Murphy Dowd, the Cajun from Ammon Hennacy's House in Salt Lake City, elected to do thirty days rather than pay a fifty-dollar fine. Pat Rusk did five days. Dan Shay did his time too, fasting during much of it. One guard boasted to another that he could make anybody stand up by twisting his hand in a certain way. He demonstrated his technique on a young Negro, then turned to Dan but he met his match, and more. Dan's hand was swollen for days.

Barbara Uhrig was given thirty days for contempt of court after getting up in court to express her contempt to the judge who had just sentenced her husband Al to ninety days. Dave Miller and Cathy Swann of Christy Street led a picket line at the jail in support of the imprisoned.

The Nazis were given ten-dollar fines.

Draft Cards Are for Burning
Newspaper and television coverage of these events was extraordinary. The Peace Movement cannot be ignored quite as completely as it has been in the past. Another indication of increasing effectiveness is the new legislation making it a Federal offense punishable by five years' imprisonment and ten-thousand dollar fine to burn one's draft card.

This is in part the result of a draft-card burning at Whitehall Induction Center in New York pictured in Life magazine for August 20th, opposite a full-page color photograph of the paint-spattered Dellinger and Lynd. There had been innumerable draft-card burnings in the past, with no response. I burned mine in Washington Square during the Second World Wide General Strike for Peace, on coast-to-coast television. Again, Chris Kearns and I led a draft-card burning in Union Square a year ago, with three F.B.I. agents present. No reaction. Now the government is restive. Apparently we are getting somewhere, for the House rushed through this hysterical anti-draft-card-burning bill amid denunciation of draft-dodgers and beatniks, and the Senate followed soon after. The President signed it into law on August 31.

This means, of course, that we must have a public draft-card burning soon. On October 15th and 16th, there will be demonstrations all over the country, as a follow-up to the Assembly. Each local region or city will structure its own series of events: workshops, public meetings and demonstrations around the issue of Vietnam. A public draft-card burning might be appropriate. (One problem for us in New York is that we can't find very many people who still have draft cards to burn!)

The best way to prove the stupidity and the unenforceable character of a law which would jail a man for burning a scrap of paper is to break it, in large numbers, in demonstrations all over the United States. This would be an extremely dramatic and effective way of manifesting our moral revulsion at our nation's Vietnam policy as well as crippling a foolish and immoral law.

A Farm With A View

(Continued from page 4)

not least, Marty Corbin, who is in charge. With so many guests and so large a family, we have also needed a large supply of food. We are grateful, therefore, for so many good vegetables from our own garden. When there are children, however, food is not enough. As one might expect, Larry Evers' tricks and Punch and Judy show have been much in demand and Stanley Vishniewski's popularity as a story-teller has not waned.

The work for peace, however, must not stop with talk. This month, Dorothy Day sails for Rome, where she will spend a ten-day period, from October first to the tenth, with a group of dedicated women who will retire to a convent to pray and fast for peace. We who remain at home may also share in this prayer and fasting.

Now on the first day of September—grey day with intermittent rain—the sunflowers, which I planted last spring beside the cellar door underneath my southern windows, droop lugubriously in the direction where the sun ought to be. "Ah sunflower, weary of time/Who countest the steps of the sun"—to take a line from Blake—where is that sweet golden clime you seek? Does it lie somewhere beyond the clouds of war? Or is it safely islanded deep in the heart of every man of good will?



"The G.I.'s are not deprived. The Pentagon probably brings more tonnage into the PX's every day than the Vietcong get from North Vietnam. It has dealt with all their needs or, anyway, almost all . . ."

"For the Vietnamese, however, life is harder. The number deprived by the war far exceeds the number helped by it, and the estimate is that the inflation will get worse as the war goes on. What American officials had hoped for in their pacification program was a more equal society in which Saigon would be closer and more responsive to the vast majority of the people who live in the hamlets."

"But for the time being the opposite is happening. Saigon is getting richer, and the hamlets poorer, with both the Vietcong and the American bombers destroying property in the countryside and producing great wealth for a few in the capital."

—James Reston, the New York Times (August 30, 1965)

+ + + LETTERS + + +

The Price of Freedom

175 Chrystie Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

The Vietnam issue has given new impetus to the peace movement. It has also caused a significant increase in the number of people participating in actual street demonstrations and other forms of direct action. I doubt that the number of pacifists has increased much. For instance, at the recent demonstration in Washington, D.C., there were many participants who were not convinced of the value of non-violence as it would relate to conflicts other than those encountered immediately in the civil-rights movement, or perhaps as a "temporary tactic" in the Vietnam protest.

Personally, I feel glad that so many different groups were able to get together in D.C.; we were able to discuss and agree upon most of our opposition to the Vietnam war. We need one another. But before arrest, one issue in particular was not discussed enough. The question of payment of fines and bail to get out of prison has to be seriously looked at, especially now that the size of demonstrations will probably increase. Of course this has been discussed in the past, and many people seemed to take the principle, "jail—no bail" for granted. But the fact is that all of us who had fines or bail attached to our sentences in D.C. paid out, with the exception of some of the people who received three- or five-day sentences. I simply want to raise three questions.

(1) Was the opportunity for a more effective demonstration missed by the movement because so many paid out rather than stay in jail? (I confess that I did not stick either.) It's a fact that the twenty-five or so who stayed more than a few days did cause problems to the system and did get publicity for the movement. What would have happened if the people arrested, say at least two hundred of them, had remained in prison?

(2) Do leaders of a demonstration have a responsibility to stay in jail if arrested? In spite of all the talk about "participatory democracy" at least one man (and maybe more) was definitely looked upon as a leader by many of the demonstrators on the 9th if not during the rest of the assembly. As people leave jail in large numbers, a kind of pressure eventually is exerted upon the few remaining behind, and it escalates as the numbers dwindle.

(3) Should the peace movement pour so much money into the system that is prosecuting the war? I've heard that at least fifteen-thousand dollars was paid in fines and bail, etc. What happens to this money? Must we pay the government this much for a chance to sit down a block from the Capitol? I call it high-priced seating. We should give time to these questions; others are raising them also.

Murphy Dowd

175 Chrystie St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Editors:

Jail—No Bail is a standard article of the nonviolent creed. In practice it is usually ignored.

If it were just a matter of philosophical consistency, the peace movement could afford to leave it to the anarchist, who sees no point in appealing to one part of the state against another, or to the religious pacifist, whose appeal is to God's law rather than man's. But since bailing out results in a great waste of militancy and money, it should deceive the serious consideration of all the various groups that are combining

to oppose the present war with direct-action methods.

Those who are leading the anti-war demonstrations must accept much of the responsibility for the present practice, for they regularly set an example by immediately bailing out. Since no one enjoys jail, and very few want to stay in a boring and unpleasant situation while their friends depart for greener pastures, this example is almost always contagious.

The 1961 Freedom Ride into Jackson, Mississippi, can be used as a classic illustration of the importance of Jail—No Bail.

The more than three hundred people who answered CORE's summons to "Come and do 66 days with Jim Farmer!" had to agree before hand to serve their sentences (the last ones to arrive received the equivalent of over 6 months) and arrived in the Jackson jails prepared to do just that. However, Farmer and the others of that first and most militant group bailed out within the 40-day time limit, and their example in leaving jail was as effective as their example of going into jail had been, so that almost everyone bailed out.

This abandoning of the original plan to forego bail had three drastic effects: 1) It caused a rapid dissipation of the effect of the three hundred arrests. 2) It gave the State of Mississippi a weapon with which it could and did cripple CORE. 3) It resulted in CORE's voluntary ending the Freedom Rides while it still had many more on hand who were willing to go.

1) The drama of over a hundred people from all parts of the country in the Jackson jails, with new groups arriving daily, generated a great upsurge of civil-rights activity elsewhere and created a tremendous pressure on both Mississippi and the Federal government. But then the pressure leveled off and began to decrease because the number of Freedom Riders getting out on bail began to surpass the number arriving in the jails.

2) The appeals gave Mississippi the chance for legal maneuvers that devastated CORE's finances. By requiring first an arraignment and then a "court of record" trial and scheduling them several weeks apart, the state forced CORE to pay two round-trip fares for each defendant (many of whom were from distant places) in addition to the round-trip fare CORE had already paid. It set the final bond at \$2,000, which meant that CORE had to give the state more than a half a million dollars, which money remained in the state's possession for four years while the case dragged through the courts. It soon reached the point where—as the prison guards gleefully put it—"CORE ain't got no more!"

Since CORE was now in the position of having to pay out three round-trip fares and \$2,000 bond for every Freedom Rider it sent down to Jackson, it could not afford to continue the Freedom Rides and called a halt while it still had a great number of potential riders.

Since 1961, bailing out has continued to be the prevailing practice, and it has seriously hampered the movement in some places. In Albany, Georgia, the movement came to a complete standstill after mass arrests followed by mass bailing out put the organization so far in the hole that it could not afford to let any more get arrested. Since demonstrations of any kind resulted in arrests in Albany, they were called off entirely. In this situation too, the leadership was largely to blame.

This general practice of bailing out has now led to a state of mind where demonstrators are often eager to be arrested, believing it makes for a much stronger demonstration and not at all eager to stay in jail, which would make for the strongest possible demonstration. The "revolving demonstra-

tions" in Birmingham who posted bail several times in the course of a demonstration in order to be re-arrested several times acted as if they saw a magical potency in the act of staying in jail. More likely, the reason was that, while getting arrested is usually exciting, sitting in jail is usually dull.

The perennial excuse of absconding leadership that they have urgent matters to attend to on the outside is suspect. What could be more urgent than seeing the current demonstration through to its end and to its maximum effectiveness? These outside doings are usually either raising money to bail everyone out (which would be unnecessary if the leaders served their time and urged others to do likewise or better yet, made a commitment in advance, since almost no one will decide to stay after he gets in if he has not already decided to do it) or with planning more demonstrations (which will be more effective than the one they've just aborted by abandoning it).

The fines paid for the recent demonstration in Washington probably netted the government more than the sum total lost to it this year because of pacifist tax-refusers.

Terry Sullivan



Making Hay

Alameda County Jail
Santa Rita, Calif.
July 10, 1965

Dear Dorothy:

Doing 30 days, bucking hay, following our trespass of the Oakland Army Terminal. Bea Witnah, age 83, went in with us, wearing a sign that proclaimed her a Gold Star Mother who wants no more of the murder. The M.P.'s wouldn't arrest her, even though she insisted on it.

The demonstration itself was no great shakes. As a gesture of defiance or an attempt at engagement it was received rather more calmly than the previous go. But as an opportunity for a few more people to take the leap, to use themselves recklessly if ineffectually, it was probably worth the trouble.

The jail is another matter. Those of us who are in the hospitality business surely owe it to our clientele to do a little time inside. Visiting the prisoner in any other way is most unsatisfactory. (We are forbidden even to hold hands with our children across the table when they come for the 20-minute period each Sunday.) Since the great majority of the people in this jail are here because they are poor, there are many familiar faces from Peter Maurin House. Not men gone bad, by any means, but men with no place to go. The priest comes once a week and says his bored Mass in 15 minutes. The rest of the time nothing. As it was Peter's function to deny Christ, so it seems with the Church. The tradition is kept alive in places like this, where the indifference of the clergy is at least the equal of that of the State. One could put a lot of time and effort into calling them down on

this. But I'd rather we came up with something better.

(Later)

1155 Walnut St.
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Dorothy:

Was kicked out of the jail after seventeen days. Funny circumstances.

The Oakland House was closed for days while I was in the jail, because of violence, threats of violence, and general drunk-and-disorderliness, which Susan could not handle by herself. Tall Ben and his Sue have had a baby girl. The house is running well under Bill Briggs, who is very lovable and going to Mass every morning. I have just had a call from the rapid transit district purchase agent, and the house will be condemned for purchase as part of a substation site, some time this fall, though we will have until next year in the summer or possibly fall to vacate. What follows that may be a new kind of house, somewhere else. There are plans for picketing and fasting in San Francisco this month, and the Vietnam Day Committee are going to put on a show of their own.

Ben has hustled an old two-and-a-half-ton truck and is starting an anarchist garbage and rubbish service in West Oakland. No fee. Where is all this leading us?

Love to all,
Bob Callagy

(Ed. note: The address of Peter Maurin House is 1487 7th St., Oakland 10, California.)

Cross Country

c/o 131-31 Fowler Ave.
Flushing 55, New York

Dear Dorothy:

Our "pilgrimage on wheels" (see May 1965 *Catholic Worker*) has really been going great, due in large to the wonderful response of CW readers. We started in May by visiting Al and Elin Leonard's homestead in northern Vermont. They arranged for us to do a music program at a nearby college, and we were able to show our slides of contemporary Christian art to the Art Department. After visiting Arthur Harvey in New Hampshire, we went on to the Paulsons (Elin's parents) in Massachusetts, and gave an outdoor presentation of our "European Pilgrimage in Song." There we met some former CW's: the Gulicks, the Madsdens, the Dicks, the Roaches. Mary (McCarthy) Roach told us about helping you get the *Catholic Worker* started in Boston when she was eighteen.

In Newport, Rhode Island, we met Ade Bethune, who arranged a show of my photographs at the Art Association; it will run through September. We stopped at the Committee for Nonviolent Action Farm, near Voluntown, Connecticut. Bob and Marj Swann are doing a wonderful job reaching the teenagers. When we were there, they sang folk songs until midnight with a group of them. Some stayed up to leave at 5:00 a.m. for picketing a new nuclear submarine launching. We stopped at Tivoli and presented our music and slides, and in Rochester, New York, Ben Fisher of St. Joseph's House, gave us lunch. In Binghamton, New York, we received our first load of mail from CW readers. John Bozzone, a whirlwind high school teacher in nearby Ithaca, was the first one we got in touch with; with only a few hours' notice he got a group together to discuss the CW, and the next night we held a music program in the parish hall. In Philadelphia, we did our slide shows, including "Modern Art and the Gospel," for the Grail women and met Mike Inemar and his La Salle College student associates who run Joseph House. Annie Albright arranged a showing at her school, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art.

We attended a fascinating convention of the School of Living on

a farm north of Baltimore. The School publishes a paper for homesteaders, the *Green Revolution* (c/o Mildred Loomis, Brookville, Ohio, \$3 a year) and a large group of young people from the cities came. It was a beautiful CW-type scene, with the youngsters talking community, poetry and Gestalt psychology to the older homesteaders, who showed them how to split logs and wash carrots. Tim Lefever, a School of Living leader and conscientious objector who was in Prison with Dave Dellinger and Carl Paulson during World War II, got a group from the meeting to join York Action for Peace on a July 4th vigil at the Gettysburg Peace Light. Pat, who stood out in the blazing sun with the rest of us, gave birth to our first child Blaise five days later (he was two weeks premature) by the Lamaze natural childbirth method. We tried to get a doctor, but none would come, so with the grace of God and the help of some School of Living friends, we delivered him ourselves.

We rested a while at Pat's folks in Kalamazoo, then toured for five days through upper Michigan. Bob and Marilla Rutherford put us up, and we did a program of songs at their church, passed out copies of the CW, and talked about Catholics for Latin America, a group that sends lay volunteers. (As you know, that's hopefully one of our projects after this trip.) A highlight of this well-attended and enthusiastic meeting was the presence of six Holy Ghost sisters in their beautiful modern blue dresses. The next night, we had another crowd at the shrine of Our Lady of the Woods in Mio, arranged by Delphine Thomas. We enclose a tithe of the contributions we've received from these wonderful groups.

In September, on to Chicago, where Terry Brock of the Thomas More Association has set up a dialogue on Christian pacifism between us and Joe Breig. If our 1948 GMC holds out, we'll be heading south from Minnesota through the Midwest until December, then from south Texas to California in January, and will stay on the West Coast until spring.

In Christ,
Barney McCaffrey

"New Orpheus"

Fordham University
New York, N.Y.

Dear Marty:

Fordham University's School of Education lecture series has greatly expanded its program for the coming fall and spring semesters; we thought *Catholic Worker* readers might be interested in our schedule of guest speakers for the fall 1965 semester:

Daniel Berrigan, S.J. (Oct. 8); Ned O'Gorman (Oct. 15); Father Joseph Pintaro (Oct. 22); John McNeill, S.J. (Nov. 5); Robert O'Connell, S.J. (Nov. 19); Dorothy Day (Dec. 10); Sister Mary Corita, I.H.M. (Dec. 17).

All of the lectures will be held at 302 Broadway (downtown campus) on Friday evenings at 8:00, in Shealy Hall.

Pax Christi
Barbara Raggi

Les Amis de Gandhi

10J Washington Hall
University of Maryland
College Park, Md.

Dear Miss Day:

Mme. Camille Drevet, of the Friends of Gandhi, has asked me to relay a message through you to the readers of the *Catholic Worker*. The *Bulletin of the Friends of Gandhi* can be received by writing to Mme. Drevet at: 6, rue Albert Sorel, Paris 14, France. It is published quarterly.

Sincerely,
John Elkins