

CATHOLIC WORKER

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ON PILGRIMAGE

By DOROTHY DAY

All newspapers seem to be running a digest of all that happened during the year, and glancing over my diary, or even without glancing over my diary, it is easy to say that the best news was Tom Sullivan's going to the Trappists, Jack English's continuance in the Trappists, Al Gullion going to the Seminary in Canada, Frank Lakey's going to the seminary of St. Philip Neri in Boston, and now the news that Joe Monroe is also planning to go there. But what a job is before him! Four years of Latin in one! As for marriages during the year, there were two, those of our non-Catholic friends who had stayed with us, Lee Peery and Ann Perry, and Hisaye Yamamoto and Tony de Soto. There is a letter from Lee in this issue of the paper. As for babies, two were born at Peter Maurin Farm (or rather at the hospital near the farm), and Tamar had another, Martha, in July. Now Tamar has two July babies, two August babies, one December, one February and one April. And her own birthday is in March and David's is in May. Which makes a lot of celebrating going on in that family. There are always cakes

being baked for birthdays or saints days, and cakes go with bonfires and weiner roasts and marshmallow roasts, and much singing and good cheer. They even celebrate Guy Fawkes Day in their own fashion. There is a merry Dickensian atmosphere about the family which is most cheering.

Christmas

And speaking of Dickens, we had a most delightful evening, just before Christmas when Carmen Matthews, the actress who has been a friend and benefactor for a great many years, came down to read us THE CHRISTMAS CAROL. Everyone in the house came to hear her. Though many think our Friday night meetings too intellectual, especially when the young philosophers get going, and stay away from these discussions (forgetting Peter Maurin's adage that the workers should be scholars and the scholars workers) on this occasion everyone in the house turned out. It was breath taking, the way she combined acting with reading. Tony Aratari had come in the night before and gathered a crew to

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PETER MAURIN WROTE:

TO BE A MARXIAN

Before he died, Karl Marx told one of his friends, "I have lived long enough to be able to say that I am not a Marxian."

To be a Marxian, according to the logic of DAS KAPITAL, is to maintain that the best thing to do is to wait patiently till capitalism has fulfilled its historic mission.

To be a Marxian, according to the logic of DAS KAPITAL, is to step back, take an academic view of things and watch the self-satisfied capitalists dig their own graves.

To be a Marxian, according to the logic of DAS KAPITAL, is to have faith in the forces of materialism—

H-Bomb Tests And Human Survival

By DEBBIE BRENNAN

What are H-bomb tests doing to this world and its inhabitants? This is a difficult question, for the whole world is the laboratory and humanity (as well as all other living creatures) are the subjects for the tests. Our Atomic Energy Commission tells us that danger is negligible. But we cannot help hearing other voices which do not reassure us but warn us. We hear Aikichi Kuboyama on his death bed after the March 1954 U.S. test explosion had showered him and his fellow fishermen with "death ash" saying that he hoped his death would be enough to stop the tests. We hear the warnings of responsible scientists, for instance Otto Hahn, German Nobel Prize nuclear physicist, who said that 10 cobalt-coated hydrogen bombs could endanger the continuation of human life "no matter where they are dropped." If this does not seem serious since no government has made a cobalt bomb, then let us add the evaluation of Dr. Ralph Lapp who has stated that our March 1954 bomb was actually a Uranium-coated H-bomb and was "a much more po-

tent fall-out bomb" than the cobalt bomb. Even though Dr. Lapp was speaking of the bomb's potential as a weapon while Dr. Hahn was considering ultimate effects, the combination of their statements brings us up very sharply. Humanity's margin of safety seems perilously small in this atomic age.

The immediate dangers in testing a bomb, which alone, contains the explosive power equal to all the explosives used by both sides in World War II are, of course, tremendous. But if we inquire as to the danger of nuclear explosions, we can ignore all immediate effects and consider only the world-wide, accumulative effects. A French physicist, Charles Noel Martin (Comptes-Rendus, Nov. 1954), has outlined four principal consequences of nuclear explosions, chemical, climatic, radioactive, and genetic which we can consider in order.

As regards chemical effects, a nuclear explosion causes a reaction between the nitrogen and oxygen in the air which results in the for-

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Christmas In East Harlem

By EILEEN FANTINO

The Christmas season unfolds like scarlet poinsettia cored with the light of a newborn God. We are joined now to God in reunion and rebirth, in getting and giving, in celebration and solemnity as the epiphany of Christ echoes through the hollow streets.

Here in East Harlem we have a privileged Christmas, for even in the supple three dimensional luxury of the Lord & Taylor Department Store window on Fifth Avenue we read the advice, "Look for Him in tenements forlorn," as in the Gospel, "You shall find Him wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger."

Christmas Eve some of the older boys from the neighborhood and other friends helped us distribute gifts to the children. For days we had been shopping for gifts, sorting toys, washing some used ones and putting each family's gifts in a cardboard carton. Soon the rooms were so filled we had to display great dexterity to get from one end to the other.

The children kept knocking at the door as usual and could think of 25 reasons why they had to come in. If they managed to convince us it took us an hour to get them out again. Volunteers appeared at the door every ten minutes eager to carry down garbage, run errands, sweep the floor, anything to show Santa their perfection.

When we started out with our load of cartons we looked like a caravan crossing the desert as on-lookers cheered us on. We climbed stairs for hours until the last carton disappeared from our living room floor and the last "Felices Pascuas" and "Merry Christmas" was gasped. The boys who helped us left for a Christmas party very proud of their first bottles of shaving lotion and their new roles as Santas.

In each family we visited the children screamed and grabbed for their toys. Most had no others in

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Peter Maurin Farm

By BETH ROGERS

The purple ribbons are down and the red ribbons are up, and we are in the season of rejoicing in the Christ Child's birth. The week before Christmas was the usual ferment of activity, with Hans baking bread and pies, and the house and chapel being cleaned, coming to a climax with the decorating on Christmas Eve. Chris and Mary did most of the decorating, but everybody helped with the tree. We have several chreches, including one of the sets made at the Worker when it was on Mott Street, and in addition this year there is a tiny one modeled in clay by Mary, with the three figures in the cave carved of soap.

On Christmas Eve, Jonas Dumchius brought us Lithuanian Platkele, which are large squares of unleavened bread. These are passed from person to person at the table, and each one breaks off a piece, a true breaking of bread among Christians. This is a custom which is observed in many European countries; and Magda, who is from a Czechoslovakian family, recalls that at home they observed the custom also.

Christmas Day started with two Masses in the chapel, the first a High Mass. Besides Jonas, Jordan Hess and Marian Shindel were with us for the week end, and Bill McAndrew came to Christmas dinner. In the afternoon the Hennessys and the Scarpullas were here, and spent a peaceful afternoon playing with the set of blocks sent us by the Bruderhof. In last month's Catholic Worker, Dorothy described the

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forces so powerful, according to materialists that they will bring the millennium whether man wants it or not.

To be a Marxian, according to the logic of DAS KAPITAL, is to let economic evolution do its work without ever attempting to give it a push.

WHAT KARL MARX REALIZED

Karl Marx soon realized that his own analysis of bourgeois society could not be the basis of a dynamic revolutionary movement

Karl Marx soon realized that a forceful Communist Manifesto was the necessary foundation of a dynamic Communist Movement.

Karl Marx soon realized, As Lenin realized, that there is no revolution without revolutionary action, that there is no revolutionary movement without a vanguard of revolution and that there is no vanguard of revolution without a theory of revolution.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Having realized that a Communist Manifesto was the basis of a Communist Movement,

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Ward's Island

By JULIE LIEN

Since October the American Friends Service Committee has been sponsoring a series of Weekend Institutional Service Units at Manhattan State Hospital here in New York City. These Units, which are patterned after the Weekend Workcamps, provide not only an opportunity to help with recreation in a mental hospital and a chance for fellowship and fun among the members of the unit, but also give the patients contact with the outside. Those patients who never have any visitors benefit the most from this. Manhattan State Hospital, like most—if not all—the other state hospitals across the country, is over crowded and understaffed. This means that the patients can't be given the individual attention that they need. The people in the unit talk and play games with individuals as well as lead group singing or other group recreation. The members of the unit have a chance to learn much about mental illness and the care of the ill both from direct observation and through discussion with psychiatrists and hospital officials.

A Weekend With A Unit

Late in the afternoon of Friday, Dec. 16, about a dozen of us met at the unit location which so far this year has been the parish house of the North New York Congregational Church. We prepared and ate a simple but hardy meal. After this we watched the Canadian film "Breakdown" and then had an orientation seminar. It was fairly late

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"GUILTY, SENTENCE SUSPENDED"

These words of Judge Hymen Bushel on Dec. 22, in Criminal Courts Building, 100 Center Street, New York City, followed by praise for Dorothy Day, not as a Christian revolutionary, but as one "who fed the poor" on Chrystie Street, marked the latest action in the long delayed case of we 28 who refused to take part in the air raid drill last June 15th.

The Judge pointed out that the Law was the law and had to be obeyed; that finding us guilty was a warning that laws must not be broken. He did not give us any definite days or any fine being full of the Christmas spirit. He praised the counsel for the defense and told the young prosecutor that he ought to ask his superiors for a raise because of his able presentation of the case. The truth of the matter being we should either have been found innocent on the freedom of speech authorized in the First and the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, or we should have been sentenced for openly breaking the law.

An appeal is being made by the lawyers for those who pled not guilty, despite the groaning on the radio by Fulton Lewis Jr. that we did not have the right of "freedom of conscientious non-conformity." Some of us who pled guilty and some who pled not guilty will be on hand to openly disobey the next air raid drill and to take the consequences.

When nearly everyone accepts our prosperity based on exporting war materials over the world, making H Bomb tests to frighten "the enemy," and buying off the labor and the farm vote by high wages and subsidies, it is up to those of us who see through this sham to protest every move by the exploiters to dull the populace with a false security, a false prosperity, all "for God and Country," and to recall that Christ said "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

A. H.]

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Holy Father Pleads For Nuclear Ban

In His annual Christmas Eve message to the world the Vicar of Christ held up before the eyes of all its inhabitants the spectacle of nuclear warfare in these words: "Entire cities, even the largest and the richest in art and history, wiped out; a pall of death over the pulverized ruins, covering countless victims with limbs burnt, twisted and scattered, while others groan in their death agony. Meanwhile the spectre of the radio-active cloud hinders the survivors from giving any help, and inexorably advances to snuff out any remaining life. There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity which in desolation will gaze upon the catastrophe brought on by its own folly."

After reminding modern man that in spite of the almost unbelievable scientific and technical advances of the past two hundred years this earth is still no paradise the Holy Father warned the "Christian of the industrial age" against either regarding Communism as a "phenomenon" or "necessary stage in the passage of history" and urged that he not be satisfied with superficial "anti-Communism" but to build a social order which is founded on the moral law, which recognized man's true nature and which is not forgetful of the role of Divine Providence in history.

The real core of the message, though, is a three point plan for the control of nuclear weapons. They are as follows:

1. "Renunciation of experimentation with atomic weapons."
2. "Renunciation of the use of such."
3. "General control of armaments."

In regard to the first point, the Holy Father fears that "too many such explosions would in time cause increased density of radioactive products in the atmosphere, whose diffusion depends on elements not under man's control; thus would be generated conditions very dangerous for many living beings."

The Supreme Pontiff then warned all the nations, both East and West, that simply to comply with the first point is not enough. All three points He said are "obligations in conscience and morally binding." He urged both camps to show their sincerity by complying with them. "We speak so frankly," he said, "because the danger of insufficient proposals concerning peace depends in large part on the mutual suspicions that often trouble the dealings of the powers concerned, each accusing the other in varying degrees of mere tactics, even of a lack of sincerity in a matter basic to the fate of the whole human race."

The Holy Father also urged the European colonial powers to lessen the tensions that could lead to full scale war by granting political independence to those who aspire to it. His allocution ended with a prayer for the Church, the oppressed, the sick, the imprisoned, the exiled and the poor.

In 1914 after many impassioned pleas for peace by Pope St. Pius X and Pope Benedict XV, which they did not heed, the nations of the world went to war. In 1939, again, the nations paid lip service to the pleas of the Holy See for peace but could not accept any plan which hindered their struggle for domination and we saw the horrors of Pearl Harbor, the Blitz, Dresden and Hiroshima. If they do not listen this time there may not be anyone around to tell their children how fire fell one day from heaven on New York, Paris, London, and Moscow.

ROBERT STEED.

On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 1)

gether for decorating the tree and the downstairs rooms, and all looked festive and gay. And besides the gift of herself and her warm loving heart and genius, Carmen brought a huge turkey and other goodies, and still other substantial help.

There was still another party with Joe Monroe the day after Christmas. He started everyone singing Christmas carols in the library and pretty soon Eddie took over and showed himself a true master of ceremonies, as he led in the singing and started the as-

sembled company to dancing. There was not a phonograph in the house working, so everyone sang and clapped their hands for the folk dancing, and the old and the young danced the Virginia reel with much grace. There was even a touch of costume, what with the head dresses Veronica brought down from her inexhaustible store of things necessary which she holds in readiness in her room, under her bed, in her dresser, in her closet. (The overflow goes into my room.) Evelyn, Millicent, Rose, Agnes, Eleanor, Veronica and Hatty and Annabelle, and all the

rest of the women and the men, young and old, joined in.

All this merry making lightens the heart, and makes one realize how necessary it is to cultivate a spirit of joy. It is psychological truth that the physical acts of reverence and devotion make one feel devout, the courteous gesture increases one's respect for others, to act loving is to begin to feel loving, and certainly to act joyful brings joy to others, which in turn makes one feel joyful. Irene Naughton discovered that phrase of Ruskin, "the duty of delight" and I have used it many times since.

Travelling

Last Christmas I spent in St. Louis and had the great joy of midnight Mass at Monsignor Hellriegel's church. No one who has ever participated there could ever forget it. My travels continued through January to February 8th and since then I have divided my time between St. Joseph's house on Chrystie St., Peter Maurin Farm, and my daughter's home in Rossville, Staten Island. Since we sold the farm at Newburgh in July there has not been the monthly trip there. Still, there is enough moving back and forth to make one feel very much the pilgrim.

During the year there have been quite a number of deaths amongst us. I returned from my Western trip in time to visit Henry Sanborn and Shorty Smith at St. Vincent's and Bellevue Hospitals respectively. And they both had beautiful and peaceful deaths with their friends near them. Three of our priest friends have died during the year—Father McKenna, the Marist, for whom I worked at the Marist Novitiate at Prince's Bay, Staten Island, and who gave Karl Adam's book, *The Spirit of Cath-*



olicism to me to begin my Catholic education. Father John Cordes and Father Paul Judge also fell asleep in the Lord. And just this last month Andy Stier and John Murphy. Murphy had worked with us at St. Joseph's House of Hospitality these last ten years, died at St. Vincent's Hospital, where he was surrounded with most loving care up until the end. Both Henry Sanborn and John Murphy were buried from the Holy Name Center on Bleeker Street. Father Brennan and Father Melody have been extremely kind to us, and it is good to see the great love they have for their work among the men on the Bowery. We all miss Murphy very much, with his ready sense of humor. Veronica Flanagan gave him such tender, loving care the last two years of his life that I feel it is an example of God's providence and a sample of the kind of care we should give the old and the sick. Tom Cain had lettered one of his beautiful signs, and we tacked it on Murphy's door, "Unto old age and gray hairs, O Lord, forsake me not." When there is such a sample of loving care, it is as though the pain of the whole world were lightened and the burden of the aged lifted a little. Veronica was telling me this Christmas that for the last three years she had given Murphy the same Christmas present, a beautiful white silk scarf which he would admire for the

IN THE MARKET PLACE

By Ammon Hennacy

I am continuing each day my schedule of selling CW's on the street as given in the November CW. Although I meet a few friends who buy regularly and who get a few extra to give out in the offices and factories where they work, most of those who stop are those who have never read the paper before. Some have noticed the pictures about us in the July JUBILEE; others have read Murray Kempton's column in the N. Y. POST praising our stand for freedom of conscience; and a few have mentioned the October HARPER'S where Eric Larrabee in an article entitled "On Running for Cover" praised our "long and honorable history of getting arrested for doing what ought to be done but no one else dares to do." A brief visit from John Cort of Boston who was here for the AFL-CIO merger brought back old memories of the CW. We disagree on pacifism, anarchism and the machine age, but John's kindness and tolerance can well be used by any of us.

Another priest told me today that no papers were allowed to be sold, not only near the Church where I had been selling them for over a year, but even in the parish. He claimed that the CW is not a Catholic paper and that he would call the police. I told him that the police had already been called two months ago and that it was decided that I had the right to sell the CW where I was standing. I advised him to call the Chancery Office and find out if we were a legitimate Catholic paper or not. After he had tried to prevent a parishioner from buying a CW from me, unsuccessfully, I told him that this was a free country and not Franco Spain. Later another woman asked to buy a paper and a woman passing by said that this was a Communist paper and she should not touch it. This time the advice was taken and the prospective customer left hurriedly. I sold papers for two hours and no cop appeared.

Picketing the Whitehouse

On December 10th Julie, Helen, Mary Ann, Eileen, Bob and I and about a dozen Quakers and War Resisters drove to Washington and met thirty others where we had a sunny and not too cold a day picketing the White House with signs calling for amnesty for the 4,500 conscientious objectors of World War II whose lack of citizenship handicaps them in obtaining jobs. Our sign read:

"Laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and therefore with the eternal law of God." Pope Leo XIII.

And other signs told of our sponsorship of the picketing with the other groups. The FBI took pictures of us and copied down the content of our signs, and we were not bothered by the police. We had a pleasant visit with Paulina Sturm afterwards, who had been here with us last summer. We have sent Christmas cards to the conscientious objectors, and to the victims of the Smith Act in prison, as well as help to the victims of Fascist Spain in exile.

Speaking

I spoke to students formerly at Antioch, Ohio college, who were

working and studying in New York City for six months, at Columbia. As usual among non-Catholics the questions were about the reasons for my becoming a Catholic. For the first time in my life I met two girls who had been brought up as Christian Scientists and who were interested in radical ideas; their church being the only one that will not allow members to be conscientious objectors. I was surprised to have a rather large meeting at Fordham sponsored by the Catholic Evidence Guild.

A weekend near Allentown, Pa., at Bob Lutweller's Woolmandale Farm provided many hours of intimate discussion of the pacifist-anarchist ideas to those who were non-Catholic, but sympathetic. Here I met Georges Douart from France who had worked for six years in the work camps of the Quakers and of those begun years ago by Pierre Cresole. Georges had worked in France, Germany, India, Pakistan, Japan, and in Quaker camps this past year in western U.S. While baptised a Catholic he was not raised one, and has found more companionship to the far left. He spoke to us here at the CW one night and will be our good interpreter of pacifist-anarchist ideas to his leftist and Catholic friends when he returns shortly to France.

Bob took me over to Emmaus to the Rodale organic farm. I had never seen stone mulching between rows of vegetables before. This enables the weeds to be controlled and the moisture from the heat in the day and the cold at night to be retained in the stones and make the temperature more equable. Stones placed on top of ground containing many roots of weeds will not produce the effect desired. I remembered the advice of the Old Pioneer that a tree planted near a huge rock would not freeze easily for the heat gathered by day would equalize the night temperature. Also the huge mounds of stones that desert folks piled in order to collect the heat by day and dew by night, which eventually brought moisture underneath and a watering place for animals.

I had a pleasant evening on the way back from Washington speaking at the home of John Stokes in Philadelphia to young Catholic couples and some visiting Quakers. Their parish Church was just 100 years old. It had been founded by Quaker converts.

The NMU

Julie and I go once a month to the National Maritime Union hall near 17th street and 9th Ave. and hand out CW's. We had not been disturbed until recently when a squad issued forth from the Hall with orders for us to get away. Saying they had called the police. I was at one door and Julie and Louis were at another door. I was escorted down the block by the strong arm squad and Julie and Louis were escorted up the block. One man roughly wanted Julie's bundle of CW's, but she smiled and handed him one, saying, "One at a time, Mr." We gave out our CW's anyway with no more trouble.

Christmas season and then give back to her to take care of for him. When she was making up little Christmas gifts for the women in the house, she told me about it, and recalled how Murphy would say quizzically, "That scarf again?"

It is good to be home this winter, and the book on the Little Flower is finished except for a last chapter in which I keep trying to give reasons why I have added to the number of books written about the Little Flower, and this is the kind of a chapter that could go on and on from day to day. Harpers has the rest of the book, and I am awaiting their decision on it.

I am reading at present two most beautiful works, *The Life of*

Our Lord by Fouard, which I keep in town by my bedside, and *The Public Life of Our Lord* by Archbishop Goodier.

With the closing of the case by Judge Bushell's decision in regard to the civil defense demonstration last June (the defendants were found guilty but sentence was suspended) the long ordeal is over. Undoubtedly there will be other occasions when it is necessary to demonstrate publicly trying to bring to the attention of our brothers what the Pope has proclaimed in his Christmas message. We must proclaim in season and out of season the necessity for all of us to work for peace and the disarmament that will bring about peace.

The Condition of Labor

By ROBERT STEED

Canon Cardijn is quoted as saying once "Never did the Pope (Pius XI) want an anti-Marxist front. Never did he wish to align himself with any materialistic regime or have recourse to methods of violence to combat Communism. For Pius XI 'to conquer' meant 'to convert'."

In his address before the National Religion and Labor Foundation's annual Social Justice Award Luncheon in the Grand Ballroom of the Commodore Hotel George Meany, President of AFL-CIO and a Catholic, gave the impression that he was not familiar with this viewpoint. There was not a word spoken about love of our enemy or a desire for his conversion but simply of how evil he is and of a "total-struggle" against him. And though Meany decried the fact (and it is a fact) that the Soviet Government operates such huge slave labor camps and "destroys the national independence and democratic rights of hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia" the American labor movement, of which he is the head, continues to aid the United States Government in its preparation for war and thus supplies the military with the means necessary to murder large sections of the population of these same countries.

The labor movement in this country which by its unity and potential strength could be a great force for peace and freedom in the world is simply allowing an imperialist, materialistic, anti-labor ruling class to use it for its own ends in return for a few cents an hour extra each pay day and a few more leisure hours a week to sit before a television set.

WESTINGHOUSE

It seems unfortunate that labor representatives and members of labor unions so often resort to name calling and profanity in their dealings with management and hand the company another weapon to use against them, as in the Westinghouse negotiations, instead of putting everything squarely on a moral basis and demanding what is due to them as human beings and sons of God.

It is also unfortunate that the clergy of Sharon, Pa., one of the communities where the tensions between the I. U. E. and the company are greatest, put their weight behind a back-to-work campaign initiated by the company which if it were successful would weaken the position of the union considerably.

Westinghouse's dislike of arbitration and its insistence on a long-term contract giving it the legal right to change an employee's job, cut his pay or lay him off when it is economically expedient are evils which are concomitant with a society based on the employer-employee relationship.

KOHLER

On Dec. 22nd the Kohler Co. of Kohler, Wis., announced, in what seems to us to be a slightly perverted Christmas spirit, that it would give its scab labor a bonus.

Also on Dec. 22nd Herbert V. Kohler received a telegram from Walter Reuther requesting face to face negotiations between the two men. The telegram said in part:

"More than two thousand parents and several thousand children in Sheboygan County are about to observe their second consecutive Christmas on strike. Yours is the cold distinction of having the nation's longest industrial dispute at your gate. For the past 20 months, Kohler workers have been on the picket line outside your plant to secure a fair and equitable contract. They seek only wages and working conditions which have become standard among your competitors.

"As the spirit of Christmas pervades the nation, it is my hope that you will end your relentless opposition to the collective bargaining process. I firmly believe you have a moral obligation to thousands of children in Sheboygan County to bargain in good faith with the union of their parents.

"Doubtless, you will enjoy your Christmas with your family and loved ones. My thoughts, however, and I trust your thoughts will be with the thousands of children of striking Kohler workers. Their parents are on strike because your company canceled their contract with your company; you forced this strike.

"Certainly, working out an equitable and honorable settlement of the nation's longest strike would make a major contribution to the spirit of good will to men, which is the very essence of Christmas. If you are unwilling to meet face to face as I suggested, then perhaps you will agree to submit the issues to an impartial arbitrator, selected by President Eisenhower, such arbitrator being authorized to make a decision which shall be final and binding on both company and union. Kohler workers know that any fairminded, impartial arbitrator would recognize both the merits and the justice of their claim."

The next day Herbert Kohler sent a reply to Mr. Reuther denying that his company had canceled the contract and charged that Reuther's telegram was a publicity device. He refused to meet with Reuther and laid down six conditions for a settlement. They are:

"1. Announce that your union will no longer consider itself above the law and free to engage in violence and terrorism to accomplish its ends.

"2. Discontinue the reign of terror which your union initiated on the first day of the strike and join in attempts to see that those guilty of hoodlumism and vandalism are brought to justice.

"3. That you will support law enforcement officers and judges who do their duty and enforce the law and will discontinue attacks, threats, and boycotts against them.

"4. That you will recognize that every American citizen has the right to his own opinion and that this includes the right to disagree with you without being subjected to scurrilous attacks, violence to his person, and vandalism to his property.

NO CREDIT

It is no credit to an heir to have gilded ceilings or slabs of porphyry. The praise for this must not go to men but to the mine and quarry where men are punished. It is the poor who dig for gold, though to them the gold is denied, and they toil in the search for what they cannot keep.

St. Ambrose.



Combatting Communism

Of Charity Towards an Erring Brother

As the Saint prayed one day for some persons who had formerly injured the convent seriously by their thefts, and were again committing deprecations, our Lord appeared to her as if suffering much pain in one of His arms, which was so drawn back that the nerves were seriously injured: and He said to her: "Consider what torment he would cause Me who should strike Me with his closed hand on this suffer-arm: and reflect that I am outraged in like manner by all those who, without compassionating the danger to which the souls who persecute you are exposed, do nothing else but talk maliciously of their sins and what they have suffered in consequence, without reflecting that these unhappy people are members of My Body; while all those who, touched by compassion, implore My mercy for them, that I may convert them, act towards Me as if they soothed the pain of My arm with healing ointments: and I consider those who, by their counsels and charitable warnings, try to induce them to amend their lives, as wise physicians, who endeavor to restore My arm to its proper position."

Then Gertrude, admiring the ineffable goodness of God, said to Him: "But how, Lord, can these unworthy persons be compared to Your arm?" He replied: "Because they are members of the body of the Church, of which I glory in being the Head." "But, my God," exclaimed Gertrude, "they're cut off from the Church by excommunication, since they have been publicly anathematized for the violence they have done to this monster." "Nevertheless," replied the Lord, "as they can be restored to the bosom of the Church by absolution, My natural goodness obliges Me to care for them, and I desire with incredible ardour that they should be converted and do penance."

The Saint then prayed that the monastery might be defended from their snares by His paternal protection, and she received this reply: "If you humble yourselves under My mighty Hand, and acknowledge before Me in the secret of your hearts that your sins have merited this chastisement, My paternal mercy will protect you from all the efforts of your enemies; but if you rise up proudly against those who persecute you, wishing them evil for evil, then, by My just judgment, I will permit them to become stronger than you, and to afflict you still more."

St. Gertrude

Book III, Chapter LVI

"5. That your union sell its services on their merits and will discontinue its attempts to force into the union employees who do not desire to join.

"6. Discontinue your attempts to socialize our American form of government and disavow any personal ambitions you may have for political office and control.

"Such an announcement would quiet the apprehensions and fears of millions of Americans who are duly alarmed at your ruthless actions in quest of personal power and help to assure them that this will continue to be a government of laws and not of men."

The third party to make a public statement on the subject was Sheboygan's mayor, Rudolph Ploetz, who requested Mr. Kohler to reconsider the possibility of a meeting in the interest of the whole community, since nothing would be lost by it and "it would be something new and untried in the long and bitter strike."

The Kohler strike is a perfect example of class warfare. The members of the union, it cannot be denied, have resorted to violence while on the other hand the company is one of the most blatantly reactionary and anti-labor groups to be found anywhere. Class warfare is wrong but it will continue to exist as long as labor accepts the capitalist system and continues to try to co-exist with it over the bargaining table.

IMMORAL STRIKE?

In the Dec., 1955, issue of the English "Catholic Worker" there was published an interesting article concerning the problem of what to do if your union is engaged in an immoral strike. The article being short did not go as deep as one would have wished into the question but the following conclusions were reached:

1. It is often very difficult to be sure that a strike is unjust.
2. It is easy to get workers out on strike but hard to get them back and the worker with a sense of morality will have more influence on his fellows if he strikes with them.
3. Those who refused to strike would destroy the solidarity of the union as much as an unjust employer.
4. There is no obligation to a particular employer and staying away from the job is not in itself immoral but its morality depends on the consequences.
5. The worker may consider such things as the ill will of his fellow workers if he refused to strike.
6. Even in an unjust strike the worker may accept strike pay and stay away from the job but he may take no active part in the strike.

It would seem that as long as a strike proceeds in a non-violent manner it can rarely be called unjust. For the workers cannot be said to have what is coming to them until they truly share in the ownership of the means of production. Some years ago the Holy Father said that the greatest need was a widespread re-distribution of the goods of the earth. But the working man seldom seems to think in terms of securing his rightful share in the management and ownership of industry; it seems always simply more money and fewer hours. Few people want responsibility; this running away from responsibility is probably the most common neurosis of our age!

Can Modern War Be Just?

Nearly a year ago in a pronouncement about modern weapons of war, Pope Pius XII stated that when the use of a weapon of war meant that its evil consequences went entirely beyond the means of human control, it must be considered immoral because in that case no question of lawful defence against unjust aggression, or of the right to defend legitimate possessions, arose.

It would be a case of destruction pure and simple of everything within range, and for that there could be no moral justification.

In the light of that pronouncement, Catholics and others who accept the possibility of a just war are now enjoined that the use of hydrogen bombs cannot be justified under any circumstances. Indeed, for any non-pacifist to re-read the conditions accepted as necessary to make a war "just" must be to raise serious doubts as to whether modern war can ever be regarded as moral or justifiable.

Is it the duty of a soldier to obey his superiors' orders under all circumstances and even if they seem to be contrary to the laws of war?

In the light of the Papal pronouncement, was not the obliteration bombing of Germany and such episodes as that of the "Dam Busters" so grave an offense against God's law that anyone who took Christ seriously should have refused to take part in them?

Can modern war indeed be waged without the "perpetuation of plain murder" on such a wholesale scale that if the Pope and other Church leaders really mean what they say, they have no alternative but to warn all Christians not only that they must disobey certain orders, but that they must refuse to take part in war?

... Stuart Morris,
Peace News of London.
Sept. 30, 1955.

+ + + BOOK REVIEWS + + +

African Co-operatives

THEY WAIT IN DARKNESS by George W. Shepherd Jr. The John Day Co. Inc. 210 Madison Ave. New York City \$4.00

It was in 1951 that George Shepherd went to Uganda to help African farmers market their crops co-operatively and to aid in creating better understanding between racial groups. This book is an account of his work there, written so well it reads like a novel—you don't want to put it down till you're through.

When he went there the British government was discriminating against African coffee growers. Non-African coffee was bought at a higher price—the official reason being that the Africans did not process their coffee properly and it was therefore inferior. But since the British officials refused to have the Africans taught the non-African method of processing, this policy was but a front to conceal the underlying determination of British officials to keep the Africans "in their place."

Unfortunately the British were aided in this by wealthy Indians, who, in this whole business, occupied a curious position. Afraid on the one hand of the British, who they fear might take their privileges away, they are terrified likewise of an African uprising which would have the same result. The complexity of race relations there is shown in that even wealthy Indians are discriminated against in some of the first class hotels—even in those hotels OWNED by Indians!

Mr. Shepherd ran into these messy race relations not only between African and non-African but among Africans. Some of the more "advanced" Africans—even some

of the Co-Op members—would employ "porters" (mostly from Belgian Congo) in their shambas and exploit them as ruthlessly as would the non-Africans. Also many Africans do not want to cooperate with white people under any circumstances. They have learned to hate and distrust whites—especially the "do-gooders." These "hate" groups feel, perhaps with some justification, that Christianity (as taught to them) is simply a means of weakening resistance to British rule. And so the Mau-Mau burned churches and killed missionaries. These "hate" groups, like all such groups, are given to hyperbole. Like Mwanga, who remarked in Mr. Shepherd's presence, "First white men coming here brought Bible and us Africans had land and the riches of our country, but now Africans have Bible and white man got land." There is enough truth in such a statement to make all serious minded Christians deplore the tie-up that only too often exists between missionaries and the colonial governments. It is significant that not one clergyman came forward to help Mr. Shepherd in his efforts to gain some economic justice for the Africans. Though he had requested their assistance. This does not make him bitter however and he is quite objective in his evaluation of the missionaries, not begrudging praise for what they have accomplished in other fields. He writes, for example, "The Church of England Missionary Society and the Catholic Maryknoll Fathers, White Fathers and others, have built the educational systems of Uganda. This is a considerable accomplishment in itself."

To get all the details of Mr.

Shepherd's work in Africa you had better buy the book—buy it because some of the proceeds will help Mr. Shepherd in his present work of promoting understanding of Africa in this country. For the remainder of this review I wish to call attention to two things. The failure of the United States Government to renew Mr. Shepherd's passport and then our own treatment of Africans in this country.

Mr. Shepherd found it necessary to leave Uganda for a couple months to return to the United States and raise funds for the farmer's Co-ops and the general work in Africa. By this time his passport had expired and he assumed it would be automatically renewed. While here he received urgent letters from his African friends calling for his immediate return as a crisis had arisen in the Co-ops. Much to his chagrin the U.S. State Department refused to renew his passport. Nor would they state why (except for the vague assertion he was engaged in "politics" in Africa) nor would they inform him who had lodged a protest against him. They did state that he was not suspected of being a Communist. They could not identify him with Mau-Mau as he had made clear his opposition to their terrorist methods. This situation went on for two years when finally the passport was restored—too late for the purpose he wanted it for. To this day he does not know who his accusers were.

Nor is this case of Mr. Shepherd exceptional. Only yesterday (Dec. 16th) the papers carried the story of eight American soldiers HONORABLY discharged who nevertheless have been dragged into court, to use the words of the TIMES reporter, "each of the eight men was called before the bar and told he could not hear any of the details of the accusations against him nor learn when, where, or what acts he allegedly committed. None will be told the names of his accusers."

Only a while back we had the case of a young man being denied a navy rating because his relationship to his "radical" mother was "close"! Anonymous accusations.

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Dr. Wu

FOUNTAIN OF JUSTICE:—A Study in the Natural Law, by John C. H. Wu. Sheed and Ward, New York, 1955. 287 pp. \$3.75. Reviewed by Edmund J. Egan

In this study of natural law, Dr. Wu has given us an enlightening and interesting exposition, marred only by failure to meet forthrightly problems which would seem basic to his subject. The author's aim is to consider philosophically and historically the relation of the scholastic notion of natural law to the common law. He has in fact ably demonstrated the presence of the natural law concept in the history of legal proceedings, even in cases wherein the then-dominant legal philosophy left no room for value judgement with transcendent reference, and in which therefore, the law bowed to equity.

In the philosophical aspect of his analysis, Dr. Wu shows a sensitive and realistic appreciation of the function of law, not always evident in the writings of others of his school. For example, he speaks of the penalty for committing a crime as having for its purpose "(inhibiting) the crime . . . through fear of punishment." Now while this is a principle requiring at the very least careful criticism and qualification, it avoids that notion of properly vindictive justice which is to be found in other scholastic writers. The author sees human law as concerned with results, and thus avoids placing it in the realm of ultimate justice which is the Judgement of God. And seeing human law as a means and not as an end in itself leads to a corresponding view of human institutions. Thus for example, Dr. Wu strips away the mystique of private property, and quotes Aquinas' clear sighted reasons why its ownership, qualified by common need, is useful. As Dr. Wu says, "St. Thomas justifies the institution of private property, not by the dictates of natural law, but by the consideration of consequences in the light of experience."

Character of human law as

given by Dr. Wu brings into sharp focus a number of most important principles. He states:

"To deserve the name of law, . . . First, it (human law) must not be contrary to any dictates of the natural reason; secondly, it must be ordained to the common good, which is the *raison d'être* of law; thirdly, the means it employs must be in reasonable proportion to the end."

And elsewhere, regarding the common good,

"The common good does not mean merely the collective good of the State. It includes that, but above all it embraces all the personal goods common to men as men."

And, ". . . strictly personal rights, such as the right to worship God, should never be interfered with by the State in the name of the common good, for the simple reason that they belong to a higher order than the material interests with which the State has to do."

This last statement, echoing so strongly the philosophy of Maritain, is in Dr. Wu's exposition a pregnant generalization which never attains significant particularization. One must ask, what are the "personal rights" referred to; do they include creative art,—human love? And if so what is their relation to that aspect of the common good which is properly social? We must also ask if Dr. Wu's inclusion of the "right to worship God" among these "strictly personal rights" repudiates the traditional "two sword" theory of church-state relationship? It would not seem so from the overall traditionalist tone of the book, yet the passage quoted above would seem to indicate such repudiation.

The reason for this ambiguity seems to lie in Dr. Wu's failure to accept the more profound challenge of his topic. He does not give us his basic theory of what the state is, and whence it derives. And therefore we assume that he accepts certain traditional concepts in this order, concepts which his more perspicacious insights inevitably call into question.

To Be Alone But Not Lonely

PART OF OUR TIMES by Murray Kempton. Simon and Shuster, New York, 1955. \$4.

Some monuments and ruins of the Thirties, concerning some of the men and women who were active in the 'Red Decade' in the U.S. Some of them Radicals, most of them Communists; how they felt in those days and their gain or loss from an experience intense and passionate, which changed their lives profoundly. Reviewed by Ammon Hennacy.

"But there has been a radical in America whose tradition was defeat and whose end was community. His was a voice almost stilled among the radicals of the thirties; and now, at a time when the radicals of the thirties have been driven to cover or recantation or dreadful isolation, we listen for his voice again. He was the radical who dared to stand alone, to whom no man called out in vain, to whom the lie was dishonorable and to crawl degrading."

A reviewer of my Autobiography wrote that it was not a good book: it was a wonderful one for you could dip into it any time, any place and find an interesting discussion of anything from the Hopi Indians to tax refusal. Likewise Kempton's book is not a good book, nor a deep one, but it is thought provoking, interesting and stimulating in dealing about such diverse personalities as J. B. Matthews and Mary Heaton Vorse, the first a charlatan, the second, "to have

pledged yourself and to have forsaken all others for 40 years . . . and always to follow the desperate road love sets out for you, such was the limit of the rebel girl's commitment . . . She will go on until she dies." She is now 80.

Kempton has been criticized by those who depend upon mass action and the State for being superficial in that he dealt with personalities and not economic determinism. He does not claim to tell about all but only part of his time. He had experience with the young Communists, with the Socialists, in the armed forces, and he is today perhaps the best reporter of dangerous situations in this country. In discussing and contrasting Hiss and Chambers, Lee Pressman and Gardner Jackson, and in bringing to our memories the Sacco Vanzetti case, the sit down strikes in which the Reuther boys and John L. Lewis acted heroically Kempton has given us that picture of the sort of activity and of men of action he appreciates as quoted at the beginning of this review.

The prevalent state of mind today in this country is apathy. Kempton tells of the times when for those who were "committed . . . the twenties were really the revolutionary era in America and that the thirties were a kind of folding of banners, a surrender to formation, the process by which a guerilla army introduces the epaulet and starts calling the comrade commander Comrade General."

This one statement in the Memoirs seems one of the most tragic and unbelievable events of the war because it was the last appeal before the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan causing a frightful slaughter of women and children, as well as men, and in one move placed the world on the brink of the atomic weapon era, or, on the brink of its own self-destruction. The part of the Memoirs reads as follows (New York Times, October 18, 1955):

"Stalin said he wished to make an announcement before we went

into the business of the meeting. He stated that the Russian delegation had received a proposal from Japan and that although the Soviet delegation had not been officially informed when the Anglo-Saxon ultimatum was drawn up against Japan, nevertheless he wished to keep the Allies informed of an overture on the part of Japan.

"The Russian interpreter then read for Stalin a communication from the Japanese Ambassador to Moscow, Saito, which was in substance as follows:

"On July 13 the Ambassador had had the honor to submit a proposal of the Japanese government to send Prince Konoye to Moscow. He had received the reply of the Soviet Government which did not see the possibility of giving a definite reply to the approach because no definite proposal had been made. In order to make the matter more precise, he was communicating the following: The Mission of Prince Konoye was to ask the Soviet Government to take part in mediation to end the present war and to transmit the complete Japanese case in this respect. He would also be empowered to negotiate with respect to Soviet-Japanese relations during the war and after the war. Simultaneously, he wished to repeat that Prince Konoye was especially charged by His Majesty, the Emperor, to convey to the Soviet Government that it was exclusively the desire of His Majesty to avoid more bloodshed by the parties engaged in the war. In view of the foregoing, he hoped that the Soviet Government would give favorable attention to his request and would give its consent to the arrival of the mission. He added that the Soviet Government was aware of the position which Prince Konoye occupied in Japan.

"After the interpreter finished, Stalin declared the answer would be in the negative. I thanked Marshal Stalin. I then opened the meeting for business.

"Bevin inquired if the Russian plan for collecting reparations from Italy was based on, etc." Et cetera.

That was all, though the Japanese statement seems as clear as could possibly be conceived. A little more than a week later: the atomic bomb was dropped.

George P. Carlin

After this phase or as a part of it came the boring from within phase, when the rebels compromised and "entered into the life of the society they hoped to outlive with the view of using as an instrument toward victory some special institution like the government, the trade unions, or the moving picture, all sunk in darkness, all bright with possible light. They changed these institutions a very little bit for a very little while; but far, far more were they changed by them."

Most of the non-Communist radicals today become like John Dos Passos whom Kempton says, "hated the murderer so much that he forgot the victim."

Inasmuch as it is difficult for any person to thoroughly understand himself Kempton has done as good a job as possible in analyzing Chambers and Hiss: "They were taken with each other because they misunderstood each other . . . Chambers . . . all his life, without knowing it, he had been looking for a community. It would appear that Alger Hiss had been trying to get out of a community. Could Chambers have seen in Hiss the image of absolute security, absolute breeding, and absolute normality; could Hiss have seen in Chambers the image of absolute revolt and breaking of the bands?"

His description of the death of Sacco and Vanzetti brings to mind that for millions of people the one

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HOPI INDIANS vs THE GOVERNMENT

HOPI HEARINGS, JULY 15 to 30, 1955. Conducted by a team appointed by Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner. Composed of Thomas M. Reid, Asst. Commissioner, and Program Officers Joe Jennings and Graham Holmes. Also Harry Stevens, Indian from Phoenix Area Office, and Clyde W. Pensoneau, Indian agent at Keams Canyon on Hopi Reservation, Observers. Issued by The Indian Bureau, 1955, 412 mimeographed pages.

Reviewed by Ammon Hennacy

These hearings were held at Hotevilla, Old Oraibi, (Third Mesa), Shungopavy and Mishongnovi, (Second Mesa) and Lower Moencopci at the western end of Hopiland: Traditional Villages. And at Kyakotamovi and Bacabi, (Third Mesa), Sipaulovi (Second Mesa), First Mesa, and Upper Moencopci: Government Hopi Villages.

I have written of the Hopi in the CW and in my Autobiography. The best book on the Hopi is *The Hopi Way* by Laura Thompson, wife of John Collier. The real Hopi, that is the Traditional Hopi who have not been bribed or subverted by the white man's materialistic life, are different from any other Indian group in that they do not have a chief ruling over them. They are decentralized, and do not have courts or jails. Their tradition is pacifist and they have never fought a war with the U.S. or signed a treaty. They are an autonomous nation. In the sense that a group may secede rather than be coerced by majority vote they practice the principle of anarchism. I have accompanied them to Washington and to the Gov. of Arizona, and have been in all of these villages and know many of those who participated in the hearings.

The complaints of the Hopi is to have their land taken from them, their children stolen and taken to far away schools, their sheep, cattle and horses killed, and their being drafted for war, is only a part of the process of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations in despoiling the American Indian of their land and resources and making them fit for the slums of the cities. This is done under the guise of democracy and it all adds up for the benefit of oil, coal and lumber companies and for the breaking down of Indian culture to be replaced by the white man's watered-down religion.

Massua

"All I ask is let us keep our religion at least. Do not try to take this religion away from us because it is our own life and our only life. Because if we have this religion and have faith and we have our fields, and if our prayers are answered we will profit from our fields even if we do not have a dime in our pockets," says Sammy Tewa of Lower Moencopci.

Teachings of Massua: "You must be strong. You must be up at dawn each day, run to the fields or the springs and take cold showers so that you will be strong, so that when trouble comes in the later days you will not be afraid. When the time comes for the Great Spirit to take over there will be a great purification day which will not be a small thing. It will be a big event. If you are strong in heart you will be saved, but because of fear you might die." So spoke Dan Katchongva of Hotevilla, spiritual leader of the Hopi, and my good friend with whom I went to the Indian officials in Washington in 1950. And, he continued, "Our religious orders are still in order and practiced. They are the life blood of the Hopi. And there are many people who have left that duty because of other religious teachings."

The Land

"So we are not going to ask the white man for a piece of land because it is our land already," my friend Viets Lowahastewa of Shungopavy spoke to the white men. This was followed up by Otis Polelonema of the same village who said, "All you have to do is let

them have your land and you let them have your life . . . But if we ever sell it and accept the white man's money, no matter how large the amount, it will be gone in a few years, and when we spend all that money we will have no land upon which to make a livelihood, and the white man will immediately make the same amount over night, and we will be the losers."

"We were warned by Massua never to cut up our land in any manner because this whole land was given to guard for all Indian people. This is our home," Dan.

"We cannot, by our tradition, accept coins or money for this land, but must persist in our prayers . . . to preserve the Hopi life," said P. Nuvamsa, Shungopavy.

"One of the earliest statements of policy is in the Northwest Orders of Congress, dated July 13, 1787, which states: 'The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians. Their land shall not be taken away from them without their consent,'" spoke my friend David Monongye of Hotevilla, weaver at the State Fair in Phoenix.

Pacifism

"No more of our sons must be forced to go anywhere because that is against our maker who gave us this life and this land . . . These young boys are growing up so they may take care of their parents in their old age and carry on the life that belongs to the Hopi. So I demand that these boys be not drafted anymore. I demand this not only for this village, but for all the Hopi people and other people in this land," bravely spoke David Monongye of Hotevilla. And he continued, "We will never be under the state, and we will never pay taxes in our land because it is our land."

"Massua told us, 'You must never harm anyone. You must never make wars against any people,'" said Andrew Hermequastewa of Shungopavy.

There was an argument in 1906 at Oraibi when Hotevilla was formed, because some in Oraibi wanted to cooperate with the white man's religion and accept gifts from him. Others did not. Tawyesa of Bacabi describes it: "First Dawaquaptewa was given a pistol and was told 4 times that if he had the courage and that if he wanted to carry out his threat, he must kill Youkeoma. (This is Dan's father). Dawaquaptewa refused upon the 4th time. Youkoma was then done likewise and he was also told if he had courage, he would execute Dawaquaptewa. Even after several commands (presumably by the military). Youkeoma also refused to fire the pistol, saying that this was not in his tradition and not in his theory to destroy the life of another individual."

Liquor

Nearly all of those who spoke, either Traditional or Government Hopi, were opposed to the new law which allows Indians to have liquor. Viets Lowahastewa of Shungopavy stated the thought very well: "I met President Roosevelt in Washington and shook hands with him. I found him to be a good man and I went also to Collier. President Roosevelt told me at that time that he was going to wet the ground for us . . . that he was going to open liquor to the people. We do not want liquor on our home land. I met and shook hands with Eisenhower in Gallup. I have been made to understand that in 1957 liquor is to be open to the reservation. Some of them told us that when you drink liquor you feel good, but I feel good without drinking liquor."

Sam Jenkins, a Hopi of Kynkotamovi said, "Johnson mentioned that everything is good from the government. I will not agree with one point: they should not have allowed liquor . . . When our sons and daughters went to war they tasted liquor; they trained the children to drink liquor and when they came back they just want to drink all the time . . . Is that the

kind of towns the government wants, to be filled with drunkards?"

And Otis Polelonema of Shungopavy took the extreme view that, "The purpose of opening this liquor to the Indians is to hurry up the time when the white man will get control of all the Indian land because when the Indian people are under the influence of liquor, the white people will perhaps come with papers in their hands and will ask these people while under the influence of intoxication if they will be willing to sign any paper without realizing they are signing away their land, their life and their property."

The Tribal Council

"Many would like for the Hopis to be under one leader or one great central authority, but our life is set up in such a way that each village has its own village leaders, and each one takes care of its own life; yet it is all based on the ancient teachings of the Hopi people," Dan told those from Washington whose legislation has imposed upon the decentralized Hopi a central authority like that of the other Indian tribes. He further explained that Oliver LaFarge had come to his house and said that he was the one white man sent to help the Hopi by putting over the Tribal Council plan. Dan refused to accept it.

"Mostly government employees voted for it (The Wheeler Howard Bill) . . . even though the majority of the people did not vote for it, it was passed, and from then on this Tribal Council was created . . . We asked these men in Washington whether this is the way the people in Washington do and work when they go to vote on something. Do they have to count those who did not vote with those who did the voting, and they said they did not work that way. We asked them then why did they work it that way on the Hopi people," said David Monongye.

"At first they came out and said that if we organize the Council much good will be derived from it. However, as years have gone by we have found this to be a lie. We of this village did not accept this Constitution, yet we have been blamed as having had a part in it. Our leaders did not have any knowledge of its being formulated," said Guy Kootshastewa of Mishongnovi. Seyestewa of the same village followed up with the information that "When this new organization was set up we were told that the respective representatives were to serve a term of one year. To our regret, we did not see this fulfilled, but have seen the same men in office the following year and the following year."

Even from patriotic Sipaulovi Village Joe Secakuku told those assembled that "I voted for it (Tribal Council) but later it began to get so like any government program that nothing could be done through the Tribal Council. All our leaders had been ignored. Nobody respected them."

"The Tribal Council leader" is not a Hopi religious man. He is a Mormon. He is known to be an Elder in the Mormon religion," spoke Daisy Albert of Lower Moencopci.

Thomas Keams, for whom Keams Canyon where the Hopi Agency is located, was named, told the grandfather of Viets Lowahastewa of Shungopavy, Honanie, "That we must never fail for the Executive Order Reservation because it would be like living the life of a soldier if we accepted that . . . The real Hopi leaders were not there when it was passed."

Grazing Permits

"There is plenty of grass and room where they graze and we do not recognize these small areas which were cut up sometime ago. So we are going to obtain more sheep and whatever we need and we are going to move out beyond to those places where they have been grazing in the past. So we

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H Bomb Tests

(Continued from page 1)

mation of nitric acid. Though the total amount is not great, the result is a disturbance of the delicate balance of nature. Rainwater in the vicinity of an explosion shows an increase in acidity, an artificial effect without any compensating reaction in nature. If chemical disbalance becomes great, the metabolism of plants may undergo a complete disorganization. The AEC has never recognized this effect.

The climatic effects are due to the production of a great quantity of small particles of matter which the explosion sends into the stratosphere and which may travel many times around the world before settling out. The results, similar to those following volcanic explosions, are screening out of part of the sun's warmth, local floods, disturbance of wind-patterns, and changes in average temperature. The last few years have seen too much "unusual" weather to explain away by mere coincidence with nuclear explosions. The Japanese government recently published a treatise on this subject but it has been ignored by the U.S. press and is not available here. The AEC and other governmental agencies have answered the repeated inquiries about weather effects of test explosions with the comment that explosions generate less energy than a storm, thus ignoring entirely the true nature of this effect.

Radioactive effects involve the very nature of living matter and are difficult to understand. Materials made radioactive in the explosions are taken up into the living matter of plants, animals, and our own bodies. Dr. Libby of the AEC pointed out two "concentrating" mechanisms by which minute quantities of radioactive material can become very dangerous. Radio-strontium concentrates in the bones and radio-iodine in the thyroid glands. One known result of the concentration of radioactivity in the body is the cell disorganization causing cancer, and an evidence of the dangers involved is seen in the cancer rate of X-ray technologists (who are exposed to small, but repeated doses of radioactivity from the X-ray machine) which is 9 times as high as that of other doctors. The AEC has been more frank in evaluating this danger than some others, but because of the technical nature genetic radiation damage is most complicated of all.

There may be other effects of nuclear explosions too subtle to be seen as yet, but surely these enumerated alone are enough to make tests appear too perilous to continue. In justifying further tests,

one AEC spokesman used the comparison that, as we do not cease building bridges just because there are usually some men killed in the construction, so a few casualties following test explosions must not deter us from pursuing our course of weapon development. This argument overlooks the fact that the possible victims of nuclear explosions are not people hired for a job the dangers of which they know and can mitigate by their own skill and care. The inhabitants of the earth going about their lives without knowledge of their danger or any possibility of protecting themselves should surely not be our victims, and furthermore, the creatures of nature suffer as well. Even if we argue that we have the right to kill ourselves and our fellow men, we surely cannot claim we can annihilate God's innocent creation as well.

Any necessity for further tests evaporates when we consider Dr. Ralph Lapp's statement which the AEC has not denied that the U.S. has stockpiled at this time explosives equal to "several tons of TNT" for each and every human inhabitant of the earth. Also, according to one newspaper report at least, the Russians exploded their last bomb of one megaton (million tons TNT equivalent) while we have exploded bombs up to 20 or 30 negatons. The wisdom of the tests in the purely military sense is ephemeral, too, for every test blasts into the stratosphere its secrets. The "atomic secrets" we nominally guard so carefully and have executed the Rosenbergs for giving away, are actually spelled out in the debris of every explosion and broadcast over the earth for any scientist to decode.

Only two reasons for continuing test explosions are apparent. One is the tremendous industrial monopoly, in effect a cartel including every giant corporation in America, which has built up around the AEC. The other is our military forces which grow like a cancerous tumor upon our country and take a constantly growing proportion of our strength. Both these institutions find justification for their continuance in the periodic shock and fright the test explosions bring to the world.

Pope Pius in his Christmas message has asked that nuclear tests be discontinued. This appears to be one thing to which the Russians would agree since they made the proposal themselves. It is up to us, in this country, to refuse or accept the proposal. Surely any Christian, any sane person, in fact any person who merely values his own life can agree that nuclear tests must not go on.

Our Persecuted Brother

Dear Catholic Workers:

Don Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, has been persecuted for twenty years.

During the past twenty-one months he has been held in solitary confinement, having been returned to prison without a hearing and without an indictment after four Nationalists fired upon the United States House of Representatives. Latest news is that he is no longer able to stand up without crutches, and that he can digest none of the food provided by the prison.

Suffering from heart ailment and from a mysterious illness diagnosed by physicians as "burns due to unknown cause," the only concessions made by our Government have been his removal from the tubercular block of the prison, where he had been kept for eighteen months, although not suffering from that disease, and permission for his sister to provide him with canned soups to take the place of the prison fare.

Whatever we do unto the least of His brethren, we do also to Him. Our Government is playing the same role in Puerto Rico today that Rome enacted in Palestine two thousand years ago.

Will you let President Eisenhower know that, in continuing his program of torture against this Christian patriot he is not representing you, and that in your opinion he is not carrying out the will of the American people, to say nothing of the spirit of Christmas? Will you ask your friends to do the same?

Ruth Reynolds.
New York City



Erie, Pa.

Dec. 12, 1955.

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for the letter and the encouragement, it came at a time when we needed a "shot in the arm" as Fr. Roy used to say. Believe me, this is the first time I've sat down to write a letter in months. I have been leaving all the correspondence to Mary and it is not right as it is really the man's job. I remember Ed Willock used to keep harping on that subject.

I have been working in Erie now for almost a year. It is a 35 mile drive one way and every day of late there has been snow or ice. Believe me I feel as tho I've done a day's work by the time I arrive. Up until a couple of weeks ago I had been working 2nd shift steady—it left no evenings at home and I never saw the children who go to school. But now I am on days and even tho I get up at 4:45 its nice to be home in the evening.

I had been Shop Steward on the 2nd shift largely because no one else would take the job. It seemed to me that the Union and Management got along too well together tho I did manage to get things stirred up. We make those big earth moving shovels. Every production job has an incentive bonus on it—supposed to be 30%—you race the clock to get a decent wage—the base rate is low so you have to turn out the work to make a fair living. I am agitating to get rid of this system when the next contract comes up next summer. The old hands like it tho, for they have all the good Time Study jobs. In line with this I am having a record sent you which is a dramatization of the rise of the CIO. It is a long playing record so you'll have to scout up a machine to hear it. I'm sure Bob Steed will be interested in it. I am getting one to play at our next monthly meeting. Unions certainly are not like they were in the thirties.

The farm progresses slowly. Right now we are desperate for someone to help pick our 6 acres of corn—we would certainly give a lot to have someone like John or Hans for about a month. We have 2 milk cows—6 heifers—a calf and a steer—3 pigs and an assortment of chickens—we have about 6 acres of oats in the granary and made nearly ten acres of hay—but that corn is the stumbling block—the wild animals; coon, deer, squirrel, pheasant are eating a good part of it.

Mary is expecting again around the first of April, and her legs are bothering her something awful this time. But she seems to get an amazing amount of work done nonetheless. We put the water in the house this summer, and I bought a piece bath set for \$25, but have not yet got it installed; a matter of a septic tank for about \$50 and the pipe and time to put it in. I mean to get around to it in the near future as it will help matters considerably. Mary is also directing the choir in our parish; at the moment getting ready for midnite Mass. She has finally learned to drive so she goes off by herself now. We still take all the kids to Mass on Sunday as we feel that it would break up the day too much otherwise.

We were disappointed that Ammon didn't stop for a visit when he was in Meadville (15 miles) last spring, speaking at Alleghany College.

We were ashamed at your reference to our generosity. I had been carrying last Spring's appeal around in my wallet hoping to get a few dollars ahead and send it on. But I still had it when the Fall one arrived and no dough from us. We feel that if you are only helping yourself, difficult tho it might be, then you are not helping your neighbor and I don't have to tell

you about the seriousness of that. Last winter I was out of work for 4 or 5 months and finally had to go on state relief to keep food on the table, lien on the farm which we have to pay off but only the amount we received—no interest. It was really amazing the amount of people that helped us with gifts of money, clothes, etc., and from unexpected sources, even a great many boys at Christmas. God helps those who depend on His Providence.

It is getting rather late and five o'clock comes early but it is good discipline and good to get up at that hour.

I have three articles I have been writing for the past year; in the near future I hope to send one—On the Land—On Houses of Hospitality—On Work.

Please keep us in your prayers and remember us occasionally at Compline.

In Christ the Worker,
Jack and Mary

Pickin' Cotton

Dear Stanley,

Ed Turner wrote us (we have been corresponding for several months now) and asked us to write you that he has had to take you off his correspondence list. In case you didn't know, he has been transferred to Fort Leavenworth and they seemed to have replaced the restriction on a number of correspondents.

We have been kept quite busy here by our attempt to be sharecroppers and do other things besides. Naturally as novices our cotton picking speed is a good deal slower than others so we had to hire some of our cotton picked. This we really didn't mind as it gave us a chance to help out the members of a group of land owning Negroes who live near here. It gave us a wonderful chance to get to know them, and Lee has gotten to know them much better as Mr. Norris (the landlord and boss) hires them frequently when he needs extra labor. We have been able to learn a lot about how the sharecropping system works—both the disadvantages and the advantages, the tremendous insecurity of next year's job and the many ways one can be cheated (though I must say that on this farm everyone has been treated fairly and most of the difficulties have arisen from more subtle differences like personalities.) There are certain good things too in that one can live in a farm situation with much more freedom than a job usually provides without the investment and responsibility usually entailed nowadays. One makes little in cash but there is enough to live in a simple manner if one takes advantage of the opportunities for a garden and does things oneself. We have had great fun experimenting to find out the various ways sharecroppers can live better and be more self sufficient as well as cooperate more as things are now. We hope to stay here probably another year as Mr. Norris is not at all well and Lee feels a concern to help him as much as possible. However, there are rumors going around that he may want us to leave as the other families are doing. Possibly he feels we are too friendly in the wrong way with the Negroes or being a proud man he doesn't like the feeling that we want to help him rather than work on a strict business basis. Anyway, we are just waiting to see what will happen. If we do leave we may try sharecropping again to gain more experience or go in with one of our neighbors who is leaving to rent a little bit of land in the "hills." I must stop now as it's time to cook lunch, but do write us and tell us the New York news if you have a chance.

Love,
Ann and Lee Perry
Greenville, Miss.

Invitation To Mt. Angel

Dear Dorothy Day:

I have written previously to you regarding our desire to start a lay community of work and prayer. When I last wrote it was from Washington. Since then we have moved to the town we had been hoping to, Mt. Angel, Oregon, in the Willamette Valley. This is a Catholic town adjoining the Benedictine Abbey and Woman's College run by the Benedictine Sisters. It seems an ideal spot to begin the work I had hoped we could start. We even have a site picked out.

We want to find one Catholic family (to begin with) who would be interested in coming with us onto this piece of property and found a community devoted to prayer and the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. Our Pastor and the Archbishop are favorable to the idea. We would adopt a Rule—something general enough to allow for any Tertiary or Oblate to join—not only for one branch. We would surrender all property and income to a common fund with an allotment arranged for family needs.

Now in the beginning we'd need to crowd up a little. The house could be easily made into a duplex, but we'd need to share kitchen and bath facilities for a time and finish three bedrooms. The place is about a block from Church and school. About a half a mile from both boy's and girl's highschool and the Abbey is about a mile. There are about four acres of land with another three or more acres adjoining it that the owner said we could use. The house has six bedrooms at present.

We should like to raise much of our own food, and start a home cannery to salvage all the tons of fruits, vegetables and berries that rot in the fields here after the cream of the crops are picked and marketed. Farmers tell the people to come and take what they want but it's impossible as a private individual to preserve very much; a Community could do much more. Also we could collect clothing, etc. for the poor and work at hobbies, arts and crafts. Of course while we are getting started we would have to maintain our regular jobs—but I believe we could develop something here. We want to devote whatever time we have over our work of maintaining ourselves and aiding the needy—to the Fraternity of Christian Doctrine work suited to our circumstances.

My particular interest is in bringing converts into the Church. I realize this is very sketchy but I want to know of any possible persons interested in aiding us in our work and I can give more detailed information to them. Seldom does it happen where both partners to a marriage are congenial in such a thing, so I am asking you or your readers if they know of anyone. The place I mentioned will demand about \$1000 down payment. We could borrow that amount but would need help in repaying it, so if any family or couple could assume the \$55 a month this would really be a minimum of investment for someone interested. Most people are paying that much rent as it is.

Perhaps Mr. Richard Kern would know of someone. I noticed he asked for letters. Perhaps he could send some correspondence my way. His ideas were very interesting and inspiring. Thank you and God love you.

In Jesus and Mary,
Mr. and Mrs. O. L. Nasset,
Box 576, Mt. Angel, Ore.

PRAISE

Dear Miss Day,

Thank you for the copy of the Catholic Worker. From the Elchenberg picture on the first page to Mister Egan's excellent discussion of the "Right to Work" laws on the back page, I enjoyed very much reading it.

The same week I received this copy of the Worker, a letter of mine on the Bhodan movement was published in a Reader's Forum on the subject in one of the national weeklies. I am, of course, no expert on Vinobaji and his crusade, but one cannot help but hope that there is the inspiration of true charity in the movement. Relative to its general influence on the evolution of social order in India, Bhodan may not be able to provide a nation-wide foundation, but it could be the flame of social charity which Pope Pius XI declared must inspire social justice.

In the October issue I enjoyed a portion of home town pride when I saw your editorial reprint from the Boston Pilot. This declaration of our guilt for the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and our moral indigence in the present day atmosphere of atomic threats is probably too true, and have much effect on our consciences.

My copy of the September Worker has already begun a life of its own. My Hindi teacher noticed it in my room, borrowed it, read it and enjoyed it. A friend of his borrowed it from him, etc. Years ago when I used to sell The Worker outside our parish Church I could never have guessed that I would be passing on copies years later in India.

You and your fellow workers have my gratitude and a place in my prayers. Please keep me in your prayers and sacrifices. God bless you.

In our Lord,
James Collins, S.J.

How to Begin

Dear Miss Day:

I do not know how to begin this letter, since I feel it is very selfish to take up your time with letters. However, I wanted to send this money (\$2.00) and also, because my July CW has not arrived yet, I feel the need of communicating with you. (This letter is quite a lot less brash than the first I addressed to you. I have learned a lot since then, and most of it from studying the principles of the CW movement.) I see now that the thing to do is not rush in where angels fear to tread—or in that manner—but to concentrate on personal sanctification and the rest will come, whether here or in Timbuctoo.

There are faint stirrings of the Legion of Mary here. One of the priests has asked me to talk it up and the Msgr. (our pastor) gave me The Catholic Centre (by E. I. Watkin) and the Soul of the Apostolate by Dom Chautard. He recently left for Ireland and told me he would send me a book from there (presumably on the Legion) which he wants me to read immediately. All this is directly, I think, traceable to the fact that I have been discussing the CW and you followers of Christ with him. We may get that retreat farm yet! Instead of striking frantically out in all directions, I have become almost completely sobered with the tremendous implications of following Christ. And yet, like Mary Hamilton Jafes, whose letter you printed in the May CW, I am "giddy with joy."

Incidentally, I wrote her and recently received a good letter in return.

Yours sincerely in Christ,
Marge Baroni

Appeal

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you for all the C.W.s which I keep to myself always, excepting Sutarto, the Indonesian in whose luxurious part-house I am staying. He's on the staff of Mimbas Indonesia outstanding intellectual and literary weekly in Djakarta, (two and one half million population). Sutarto is a Muslim. I've got St. Frances de Sales, but your learned articles get a fine brush into cobwebby corners of my mind.

There are two Catholic Churches here and very many Chinese Catholics and still a few Dutch Masses said in Dutch or Indonesian (with the Latin). They seem to be for the rich; even the solitary, one-legged beggar outside is smartly dressed. Leon Bloy would have a fit if he saw 500 infants about 6, 7, and 8 each beautifully dressed and coiffed with a different coloured bow, filling the body of the Church on certain days. The Dutch have left a horrible legacy of luxury. I'm broadcasting once a month from Radio Indonesia, Modern Art, applying it to world problems, the poor, apartheid, imprisoned, illiterate, exploited and massacred. I must correct French script of news, but will get back home before midnight (4 days a week). Who would have thought the old man (71) had so much blood in him.

I don't know what to say about the trial, only your group is a hurricane of fresh air over those sadly disunited states.

With love in Christ, Yours,
Tom Dimes
43 Djalan Tandjung
Djakarta, Indonesia

Peter Maurin Farm

(Continued from page 1)

beautiful big block sets made by this community in their workshop at Rifton, New York.

Advent at Peter Maurin Farm was a quiet and peaceful season, by and large, a true Advent spirit being in the air. There was a brief fling on Gaudete Sunday, when a group of us went to a Gaudete Sunday party and supper at the Callanans' house.

The latest birthday party in the Hennessy family was Nicky's, who was six on December 19. The party was here, after school; in fact, for the children it was a combination supper and party, with peanut butter sandwiches along with cake, ice cream, and root beer.

Mary has started experimenting with woodcuts. Just before Christmas we got a set of tools, and she has done some cards and is now at work on a book plate.

The weather has been cold enough recently to freeze the pond back of the house, and the neighborhood children have been skating there. So far, no one from our house has joined them, though we have a pair of ice skates or two around.

It was just about a year ago that Anne and Lee Peery were married here. Friends who knew them will be interested to hear that they are sharecropping on a farm in Greenville, Mississippi. Lee was one of the succession of bakers who provided bread for the line at Chrystie Street; not only did he bake the bread, but was generous with his car in transporting it each week to the city. After he and Anne were married and had moved into New York, their apartment on East Fourth street not far from St. Joseph's House gave hospitality to anyone staying overnight in the city.

We can't send New Year's greetings individually to all our friends, but this column carries with it the prayer that all of you may have a year filled with God's greatest blessings.



Co-operatives

(Continued from page 4)

Guilt by association. Will we next hear that radicalism is an inherited disease and have bills introduced in Congress calling for the sterilization of all radicals?

These things have become so common under both Democratic and Republican administrations that the generality of people are apparently no longer startled by it. I persist however in being naive and each time I read of these things I can hardly trust my eyes. Surely this is written of an imaginary land in a Kafka novel. Or at least the setting is in one of the totalitarian countries—in Russia or in Spain. Did not Americans respond with indignation at the Bolshevik trials? And yet here we have the reign of anonymity and guilt by contact. A literal reign of terror that would justify, because of its disregard for the decencies of human relationships, the non-violent overthrow of this government and the substitution for it of a government committed to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the unqualified defense of the Bill of Rights. We are in sorry need of an end to the two party control of this government and of an alert non-Marxist labor party.

The last point—that of our own treatment of African Americans is one which Mr. Shepherd fails to mention in his book. But just as the support given by some missionaries to colonialism has injured the cause of religion so has our treatment of our colored fellow Americans injured any influence an American might have in Africa. The recent happenings in the South of our country are indeed ominous. The only consolation we Catholics have is the splendid record of some of our Southern Bishops and priests who have held out for integration in Church and school even to the point of excommunicating those who opposed them on this. In this respect the clergy are far ahead of the laity—at least the Southern laity. I am very aware of the prejudice, the intolerance to Negroes and also to Puerto Ricans up North, even here in New York City. It is more subtle and perhaps therefore more hypocritical than that of the South. But the Negro and Puerto Rican has at least some assurance of physical safety here. In the South there is not even this. For all the Southern pretension of having a problem which no one but a Southerner can understand the fact remains that the social pattern of the South is barbaric, uncivilized, reactionary.

I do not feel we are really going to solve this problem of relations between white and colored until such time as we have many intermarriages, so many that they are taken for granted. As long as there is reluctance on either side to enter into such marriages it means we still do not fully accept each other. As long as there are social penalties for such marriages it means our society is still motivated by false values. Racism in any form is vicious, crude, stupid. And yet what a complicated affair it is! Like we find it portrayed in Ann Petry's novel *THE NARROWS*—"I see myself at twenty-five going to the casket company to pick out my father's casket and I hear the Irishman who owns the place saying to his pimplyfaced clerk, 'that nigger woman undertaker from Washington Street is here again, see what she wants.' At the time it happened I found it unbearable. Now I feel indebted to the man because the sound of the word nigger has never bothered me since then, though I have never been able to share your enthusiasm for the Irish. . . . Frances hears the word Irish and thinks of her father and hears the word nigger. I hear the word Irish and I think of a cathedral and the quiet of it, the flickering light of the votive candles, the magnificence of the Altar, and I see Irishwomen, strong in their faith, holding a family together. Accident? Coincidence? It all depends on what happened in

the past. We carry it around with us. We're never rid of it.

"Dumble Street, she thought, remembering a Sunday morning years ago. She had met Mrs. Abe Cohen, weeping, and there was a wail in her voice, as she told Abbie that her little boy had been to the Christian Sunday School, and came home, reciting, Matzos, Matzos, two for five, that's what keeps the kikes alive.—wail in her voice, overtone of despair, as she said, 'Mrs. Crunch, what kind of people is that to be teaching him a thing like that, to be telling him to come home and say it to his mother, what kind of people—what kind of thing is that to be teaching my Able in the Sunday School?' What kind of people—she tried to convince Mrs. Cohen that no one could possibly have taught Able to say that—not in Sunday School. Hopeless."

And is it hopeless? Do we really have to resign ourselves to the contention that no matter how friendly a white person and a colored person may be or no matter how friendly a Jew and a Gentile may be that there nevertheless exists an impassable barrier which no attempts at "understanding" can do away with. This intolerable conclusion is one which no believer in the Judaic-Christian revelation could accept. For we know by faith that we are all of common origin and that under the New Dispensation there is no longer "Jew" or "Gentile" yes, and no longer "colored" and "white." This is not to deny the concrete existence of these groups but it is to deny any inferiority or superiority based on such superficial things as color or race. Our Bishops have made quite clear to us that this is elementary Catholic teaching. Catholics everywhere should heed their voices and place the faith above social conventions, above the foolishness of this world.

Robert Ludlow

Murray Kempton

(Continued from page 4)

day of their lives which they can remember clearly is the day of the execution of the good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler. Kempton says of Vanzetti that he "must certainly be the greatest writer of English in our century to learn this craft, do his work, and die all in the space of 7 years. The self effacing work of Gardner Jackson in this case and his innocence in dealing with the Communists is skillfully compared to the calculating and prosperous activity of Lee Pressman, a Party Member, who did not guess right as to the course to follow.

Those who have not read of John L. Lewis daring Gov. Frank Murphy to call out the troops in the sit down strike in Detroit or who do not know of his sending K. T. Keller of Chrysler into a state of shock by his scorn will be glad to read Kempton's account of this new revolutionary sit down tactic. Likewise the story of the Reuther brothers who originated the sit down. He tells of how their Socialist father in Wheeling, W. Va. trained them on winter Sunday afternoons to debate on all possible radical subjects and held before them the picture of Debs as a model. . . . Today when the Ford foundation is handing out its millions we must not forget that Ford thugs did this to Walter Reuther: "Seven times they raised me off the concrete and threw me down on it. They pinned my arms and shot short jabs to my face. They kicked me down iron steps. I was punched and dragged to my feet to the stairway. I grabbed the railing and wrenched me loose. I was thrown down the first flight of the other flight of steps until I found myself on the ground where I was beaten and kicked."

Kempton's short time in the NMU enabled him to grasp the picture of Joe Curran, worker, then Communist, then prosperous union leader with lost ideal. Neverthe-

less there was that time in 1936 when "they hung on through days of cold, hungry battle when each was prouder of himself than he could ever be again."

His chapter on J. B. Matthews once the dean of revolutionaries and now the dean of counter-revolutionaries is an excellent description of character: "He had a maw rapacious enough for any over-riding nostrum; first the vision of Methodism bestriding the world, then the vision of pacifism without borders or frontiers, and after awhile the vision of Marxism universal. For him, each dose of the truth beyond argument carried its own antidote to its displacer, competing truth. All his successive potations neither damaged the larynx nor affected the speech."

Kempton closes the book by quoting a poem of Sam Levinger who died fighting Franco and left this verse:

Comrades, the battle is bloody
and the war is long,
Still let us climb the gray hills
and charge the guns.

"Those are tired words . . . they are resigned, but they are undefeated. They do not suggest that somebody else charge the guns. They know the worst but they will make the charge. I miss them very much and I wish we had them back." It is this spirit of Kempton's that may yet bring him toward that ideal which he so ably describes. For a sincere courageous and capable man will divest himself of erroneous methods and ideas. And the rapidity of world events today may soon develop a mind as free as Kempton's to explore the mind that is not afraid "to be defeated and alone."

East Harlem

(Continued from page 1)

sight. But in each shabby living room was a picture of the Madonna and a small brightly lit tree like a warm invitation to the Christ Child. In one apartment a worn mother fried three tiny rice cakes for her children, their Christmas feast, in others the traditional "pastels" were boiling, some of which we received as gifts. We listened to records of Christmas "aguinaldos" from Puerto Rico, and Mary Ann joined one family in the popular "merenge," a dance from the Island. The smell of kerosene permeated the halls and rooms. We stumbled over small kerosene stoves with pans of water over them, a feeble attempt at steam heat, and one of the greatest fire hazards of the slums. Walls were peeling and dirty for lack of paint. Furniture was sparse and worn. The halls were as wet as the streets in many buildings and on



the first floors opened onto empty lots strewn with rotted garbage. As we climbed stairs we saw jagged broken windows through which appeared the grey walls of adjacent buildings with an occasional window lit with Christmas lights set in red tinsel wreaths. Only the small stoves behind the closed doors of the apartments kept out the damp penetrating cold, but the Child would have been welcome to what warmth they had.

As the little girls hugged their new dolls and the boys pulled trains along the floor the older girls opened packages with soft warm sweaters in them embroidered with rosebuds around the collar with a few shiny beads, and held them up to be admired. The pleasant buzzing erupted into squabbles a couple of times as the boys decided who would get

Easy Essays

(Continued from page 1)

Karl Marx decided to write a Communist Manifesto.

To write the Communist Manifesto.

Karl Marx did not use his analysis of capitalism.

He took the definition of Communism of Proudhon and made it his own.

He borrowed Utopian criticism and Utopian aims and decided to advocate class struggle, that is to say, materialist aims.

As some people used to think that we need a good honest war

to end all wars, Karl Marx used to think that we need a gigantic class struggle to bring about a classless society.

FOR CATHOLIC ACTION

We Catholics have a better criticism

of bourgeois society than Victor Considerant's criticism,

used by Karl Marx.

Our criticism of bourgeois society

is the criticism of Blessed Thomas More.

We Catholics have a better conception of Communism

than the conception of Proudhon.

Our conception of Communism is the conception of St. Thomas Aquinas

in his doctrine of the "Common Good."

We Catholics have better means

than the means proposed by Karl Marx.

Our means to realize the "Common Good"

are embodied in Catholic Action.

Catholic Action is action by Catholics

for Catholics and non-Catholics.

We don't want to take over the control

of political and economic life—

We want to reconstruct the social order

through Catholic Action exercised in Catholic institutions.

THE BISHOPS' PROGRAM

Shortly after the war the Bishops of America

what toys. There were more than Christmas bells ringing in our ears. Weaving in and out of buildings and apartments we saw small unfamiliar faces that followed us down the dark littered halls their eyes pleading and vivid. We never have enough.

The streets were softly curtained with a still mist, pavements wet, evergreen trees perched on wooden poles were still being sold on the avenue, figures rushed across the streets with bright packages and trees and the air held a little bit of Spring.

There is a legendary character who gives gifts to all children she meets because she missed her chance once to bring a gift to the Infant. The Three Kings were willing to take her with them but she fussed too much over her perfect house and took too long locking the doors and missed her appointment to meet them. They went on their journey of mystery without her. So she gave up her house and wanders everywhere giving gifts. The children of Italy wait for her on Epiphany as ours wait for Santa Claus on Christmas. Like her we miss great opportunity but as we saw all our children and they ran to us throwing their thin warm arms around our necks, in their bright faces we saw the heart of the Christmas flower, and the root of Jesse.

formulated a Program of Social Reconstruction largely based on co-operation. But the Bishops' Program failed to materialize for lack of co-operators.

Catholic laymen and women were more interested in a laissez-faire economy. So Catholic laymen and women went back to Normalcy with Harding; they tried to Keep Cool with Coolidge, they tried to see Rosy with Roosevelt.

Catholic laymen and women are more interested in political action than they are interested in Catholic Action.

Catholic laymen and women are more ready to follow the leadership of the politicians

than they are ready to follow the leadership of the Bishops

RECONSTRUCTING THE SOCIAL ORDER

The Holy Father and the Bishops ask us to reconstruct the social order.

The social order was once constructed through dynamic Catholic Action.

When the barbarians invaded the decaying Roman Empire Irish missionaries went all over Europe and laid the foundations of medieval Europe.

Through the establishment of cultural centers, that is to say, Round-Table Discussions, they brought thought to the people.

Through free guest houses, that is to say, Houses of Hospitality, they popularized the divine virtue of charity.

Through farming colonies, that is to say, Agronomic Universities, they emphasized voluntary poverty.

It was on the basis of personal charity and voluntary poverty that Irish missionaries laid the foundations of the social order.

Winter is Cold

We have a Voluntary Home for small boys here, and the heating system has been so poor that we cannot possibly face another winter without improving it. As the cost of labour is so high we are compelled to seek the aid of charitable friends to help us make the necessary improvement which is costing 1,600 pounds.

We would be most grateful, if you would of your charity and love of God's poor, send us a donation.

Thanking you in anticipation, and begging God to bless and reward you a thousand fold, for your charitable act.

Yours sincerely in Jesus Christ,
S.M. Anthony, Superior
(Sisters of Mercy)
Loreto Children's Home
Bodmin, Cornwall,
England

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CATHOLIC ANARCHIST

By AMMON HENNACY
Paper, \$2; Cloth, \$3.

Hopi Hearings

(Continued from page 5)

all gave up our temporary permits," said Dan the rebel leader.

A World War II veteran, Lorenzo Yoyokle of Kyakotsmobi testified that, "When I went into the Service I went with the hope that some day I would come back to my land, would be able to re-establish myself in civilian life and would be able to have sufficient means of providing for myself. These were my hopes and these were my expectations. However, much to my regret when I came home I found that heartaches were awaiting me. . . . I only had 55 head of sheep left. As I recall correctly, before I went to the Service I had about 300 head of sheep . . . I thought it was only in war torn lands that things were being taken away from one another—but this happened here also."

From another Government Village, Upper Moencopi, Roger Honanie, said "14 farms were given out and just one to a Hopi. The others to Navaho . . . We are step-children of the government."

Simon Scott, of Hotevilla told the white men that, "You are on a salary basis. I suppose you are drawing your wages the same while you are out here. I will be almost starved to death before some accomplishment can be made. Therefore with my sincere heart I will have nothing to do with this (grazing) permit. I voted for Goldwater, for Eisenhower and Pyle . . . I helped vote for these big men so it don't do me any good, so I will not try to vote any one this time."

Sheep stealers. George Nase-wisema of Hotevilla said: "Chester Motah (my good CO friend, A. H.). Rubin Cheykaychi, and Paul Siwinyouma (my CO friend also, A. H.) four of us refused to accept these temporary permits. The judge gave us 90 days and 266 sheep were taken from me . . . Today I have no sheep and no horses with which to work my farm. This is what happened to me in 1945 and I will continue to follow my own life as I have in the past for me believing the teachings of my forefathers have passed to me, and I have paid a great price for my own way of life and religious beliefs."

Paul Siwinemo of Hotevilla added, "In court . . . in Phoenix I gazed around the court so many wonderful things the white man has put up, and I saw good words written upon the walls, and I see the white man has all these fine things but it is only a cover, and underneath they are doing just the opposite, putting us in jail, taking our stocks and destroying our way of life in the way we have been taught. We have paid for this, and we are going to continue to hold fast to this life, and we will again build up our herds and follow our life plan and religious teachings, and as religious leaders many of us are still carrying on this life for all people. We are working not only for ourselves but for all the people in the world and we hope we never lose this life."

The Government Hopi

K. T. Johnson of Kyakotsmobi: "To be more specific, shall we say, those who rejected the white man's way symbolically took on Cain's way, and those who accepted the white man's symbolically took on Abel's way."

Steve Beeson of Sipaulovi: "I used to have a part in these ceremonies but have given all of them up. My position now is to honor those in authority, to honor and respect our government and to help them in every way I can."

Willard Sakiestewa Sr. of Kyakotsmobi: "We do not any longer wish to permit anyone from outside the Hopi reservation unless he has credentials card to show that he is a proper person or that he has first contacted our agency. He must be a person of good faith." (With several other CO's I visited Hopi CO friends in this village and the Government Hopi ordered us out because we were

having a "secret meeting." We did not go until we were ready.)

Samuel Shing of Upper Moencopi: "We want to be governed by the U. S. Government. We are fortunate to be under such a country to whom all people look as the father of the land."

Logan Koopee—First Mesa: "We must retain our customs and religion while learning to adjust to a new way of life. First Mesa has always cooperated with Government agencies, and has been practicing the progressive way of making a living. We have recognized the value of education, modern medicine and the American economic system practice."

Miscellaneous Items

Simon Scott of Hotevilla told how he had been taught at school how to lead a moral life, which was the same teachings as the Hopi have, and he was told by his teachers that when he came back home he was to use his learning to check up on the whites to see if the Hopi were being treated right, and to put up a good fight for his people. That is what he has been doing and he has suffered for it.

The new superintendent was praised by the rebel Hopi because he tore down the windmill erected without consent of the Hopi by a former superintendent. The Hopi felt that this would drain out the springs that they depended upon and they did not want to be at the mercy of the Government windmills.

Archie Quamala of Shungopavy told of a little cornfield that he had along one side of the paved road. The Government men dumped gravel all over his nearly ripe corn, without consulting him. He says: "It made me very unhappy."

Whether the Indian Bureau men will be able to cut the red tape in Washington and be able to act upon the facts which the eloquent and noble Hopi have given them is a question. For just recently Orme Lewis, conservative nephew of the Old Pioneer with whom I lived in Phoenix, has been replaced as Under Secretary of the Interior in charge of Indian Affairs by the notorious ultra-conservative Wesley d'Ewart of Montana.

My study of these hearings gave me a more sympathetic view of the First Mesa Hopi whom I had not known so well. The Government Hopi criticized my friend Platt Cline, editor of the Flagstaff daily paper, and he was defended by the rebel Hopi. My impression is that Mr. Pensoneau, the new Hopi Agent is trying to bring some understanding to the Hopi problem, but I doubt if he can penetrate the bureaucracy.

The dropping of a new H bomb by Russia and our continued atomic experiments versus the Hopi way of faith and prayer suggests the repetition of a portion of the poem I wrote when the first bomb was dropped at Almagordo in July, 1945:

Sun-Father
They mock you.
Fire to glow on the hearth,
Warmth to open the heart of
the Holy Corn,
Warmth to melt the snow on
White Mountain
Giving water for our crops, our
animals.
This, Sun-Father, is good . . .
To burn and blast every man,
Every woman and child,
All animals and birds,
All corn and grass—
That is cowardly and wicked.
They steal your brightness
For devil-worship;
Sun-Father
They mock you.

*My Hopi friends have read this article. They write that on Dec. 1, 1955, the Tribal Council was recognized by Indian Commissioner Emmons. "I am calling a meeting where all these new problems will be told to the people. The real fight starts now." This is their message to me.

Service Units

(Continued from page 1)

when we finally crawled under our blankets for a chilly sleep—something had happened to the furnace and there wasn't much heat. We slept on mattresses on the floor. It seemed like we had just gotten to sleep when suddenly the lights went on and it was time to get up.

The first ones downstairs prepared the oatmeal and toast for breakfast. After breakfast we had a half hour for group meditation and then we piled into Sheldon Week's Volkswagon bus and rode over to the hospital on Ward's Island. Sheldon is the director of these units.

There we split up into three groups. Each group visited two men's wards in the morning and two women's wards in the afternoon. Each group had a box of games such as checkers and cards and a record player and records. One group had a lot of fun with a tape recorder. One boy in our group brought his guitar so we had some good group singing. At eleven A.M. we met for an hour with an assistant director of the hospital for discussion. The hospital provided our lunch. About 5 P.M. we returned to the unit location. That evening three of our members provided us with entertainment by reading, and at times acting out, a short play. The fact that they had no idea they were going to do this until the time came for it to be done made it even more funny.

On Sunday morning we had a seminar led by a psychiatrist and then we split up to go to "the



church of our choice." We met back at location for dinner and an evaluation period.

A Few Facts, Observations and Conclusions

One interesting thing we observed was that the patients seemed very aware of what was going on around them. Some even showed great concern for the other patients. One of the unit members could speak Chinese. A patient to whom he was talking was anxious for him to meet and talk to another patient who could speak only Chinese and consequently usually had no one to talk to.

Someone asked the assistant director about the rate of cure and release. It didn't sound very encouraging when he answered that for first admissions of acute psychoses the release rate was only between 50 and 60 per cent. The overall rate, including chronic psychoses is only between 30 and 40 per cent. He also said, "We believe that once a schizophrenic, always a schizophrenic." In other words those that are released are very likely to return to the hospital with a recurrence. About half of the patients at this hospital are senile. The fact that many of our old people are being cared for in state institutions instead of by the family as was formerly the case may account in part for the large increase in patients in mental hospitals. If we felt more responsible for our old and would take care of them at home it would leave room in the hospitals for some of the many who could be helped by the hospitals if they were less crowded. Another reason for this increase is the fact that people are living longer and not so many die before they have a chance to become psychotic.

At this hospital they use both electric and insulin shock therapy extensively. The use of the drug thorazine has nearly eliminated the

WHO ARE THEY?

The Ancient: These people do not sit by the waters and weep, as we are accustomed to. Why is it that they are happy, while we have always lived in sorrow?

The Prophet: These are the men who have never been conquered by the builders of the ancient tower. Because they do not kill with the sword, they do not fear death. Because they do not live by the machine, they fear no insecurity. Since they say what they mean, they are able to love one another, and since they live mostly in silence they know what is the beginning of life, and its meaning and its end. For they are the children of God.

—from THE TOWER OF BABEL by Thomas Merton
JUBILEE, Oct., 1955.

Mauriac Endorses French Leftists

Francois Mauriac, who had for years been a voice of political conservatism in France, has in recent months caused no little furor with a shift to the left. In the recent electoral campaign M. Mauriac advised French Catholic voters to support the left-wing coalition of Pierre Mendes-France, which included in its platform opposition to state aid to Catholic schools. M. Mauriac believes that aid to schools is a minor matter compared with other problems facing the country such as the North African uprisings, problems which the leftist group is best qualified to solve.

Thus he has taken his place among those European Catholics who see loyalty to their faith as best expressed in application of its message to matters of social justice, rather than in a priori giving of allegiance to the political party most favorable to the institution of the Church itself.

This position has not of course gone unchallenged. The Vatican paper *L'Osservatore Romano* attacked Mauriac's stand, stating that Catholics must never vote for the "declared enemies of the Faith," and *La Croix*, Paris Catholic daily, referred to Mauriac as forgetting the social teachings of the Church.

One may understand this reaction, in view of the importance of state aid to religious schools, as an emotional touchstone in France, where, unlike this country, opposition to state aid has often been identifiable with opposition to the very existence of religious education. However, France at present is *de facto* a pluralist nation with a very large proportion of non-religious voters, and therefore it hardly seems fitting that even those Catholics who support state aid should be indignant at the opposition of others to it. At any rate, to blandly call such opposition enmity to the faith is to be guilty of rash and simplistic identification of the faith with a political program. And to attempt to impose upon the vote of the Catholic citizen criteria of political partisanship disguised as religious loyalty is to commit grave disservice to that authentic Christian social teaching which ever points to the service of the common good of the whole society.

Mauriac, (with such support as the Jesuit theologian Jean Danielou and the Dominican review *La Vie Intellectuelle*) held that the interest of this common good would be best served by a leftist victory in the national elections. His opposition, on the other hand, seems to have ignored this common good in view of one issue, actually debatable, which they have made into an absolute. Such political alignment by Catholics on a matter of religious privilege recalls that discredited concept of Church-state relationship which flourished in the "confessional states" of the ancien-regime. And it was the unhappy allegiances made by the Church in that regime which caused the breach between the Church and the working class, the breach which can only be closed at all by such political action as M. Mauriac has currently demonstrated.—Edmund J. Egan

need for any physical restraint such as straight jackets. We noticed that the women seemed much more quiet and lethargic than the men. This seemed to be due partly to the excessive heat in their crowded wards and partly to the large doses of thorazine they are receiving. Much more could be done by way of occupational therapy if they had the therapists and attendants needed. If this hospital seemed crowded with only 3000 patients, how about the ones that have 15,000 or more?

Several people in the unit said that they had found conditions much better than they had expected, but that doesn't mean that the conditions are good.

Maybe through such programs such as the Weekend Institutional Service Units a few people will become interested in working as attendants. They are certainly needed.

Anyone interested in being a part of such a unit should contact the American Friends Service Committee at 144 E. 20 St.

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