

the catholic peace fellowship Bulletin

JUNE
1965

In Selma, Alabama

By BOB GILLIAM
and TOM CORNELL

The memorial service for Rev. James Reeb, the murdered Unitarian minister, was held in the overflowing Browns Memorial Chapel, center of the voter registration activities in Selma, Alabama. Outside we could hear the prayers and the eulogies, punctuated by the thunderous singing of hymns and freedom songs. Inside there were more white faces than black. The native Selma Negroes had perhaps stayed outside to give their guests a chance to participate in this service. When we managed to squeeze inside the church we were elated to see in the sanctuary Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, and next to him, Bishop John Hines, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and next to him, Bishop-Elect Shannon of St. Thomas College in St. Paul, Minnesota.

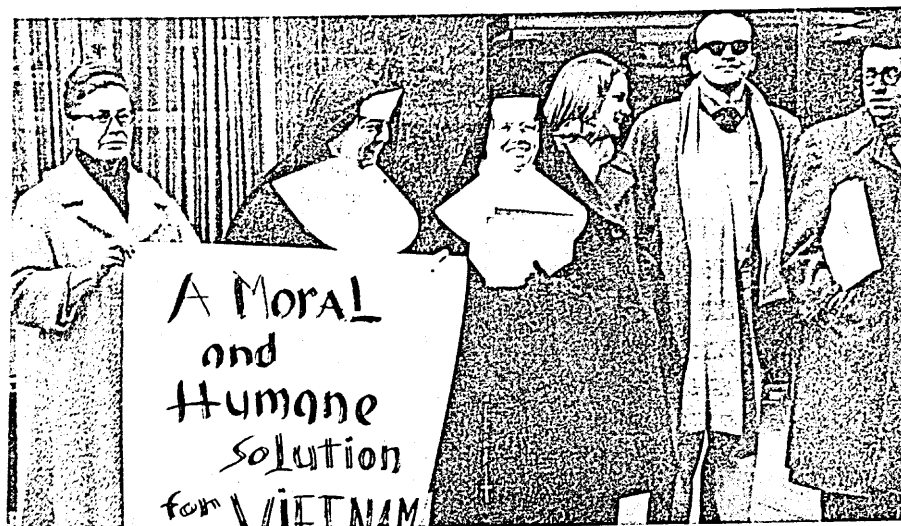
For two and one half hours it continued. Half way through the service the congregation suddenly rose to its feet and a swell of spontaneous applause grew deafening. Martin Luther King, the symbol and the leader, had arrived. He took his place in the sanctuary, in the seat of honor, and delivered a eulogy. Emotional tensions were high.

The final prayers were to be said. A representative of the American Friends Service Committee for which Rev. Reeb had worked spoke. Then a Unitarian, and then, at last, Rev. Abernathy told us we would hear from the rabbi and end the service by singing "We Shall Overcome."

There was a mix-up. Archbishop Iakovos started singing, deeply, through his beard, "We Shall Overcome. . . ." The congregation joined in singing three verses and then hummed the tune softly. At this inspired moment the rabbi arose and intoned, in Hebrew, Kaddish, the Jewish prayer for the dead.

As the singing and the prayer subsided, Rev. Abernathy, who had just been passed a note, went to the microphone and said, "We have a court order, just delivered. We are going to march to the courthouse. We are going to march." In a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the pent-up frustration at the horror of the past weeks' atrocities poured out of hundreds of hearts and voices at this first symbolic victory of the Selma protest.

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PRECEDENT SET: Following a New York City conference March 3 on the technological and moral implications of *Pacem in Terris*, a vigil calling for a cease-fire in Vietnam was conducted by 125 representatives of all major faiths. Left to right above are Elizabeth Bartelme, editor of Catholic books at the Macmillan Company; Mother Mary Berchmans and Mother Mary Alice, both of the faculty of the College of New Rochelle, an unidentified student; Ned O'Gorman, poet and essayist; and Martin Corbin, CPF Co-chairman and managing editor of *The Catholic Worker*. Other participants included Fr. Philip Berrigan, CPF Co-chairman, Fr. Thomas Cowley, O.P., visiting professor at the College of New Rochelle, Fr. Peter Riga, theologian and author, and Mother Amadeus, President of the College of New Rochelle.

Vietnam: The Basic Question

The most basic question raised by the war in Vietnam is not one of tactics but of war itself. Our problem is not whether to use gas, napalm, phosphorous or defoliants—nor even whether torture should be permitted: it is quite simply whether we should be resorting to arms at all.

I am well aware this question is not new, especially within the religious communities. With a few alterations here and there, the exchange in ancient Rome between Celsus and Origen (debating whether Christians should serve in the army) would be considered timely in any contemporary journal.

Yet if the question is as old as civilization, the situation which confronts us today is relatively new. Because of technological developments in the mechanics of warfare, even George Orwell's social prophecies in *1984* now seem curiously dated. The theological middle-ground of the just war tradition, cultivated by the churches and responsible men for centuries, has been unceremoniously pulled from under us.

The chief difficulty springs from a refocusing of violence in warfare. There was a time when volunteer (at worst, conscript) armies met for battle on the plains, when cross-bows were put aside on holy days, when men made such strange oaths, now only amusing to our ears, as Robert the Pious: "I will not attack noble ladies traveling without husband, not their maids, nor widows and nuns—unless it is their fault." (*Seeds of Destruction* by Thomas Merton, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1964, p. 150.) All sorts of ecclesiastical restrictions were placed on warfare, including, in the tenth century, a proscribed 40-day penitential fast for anyone who killed an enemy in war, even if the war was considered just.

The shift from combatant-focused violence to the destruction of whole population sectors, whether they be whole villages or entire cities, is said by military

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URGENT

A petition has been mailed to each person on the CPF mailing list. This petition to Pope Paul VI urging continued leadership on the part of the Church for a nonviolent resolution of the conflict in Vietnam, a strengthening of the Vatican Council's condemnation of modern war and recognition of the rights of conscientious objectors, must be returned to this office with as many signatures as possible at the earliest feasible time. Target date for presentation of

In Selma,

(Continued from Pg. 1)

We streamed out of Browns Chapel and formed orderly rows for the short walk into the heart of Selma, thousands of us. As we passed the knots of stony-faced whites we heard little of the abusive jeers we expected. For the first time the realization was dawning on the white people of Selma that the battle was really joined, and that they were being watched, by the people of the United States and the world. They could no longer pretend. The demonstration wound in a seemingly interminable line to the courthouse. There were 170 roman collars on the line, and it was estimated that 130 of them were worn by Catholic priests. There were about 35 nuns. "I didn't think there were that many priests in the whole country," said one Negro lady of Selma.

The deaths of Jimmie Lee Jackson and of James Reeb had triggered the conscience of White America so that when the National Council of Churches joined Dr. King in urging clergy and laymen to join the Selma demonstration, the call had at last been heeded. The white people of Selma were stunned by the massive influx of people, and so were the Negroes. They banded together with a new unity. Their jobs had been taken from them. Their children had been beaten in the streets and imprisoned in Camp Selma where they suffered the infamous forced march. Law officers not only refused them protection against unprovoked attack, but joined in the sport. These people had little left to lose. They knew that their churches might be bombed, that their homes might be set afire. Even more lives would be lost. But they had caught the scent of victory.

One March 21, the march to Montgomery began. Thousands started out through Selma. Monday and Tuesday a core group of 300, mostly young people of Selma, continued along the two lane highway 80 in Lowndes County. Wednesday, hroughout the day, the ranks swelled. Thursday was the entry into Montgomery.

Trudging along Route 80 my thoughts went back to New Haven, Connecticut, April, 1958, and the first peace walk, the first walk of any kind in the new American protest movement. There were only about 80 of us on that walk from the New Haven Green to the United Nations in New York. Weapons forged in the peace movement are being proved in the Freedom Movement.

Thursday we walked into Montgomery, 40,000 strong.

"Wallace, you never can jail us all!"
"Wallace, segregation's bound to fall!"

Governor Wallace refused to see representatives of the March. He tried to ignore us, but this was impossible. He watched the three hour program from behind the blinds of his office window. Joan Baez and Peter, Paul and Mary

led the singing. There were speeches by local and national leaders. Dr. King spoke last. He used a combination lecture and sermon style on the history of segregation. "We're on the move, now," he dramatically repeated. He told Governor Wallace and all of us that we would continue to march on poverty, on segregated schools and on the ballot boxes until all of God's children could walk in decency and honor. The enormous throng ratified Dr. King's call by locking arms and swaying back and forth together in singing once again, "We Shall Overcome." Then Dr. King's ringing voice asked us, "What do you want?" "Freedom!" The antiphoanl response broke the air over the Alabama capitol louder each time. "Freedom!" "FREEDOM!" The nonviolent battle



Selma tear gas victims

Religious News Service

cry shook George Wallace's capital buildings and shook as well the walls of segregation, shook them to their foundations. We were telling Governor Wallace, Alabama, the nation and the world, "We ain't gonna let nobody turn us round."

As we drove north that afternoon, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was murdered on Route 80.

As Catholics we must confess to a swell of pride at seeing our Church so visibly present in the Alabama Negroes' struggle. But we have no right to congratulate ourselves, and humility best befits us. Few of us were willing to identify with the Negro people when they needed us most. We were particularly happy to see Catholic Peace Fellowship members in Selma and on the march into Montgomery. Our chairman, Fr. Philip Berrigan, sponsors Hermene Evens and Fr. Robert McDole among them. Janet Burwash of New York, Paul Bakulich and Dan Shay of Detroit, Bill Wernz and Joe Morse of Winona all took part in the march.

[Joe Morse left his seminary a year ago to work for COFO in Meridian,

Mississippi, where he took over for Michael Schwerner, the murdered civil rights worker. Joe was served with an induction order recently, and has refused to submit to the oath of induction. His draft board has refused him conscientious objector's status. He may have to face prosecution.]

The Church's presence in Selma represents a real hope, but it is only the beginning. The Church—we all—have been too long silent. Only when the American Negro courageously and dramatically brought his cause to our doorstep did we find the voice of conscience. This voice was heard in Selma, and it was, frankly, exciting. It would have been inconceivable five years ago, but in Selma, nuns and priests were marching, marching in protest. Ecumenical worship services were conducted in jails. Respectability has taken on new connotations.

Can we hope that in five more years we can be so visibly identified with the struggle for peace? On March 3rd, for the first time in America, nuns and priests participated in a Vietnam picket and vigil. *Pacem in Terris* is getting into classrooms. Perhaps, we dare to hope, we see in these stirrings the harbinger of a new and powerful witness, a new social relevance.

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CHRISTIAN PACIFISM IN TODAY'S WORLD

By RORY MCCORMICK

The spectacle of Christians at war has ever been a puzzle to unbelievers. The late C. Wright Mills, author of *The Cases of World War III*, said in 1958 in an article entitled "A Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy":

"I am religiously illiterate and unfeeling. But I truly do not see how you can claim to be Christians and yet not speak out totally and dogmatically against the preparations and testing now under way for World War III. As I read it, Christian doctrine in contact with the realities of today, cannot lead to any other position."

But there is no denying that a "unilateralist," one who advocates unilateral nuclear disarmament, is regarded in the United States today as either a crackpot or a subversive. In fact there is one thing upon which both the people of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union are agreed: Each regards as absurd the suggestion that its government should junk its massive weapons of annihilation.

Thus when the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walkers sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action made an appeal for unilateral nuclear disarmament to audiences in Russia, their proposal was received with the same incredulity and ridicule that it receives in America. The Russians reminded them of the Nazi invasion in which 20 million of their people had been lost, an event remote in the recollections of Americans but still green in the Russian memory, and they indignantly protested that so long as the West has nuclear bombs and missiles their country must have them too.

In America people frequently say that unilateralism and Christian non-violence will not work against an enemy who is not Christian, and that we cannot safely dismantle our massive nuclear weapons system. If we are to deter Communist aggression or certainly a nuclear attack by Russia, our military strategists tell us, we must retain the power to destroy the Soviet "social fabric" (gobbledy-gook meaning cities and population). Since the Russians also possess the power of population extermination, the average American is more than ever convinced of the necessity of U.S. retention of the same power. One must fight fire with fire.

But in the case of Christians is this not a double standard? Did not the glory of the early Christians shine forth in their adherence to a law of charity utterly at odds with the standards of Roman society? The distinguished Catholic psychiatrist Karl Stern put it in a striking way recently when he suggested that if "there had existed during the time of Christ a powerful aggressor such as the Roman imperial army, equipped with gadgets to get at wombs,



Al Alderfer
Motive Magazine

at fetuses and even at unborn generations," Christ would not have advocated the adoption of such instruments by His own people even as a deterrent, but in fact would have demanded "the acceptance of torture, mutilation and death rather than even prepare such instruments."

The attitude toward war held by the early Christians, living in the centuries before the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313, when the Roman Emperor Constantine and his Eastern counterpart Licinius granted religious freedom to the Church, has been a matter of some confusion. Some have asserted that the unwillingness of Christians to serve in the Roman armies was primarily because of an objection to the idolatrous practices required of the soldiery; but the early Church scholar and polemicist Tertullian says in *De Idololatria XIX* that below the rank of centurion idolatrous immolations were not required.

The real objection of the early Christians to military service is found in the phrase *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*—"the Church shrinks from bloodshed." And, as Roger Smith says in the recent excellent book *Nuclear Weapons: A Catholic Response* (Sheed & Ward), as against the sword the first Christians preferred the "weapons of light." Smith further points out that for those who did serve in the army a distinction was made between *militare* (to do military service) and *bellare* (to wage war)—the former probably regarded as the normal duty of preserving order within the state, and the latter as the waging of bloody wars against the barbarians.

The testimony of the great Christian scholar Origen in the third century is pertinent. Celsus, a cultivated pagan concerned about the crumbling of Rome, criticized the Christians particularly for their refusal to fight in the army. Origen, replying in his famous *Contra Celsum*, said:

"Christians have been taught not to defend themselves against their enemies; and because they have kept the laws which command gentleness and love to man, on this account they have received from God that which they would not have succeeded in doing if they had been given the right to make war, even though they may have been

quite able to do so. He always fought for them, and from time to time stopped the opponents of the Christians and the people who wanted to kill them."

Origen, it is important to note, did not regard the Christian as having a duty to blindly follow the state, for although he recognized the duty of sharing the responsibilities of the community he held that a Christian's first allegiance is, of course, to the new kingdom established by Christ and to His law. Christian pacifism can find no better definition than in the *Contra Celsum*:

"No longer do we take the sword against any nations, nor do we learn war any more since we have become the sons of peace through Jesus, Who is our author, instead of following the traditional customs by which we were strangers to the covenant."

The Christian doctrine of love, according to this early Church scholar, meant that one should pray for the Emperor, not so that he might win victories, but so that peace might be obtained and so that the evil powers that stir up contentions and hatreds and rivalries among men might be overcome.

It was not until 200 years after Origen that St. Augustine, in the fifth century, laid the foundation of the theory of the "just war," a phrase that is heard on those infrequent occasions these days when theologians discuss the morality of warfare. In Augustine's time Rome had fallen to Alaric, the Goth, and already the barbarians were at the gates of Hippo, the North African city where he was Bishop. Augustine in fact pleaded with a certain Boniface not to enter a monastery but to remain a soldier and defend North Africa. The situation had changed profoundly since the days of the first Christians, for the state no longer persecuted the Church but had become its protector, and we find Augustine appealing to the Emperor to defend Christians against the Donatist heretics.

St. Augustine evidently concluded that a way must be found to reconcile war with Christian love. He reasoned that a Christian, citizen of the heavenly city, is also a citizen of the earthly city and, as such, shares its responsibilities, including participation in just wars. Drawing his rationale of the just war to considerable extent from pre-Christian, classical concepts of justice—from Cicero in fact—Augustine established the principle that a Christian may engage in warfare in a just cause if his intention is pure and directed to love of the enemy. Augustinian thought provided a basis for justification of the Crusades and the Inquisition, it is pertinent to note, for if Christian may unite with pagan in a just cause, in a completely

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CHRISTIAN PACIFISM IN TODAY'S WORLD

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Christian state the secular arm may be used to put down heresy.

Eight centuries after St. Augustine three conditions for a just war were prescribed by St. Thomas Aquinas: legitimate authority, just cause, and right intention, "that good may be furthered and evil avoided." Further conditions were added by Cajetan and Vittoria in the 16th century, and Suarez and Belarmine in the 17th.

Today the renowned German theologian Father Stratmann lists in his book *The Church and War* 10 points: (1) gross injustice on the part of one, and only one, of the contending parties; (2) gross formal (consciously willed) moral guilt on one side—material guilt is not sufficient; (3) undoubted knowledge of this guilt; (4) that war should only be declared when every means to prevent it has failed; (5) *guilt and punishment must be proportionate: punishment exceeding the measure of guilt is unjust and not to be allowed*; (6) moral certainty that the side of justice will win; (7) right intention to further what is good and to shun what is evil; (8) *war must be rightly conducted, restrained within the limits of justice and love*; (9) *avoidance of unnecessary upheaval of countries not immediately concerned and of the Christian community*; (10) declaration of war by lawful authority exercised in the name of God.

It requires little reflection to see how incompatible nuclear warfare of any scale is with many of these requirements, but especially *points five, eight and nine*.

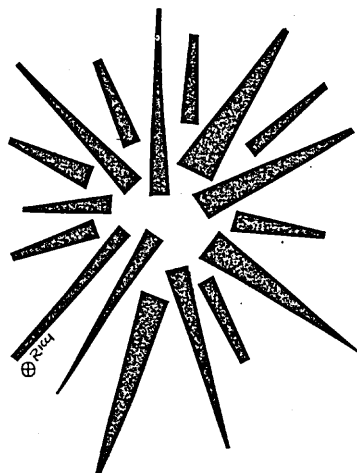
In 1956, for example, Lt. General James Gavin, then chief of the U.S. Army Research and Development branch, was asked by a Senate committee about the effect of an assault in force on Russia with nuclear weapons. The General told the committee: "Current planning estimates run on the order of several hundred million deaths that would be either way depending upon which way the wind blew. If the wind blew to the southeast they would be mostly in the USSR, although they would extend into the Japanese and perhaps down into the Philippine area. If the wind blew the other way, they would extend well back up into Western Europe."

No explanation is needed for the least sophisticated to see how grossly such an attack would violate the traditional Catholic moral principle of noncombatant immunity, which derives from the requirement that the war must be "rightly conducted" and from the distinction between killing and murder.

Without question Pius XII had in mind warfare of this indiscriminate and unrestricted sort when he said in an address to the World Medical Association in 1954: "Should the evil consequences of adopting this method of warfare ever become so extensive as to pass

utterly beyond the control of man, then indeed its use must be rejected as immoral."

How outrageously the principle of noncombatant immunity, which forbids the killing of those not directly engaged in the war, has been flouted in modern wars when only so-called conventional weapons have been used may be judged by perusing such a book as Martin Caidin's *The Night Hamburg Died*, the horrible story of the "Gomorrhah" raids by the Royal Air Force in July, 1943, on the great German city. An estimated 70,000 people were cooked or asphyxiated in the terrible firestorm that enveloped the doomed metropolis. The types of bombs used in the raids were such



that they destroyed buildings, rendered air-raid shelters useless, and inflicted phosphorous burns on the inhabitants. This was one of the many terror raids that both sides in World War II resorted to. The people deserted the air-raid shelters and thousands sought refuge in the water of the canals.

The suffering of the children is described by Caidin in unforgettable words: "Their best, the very substance of their heart and their soul—it is all too little. For they must keep raising and lowering the children, plunging them into the water so that the heat radiation will not flay their skins. The children suffer terribly, unable even to cry out, gasping for breath . . . sucking in the terrible heated air when they are thrust upward. Their hair steams. Their tongues are swollen and they cannot cry."

A litany of crimes against noncombatants in World War II would include: Dresden, a city of 600,000 swollen with perhaps 300,000 refugees fleeing from the Russian Army, raided in round-the-clock style by the Allied Air Force, and left with an estimated 250,000 dead; Tokyo, subjected to a napalm bombing that boiled the very water in the canals and left 100,000 dead; numerous other Japanese cities given similar treatment; Coventry reduced to rubble by the German Luftwaffe, and Rotterdam also lev-

eled by them; Antwerp, the great Belgian port, subjected to a new terror, the V-2 rocket, which nearly turned the tide for the Germans.

World War II demonstrates how inevitably military expediency pushes aside moral restraints as the war waxes hot, for at the outset both the British and American Governments had said that they would adhere to the conventional code and not bomb cities. More recently in Algeria and Vietnam, where both sides have made war on noncombatants and resorted to torture, we have seen how quickly in warfare the standard of the lowest becomes the standard of all.

Total war has made hostages of noncombatants. The strategy of the so-called nuclear deterrent upon which the West has depended since 1949 is a hostage strategy. Attack us or our allies, we have said, and we are prepared if necessary to destroy utterly your population centers, so that your families, the very reason for your existence as a country, will be decimated. The Polaris submarines are at the moment our invulnerable hostage weapon, for they are designed for "counter-people" warfare.

The hostage strategy is not new. It is recorded of the great 13th-century Mongol leader Genghis Khan that whenever a revolt occurred in his domain he massacred the inhabitants of the offending cities, sparing only artisans and beautiful young women. In this way he no doubt cut short the revolt and saved lives on both sides—our rationale for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He often drove captive women and children as a screen before his army, thus inhibiting the enemy's attack. The threat of nuclear annihilation of an enemy's "social fabric" is simply a 20th-century version of Genghis Khan's screen of hostages.

In the Middle Ages the rules of the just war were probably more honored in the breach than in the observance: The knights of the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople, the capital of Byzantine Christianity, and, in the 13th century Arnald-Amalric, later Archbishop of Narbonne, reported that when Beziers, a heretic Cather city in southern France, was taken, "nearly 20,000 citizens were put to the sword regardless of age or sex." The Augustinian requirement of love of the enemy has seldom if ever been lived up to, and the effort to keep warfare within certain moral limits has almost always failed.

In our own time, when the just war limitations appear to be more than ever a dead letter, some Catholics are returning to the nonviolent tradition of the first Christians. As with CORE in its nonviolent revolt against racial injustice, these Catholics believe that violence only sows the seeds of further violence and that the principle of loving

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Dear Father:

I'm writing to ask your guidance on a moral problem which either does not exist—and I must admit that it does not *seem* to exist for most of my neighbors and fellow parishioners—or is the greatest, yet most ignored moral problem among us. I refer to the question of thermonuclear war and to our part in its daily preparation.

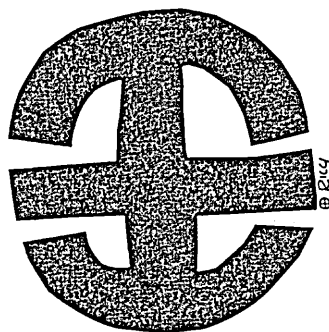
The reason why I am at first led to doubt its existence is the air of unreality surrounding this question of mass suffering and death. We all know, of course, that there exist weapons capable of destroying instantly the largest cities and that much of our government and industry is engaged in perfecting such weapons. These facts we know and accept as the price of living in a world faced by the threat of Communist force. They are facts barely on the edge of our consciousness as we lead the life of an outwardly happy, prosperous society. They intrude occasionally on our happiness from newspaper headlines and television newscasts describing the latest international crisis and the heightened risk of all-out war. At such times we have a sudden realization of the perils of our age. For a few hours life may even take on a fragile quality, the persons and things we love being regarded with a special care. But the crisis passes and the general threat to life recedes behind the renewed upswing of our lives. The experience is like a strange but passing nightmare.

What strikes me especially, Father, and what I hope you can counsel me on, is the fact that this recurring nightmare of impending destruction is not only the Communists' "gift" to America; it is at the same time our "gift" to the Russian people. Our counterthreats to the Soviets are not confined to the Kremlin and to its military power. Our threats, like theirs, encompass an entire nation and people as well as countless unborn citizens of this world. The weapons which Christians and atheists employ have become identical: each side is prepared to destroy not simply planes, tanks, and missiles—what we have always regarded as legitimate wartime targets; today both "they" and "we" threaten tens of millions of women and children in their homes with unimaginable suffering and death. In their choice of weapons, the Christian and the atheist have become indistinguishable.

Many say that this is the inevitable consequence of the age in which we live, that the clock can't be set back to an age of more humane weapons. The spokesmen of our government have declared publicly that while they will begin by attacking military targets, it may unfortunately be *necessary* to destroy an entire enemy society, the majority of which will be women and children. I wonder how Christian this response is, how much it conforms with Pope John's teaching in *Pacem in Terris* and with

LETTER TO A PARISH PRIEST

the Church's traditional teaching on the just war. Is it really so naive to think that a Christian must find some other way to meet the challenges of totalitarianism than by weapons of indiscriminate destruction? With both contemporary events and the teaching of the Church in mind, Father, I raise the following questions to which I hope you can give our parish some answers and guidance. They are questions with which not everyone in our parish is concerned but which nevertheless concern everyone in our parish, and indeed every Christian conscience in the world. As such, they deserve your consideration.



*the world is drawn to
Christ in and through
the faithful.*

Yves Congar

I was once taught in our parish school that the end cannot justify the means, that therefore even to save the world it was not permitted to tell a single lie. Were the Sisters wrong in teaching me this? I've always thought them right. I wonder therefore what could conceivably justify our killing and injuring millions of innocent people. I've read articles in which it was said that we wouldn't really *intend* to kill all these people by hydrogen bombs, that our *intention* would only be the destruction of some military target in their midst. But as a distinguished moral theologian, Father John C. Ford, put the same question in a different way: "If I saw a black widow spider crawling across the shiny bald pate of my neighbor, could I take a sledge hammer and swing it down full on the spider, intending directly only the death of the spider? Could I honestly say I had no direct intention of killing the man?" Is it psychologically and honestly possible to avoid the direct intent of killing which seems implicit in my choice of the sledge hammer in those circumstances? Likewise is it possible to avoid the direct intention of killing millions of innocent people implicit in the choice of hydrogen bombs for military targets

surrounded by population centers? And is a single lie more offensive in the eyes of God than the slaughter of millions of his children?

In view of the traditional teaching of the Church that a just war must be rightly conducted, and restrained within the limits of justice and love, how are we to evaluate the weapons we hold in readiness? What, for example, are we to make of the fact that our Polaris missiles, each of them 25 times more powerful than the bomb which destroyed Hiroshima, are technically incapable of being used on targets other than cities, population centers, because of their relative inaccuracy? Such weapons are said to serve as a deterrent to the enemy, but are we justified in deterring a criminal by pointing our own revolver at his wife and children, especially when that single family is multiplied into millions? We are fond of appealing to those saints who participated in earlier wars as offering precedents for our own conduct. But would St. Louis have engaged in a thermonuclear crusade? Would St. Joan have helped fire a megaton warhead, thus killing more innocents in a single stroke than she could convert in a lifetime? Where, in short, does justice and mass murder begin?

There is another aspect of our nuclear arms production, a prior and more indirect way of killing. Father Theodore M. Hesburgh has pointed out that "we spend more to produce one nuclear submarine than our total annual budget for agricultural research, and this in a world of hunger." Pope John has noted "with deep sorrow" this discrepancy between our arms expenses and the economic needs of underdeveloped countries. It is true that we are spending billions for foreign aid, about four billion annually. But again, as Father Hesburgh says, "about half of this is military aid, and the two billion that are left seems hardly sacrificial when you compare it to the six billion we spend annually for tobacco, the twelve billion for alcohol, the twenty billion for that ancient pastime called gambling." How shall we give our account before the Lord of all life, of the fantastic efforts and sums spent on weapons of annihilation, not to mention trivialities, while most of mankind goes hungry?

And finally, Father, what is the personal responsibility of each of us in the face of these intensive nuclear war preparations? It takes hundreds of thousands of men to manufacture and use weapons of mass destruction, millions more to provide for national support necessary for their work. We are all to some extent related to nuclear war preparations, either for or against them, if only by the opinions we have and pass on to the society around us. Must we remain silent in these circumstances about the teaching of the Church on the sacredness of human life? With the very future of man threatened by the next

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Vietnam: The Basic Question

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historians to have begun with the American Civil War, though it was not fully perfected until World War II. The erosion of vocational distinctions within a given population finally culminated in such "total war" concepts as complete national culpability: mother and sergeant become one; hospital and munitions plant, in bomb-bay perspective, are identical.

Of course the development is not without historical counterpart. Vatican soldiers, during the "holy" wars of an earlier age, had as much difficulty weeding heretics from the rest of the population as our own troops have in separating Viet Cong from the general peasantry. When uniforms are removed, everyone looks astonishingly alike—heretic and orthodox, revolutionary and farmer.

Centuries ago, the pope's solution was simple: "Kill them all," he is reported to have said. "God will know the difference." Though God doesn't enter into contemporary military terminology, the answer remains essentially unchanged.

No one should be horrified at this. Instead we might do well to commiserate with the militarist's dilemma. He has been directed to wage a war, to kill or at least shatter a shadowy enemy who can be soaked up by the local population as quickly as rice paddies absorb the rain. What are his alternatives?

It quickly becomes apparent that whole villages must go if Viet Cong presence in them is suspected (few are the villages where it is not). That the majority of those killed are non-combatants, the generals would quickly agree, is lamentable. But if you are going to fight this kind of war there is quite simply no other way.

The same can be said for torture. If you are going to fight this kind of war, against an elusive guerrilla foe, intelligence must be extracted from all those you have reason to suspect know something which might prove vital to the success or failure of your mission. When such information means veritably the life or death of your comrades, even your own life, the means of obtaining it become nothing more than a detail. If that means torture—and indeed it does—these are the wages of war in our time. Regret the fact of war, not that war is ugly and should be made a bit prettier.

Do not react with horror at the effects of defoliating chemicals. It is indeed unfortunate that many innocent persons are forced to starve or suffer malnutrition because their crops have been destroyed. Men must eat, but we are at war with men. The arithmetic of war is simple.

Nor should the use of napalm or phosphorous be cause for complaint. It is true that weapons using these particular combustibles burn in a particularly merciless way, leaving little they touch alive. It is true such weapons cannot tell the difference between babies and guerrilla warriors. It is even true that for many months the American government, apparently wary of public opinion, denied the use of such weapons—until it was no longer possible to do so. Yet what alternative is there? If persons are to be killed, if villages must be destroyed, it would seem obvious that the most effective means available for doing so should be employed.

Two reasons can be given for the great rise of interest in nonviolence. One we have discussed: the advances of weaponry and the resultant changes in the tactics of violence, making violence unacceptable to all those who continue to respect the most fundamental of human values: the inviolability of the lives of the innocent. For them, only one door remains open in the struggle for justice, and that is the door of nonviolence. For still others, nonviolence has always been the only path simply because it was the one which seemed most in keeping with their particular value system. Certainly this is true for many Christians.

How then is nonviolence to be applied in Vietnam? Certainly, as more are agreeing each day, it must begin with negotiations and a cease-fire. Bloodshed must be stopped because it is resolving nothing. Such a suggestion, one happily notes, is in line with those made by Pope Paul, U Thant, President de Gaulle.

It would seem then, to those who continue to uphold the universal right to life of innocent persons, that what is needed in Vietnam is not a new, improved war, but an entirely different approach, one which respects the principle, as one of the Vatican Council fathers put it, "that human life is sacred and must not be taken indiscriminately."

The alternative is not, as some have suggested, to return to the spirit that resulted in Munich, a form of passivity or modern quietism which Gandhi referred to distastefully as the "pacifism of the weak." Gandhi, not at all inclined to let evil triumph, to ignore unpleasant realities or to bow to the threat of force, offered instead what he termed the "pacifism of the strong": *satyagraha* (truth or love force) or what he called nonviolent resistance.

Not as negative as it sounds, nonviolence has been at the core of numerous causes which at earlier stages in history would have relied upon violent means. We see this in our own civil rights movement, under the pacifist leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, James Farmer, John Lewis, Bayard Rustin *et al.* It has also been demonstrated in varying degrees elsewhere: in India, certain parts of Africa, in occupied Scandinavia, in Eastern Europe.

(Continued on Pg. 7)

From a Letter by Joe Morse

to Selective Service, St. Paul, Minnesota.

"... When I began this work in Mississippi last summer, I saw that the Negro people of the South were winning their fight against unjust oppression without violence. They were doing it through love, Christian love. These people did not seek to humiliate and kill their oppressors, who were certainly wrong. They were stopping and killing the oppression without killing the oppressors. The Negro people sought to help the white southerners to see their mistakes and correct them by employing nonviolent methods. I realized that nothing could be more in line with Christian teaching than this nonviolent resistance to evil.

"When I saw that nonviolent force was more Christian and more effective than violent force, I began to question my position on war. I began to read and to study the issue... I finally came to the conclusion that to kill people because I thought they were wrong was not my idea of Christianity."

Ed. Note: Joe Morse refused to submit to induction on April 13. Unless he is found "morally unfit" for military duty because of his conviction on a felony charge growing out of his civil rights activities, he will very likely face prosecution.

Our Lady of Gethesmani
Trappist, Ky.

Dear Jim:

This is just to say that I will offer my Palm Sunday Mass for the CPF and all your needs.

Best Easter wishes and blessings.

Thomas Merton

LETTER

(Continued from Pg. 5)

war, doesn't Christian prudence ("practical wisdom" according to St. Thomas) suggest a need for the Church's continuing guidance on these questions, particularly on the parish level? We have the traditional teaching of the Church on war. We have the example of the saints and martyrs to guide us, and the inspiring teaching of Pope John in *Pacem in Terris*. But these sacred elements must reach down through the Church to find fruit and expression in the laity, who must also bring Christ into the world.

For us, Father, you are the most immediate link with Our Lord and the Apostles. Could we perhaps form a parish roup, under your guidance, to discuss these questions in the light of the Church's teachings on war and peace? On these questions we look to you for guidance and help. In our present crisis, perhaps, the greatest in man's history, the world as well looks to you, a representative of man's Savior.

By JAMES W. DOUGLASS

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Christian Pacifism in Today's World

(Continued from Pg. 5)

one's enemy is not a mere sentimental ideal but a practical goal.

Christian pacifism has been advocated and practiced by members of Dorothy's Day's *Catholic Worker* movement since its foundation in 1933. Recently an affiliate of the British Catholic peace organization PAX was formed in the United States Catholic affiliate to the FOR. In addition to promoting the study of nonviolent alternatives to war, PAX gives moral and practical support to Catholic conscientious objectors.

Mahatma Gandhi has been justly regarded as the modern prophet of non-violence. Of Gandhi's ideal Jacques Maritain has written in *Man and the State*: "In my opinion Gandhi's theory and technique could be related to and clarified by the Thomist notion that the principal act of the virtue of fortitude is not attack but endurance: to bear, to suffer with constancy. One has then to recognize that there are two different orders of means of warfare (taken in the widest sense of the word), as there are two kinds of fortitude and courage, the courage that attacks and the courage that endures, the force of coercion or aggression, the force that inflicts suffering on others, and the force that endures suffering inflicted on oneself. There you have two different keyboards that stretch along the two sides of our human nature, opposing evil through attack and coercion, a way which leads at the last extremity if need be to the shedding of the blood of others, and opposing evil through suffering and enduring, a way which in the last extremity leads to the sacrifice of one's own life. To the second keyboard belong the means of spiritual warfare." (Italics added.)

It is to the method of spiritual warfare, using the "weapons of light," that the Christian pacifist resorts. To those who say "Better dead than Red" and "Better brave than a slave" the Christian who has rejected total violence might well reply that it is better to choose death than to commit mortal sin—the sin of mass murder—and that today a handful of technicians with computers may choose death for the millions who will be given no chance to choose for themselves.

Patrick Henry spoke only for himself when he said "Give me Liberty or give me death!" He was not speaking for an entire population—and least of all for little children who might well ask, as did the little child Carl Sandburg told of: "What if they had a war, and nobody came?"

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Vietnam: The Basic Question

spokesmen for the World Council of Churches—and perhaps even to some extent our own President, depending upon how seriously he intends to implement the Johns Hopkins speech. At the time of this writing, it remains impossible to tell.

Negotiations would involve either the United Nations or the 14 nations which created the long-ignored Geneva Accords of 1954. The function of such a conference would be to lay the groundwork for democratic Vietnamese government, but a military neutral one (as was intended in the original Accords). No doubt a cooling off period would be necessitated before elections could be held. And certainly U.S. and all other foreign troops would have to be withdrawn. The Vietnamese, notoriously nationalistic people (during their long history they have twice thrown out the Chinese), would certainly welcome the exodus of our military presence, as long as the safety of the refugee population in South Vietnam could be guaranteed to supra-national authorities.

A free election (one has never been held in South Vietnam though it was one of the principal requirements of the 1954 Accords) would be held at the earliest possible date. The interim government would of course be a coalition of the existing political factions, but probably such a coalition should be made responsible to the same supra-national authority which takes responsibility for the welfare of the refugee population.

One final key point: While certainly withdrawal of the American military is a basic requirement in Vietnam, it would seem obvious that a drastically increased program of nonmilitary economic aid is required. We are already on the verge of notable success with the Mekong River Delta Project (a TVA-like program carried out under United Nations auspices) which will directly affect approximately 20 million people in four nations—Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam (both North and South). Quite possibly Vietnam would welcome the constructive presence of such "forces" as our own Peace Corps. The possibilities, in fact, are ultimately limited only by our intelligence and ability to make the financial investment required. It is difficult to believe, however, that without even increasing our present rate of investment for military ends (nearly \$2 million per day), we would ultimately find a much more advantageous ending to the adventure we have embarked on in Vietnam than is presently in view.

James Forest

Reprinted from WORLDVIEW, April 1965. Subscriptions \$4 a year. 170 East 64 Street, New York 21, N. Y.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

is a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- ¶ They refuse to participate in any way or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- ¶ They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- ¶ They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoing rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- ¶ They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- ¶ They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

THE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP

is an educational service conducted by Roman Catholic members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, providing a speakers bureau and sponsoring lecture tours of such outstanding peace leaders as Archbishop Thomas J. Roberts, S.J., and Jean and Hildegard Goss-Mayr. Reprints and original articles, pamphlets and books dealing with problems of war and peace from a Catholic point of view are circulated. A film library is in preparation. Expert counseling in the legal and moral problems involved in gaining recognition as a conscientious objection to war is always immediately available.

☐ I am interested in the services available and would like to be placed on the mailing list.

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HOUSE NOTES

BY JAMES FOREST

Asking how the Catholic Peace Fellowship is functioning is not unlike asking how a crate of china is faring on the crest of a tidal wave. We are still in our create, sometimes feeling a little shattered by the demands we are—for one reason or another—unable presently to cope with. But we are still in our crate, and perhaps our tidal wave—which is the English-speaking Catholic community—will calm down a little one of these days.

In any event, the first 13 months have revealed very graphically that the need is far greater than we were originally designed to cope with. Demands—ranging from teachers in need of class room aids to conscientious objectors in need of theological and legal counseling—have been continuous and, as knowledge of our existence widens, have tangibly increased.

Responding to the many needs has required several changes in structure not seen in those tranquil early months: James Forest has been hired to run a small office in lower Manhattan (an office already bursting at the seams); working with him have been two semi-volunteers, receiving \$15 a week for food and travel expenses (for financial reasons, one will shortly be forced to leave). Tom Cornell, former managing editor, of *The Catholic Worker*, has undertaken on a completely voluntary basis to serve as bulletin editor as well as treasurer and educational adviser.

In addition to handling a fairly voluminous correspondence, the four have laid the groundwork for a series of booklets, the first of which will soon be published; have counseled nearly 50 conscientious objectors, assisting them with draft board hearings, finding sympathetic clergy, etc.; and have filled numerous commitments for speakers.



Fr. Philip Berrigan holding cease-fire sign at March 3 demonstration

Fr. Berrigan Transferred

Father Philip Berrigan, S.S.J., co-chairman of the Catholic Peace Fellowship and author of *No More Strangers*, has recently been appointed curate of St. Peter Claver Church, Baltimore, Md. Formerly he was an instructor at Epiphany Apostolic College, Newburgh, New York.

Reprints of the Religious News Service account of his transfer, carried in many newspapers, are available from the Catholic Peace Fellowship upon request. Some of the editorial comment will be reprinted in the near future.

Several articles have been reprinted, two from *The National Catholic Reporter* (Box 281, Kansas City, Mo., \$6 per year and well worth the price).

Among our particular encouragements has been the promise from artist Sister Mary Corita, IHM, that she will be designing our booklet covers. Her serigraphs have been reproduced wide-

HELP WANTED: *The CPF has pressing need for a part-time volunteer field secretary and office assistant. Nominal and perhaps nearly realistic stipend might be arranged, depending upon effectiveness and our own finances. Non-material awards are all but guaranteed.*

ly and she has become a catalyst for a very joyful kind of art work often combining texts with abstract or "pop art" compositions. (One of her works places the words ENRICHED BREAD against a background of red and blue, the areas of color broken with wafer-like white circles. On several smaller circles she quotes Gandhi: "There are so many hungry people in the world that God cannot appear to them except in the form of bread.")

The great problem remains—and will continue to remain—that of financial support. Like the Catholic Worker, we almost complacently assume our needs will somehow be met. Yet those who have been generous with us, permitting us the span of life we have already had, cannot continue alone. Our appeal brought in a fairly slim response—several hundred dollars. Yet our operating expenses are a bit more than \$200 per week. Special projects—this news letter, our booklets, our budding film library, the speakers bureau—all of these things are above and beyond the operating minimum.

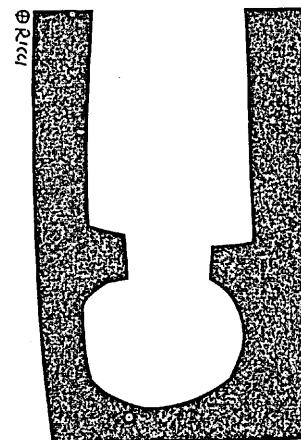
Perhaps you can help.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

Founded in 1933 by Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day, *The Catholic Worker* has become the largest pacifist monthly in the English-speaking world, each issue offering a highly readable selection of articles and reports as well as excellent artwork.

Annual subscriptions are available at 25 cents.

175 Chrystie Street
New York City 10002



Tagore

LET NOT THE HOURS
PASS BY IN THE DARK.
KINDLE THE LAMP OF
LOVE WITH THY LIFE.

The Catholic Peace Fellowship
5 Beekman Street
New York, N. Y.