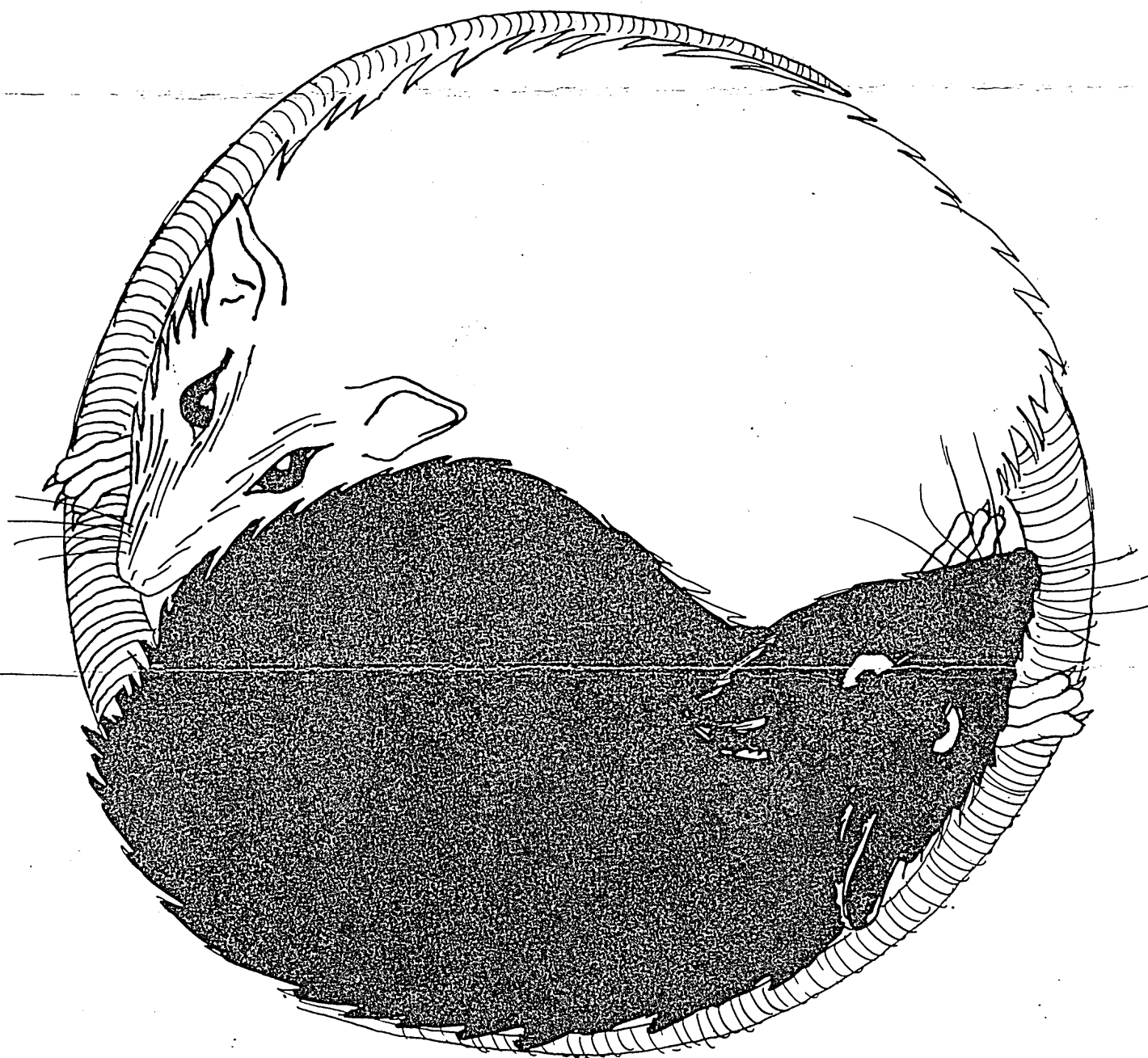


the catholic peace fellowship

Bulletin

864-2700

April, 1968



TANGENTS NO 2

What must it be like to be a chaplain at a multiversity? Presumably one has an office, a chapel, lunches with faculty, cooperates ("increasingly") with the psychiatric center, and so forth. The job is no nonsense, but requiring plenty of concern and dexterity. But perhaps beneath the surface, or squeezed in between appointments and coffee clutches, there simmers Lenny Bruce's passionate prison chaplain, Pat O'Brien doing Father Flotsky on the bridge bullying Hume Cronyn as the warden about to fire on the rioting cons in the yard. Father Flotsky has flipped, of course; he is just as much behind bars as the cons in the yard, and probably enjoying the riot as much. He must believe in the bars to do his job, hence his madness is very human and pathetic. We subscribe, however unwillingly. Everybody knows a Flotsky. In contrast—the contrast could hardly be sharper—we note that Fr. David Connor, 30, along with the Rev. Paul Gibbons, 34, both chaplains at Cornell, have been classified 1-A delinquents by the draft. They announced they "will refuse in love to go into this war (Vietnam) or accept alternate service." If Vietnam continues as it has been to bust open the clichés, Hollywood and otherwise, we might wake up one morning to a scene not unlike the aftermath of nuclear catastrophe, with little left but body warmth and the rumbling of many stomachs. Even the Flotskys will be free to walk out through the big gates.

And in Cuernavaca, Mexico, Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo has called for an urgent declaration of the Church expressing "the incompatibility of modern warfare with Christian morals," as a step toward ending the war in Vietnam. He referred to the Second Vatican Council's assessment of the mounting horrors and evils of war as connected with technical progress in weaponry. Archbishop Miguel Dario Miranda y Gomez of Mexico City was also reported to have urged all Mexican Catholics to make every effort to bring an end to the Vietnam bombing and the world arms race. How-

ever, the Mexican bishops' information service later denied the archbishop had made such a statement.

Five million dollars is the goal of the annual U.S. bishops' aid fund appeal now under way. With this \$5 million, the fund raisers claim, Catholic Relief Service will be able to conduct programs overseas worth approximately \$155 million. The ratio is 30 to 1. Where does the rest of the money come from? Why the U.S. government, of course. If 1967's trend continues, it is expected to kick in about \$75 million in surplus food. Last year the U.S. government contributed in surplus food about half the total \$130 million CRS distributed overseas. With this CRS managed to feed about half the South Vietnamese army and to avoid facing the issue of helping the civilians the U.S. government is bombing in North Vietnam. Race, color, and religion play no part in its programs, according to CRS, but it says nothing about politics. To read the current fund appeal literature, chock full of statistics about CRS being the biggest and the best, you'd think things couldn't be rosier. At 30 to 1, they may be right.

What to do? A group at St. Frances Cabrini Parish in Tucson held a Vietnam Sunday during which they collected \$150 for Vietnamese civilian casualties in the war. The money was sent to the CPF which forwarded it to Caritas Internationalis, the Vatican-based relief agency which has programs in both Vietnams. Msgr. Carlo Bayer, director of Caritas, describes its North Vietnamese programs in a letter that appears on page 6, and thanks those who have already sent contributions. The Cabrini Committee for Help in Vietnam, which collected the \$150, also distributed a pamphlet to their fellow parishioners which carried the following appeal: "the turmoil of dissent and battle can divert us from another aspect of this war that also deserves our attention and loving concern . . . the civilian casualties that flood the woefully inadequate hospitals of that country, the young children who must face the uncertain future lacking a leg or an arm or disfigured by grotesque burns and scars. No matter where we stand in

our view of this war, we are all urged to lend help to the needy. Neither the cause of justice nor the cause of peace can excuse us from caring for these victims."

The Supreme Court continues to reject draft cases that smack of selective conscientious objection. One recent instance was Stephen Spiro's two-year-old conviction in New Jersey for refusing induction, which it turned down for review. Spiro is a Catholic who bases his objection on Augustine's just war doctrine, arguing that modern warfare cannot qualify under its terms. His legal case is particularly interesting in that it raises a question as to whether the government's refusal to countenance Catholic just war ethics constitutes religious discrimination or abridges religious freedom. A further point argued in the case, perhaps worth noting, is that the religious expression of what constitutes a just war by Thomistic criteria is an ecclesiastical determination binding on secular courts. Which is to say, among other things, that while Aquinas may not have known about modern warfare, or even contemplated nuclear weapons, he was quite adamant about hasty actions and victories not being
(Continued on page 7)

A symbolic gesture, the blood poured on the draft files in Baltimore last October has halted inductions at one of the city's 26 draft boards. About 200 records were seriously damaged by the blood, according to a draft official.

The action protesting the Vietnam war was carried out by Fr. Philip Berrigan, Rev. James Mengel, David Eberhardt and Thomas Lewis, whose statement of purpose appeared in the December "Bulletin." All four men have been indicted and face very severe prison sentences if found guilty. They have pleaded innocent and asked that their trial be postponed until the end of the war.

Thirty of the men whose records were damaged were eligible for induction, the official said. Call-ups were stopped to avoid drafting out of sequence and the bloodied files are now locked away as evidence.

Priests Cable Pope

A direct appeal to the Pope to condemn the American war in Vietnam signed by 257 American Catholic priests in January has received no response as yet from the Vatican.

Drafted by the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the message to Pope Paul asked that he "choose such words that no one of our leaders, no general, no senator, no bishop, no soldier, no citizen, can fail to understand" his condemnation of the war.

"We asked you," the statement went on, "to detail the grave reasons that impel you to this unprecedented act. Let your reasons, we implore you, include moral outrage, faith in the God of life, compassion for the victim, a sense of the peacemaking mission of the Church."

"We have written, preached, protested, fasted, debated," the priests stated. "Some of us have been jailed. To no avail; the war mounts, a rhetoric is forged, appeals are launched in favor of nationalism, violence and racism to justify each new horror."

The signers described themselves as "priests working in urban and country parishes, universities, among workers, students, intellectuals and the poor."

Among the signers of the cable were Fr. Daniel Berrigan, S.J., Cornell University; Fr. William H. DuBay, president of the American Federation of Priests; Fr. Robert W. Hovda, The Liturgical Conference of Washington, D.C.; Fr. John L. McKenzie, S.J., University of Notre Dame; Fr. Richard McSorley, S.J., Georgetown University, and Father Louis (Thomas Merton).

"It is to be hoped that the exaltation of the ideal of peace may not favor the cowardice of those who fear that it may be their duty to give their life for the service of their own country and of their own brothers, when these are engaged in the defense of justice and liberty and who seek only a flight from their responsibility, from the risks that are necessarily involved in the accomplishment of great duties and generous exploits. Peace is not pacifism, it does not mask a base and slothful concept of life, but it proclaims the most universal values of life, truth, justice, freedom, love"—Paul VI, Rome, December 15

Paul VI's Ideas on Pacifism & Life

In his appeal for a day of prayer for peace, Pope Paul obviously did not want to be misunderstood. Peace is relevant but pacifism, at least to most people, definitely is not. And if in the throes of disassociating himself from the pacifist position his manner fell short of complete candor, not to say the high ideals of his office, that must really be said to be his own business. The *Peace News* reply in any case deals with this with the bluntness it deserves. But after *Peace News* has had its say, expressing pretty much our own sentiments, then what? Hammering away with "duty" and "responsibility," Pope Paul left little doubt as to what he wishes to preserve, his "ideal" of peace notwithstanding. "Ideal" is a funny word these days anyway, but forgetting that for now, is the peace really worth a nickel that still scrutinizes men for cowardice, that locks brotherhood, justice and liberty to a death obligation, that can still jingle around in its vocabulary words like "base" and "slothful" as if we have not had enough of lofty and energetic lying. This is not a criticism of style, but a brief glimpse into a mental trench filled with cadavers from World War I onward. Pope Paul groping among abstractions for a costume befitting his role as peace-maker is not a pleasant sight. The flesh burns with napalm, starves, rebels against the filth of indignities inflicted on it. Why does the spirit waver?

An Open Letter to the Pope from Peace News

DEAR PAUL VI: War, they say, is Hell. A truism, certainly, but an incisive truism. Which is presumably one very good reason behind your public appeal for January 1 to be recognised throughout the world as a day dedicated to prayers for peace. But now, are you really serious in your professed desire to see peace and good-will among men on earth? Subjectively, no doubt you are. But objectively, we doubt it. We doubt it very much. And even more do we doubt the professed devotion to peace which you persistently claim, but which evidently gives you so

little strength of self as this, that you are forced to the mendacity and hypocrisy of the remarks you made on December 15. Frankly, those remarks were couched in the tone of a subordinate military bureaucrat, ridden with self-doubt and anxiety, and with plenty of projected hostility. How else to explain your implication that all pacifists are cowards? It is a shameful and dismaying spectacle to see you speaking in this manner at a time when we are possibly heading towards a planetary barbecue.

Indeed, it is out of shame and dismay

that we are writing you this letter. And paradoxically, by so doing we are in fact paying you some small compliment. If, for example, you were a hired spokesman for the Johnson Administration, we would feel profound contempt but no shame, since we do not identify with that Administration. But you are the representative leader of an international community with which some of our readers do identify, and with which even unbelievers such as we can at times feel a worth the cost, which would still seem to

(Continued on page 7)

U.S. Policy and Revolution

by Philip Berrigan

What is the major reason for America's dilemma in Vietnam? Actually, the same reason holds for the near-boiling point of the cold war, for the resumption of arms sales to Arab countries following the Middle East crisis, for current American intervention in Thailand, Laos, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Columbia and others; for mutual defense treaties with 42 nations; for military and economic aid to nearly 100 other nations. The same reason, furthermore, why defense appropriations constitute nearly 10% of gross national product; why Congress appropriates money for the Defense Department faster than the Pentagon can spend it; why 72¢ of every tax dollar goes for war and war preparation; why the Pentagon controls almost the exact percentage of Federal property in the world (53%) that the United States itself controls of the world's productive capacity. The reason is, of course, our wealth, and the type of society necessary to produce it.

On June 28 of last year, President Johnson gave in Baltimore before the Junior Chamber of Commerce one of the most important speeches of his Administration; no major official of government had previously dared to say what he said of the rationale behind foreign policy. Yet the President's remarks



evoked little analysis or comment in the communications media.

The President began by alternating between a defense of his Administration and a scathing attack upon the war protest movement. The first is full of unhistorical and exaggerated claims, the second follows the familiar Johnsonian pattern of guaranteeing dissent in the same breath he condemns practice of dissent. "During the very same week," he said, "as the peaceniks invaded the Pentagon, walked over the tulips, sat down on the steps, slept in the halls, 10,000 young Americans voluntarily, on their own, walked into the military enlistment centers directed by the Pentagon and volunteered their services and their lives for America. Let me repeat, there were over 10,000 first-term enlistments in one week." The intentional meaning of such a statement arises from the implications it contains: (1) The protestors in the Pentagon and 10,000

voluntary enlistments are somehow related; (2) They are related because the second (10,000) is a reaction of patriotism to the irresponsibility and traitorism of the first; (3) The 10,000's intent is to be directly involved in the Vietnam war. Actually, the vast majority of the latter were fleeing the war in Southeast Asia by joining the Reserves.

President Johnson also made some notable remarks about poverty. "A little over three years ago, when I became President, we had no poverty program. We were in Vietnam, but we had no poverty program. We started one—and we have increased it every year since. This year, we are increasing it by 25%—without tucking tail and running in Vietnam. More money will be spent on poverty in the United States in trying to do something about it this year by the Federal Government than we spend in Vietnam." But 25% of \$1.8 billion (the '66 anti-poverty budget) is \$450 million, supposedly bringing the allocations for anti-poverty measures to \$2.3 billion. This has simply not been done, and even government genius for juggling monetary statistics to fit criticism cannot prove that it has been done. Finally, the Vietnam war is likely to cost \$40 billion this year (by sound estimates it cost \$30 billion in 1966), so even if one were to add government involvement in local welfare programs to anti-poverty, plus every Federal measure that has even the most marginal effect upon poverty, one could not come up with expenditures over \$40 billion.

The President then offered statistics that help explain why our society is now called the welfare-warfare state, and a garrison economy. "Our prosperity is second to none anywhere in the world. Our standard of living is second to none anywhere in the world. We produce more goods; we transport more goods; we use more goods than anyone in the world. We own almost a third of the world's railroad tracks. We own almost two-thirds of the world's automobiles—and we don't have to wait three years to get a new one, either . . . We own half the trucks in the world. We own almost half of all the radios in the world. We own a third of all the electricity that is produced in the world. We own a fourth of all the steel. Our health conditions rank favorably with those of other countries in the world. Although we have about 6% of the population of the world, we have half its wealth."

"Bear in mind," he continued, "that the other 94% of the population would like to trade with us. Maybe a better way of saying it would be that they would like to exchange places with us. I would like to see them enjoy the blessings that we enjoy. But don't you help them exchange places with us—because I don't want to be where they are. Instead I believe we are generous enough—I believe we are compassionate enough—and I believe we are grateful enough that we would like to see all of them enjoy the blessings that are ours."

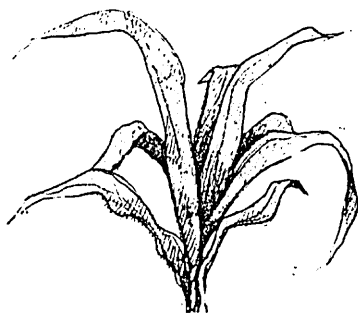
It is typical of the American world-view, or typical of our hypernationalism, that we need to think that other men want to change places with us. Typical also, that we think ourselves "generous, compassionate and grateful enough" to desire that all men "enjoy the blessings that are ours." The evidence somehow runs contrary to the longing. Our wealth is equal to, or greater than that of the whole world against us, and to match

this as security, our military hardware is greater than that of the whole world against us.

Logically, foreign policy must fit these twin economic and military realities. And indeed it does. The State Department performs essentially the same tasks on foreign soil as politicians perform at home, that is to say, it cultivates a political climate favorable to economic operation, protecting where protection is needed, manipulating governments and native business interests to insure a greater flow of profits to feed the American gross national product. And if native opposition becomes such that revolution threatens economic presence and ongoing investment, there is the pressure of American economic and military force. It is, after all, the familiar tactic of carrot and stick.

Let it be made clear that there is no express desire for domination present in such policy. We have no territorial aims, no intentions to annex, none of the conventional colonial aspirations. Rather, the technological society to which we have given such an overwhelming mandate has an inherent need to grow and expand, at home and abroad. It has a consuming interest in profits, just as most Americans do; there is a sincere and profound belief that what is good for General Motors is now good for the world.

In effect, we are captives to our wealth, and the system that produces it. It seems that when material tangibles assume over-



weaning importance, they tend to control their owners; means have imperceptively become ends. An ideology develops to rationalize the irrationality of this process: domestically, it becomes a national mythology called Americanism, while its foreign version becomes anti-communism. Rival peoples, races, systems and nations become "friendly" insofar as they accept what we accept, value what we value. Insofar as they diverge from our consensus, they are labeled "less friendly," or "enemy," as the French, Cubans and Chinese seem to prove.

Foreign policy then, as articulated by President Johnson or by any Administration spokesman, stays "official" by concerning itself with "aggression," "Communist subversion," and the need to preserve "the self-determination" of "free" peoples. Such rhetoric is needed to foster mass support. In any real sense, however, foreign policy is merely a creature of economic and military power. With both of the latter at peak strength, it does not make sense that diplomacy now opt to "contain" communism. We are no longer dealing with Stalin's Soviet Russia or Mao's Revolution. Our wealth and arms, two aspects of massive technological productivity, are capable of a course far more beneficial to national purpose than "containment." In a word, we have proven that we can outproduce the Communists. The object now is to outbid, outsubvert, outpropagandize, outthreaten, outmaneuver, and embarrass them at every turn. And if it comes to the brink, to take them there

and send them home once more defeated by our righteousness and firmness, knowing that they have less stomach for nuclear exchange than we do.

Official Washington, therefore, is not apt to consider Vietnam as the same moral and political disgrace many of us do. Vietnam is seen, instead, within the context of Pax Americana, within terms that flow from the imposition of the American cultural, technological and political miracle upon the world. In these terms, evidence abounds of our success. Eastern Europe has opened to the West, Russia is becoming more and more "like us," China is undergoing a cultural revolution, North Korean and Japanese Communists are being divorced from Peking, Sukarno has been overthrown and an anti-Communist blood-bath has followed, stability and growth are evident in Singapore—all these are benefits of our firmness in Vietnam. And though the price there might be heavy and unpopular, a rising "quotient of pain" for the Vietnamese will inevitably end in a Korean solution and a concrete realization of our aims.

War in Vietnam, therefore, cannot stop, if stopping means a defeat of policy. It is policy that is at stake, and behind policy, ruthless economics and overwhelming military force; and behind that, a Way of Life which revolves around the highest standard of living in the world. The thing has a ponderous logic and consistency about it, even a morality, if you will. That is why Washington's reaction to protest always has an air of angry incredulity about it. If the protestors were to have their way, and America withdrew from Vietnam, the world floodgates to national wars of liberation would be opened, and then what would happen to our "blessings," which the protestors share?

The Vietnam war must be stopped, because it is unjust, because we can't win it justly; because we can't win it without W.W. III. One is appalled, therefore, by the bankruptcy of attitude and action needed to stop it. By and large, the American people are unknowing, unconscious and yet willing accomplices of the war. Congress is worse than the rank and file, and will give majority support to any war administration for the foreseeable future. So will the major institutions of America, business, educational and religious. By the same token, foreign opposition is too fragmented by internal difficulties to be of



(Continued from page 5.)

noticeable impact. There remains only the peace movement, or more broadly, the American human rights movement.

Peace people would do well to be familiar with the coalition of Communists and Catholics who extricated France from Algeria during the 1950's. It was a genuine movement, infused with a profound Christian spirit—an enormous sensitivity to injustice and a sophisticated type of nonviolence. Moreover, the major figures of French intellectualism were in the vanguard—Domenach, Mauriac, Sartre, Massignon, Duval and Marrou, to mention a few. White papers, speeches, manifestos, articles, pamphlets, books; it would be impossible to list the literary output against a war that was colonial, inhuman and wrong. Soldiers refused obedience, others who had previously served refused to put on a uniform or to return to Algeria, Francis Jeanson, a young existentialist writer, organized a network of assistance for the F.L.N., advocating refusal to register, desertion and aid to the Algerian nationalists, Lanza del Vasto, a disciple of Gandhi, formed a community of pacifists who identified with 5,000 Algerians held without trial. Arrested repeatedly by the police, they were always released far outside Paris. In 1960, many of del Vasto's men surrounded a draft objector named Jacques Muir, and having destroyed their identity papers, all replied that they were Jacques Muir. Other advocates of non-violence organized public works projects on their own, and invited draft refusers to contribute in this way to public utility. In the end, before negotiations were finally forced by public opinion, Moslems, liberals, Catholics, Communists, and priests were massacred in Algeria by General Salan's followers. But the war ended, and France emerged to

a better life. For once, it could be said, moral considerations outweighed political power.

True, this war is vastly more complex, harder to stop and more atrocious than France's Algerian effort. But it is also true that the peace movement has faced it with proportionately less intelligence, less outrage at injustice, less taste for risk than the French revolutionaries. We whose society springs from profound revolutionary roots, whose country was torn from 1877 to 1914 by a series of labor explosions more ferocious than any counterpart in the world, become frightened at the word revolution, no less so than by the civil disobedience needed for a controlled revolution.

Yet America is a radically sick society, and any talk of reforming it without revolution is nonsense—revolution of consciousness and conscience, revolution of economic and institutional life. Jefferson, at the very time the Constitution was being framed, spoke of the need of revolution every twenty years in a society like ours. And sociologists have long referred to "an iron law of oligarchy" which seizes representative government, making holders of power insensitive to the needs of the masses.

Of one thing we can be sure, revolution will come; a welfare-warfare state like ours cannot for long contain it. It might be delayed, it cannot be forestalled. And it will come violently, through a combination of escalating urban terror and Southeast Asian war, both of which could coalesce in World War III. Or it will come nonviolently because we have the humaneness to do what is right whatever the consequences; because, in fact, we have insisted that our country be given back to us.

(Reprinted from *World View*)

Letter from Caritas

Dear Mr. Forest,

Thank you for your letter of November 3, and for the enclosures I received today of which one is the editorial to be published in the *Ave Maria* magazine, on November 25, "Catholic Relief Services—A Sequel."

When I issued my statement on October 20, I thought, to quote your words, that "this should put an end to confusion regarding the North Vietnamese Red Cross aid program once and for all." Unfortunately this was not so, as shown by the NC News Service of the 21st October and their even less understandable News of the 6th November.

As NC News Service has a wide circulation, it was reprinted, although crippled, by many newspapers. For instance, I am enclosing a photostatic clipping from the *Sunday Examiner*, Hong Kong. Its title, obviously taken from the NC News Service, is at variance with the passage quoted from my statement regarding equipment destined to Hanoi.

And then there are some concerned people in the States who speculate on the misunderstanding rising from the term "relief program" as the one being carried on in South Vietnam by CRS. Anyhow providing medical equipment for Hanoi is certainly an "aid" to the North Vietnamese. But I am deadly tired of making statements and restatements and thus waste a lot of time. I feel we have to go on and do a positive work as there are ever fresh developments.

I summarize the situation as follows:

After receiving official assurances about our two tentative shipments to Hanoi—one via Moscow-Peking and the other by sea—we have now placed an order for the equipment for an outdoor Patients Department (see attached list) with a well experienced firm in Hong Kong . . . Part of this was already supplied through the shipment made by French Secours Catholique. Expenditure for several other items is met by MISEREOR, Germany, and another item by the World Council of Churches, Geneva. The remaining items will be paid with the donations entrusted to us by the Holy Father and by the gifts sent us by

your friends.

The prices for the current shipment are given in German Marks for a total amount of roughly \$85,000.

Once this is settled, we will tackle a second list . . . costing \$400,000.

After this effort, we will again take into consideration a new visit of Msgr. Huessler or somebody else to Hanoi to check on the good use of this equipment with the North Vietnamese Red Cross. Preliminary assurances were given to us by one of Hanoi embassies in Europe.

You will be interested to know that the gifts received so far from The Catholic Peace Fellowship total U.S. \$1,165.20 from 40 individual donors. Every day the mail brings us one or more letters.

Of course we acknowledge receipt for each one, but I want to express here our profound gratitude to you and would ask you to convey our most sincere thanks to your fellow members.

Sincerely yours,
(Msgr. Carlo Bayer)
Secretary General
Caritas Internationalis
Rome, November 18, 1967

TANGENTS

(Continued from page 2)

worth the cost, which would still seem to apply today.

Some thinking along these lines must be going on at Stonehill College in North Easton, Mass., where the entire theology faculty recently signed a letter to President Johnson asking that the draft law be changed to recognize conscientious objectors to a particular war. And that particular war, namely Vietnam, was denounced by 35 faculty at the Jesuit University of San Francisco in a letter to the President. Among other things, the teachers (John Tracy Ellis was one of the three Jesuits who signed) called for a reassessment of China as "the great world villain."

Vincent F. McGee, Jr., a Catholic studying at Union Theological Seminary, has been indicted in New York on four charges of violating the draft law, refusing to be inducted, not carrying his card, not appearing for the physical, and not supplying information requested by his draft board. It all began last summer when he burnt half of his draft card and sent the other half, charred according to reports, to President Johnson. He is president of the first-year-class at the seminary and is spoken of highly by Dr. John C. Bennett, president of Union, and Msgr. Myles M. Bourke, his pastor at Corpus Christi Church in New York. Nobody will be able to say the issues were unclear in 1968, and it is very much people like McGee who made them clear.

Also in trouble with the draft is Fr. John P. Huhn of Battle Creek, Mich., who mailed his card to the Justice Department with a letter telling them he would "assist other young men of draft age who in conscience cannot accept military service." Father Huhn's view is that clergymen who in conscience can accept military service should be required to serve, that they as a group are no better than any other group. His own conscience says he won't go, and in this, if not in tactics, he is supported by his ordinary, Bishop Alexander Zaleski of the Lansing diocese. Father Huhn decided to publicize his dissent after talking with Thomas Merton, when an earlier attempt to turn his card in to

Secretary of State Rusk resulted in its being sent back.

In Duluth, Minn., a 28-year-old Catholic priest, chairman of the local chapter of Clergy and Laymen Concerned, sent a 10-page pamphlet denouncing the war as "immoral, unjust and illegal" to 800 senior boys in four Duluth high schools. Fr. Philip M. Solem, who is an assistant pastor, urged the boys in the strongly worded pamphlet to resist induction, not cooperate with the military, and not fight in Vietnam. He pledged his support to any young men who agree. Apparently they got the message, as did the FBI, the chancery, and various school officials. Later the chancery announced that no disciplinary action would be taken against the priest. Evidence that Father Solem is not alone in his feelings is a statement by 37 Catholic priests, mainly high school teachers and college chaplains, supporting Pennsylvania's Episcopal Bishop Robert L. DeWitt on draft counseling, which the priests say is urgently needed in the Philadelphia area.

And in San Francisco 800 people at a "service of support" in the Glide (Methodist) Memorial Church watched five men, including a Jesuit seminarian and a Dominican priest, turn in their draft cards. Thomas Maloney, a seminarian from Alma College, Los Gatos, and Father Dominick de Dominco, O.P., performed their act of protest at the climax of a two-hour service conducted by the Stanford theologian Dr. Robert McAfee Brown. Also participating were Fr. Peter Riga and Michael Novak.

The Long Island Chapter of the CPF has announced two new projects, both very worthwhile. One is a "Survey of Male Catholic High School Students" to determine just how much they know about their rights and obligations under the draft. The other project is a "Declaration to the Bishop and Priests of the Diocese" calling on them to support conscientious objectors, including those fol-

*father groppi
a fish
in black water
behind the glass
looking out
finlessly*

lowing the Church's "just war" theory which under current law is regarded as selective objection. The idea is to get as many signatures of Catholics on the petition as possible, which means work. Mike Ciota (PY 9-4214) is in charge of both projects if you want to help.

A "Tangents" note in the Dec. *Bulletin*, concerning opposing public statements about the war signed by students and faculty at St. Meinrad College in Indiana, was erroneous in suggesting that the 123 persons involved constituted pretty much everybody at the college. In fact, the college enrollment alone is 270, more than twice the number of signers.

CREDITS

*Cover and inside art, David Ray;
December cover, Linda Forest,
Anton Kuskin; inside art, Barbara
Loste.*

AN OPEN LETTER

(Continued from page 3)

little sympathy. At its best, it is a community which knows no national boundaries and which, in spite of ideological differences, possesses the tolerance, breadth of mind, and generosity of spirit to number people like Simone Weil, Charles Peguy, Jacques Maritain, Gabriel Marcel, Georges Bernanos, Graham Greene, Thomas Merton, Philip Berrigan, Gordon Zahn, Dorothy Day, and many other earnest, decent souls among its congregation: writers and thinkers for whose talent, integrity, and sensitivity we have profound respect.

Then, in what does your crime consist? It is that you have taken up, whether wilfully or unintentionally, a deceptively convenient smear-word and used it in a disgraceful manner, simply in order to defame and do dirt on those people who happen to believe in the most subversive doctrine on man's earth: pacifism, non-violence, the law of love, call it what you will. When you parrot about "the most universal values," etc., etc., and at the same time damn pacifism as "a base and slothful concept of life," you are dabbling in ethical nihilism, nothing more, nothing less. You are falling prey to precisely that same collective delusion which has fastened on the minds of men in our modern world, that is, the notion that ethical values no

(Continued on page 8)

BOOKS

The Maryknoll Catholic Dictionary edited by Albert J. Nevins, MM. Grosset & Dunlap, N.Y.—\$9.95.

While this dictionary is too spiritless to capture much interest, no doubt uses for it will be found. Unfortunately, flaws in content are as easy to detect as the generally antique atmosphere of the volume. The section treating pacifism, for example, is flawed by ambiguities and, in dividing pacifists into two sections—absolute and relative (or nuclear)—suggests that the latter group is adequately defined by the renunciation of nuclear warfare. No reference is made to any of those Fathers of the Church or saints who have renounced war or violence.

Conscience is pallidly described as nothing more than a judgment of intellect, not "the voice of God in man" as described in the *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* and other earlier sources. One sentence, however, would be useful to any person not sure whether to submit to induction (or not sure of bearing weapons, or killing, or whatever): "One may never act while in a state of positive practical doubt."

The treatment of conscientious objection, which is extremely brief, is probably well-intended, but is misleading and fails to deal with the conscientious objector to the particular war (whose position would apparently be closer to that of the book's editors than the "absolute" position the editors demarcated under pacifism). Nor, in referring to U.S. law, does it indicate that there is provision for civilian alternative service (the 1-0 position); reference is made only to noncombatant assignment (1-A-O). There is no mention of non-cooperation.

On the one hand the Church teaches (as was stated in the *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*) that "man's dignity demands that he act according to a free choice that is personally motivated and prompted from within, not under blind internal impulse or mere external pressure," and on the other, the *Dictionary* declares conscription, in extreme situations, is permissible. (Presumably this principle applies to any government). No reference is made to the anti-conscription declarations of such pontiffs as Benedict XV or to the theological incongruities suggested by support of conscription.

The section on war, though quoting briefly from *Pacem in Terris*, omits the crucial quotation, "Therefore, in this age of ours which prides itself on its atomic power, it is irrational to believe that war is still an apt means of vindicating violated rights." No treatment of the just war tradition is given, nor any suggestion that the church's magisterium has ever considered participation in war illicit.

In short, in the area of Christian peace concern and history at least, the book's good intentions fail to substitute for serious omissions and distortions.

The Jews: Views and Counterviews by Jean Danielou and Andre Chouraqui. Newman Press, Md.—\$3.25.

A frequently stirring exchange between the well known Jesuit theologian and the assistant mayor of Jerusalem—an extraordinary man who once directed the resistance network in Haute-Loire.

The Dimensions of the Church by Avery Dulles. Newman Press, Md.—\$3.50.

"It is distressing that the community which preaches the most intense charity toward all men often appears to divide its own members from the rest of mankind. It is an unhappy paradox that the religion which most insistently proclaims universal peace and reconciliation often finds itself in a situation of isolation and hostility." Thus begins this excellent little book, the main concerns of which are parochial or sectarian accretions from the word "Catholic." It ends with a chapter on Bonhoeffer.

AN OPEN LETTER

(Continued from page 7)

longer have any political relevance in our present situation, but are seen merely as private virtues. In other words, you are advocating a monstrously immoral position which is absolutely incompatible with Christian doctrine.

Can you not see the falsity of your position? Though you talk about "love" a great deal in your sermons and though you probably recognize as some sort of transcendental absolute, yet in practice it is now perfectly clear from your remarks that you do not accept Martin Buber's wise counsel that, difficult though it may be, our task is to drive "the ploughshare of the normative principle" (that is, real human love) "into the hard soil of political fact." You are, it now seems, yet another example of the "crackpot realist" who is unable to transcend the given context of the political power structures and realize that ethical insights are still valid in political conduct.

From exactly what sources do you derive your notions about "pacifism"? It is impossible to respect your position when your concepts of pacifism seem to derive from the same sources as almost everybody else, as if you had picked them up from *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, *Reader's Digest*, *Paris-Match*, and so forth, precisely the kind of vulgar rubbish that lies around in every barber's shop and dentist's waiting room. They are hardly sophisticated notions, are they? They are pitifully representative of the kind of thinking which asserts that pacifism is largely negative emotionalism, a sentimental but well-meaning pro-

test against the horror of war; that pacifism will not stand up to hard-headed intellectual inspection; that pacifism is not a realistic alternative but a futile attempt to evade reality; that pacifists have not really thought through their position and its implications; that pacifists are naive believers in the goodness of man, who cannot face up to the ugly facts of human evil, original sin, pride and greed, the struggle for survival, or whatever.

Now, if this were indeed the pacifist position, it would certainly not be a very strong one. It would in fact be a stupefying counsel of defeat and despair. It would go against the grain of every human instinct to oppose tyranny, injustice, and authoritarianism. But of course, this is *not* pacifism. You might conceivably have some kind of case if you had criticized pacifists who are not realistic in their political analysis, those who think that love can be easily applied to human conflict and at little cost, those who self-righteously and complacently regard all their own actions as being free from moral ambiguity. However, this was not your style. To you, pacifism *per se* is base and slothful, and "peace is not pacifism." Are we then to conclude that you agree with Orwell's savage irony, that "peace is war"?

The Bulletin

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