

the catholic peace fellowship
Bulletin

June 1968



SPECIAL
A SIDE ON
WAR AND
THE DRAFT
REFLECT

A Statement from Maryland

Today, May 17, 1968; we enter Local Board No. 33 at Catonsville, Md., to seize the Selective Service records and burn them outside with napalm manufactured by ourselves from a recipe in the *Special Forces Handbook*, published by the U.S. government.

We, American citizens, have worked with the Poor in the ghetto and abroad. In the course of our Christian ministry we have watched our country produce more victims than an army of us could console or restore. Two of us face immediate sentencing for similar acts against Selective Service. All of us identify with the victims of American oppression all over the world. We submit voluntarily to their involuntary fate.

We use napalm on these draft records because napalm has burned people to death in Vietnam, Guatemala and Peru; and because it may be used on America's ghettos. We destroy these draft records not only because they exploit our young men, but because those records represent misplaced power, concentrated in the ruling class of America. Their power threatens the peace of the world and is aloof of public dissent and parliamentary process. The draft reduces young men to cost efficiency items. The rulers of America want their global wars fought as cheaply as possible.

Above all, our protest attempts to illustrate why our country is torn at home and is harrassed abroad by enemies of its own creation. America has become an empire and history's richest nation. Representing only 6 per cent of the world's people, America controls half of the world's productive wealth and 60 per cent of its finance. The U.S. holds North and South America in an economic vise. In 10 years' time American industry in Europe will be the third greatest industrial power in the world, with only the United States and the Soviet Union being larger. U.S. foreign profits run substantially higher than domestic profits so industry flees abroad under government patronage and the protection of the CIA, military counter insurgency and conflict-management teams.

The military supports the economic system by joining with the business and political sectors to form the triumvirate of power in this technocratic empire. With our annual budget of

\$80 billion plus, the military now controls over half of the federal property in the world (53 per cent or \$183 billion). U.S. overkill capacity and conventional weaponry exceeds that of the military might of the entire world.

Peace negotiations with the North Vietnamese have begun in Paris. Along with other Americans we hope a settlement will be reached, thus sparing the Vietnamese a useless prolongation of their suffering. However, this alone will not solve America's problems. The Vietnam war could end tomorrow and yet leave the quality of society and America's role in the world virtually unchanged. Thailand, Laos and the Dominican Republic have already been Vietnams. Guatemala, the Canal Zone, Bolivia and Peru could be Vietnams overnight. Meanwhile, the colonies at home rise in rage and destructiveness. The black people of America have concluded that after 360 years, their acceptance as human beings is long overdue.

Injustice is the great catalyst of revolution. A nation that found life through revolution has now become the world's number one counterrevolutionary force, not because American people would have it that way, but because the rich choose to defend their power and wealth. The masters of the trusts and corporate giants, along with their representatives in Washington, must learn the hard lessons of justice, or our country may be swept away and humanity with it.

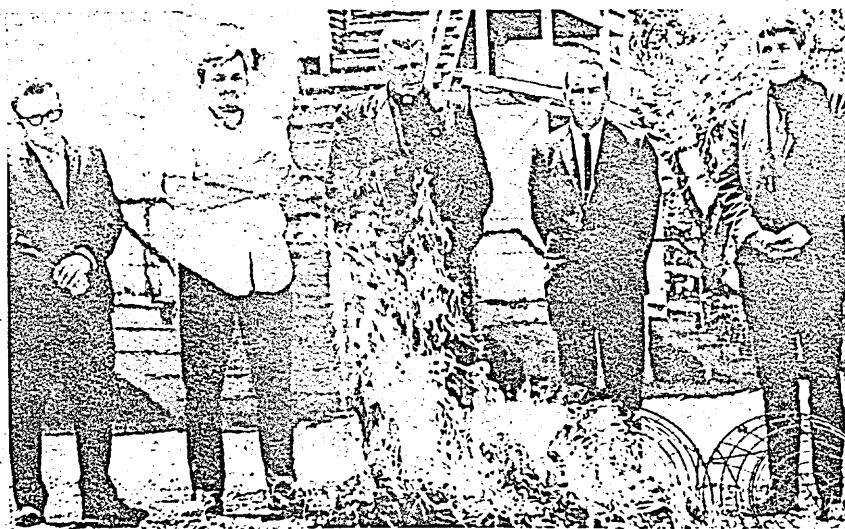
We believe some property has no right to exist. Hitler's gas ovens, Stalin's concentration camps, atomic-bacteriological-chemical weaponry, files of conscription and slum properties are examples having no right to existence. While people starve for bread and lack decent housing the rich debase themselves with comfort paid for by the misery of the poor.

We are Catholic Christians who take the Gospel of our Faith seriously. We hail the recent papal encyclical, *The Development of Peoples*. Quotes such as the following give us hope:

#23: "No one is justified in keeping for his exclusive use what he does not need, when others lack necessities."

#31: "A revolutionary uprising—save where there is open

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Watching the napalm fire burning draft records they had taken from the office of the nearby Catonsville, Md., Selective Service board are (left to right) Tom Lewis, George Mische, Fr. Philip Berrigan, John Hogan, and Fr. Daniel Berrigan. Moments later, while still standing by the blaze, they were arrested.

An Appeal

Well, June has come around, the worst month for a fund appeal, according to experts in the field. Could the experts be wrong? We hope so, because the CPF needs money like everybody else, and just like everybody else it needs it desperately. We would like to narrow it down to something simple, like no kidding! But that won't do. Even non-experts know that.

Actually, what the CPF needs money for is not a larger *Bulletin*. The current issue is an exception, because it seemed appropriate for various reasons, the most important being to introduce the theme of Resistance to our readers in some variety of modes and rhetoric. Some CPF contributors have been put off by the idea of Resistance, others disapprove of some of the tactics. The two acts of destroying draft board records, involving CPF members, have been particularly upsetting to some contributors for either moral or tactical reasons.

We can't tell how widespread this feeling is, but we know it exists because a number of contributors have already expressed their disenchantment, both in word and in financial support. Anyway, our own feelings on the subject (positive) are expressed in the editorial in this issue; the statement of those who participated in the seizure of the Catonsville, Md., draft records begins on page 2; Fr. Philip Berrigan's description of the participants and their community in jail begins on page 3; and some thirty letters beginning on page 5, taken from CPF files, give an idea of the various shades of feeling, attitude, fear and love that is shaping the behavior of those directly involved with the draft. Few, if any, of
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A MOMENT OF HOPE

Resistance is only a word. It is part of the rhetoric of the moment, though struggles for peace and revulsion against war and all its moral posturings have been with us for a long time. What the Berrigan brothers, the Melvilles, Tom Lewis and the others (yes, David Darst, John Hogan, George Mische and Mary Moylan) have done is also part of that rhetoric. But people who see only the rhetoric miss the point. That is, the courage, the passionate intensity that Yeats said had in our times devolved to the worst, the "My God, what next?" reflex their act produced in some of us, and most certainly in many of this country's bishops, and finally, the sheer, utter difficulty of the speech they have chosen to express their kernel of resistance to what our government and our society stand for today. This is all for the moment, in time, a photo, a news story we'll probably remember. For the highwire act of burning draft records is just that, something exact, something special, and something dangerous. It tampers with mundane time, the documents, the records, the secrets, all the little piles of feces we organize and rearrange, and to which we hold ourselves and others strictly to account. It tampers with mundane time just as a highwire act tampers with mundane space. There is no net, and jails are made for doing time. So the moment insists on a measure of respect.

But let's try to get beyond the moment, for that is what these things must be about. We must consider the moment as a point coming before and after other similar points in an unbroken chain, consider its beauty, its necessity, its power and then set out to destroy it. The necessity of the other moments, the moments that came before and come after, shall not impinge on their unique dead. The necessity that men have killed and will continue to kill regardless of a singular act by a few brave men must not be allowed to impinge on the freedom of that moment. For the freedom of that moment also harbors its hope, which transcends the whole unbroken chain of fear, neglect, oppression and wrinkled wisdom of experience.

The draft card burning has not provoked violence or disrespect or whatever else people have imagined to avoid confronting its true provocation. And that is, again, freedom, and with it hope, if only because there are still such men among us. The causes of peace, the Church, order, other men's right, have not been harmed by this. They have only been provoked. There is a picture of several of them gathered in the parking lot next to the draft board, circling the small fire in which the draft records are turning to ash. The photograph seems to have caught each deep in his own thoughts, yet they all ap-
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On Jail Community

"They're in better spirits than those of us on the outside!" The *Baltimore Sun* of May 19th quoted Fred Weisgal, our lawyer, to this effect. We howled in glee at the remark, because it seemed true to us. And because true, full of irrepressible human ironies. The awareness struck us then, as before, that authority—both government and Church had far more problems than we.

For one thing, we had the government and all the baron class hung up on our Declaration of Independence, which we judged as fine a political expression of the Gospel as exists. Power and privilege required the hypocrisy of professing the Declaration—a pure expression of self-determination—while living social and economic Darwinism. And legal reaction against us came purely from our attempts to illustrate such political schizophrenia. A political house divided against it-

by Philip Berrigan

self, and thinking that Johnson's consensus would alone save it from crashing down.

Moreover, we had the Church on its own profession and rhetoric. Try as it might, the Church cannot entirely kill the Gospel or its Christ. It is a great strength to know this, and to know its consequent vulnerability. In a word, the Church will always possess an inner dynamic rebelling against wedding with the powers of this world. So it is, when my superior threatens me with ecclesiastical sanctions for confronting a warmaking society, he is speaking less of the Gospel's death, and more of institutional obsolescence.

Yet a return to the original point—we have the apparent problems; political and Church authority. The real ones, three priests in official disgrace, the other Catholics in our group
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ignored simply because canonical jurisdiction offers no ready weapon against them. Church bureaucrats—if my superior is any sort of stereotype—would prefer better redress against us. But since they are at loss in this, they leave heavier duties of punishment to the government, contenting themselves meanwhile with bluster and threats of removal. Take it as an axiom—American bureaucracies have survival as their corporate version of self-interest. And they will react to stimuli upon nerve ends or blows to viscera with the same outpouring of defensive rectitude. One is rewarded by the priceless experience of seeing them once more as they are.

In any event, Christian communities form today under pressure of events and around the issues which prompt the events. We have one here in Baltimore County Jail—diverse, rich, intelligent, loving. And tough. One hesitates to use that word, for words fail as persons; they have been molded by human suffering, including their own. One does not undertake realistically the cause of exploited people without facing oneself and the whole galaxy of personal fears and weaknesses.

Others have remarked to us from time to time of our "courage" or "lack of fear." Their observations, we feel, are superficial and misleading. In any human equation, the difference between us and them is not the absence or presence of fear. It is a difference of facing one's fears or not. For the most part, when people plunge for a look at the dark recesses of American society, to understand more fully its ambiguous and entrenched genius, its enormous capacity for violence and exploitation, its anxiety and retaliatory power, they stimulate

ejected from Guatemala for identifying with the poor there, to be the brunt of ecclesiastical rejection and punishment, to risk beating or death on return to the United States, and then to attack non-violently the injustice of this society in its "rich man's war, poor man's fight" system of conscription, is to add a modest dimension to Christian ministry.

David Darst is our Christian Brother from St. Louis, who teaches in a black high school there. We had restive suspicions of David at first, simply because we could not understand why he would join us in serious civil disobedience without involvement in resistance. Being slightly paranoid about security we had suspicions of him as a religious "snoop," whose hyperpatriotism might have led him to infiltrate us for some branch of federal or military intelligence. Personal experience with security resources in a "free" society can do this to one. But our fears were allayed—David had resisted the draft and had refused induction in St. Louis on April 4th, a stand solitary among religious brothers, taken against considerable opposition and with only desultory support. David, we think, is quite too good to be true.

Authorities here have separated the women upstairs—in fact, it is policy not to allow them to Sunday Eucharist with the men. Marge Melville and Mary Moylan are exceptional people—women of strength, balance and good humor. From time to time, we succumb to the temptation of comparing them with more knowledgeable and experienced human rights people—women and men—to the considerable expense of the latter.

Marge's fourteen years in Guatemala as a Maryknoll nun



fears and know—perhaps for the first time—a public despair. Or one reacts, despite the odds, to a public hope.

More specifically, when most Americans realize that bureaucracies of government business and Church have gulped them down whole and intact, where anonymity is their name and where function becomes almost cellular—maintenance and reproduction—they tend to be overwhelmed by their helplessness, and to retreat to a womblike confidence in the system. Indeed, few Americans understand how a technocracy of both the capitalistic and Soviet varieties makes people as mass-produced as assembly line productions with about as few options. In effect, people begin to resemble the products they consume—the system digests them, they digest its products.

To return to our community—three priests, three married people, one Christian Brother, three laymen. If that gets confusing, Fr. Tom Melville is married and a priest, despite his excommunication and suspension. So he considers himself, and so we consider him. If the Melville presence in jail is any indication of the consequence they face, their marriage has lent fruitful dimensions to their Christian ministry. To be

had led her into the student movement, and from there to concern for the peasants and the need for revolution. Mention of self-defense to the peasants is enough to get one expelled in a country like Guatemala—precisely what happened to Marge and Tom and John Hogan.

Mary has been back from Africa some two years, where she served as a nurse with the Women's Volunteer Association. Named Director of the Association, she made its headquarters in Washington a center of human activity and concern, finally to have it sold from under her by the local hierarchy. Apart from being what she is, Mary has stood for the needs of people and against the pomposity of structures. And that makes less surprising her being with us.

John Hogan has now left the Maryknoll Brothers, after having been ordered out of Guatemala—with the Melvilles—by his Order. That is to say, first by the U.S. Government, then by the oligarchy, then by the Guatemalan Church, finally by his Order. Certain chains of command are observed. John left Maryknoll because he saw it as the left hand of economic im-

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SAYING NO

Letters from the CPF Files

The following letters were selected from CPF files, some dating back to 1966, most 1967, and a few are from this year. The selection was rough and ready, made over a couple of days, and hardly represents a fine combing of the archives. Many of the letters deal with resistance to one degree or another, though resistance is mentioned specifically only one or two times. The language is individual, the terms range from the latest New Left to the traditionally pious. However, all represent a personal confrontation with the draft as an American reality, for some, the American reality at this point in their lives.

I am in a state of considerable anxiety caused by the recent draft proposals of Lyndon Johnson. For several months, indeed nearly a year, I have been disturbed by the recent bellicose tendencies displayed by the current administration. When I turned eighteen on October 29, 1966, I had seriously pondered the thought of signing up as a "Conscientious Objector." Under the impression that C-O status was not allowed to Catholics, however, I registered as a college student and received my 2-S status. I noticed a pamphlet on one of the bulletin boards in school shortly after the beginning of this year which claimed that members of the Roman Catholic Church who seriously doubt, or deny, the validity of armed conflict and who found their consciences incompatible with the thought of killing a fellow human being—such Catholics could become C-Os.

Recently I sought the counsel of several of my parish priests in helping me reconcile Christ's teaching of Love with the fact that a large portion of the Roman Catholic clergy actually laud our present policy toward Vietnam. To my mind, if the Church supposedly follows the teaching of Christ, the most important of which is to Love one's neighbor, both friend and enemy alike, there can be no equivocation in judging America's militaristic policies, which are wont to be hidden behind a facade of duty and patriotism. The application of "give to Caesar, etc." as well as the scene in the Gospels wherein Christ drove the money-changers from the temple hardly substantiates the subtle casuistry which has blinded many of our clergymen into seeking military might as the panacea for the myriad "anti-Christian," and "Communist" ideologies which assail the traditional teachings of the Catholic Church. For I believe that these unfortunate clergymen, and many laymen as well, have become so clouded by the legalism which had unfortunately infected the Church that they ignore the basic concept of Love which forms, which is, the ESSENCE of Christianity. By failing to recognize that Christ lives not only in baptized human beings, but also in the most "wretched" and "pagan," such sophistry which condones war in order to destroy atheistic and immoral ideologies—such sophistry ultimately denies Christ.

I have been called "blatantly idealistic," "too emotional," and have been denounced as a "Communist" and an "ungrateful traitor" by certain individuals to whom I have expressed my views. I am not entirely idealistic and as a matter of fact have been deeply rooted in skepticism and pessimism in regard

to the "ultimate perfectability of mankind." Nor am I a traitor, for I am profoundly indebted to this country and I desire to serve my country in a manner which will permit me to serve the higher order of Christ as well.

Yet I have been symied in most of my encounters with Roman Catholic priests whenever I discuss my pacifistic beliefs. Some have even resorted to declaring that I "must" fulfill a military obligation if I desire to remain a "true Catholic."

Therefore I beg you to help me find a solution to my dilemma. For if the Catholic Church truly represents the religious institution founded by Christ on earth, and I indeed believe in this concept, then its doctrine can hardly be compatible with the militaristic and murderous theories of a "moral war." If the Catholic Church refuses or ignores my plea, however, I am deeply sorrowed by the fact that it must not be the religion of Christ and therefore I must seek my salvation through some other religious body.

I might end now by thanking you sincerely for listening to my plea. I intend to extend my teachings—or more correctly Christ's teachings and my beliefs—to all my friends and acquaintances (as indeed I have done already) in order to promulgate a "militant pacifism" which in effect may hopefully lead the true interpretation of Christ's Gospel of Love in a complete victory over the American tradition of militarism and "democratic, aggressive defense." I hope your fellowship can and will help me; I give you my solemn pledge to help other persons who have encountered the same excruciating dilemma of choosing between duty to Christ and allegiance to country—to help these individuals perceive that there can be no real conflict between these two spheres of influence provided one serves one's country with the intention to build and not to destroy, to assist and not to kill—to Love and not to hate.

P.M.

I do not consider the Selective Service as my problem, and really don't care what they consider conscientious objection. But I am concerned with what reasons the Church considers adequate in refusing military service.

I began my objection with the idea that I would like to be a pacifist or CO. The killing of human beings is totally repugnant. I do not know who can look at a live human being and a dead one together and consider the dead one more proper. War also includes the breaking up of families, the shattering of societies and the devastation of the land. Therefore, I suppose that most people consider war disgusting, and it is ironic that it could be wrong to not-kill. This sort of feeling has colored my thinking and led me to toss out or evade arguments which might have led to the acceptance of war and a part in war for me. Traditional Catholic objection has been based on the just war ethic, but I seem unable to apply the norm and decide whether a given war (the Vietnamese, for instance) is just or unjust. And even if I should decide it is just, I am doubtful that I would then accept a part in it.

I have read the statements of other COs, and while I agree

with many of them, they are not my reasons for refusing service, and so I have tried to formulate my own ideas. I think that a recent headline in the CW best explains it:

"Which shall we perform? The works of mercy (feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give drink to the thirsty, visit the imprisoned, care for the sick, bury the dead), or the works of war (destroy crops and land, seize food supplies, destroy homes, scatter families, contaminate water, imprison dissenters, inflict wounds, burns, kill the living)."

Without passing judgment on the justice or injustice of a given war, I would like instead to aim at becoming what Gandhi called a Satyagrahi, to employ nonviolent resistance, coupled with compassion, against evil. To fight evil, but not the doers of evil. I would like to embrace the pacifism of soul force, whether a war is just or not. I consider prison preferable to the arts of war, even a just war. The question comes up "then you just don't want to dirty your hands?" I think I am willing to "dirty my hands" but in my own way. I think I am willing (I have never tried it so I don't know) to follow Merton's suggestion to "go down into the far end of society, take the last place among men, live with those who are despised, love other men, and serve them." But I am not willing to dirty my hands with killing.

But what I have read about objection and Catholics seems to indicate that the only proper objection is to an unjust war. And so I am worried that my views would be inadmissible as far as a sufficient reason for refusing military service.

D.P.

When I read the slanted, managed news about our horrid policies in Vietnam and Latin America and consider Johnson's utter chauvinism, I am led to think I should perhaps refuse all cooperation to the draft system, even alternative civilian service, and run the risk of getting put in prison. I just don't know, there are practical questions involved which might keep me from doing this in the present circumstances.

T.F.

In my classes I am trying to open my students up to the reality of war and to the fallacy of following "orders are orders" blindly. However, this belief in non-violence is a hard one to hold alone. Therefore I request some of your literature and perhaps if there are those who would enter into a dialogue through letters in your organization I would be happy to correspond. I see non-violence and the love force as a strong factor in opening our hearts.

K.R.

Teaching Brother

I am writing your organization in quest of badly needed advice. I am a Catholic, 22, in the U.S. Army. I am what is technically known as an enlistee, but that title is more nominal than accurate. I had actually received my draft papers for June 18, 1966, but on May 16, 1966, I "joined" an Army program with the idea of getting into something more desirable (or should I say less undesirable?) than those programs open to draftees.

Prior to my entrance into the service I had grave misgivings about the morality of killing and warfare under any circumstances. I was also aware of the duty that one has to one's country. Flanked by these contrary ideals I didn't know what to do, had too little time to do anything, and consequently I

entered the service. During basic training at Fort Bliss, Texas, my opinions had time to formulate. I gave abundant thought to the subject and I became sure that to fight, kill or wage war was definitely a moral wrong. Thus convinced I talked to both my platoon-sergeant and the chaplain.

My initial talk with my platoon sergeant ended with him respecting my beliefs but telling me to try and overlook them. When I talked to the chaplain, he too respected my feelings but advised me to wait a while to be sure. My second visit to the chaplain found him ready to aid me in any petition I might file as a conscientious objector. Upon talking with my sergeant for a second time, he advised me that I might just be going through certain normal fears that all trainees might go through.

Just to prove to others that it wasn't the basic training that bothered me I continued through with it. I have now been in the service three months and I have reasoned the problem to a point where I definitely feel as though I deserve recognition and classification as a conscientious objector. There exists much resentment in the Army toward people who harbor feelings such as mine . . . I am very alone and have no one to turn to. I plan on talking to the chaplain here at my new base. However, my previous experience with chaplains has demonstrated that they are very well-meaning, but they don't really know too much about the specific Army regulations regarding conscientious objection.

J.N.

Soldier

I regret having to tell you that, for reasons not completely acceptable to me, my superiors have advised me to discontinue membership in the Fellowship. I am sure that the permission will come with new superiors and changing situations; in the meantime I would be grateful if you would continue sending me the material on your mailing list. This favor would allow me to "keep in contact."

C.A.R.

Seminarian

I have two young boys and would like to verse them on the Catholic viewpoint on conscientious objection. If you have any literature programmed for young children I would appreciate your sending same.

F.P.

Father

My son had just reached the age of 18. He is planning to register as a CO. Do you have any literature there which might help him in stating his position?

Mrs. E.D.P.

I am a Catholic who has in the past six or eight months come across some Methodists who have made me think more seriously about the moral aspects of war. I think that I am having all the growing pains of a future pacifist—qualms of conscience about registering for the draft, arguments with family and friends, and growing dismay at the world's problems and our foreign policy.

But still I want to protect myself as much as possible from future accusations of "communist" or "draft dodger." I would

appreciate your telling me the Church's position on pacifism. I might also be interested in being counselled. . . . But to avoid too much confusion now, would you please send the information to me in plain envelopes. I realize that this means extra trouble for you but it may save me very much trouble.

S.M.

While waiting to appear before the Board, I read its bulletin board in the lobby. It displayed numerous cartoons making fun of and criticizing people conscientiously opposed to the war in Vietnam and people who were acting in the interest of making peace. There was a newspaper clipping of a letter from a Marine in Vietnam who wished that every Marine could have a person conscientiously opposed to war to take on to the front lines with him.

(The following are some of the exchanges recorded verbatim by myself immediately after the hearing.)

I had brought Mr. B., a stenographer, with me to record a transcript of the hearing for my file. He was told the clerk of the Board was fully able and then told, "You, out of here!"

Mr. W: "You were at American Legion Boys State?"

Myself: "Yes."

Mr. W: "When?"

Myself: "1962."

Mr. W: "And you were elected Lieutenant Governor?"

Myself: "Yes I was."

Mr. W: "Do you think those boys would be proud of you now?"

Myself: "I think so. The tenor of the American Legion program for high school students is to acquaint them with the workings of government and democracy and I think it is a reputable thing that our government provides for a man to follow his conscience. The American Legion is concerned with understanding and preserving the Constitution as illustrated by their oratorical contest."

Mr. S: "What religious affiliations do you have?"

Myself: "Roman Catholic."

Mr. S: "Don't you know the Roman Catholic Church doesn't preach pacifism?"

Myself: "They did for the first three hundred years. They don't preach one way or the other now. The Constitution on the Church in the Modern World states that it is right for every country to provide for conscientious objectors providing they be willing to do alternative service. The statement on primacy of conscience leaves it up to the individual Catholic."

Mr. S: "What about the Crusades?"

Myself: "Historically . . ."

Mr. S: "We don't want a history of the Church."

Mr. S: "Where do you go to church on Sunday or don't you go?"

Myself: "Yes, I go but I have not been permanently located and I have no parish. I go where I am."

Mr. S: "Well I'm a Roman Catholic and as far as I am concerned, you're no member of the Church."

Mr. E: "You know you can't live in a utopia."

Myself: "I think more good can be brought into the world."

Mr. E: "Well man has been fighting for thousands of years."

Myself: "Then that's obviously not a good solution."

Mr. E: "You hide behind Vatican II, the Bible, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution. You're just using those things to hide. You don't have religious convictions."

Mr. E: "You want everything from society and don't want to do anything for it. You're just a parasite and a coward."

Mr. S: "Don't you know the Catholic Worker is not a spokesman for the Catholic Church?"

Myself: "Yes, I know."

Mr. W: "Is the CCCO the place in Philadelphia?"

Myself: "Yes."

Mr. E: "Did they give you all this . . . stuff you wrote?"

Myself: "No. They provide information on the legalities of dealing with the draft board. They inform me of the technicalities of the proceedings and inform of the pertinent laws and my rights."

Mr. E: "Well those laws are very vague."

"What happened to you since you won all those things (high school awards)?"

Mr. E: "I think you've been brainwashed somewhere along the line. You're a very confused and mixed-up young man. The best thing for you would be two years in the Army. Unfortunately, young man, I don't personally have the power to draft you but if I did I'd put you in the Army right now. That's what they do in lots of countries."

Myself: "You would rather this be a totalitarian state?"

Mr. E: "I just don't like people hiding behind the Constitution."

Each member of the Board had one letter or one sheet of my statement which he began reading when I came in. Questions such as:

"Have you ever been attacked?"

"Are your parents C.O.'s", and,

"What religious affiliations do you have?" all were answered in at least one, and sometimes as many as three, places in my file.

Many questions asked by one board member would be immediately answered by another board member in a derogatory manner. Used ashtrays and packs of cigarettes were on the table but when I withdrew mine, Mr. E. said, "Put those away!" The tenor of the board members reached the level of shouting and they pounded on their desks to emphasize points. My answers were often cut off in the middle of the first sentence and another question posed.

The following day I asked the Board clerk for a copy of her report. She explained it would not get typed for a week. I asked if she could mail me one. She said no. I asked if I could authorize a friend to look at my file and write me a copy. She said that might be done. About one and a half weeks later a friend called the Board and was told it was not yet typed and that if I wanted a copy I should write to the Board. I wrote and asked for a copy. In a letter from the Board dated July 25, 1967, I was told:

"These notes were not verbatim but for the Board's use and for maintaining a complete record in your file and for reference purposes.

"Therefore no copy of our notes will be mailed to you."

I understand that I am to be able to know anything in my file but since I cannot travel 250 miles to Binghamton, I have not seen a copy of the Board's notes.

M.M.

I have to submit my paper work much sooner than I had anticipated. The show-down occurred when I was ordered to the firing range for evaluation in weapon usage. I immediately requested an interview with my commanding officer and verbally explained my position and the action I proposed to take.

Well, now that I have the salt cleansed from my wounds (if you can imagine the commander's reaction), I have no other choice but to submit it immediately. As he said "My God, we can't have a Commie working here!"

Have been interviewed twice by various ranking officials regarding my position. All have come to the conclusion that I'll never get out, so I might as well accept non-combatant work. I expected this, so they were rather shocked when I summed up the "friendly" discussion by telling them I was going ahead. Actually I feel in a much greater crusading spirit now that

the issue is out and into the open. I think it has given me a lot more courage.

R.M.
Airman

I have been thinking a lot lately about non-cooperation. It is definitely a problem. I don't have any romantic notions about being a martyr and sitting in the can for two to five years. It's not a thing I can make a decision about lightly. I need time alone and away to think this over.

B.G.

Am I a pacifist? I can't be positively certain, an admission painful for me to make, especially since just a few months back I felt confident that I was indeed. But the awful implications and consequences of conscience involved in such an unequivocal personal declaration for peace have since weighed heavily on my mind. I have always considered myself "courageous," "moderately brave," and other conventionally applied adjectives of character which must ultimately trace back to my (our) war-movie childhood days. As a child and adolescent I saw violence, hatred, and blood enough to turn my mind and stomach against brutality and force. I am convinced of my surface instincts towards violence or rather toward impulsive physical action and cannot help but feel that these surface inclinations are enough (despite my really profound antipathy toward violence) to discredit and forfeit any pacifist stand on my part. I am incredibly confused within myself when it comes to a "pacifist" label. I feel more certain, for example, that I am opposed to War, all War, than I do, say, that I am thoroughly pacifistic in every attitude. Certainly though, I know that I am decidedly against the current war effort in Vietnam by this country.

B.M.

I think I told you of the Christmas project that my commanding officer had me perform on the part of our company. We extended labor and aid to a Negro orphanage and several indigent families in conjunction with Catholic Charities. The whole project was very successful for the company and for myself. I think the captain may think he accomplished his goal of making the Army seem more acceptable to me, but he's entirely wrong. If and when it becomes necessary, I'm positive I can become very stubborn and most uncooperative.

I've recently ended my engagement. It certainly caused a lot of anguish and heartache to my fiancée, but I know I couldn't go to the stockade with her waiting for me. I'm not sure if I did the right thing, but the situation is so irreparable at the moment. Maybe things will work out when I've finished this battle with the Army.

Among my other acquaintances who are now COs, one is currently in the stockade at Fort Bliss. The ACLU is going to represent him in further dealings with the Army. I had a very long talk with his mother and read many of his letters. Although he has been mistreated, he seems in good spirits. His mother is corresponding with me regularly. She's a very brave and remarkable woman.

My trip home was especially beneficial. It afforded me an opportunity to explain my position to my parents and to make them aware of possible consequences, although I tried to paint an optimistic future. Also it was reassuring to know that my parents, relatives and friends are all behind me. That makes things so much more bearable.

Here at the base I'm working at the library. The military and

civilian personnel here at the library are so kind to me. Lately they've been teaching me all the administrative aspects of working in the library. I think they're trying to lay the groundwork for me to be permanently assigned to the library if my request for discharge is turned down. They're very considerate and well-meaning, but I know I can't accept such a position.

As I write to you I'm in a record booth at the library listening to folk music and popular. The folk music is from an album by an English artist named Donovan. He's very popular on the West Coast. Also to satisfy the rock n' roll within me I listen to an album by the Lovin' Spoonful. Their music is light and care-free, so I find it helpful much of the time.

J.N.
Soldier

... The war in Vietnam has made it clear that I must express my distaste for war as means that I must express my distaste for war as a means killing of innocent civilians in South Vietnam under the pretense that "enemy" soldiers are also being killed cannot be justified even by the almighty State Department. The wanton loss of lives of men on both sides of this conflict will never in my estimation be worth the "freedom" gained by the Vietnamese.

I have more or less resigned myself to being an armed forces doctor someday, since I do not think that the military would consider any alternative service for a medical person. But, friends and I have discussed the implications of being a military doctor—for is not one serving the cause of war when repairing men to return to battle?

So, I have decided to start work on a statement of my beliefs.

B.R.
Medical Student

There are several people around the Rochester area who have desired to know more about the consequences which might follow a refusal to pay the 10% surtax to help finance the war in Vietnam. I would appreciate any information which might assist those who are contemplating this form of protest, if and when Congress bows to the wishes of the President.

D.M.

I would be deeply grateful if you will inform me of ANY way in which I may help your cause. I am 16 years old. Thank you.

(Miss) I.P.

My local draft board has not given me CO status. Now my classification is 1-A. If my appeal is denied I fully intend to refuse military service. The decision on my part to try to become a CO has surprised even me. My only guide in this matter has been the writings of Gandhi, Thomas Merton, the example of Thoreau and the Civil Rights Movement. Also my own growing concern over the present day warlike feelings. It does not seem that the world has suffered enough in World War II. It seems that people will still wage a war and inflict death and injury on one another. I believe that it is not mere institutions that will insure peace, but that it begins with us.

With this in mind, i.e. to try to become a peacemaker (not in any grandiose sense—but only as much as I can, you know, just to be a witness) I applied for CO status. I used to think that being a CO was rather a negative step. At a first glance it even seems to be a retreat from the basic realities of life. But I do not believe that this is so when we consider that to be a CO implies (at least to my mind) something much more deeply profound than refusal to become a soldier, refusing military service. It lays the duty down upon our shoulders that we strive to eliminate all malice and ill will in our hearts. Thus, CO status is a life-long affair. One cannot be a CO just for the two years of alternative service. CO really demands an abiding commitment. At least this is the light in which I consider it. I may very well be wrong. But at any rate I will go to prison before I serve in the armed forces, if it is necessary.

J.E.

As of today I know not what my future will be. I am working as a supply clerk in a warehouse and I have already twice refused to draw my weapon upon what they call alerts. But also I have the good fate of having, I believe, a very understanding commanding officer. Well, I will keep on with my fight and will let you know how I progress.

J.R.R.
Soldier

I had the hearing today and the hearing was miserable. I've got another coming up because they wanted me to think it over more because they were sure I was a dumb shit and should be kicked out of the country. Unless they were just putting on an act to scare me. They didn't scare me, but they didn't give me a chance to say much either. Here is the outline of the hearing:

Doctor who works at the Post Office: didn't understand, very narrow-minded.

Service in the army the best thing, best education there is, his sons who were in the army and when he was in the army (he didn't use his sons to prove anything except that they didn't get killed); Church becoming too liberal, pretty soon priests will be able to get married; and Church teaches that you shouldn't use contraceptives, but there are girls walking around town that are married and aren't pregnant, so they must be using contraceptives, said I didn't know what I was doing, but he said, "I didn't read the crap you had there," referring to the form 150 when I asked him if he had read it. Also said, "Men have always been fighting and they will always keep fighting as long as there are two men on earth, if they don't fight with one another they fight with their wives." Also said, "I don't like you dumb nuts at all who hide behind the cloak of religion." He asked me if I thought I was going to get off for nothing, and I said no that I was going to do something much more difficult and that would take a whole lifetime to teach in a foreign country and that it would be much more dangerous than the army life. I told him that I hoped to do something like Tom Dooley, only in teaching. He said that I as an individual couldn't do a thing and was wondering what organization I was going to start to follow me. I told them that I knew missionaries over there who would most gladly beg for my help. And that it takes one step to start the thousand steps. No answer. He called the people from India "a bunch of Ethiopians over there" and talked of them like they were a bunch of idiots who all ought to be killed. He said he didn't trust people. After about one-half hour he asked me how much I thought that he got paid for listening to this crap. I said, "probably nothing." He said

"That's right," and then went on a spiel about how much he worked and that he didn't have time to listen to this crap. He dismissed me with the words, "I've got more work to do, get the hell out of here."

The other guy was pretty good, but he kept thinking that I had been couped up in the seminary and that's why I thought like this and that I should join the army to find out what life is all about. He didn't read the 150 either. He asked what mother's son had to take my place. He said that I had a duty to fight for the country and that I had to do my part. I replied that I was going to fight for my country in a different way, that I was going to try to make the people understand in a different country that Americans are good people and that they aren't imperialists, materialists, and cowboys and gangsters. Therefore his grandsons wouldn't have to go fight in India or the village where I was working against those people. I asked if the mother would prefer if her son never had to go. No answer.

The other man was doing paper work all the while I was there. But every once in a while he would lean back on his chair and say, "You don't have a foot to stand on."

The lady was very helpful and she knew what was coming off (somewhat). She wanted me to take I-A-O. I told her I wanted nothing to do with the military machine. I would like to help the wounded but only in the International Red Cross or some other organization. Because when I join with the military organization I then join the killing by being in the military and further their firing or killing power.

R.W.M.

I got my order to report for work from the draft by Jan. 26. I have had no trouble with the local Staten Island Board at all; in fact, their chief clerk has been very helpful. I am glad of this because I have found a tendency in myself at least to hate the people in the system as well as the system. I am coming to a great realization of where I was "at" and am correcting it.

I expect to be here for the next two years teaching at the mission. In my short time here I find a totally different attitude toward the government than in the East. Here the government is thought of in terms of the Department of Interior, or Commerce, or Farm Bureau, etc. The federal government helps building wells for pasture land, runs schools on the reservation, helps in farming techniques, etc. It is a great help to these people. In the East government is looked on in terms of the Department of Defense or State. In the East the people aren't as immediately helped by government as here (the poverty program notwithstanding). Peace activities and anti-draft work mean one thing to the urban Easterener and another thing to the people of the Midwest. I don't know how valid my observation is since I'm looking only from the small area I am in contact with.

The physical conditions of the school here are bad. Toilet facilities, food and general building construction all need improvement, but the mission has little money and is supported by donations. The high school texts I have to use are poor but they are all that's available.

Teachers are needed throughout the reservation, but teachers are needed who will stay awhile. The staff turnover at the mission is great, but of course \$50 a month as pay isn't the greatest either. Perhaps more COs could come to the various reservations to teach. Since the CO would normally stay at least two years there would be a greater stability in the reservation school systems. However, various schools would have to be approved by the regional drafts in order to be acceptable. The government schools are run by the civil service and I think would be under different jurisdiction.

My personal work here consists of teaching two senior English classes and one class in communications. . . . It is hard to teach the kids. They are of a different culture than the white man's and their taste is different. Many here have family problems which make it extremely hard on the kids. Here at the mission we try to teach the kids how to remain true to their Indian values and culture and yet survive in a de facto white man's world. Most of the teachers are well versed in Sioux culture and history, and the new teachers are learning. But again there is a problem. It takes a while to become familiar with Indian life and frequently, just as you are beginning to understand and be accepted, you leave and return home.

J.H.

I feel that since I was registered with the Selective Service System while I was in the seminary, the best thing to do is to continue dealing with the Selective Service. However, even while I am doing that, I am beginning to feel that any service to a warfare government is wrong. In other words, I'm not so sure even about alternative service. Since I am opposed to a peacetime draft, I would refuse alternative service in that case. And in warfare, I would refuse to serve the warring government in any way. So I'm still not sure where that puts me. I do know, however, that I'm becoming more and more convinced of that stand. In this light my appeal for CO and alternative service seems to be a lie. I'm not particularly anxious to go to jail or even to court. But court and jail don't frighten me from doing what I think I must do.

D.B.

I am 17 years old, a Catholic boy who would like to do all that I can do to further the cause of peace. Many of my school friends and teachers support the Vietnam War. They are very good persons who don't like the war, but they feel that we always have had war and always will. They are no longer idealistic because they feel you have to be practical and loyal to your government. There must be something in American society which is stifling and destroying our innate humaneness and I intend to root it out and kill it.

J.D.M.

During my last year at College Seminary (I have now quit) I had to think through my pacifist commitments. I had finished myself a "total pacifist," espousing complete non-cooperation with the warring state and its right arm, the Selective Service. Now I have to face the real situation. Since leaving, the shifting of my whole vocational mode emotionally dislodged me, and because of the severe hurt my pacifism and commitment to poverty caused at home, I allowed myself to listen to "rational, wise counsel" and compromised my view. I went to school and asked for a 2-S deferment. But I have been unbearably uncomfortable with that, and have now begun to face myself again. I am now preparing myself for a near-inevitable jail-situation.

J.B.

I have a very guilty conscience, especially when I hear or read of true pacifists who do not cooperate in any way, because although I knew that I could not in any way approve of the Selective Service System, I betrayed my conscience and took a 1-O classification. Now my alternative service is over and can't be undone, or can it? If only I could now commit

myself to non-cooperation as I should have done before. I am willing to go to prison. For me alternative service doesn't seem to be "all the way" for Christ as does non-cooperation.

T.B.

A friend of mine was sentenced at Ft. Bliss a few weeks ago. He's been at Leavenworth for about four weeks now. His mother sends me copies of his letters home. He says it's not as unbearable as one might expect. Of great comfort to him is the library facilities. His first week there he checked out an excellent poetry collection and Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment*. His aptitude tests indicated he was better qualified for a position as an instructor for inmates than anyone else they had tested for some time. But since he was convicted of a highly sensitive crime (refusing to wear the uniform), the prison officials decided he couldn't be entrusted with the task of instructing fellow inmates in basic English, Math and History because of the danger he might subvert them. They finally decided to teach him offset printing in the prison newspaper office.

At least I'm glad to learn that it's not terribly brutal there as I may be there in the not too distant future. Something definite will happen by June 30, as that is the day I'm scheduled to receive orders for overseas.

J.N.
Soldier

I have notified my draft board since last Dec. of my conscientious objection. They were notified again last month. They seem to refuse to send me the necessary C.O. form. . . . They did send a form to reclassify me (1-A). Mrs. N. (the clerk of the board) is doing it for spite. Mrs. N. says it doesn't matter what Christ says, one must defend his country. . . .

This is a democracy. Can one be forced to offend God? I would rather die. I will not sell my soul to the Selective Service and that is what they are asking. . . .

B.P.

I write this brief letter to inform you that on April 3 I shall join the Resistance by handing in my draft card at a rally at the Boston Common. There have already been three members of the seminary community here who have resisted the draft by handing their cards back to the government. My action represents a mere sign of the total commitment to the peace of Christ and the coming of the kingdom. I am in Senior Philosophy at the seminary, which means that I have four more years of study until ordination. I can no longer remain shielded by an unjust law, which allows me BECAUSE OF MY RELIGION to avoid taking a stand while my contemporaries of less fortunate background are drafted, sent to Vietnam and come back either shot up, and on a stretcher; dead, and in a casket; or physically sound but injured psychologically.

P.A.

I do not want to practice violence and yet I find it a little difficult to do. What I mean is complete nonviolence. And then there is the draft, that has me quite worried. I don't want to join the Army or any other kind of military outfit, but then again I do not want to face five or ten years in prison

either. I am afraid of what the law would be able to do to me. My parents do not let me get all the mail that is mailed to me. It is either torn up or I do not even get it at all. They don't like the literature I receive through the mail from organizations such as the War Resisters League, SDS, SANE, SPU and the Catholic Peace Fellowship. They say it is communist controlled and all they want is my money. I have tried reasoning with them but it is really no use.

T.H.

Read about your indictment. Beginning to find out how you must feel. Am returning my three choices for civilian work to the draft board with draft card—I'm now a non-cooperator. Biggest problem now is that I can't write down all my feelings in a statement—lack of self-discipline and non-intellectualism has sort of hung me up.

I'll be thinking of and praying for you. Please do same. Have helped a CIC get started here, I think. Still the only SNCC staff person here and I hate to leave. I guess we all do. Just organized my first local group and hate to think of what effect it'll have on them—it's a group that filed suit to prevent the building of two (N & W) elementary schools six blocks apart in a town of 1103. They are mostly middle-aged and older men. Their attitude and determination is really beautiful to see. They do need organizational help (ideas about structure). Action-wise they themselves come up with every idea.

There is really no other reward that I want than the one of working effectively in such real situations. I guess non-violence means that every situation can be made real-human through love.

I did an interview on pacifism for a paper put out by a group of seminarians in Little Rock. It was quite outspokenly critical of the Church—I guess it's because despite all its faults I do love Her! (or else I wouldn't have wasted my time being critical).

SNCC Field Secretary

I am a graduate student in English at the University of Nebraska, a native Nebraskan of Catholic Mexican-American heritage, and have received all my education in Nebraska.

This September I decided to begin expressing my opinions in a more concrete context even though they weren't jibing with the common attitudes of the conservative power-structure and those aspiring to it. Since high school I have felt the ever-present, imminent weight of something analogous to a conservative "tyranny of the majority." At the same time, I could never agree with their conformist, hypocritical system of values. But I seemed to be a lone teenager in a desert of non-dissent.

Now, I feel that I can't be a true American or a true Nebraskan without dissenting against what I think is morally, politically, socially, and economically wrong. For me, it is un-American not to dissent; moreover, non-dissent is alien to the great tradition of dissent Nebraskans (Byron, Norris, Malcolm X, Ted Sorenson, etc.).

In the context of the above paragraph, I decided to join Student for a Democratic Society and Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Within SDS I have been working on the unionization of the University of Nebraska service-type employees (custodians, food service, maids, maintenance). Within FSNCC I have been organizing tests on alleged discrimination against Negro foreign students and American students.

These activities would seem more meaningful if placed with-

in a socio-Catholic context. Thus I would like to join the Catholic Peace Fellowship and The Fellowship of Reconciliation. I am interested in your literature on labor relations, Negro civil rights and civil liberties in general, and Catholic conscientious objection.

D.O.

I am currently working on a Vietnam Summer peace project here. Local Catholic laymen here have felt that it would be helpful for them in dealing with their community to have a denominational statement on the Vietnam war.

Could you advise me as to whether or not such a statement exists and, if so, where I could obtain copies of it?

D.P.

I went in spite of the "immediate family only" stipulation on visitors, because I knew that Bob's folks would not be coming and I hoped I could be forceful enough to secure an exception.

After two and a half hours of arguing and reasoning—and finally seeing Judge Larson, I received a permit from the U.S. Marshall. The chief deputy upon a receipt of the permission granted me an arbitrary five minute visit. Bob was in such smiling good spirits that he wouldn't tolerate my wasting time calling the jail officials bastards . . . he just wanted me to send his love to everyone and get him a tooth brush. He has probably been taken prison by now, although the gate keeper lied to me about this "shipment" once, so she may have done it again.

When I spoke to the judge, he expressed some confidence that Bob would be out in eight months. I told him that I had never heard of a draft refuser being paroled and that he should investigate. Do you have any information on this subject that I don't.

J.O.

I am 18 years old, pacifist and considering total disaffiliation from the draft. I had been preparing for a CO status, but I am no longer sure. I believe killing is wrong for everyone, therefore the Selective Service System must be immoral. By completely opposing this system I have a way to radically oppose the entire system. I would be challenging the state's right to have anybody kill. If a system is wrong it must be opposed. I couldn't be a clerk at Dachau, just because I wasn't running the gas chambers.

Many people tell me that being a CO is too easy. A CO never undergoes the risk and suffering of a soldier. I find this particularly meaningful because when I was pro war I felt that way myself. Maybe we pacifists can only show the sincerity of our convictions by willingly undergoing a five year prison term. That surely equals the rigors of military service. If we really love people who are conditioned to war, we will suffer anything to open their hearts to real peace. I desperately do not want to go to prison. However, I am more afraid of being misled than of going to prison.

Above all I must do the best I can or surrender my claims to a meaningful existence. If prison is the way of Christ then I will gladly take it upon myself. I am not concerned about civil disobedience in this case. However I will show my respect for law by willingly enduring the prison sentence if it comes to that.

J.D.

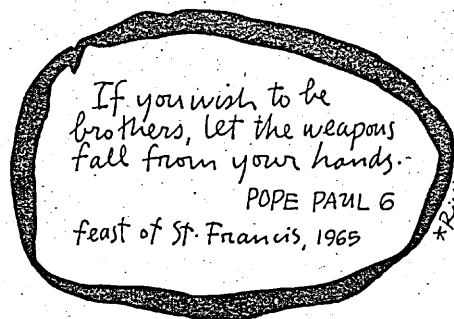
Tangents

The ironies of the laws on conscientious objection continue to bump along home. Specifically, the prohibition against selective objection, which for Catholics means that their finely honed "just war" ethics are lifted well out of the range of individual conscience, at least legally. But to American prelates the legality of the matter is often also the heart, and it is at the heart, after all, that pacifists ought to aim. Therefore it is good to hear that Auxiliary Bishop James P. Shannon of St. Paul and Minneapolis has called the present draft laws unfair on this point in his defense of Robert Gilliam, now serving a two-year term in Minnesota's Sandstone federal prison for refusing to do military service on just war grounds. Speaking of Gilliam, who has an outstanding scholastic record, Bishop Shannon told a student audience at the University of Minnesota's Newman Center that "This is no coward, this is no kook." He went on to describe Gilliam as "a very intelligent, well-read follower of Christ." Inasmuch as Bishop Shannon sees little hope Congress will change the law, he advocated that churchmen and laymen develop "a responsible body of theological speculation" upon which judges and law-makers could rely to mitigate, if not change, the effect of the law. Objectors like Gilliam should receive suspended sentences, he said, adding, "I don't know of any precedent, but some of my friends in the legal profession say that solution would be legally valid." And the heart of the matter could then rest, at least for this generation of non-cowards and non-kooks, or until more bishops join Bishop Shannon and try to change both the laws and the hearts in this country.

Brazil is a much bigger country than Vietnam, even though it is closer to home and presumably within our "proper sphere of influence." We hear very little out of it, and not much of that is good. Recently Archbishop Helder Pessoa Camera of Olinda and Recife had this to say about some of that influence, to wit: that Latin America has tasted "the rotten fruit of capitalism and colonialism." Not all of it American, no doubt, and Christianity in Latin America didn't escape his anger either, the prelate charging that it had "closed its eyes too long toward the injustices of the rich." And as for private property, it is "not absolute but has its

limits." What does this lead to? The Archbishop also criticized the communists for their sins, but he ended in a Pope John vein urging that "the Church should reconsider its attitude toward Marxism which has humanist objectives." These do not sound like the words of a bishop trying to play both ends against the middle, as is often the case in a situation like Brazil's, but rather they appear to be those of a man who feels both he and his country have reached their limits. The trouble is that the U.S. just seems to be getting started.

The Archbishop's theme was echoed in somewhat more moderate language in Geneva at a meeting of Christians and Marxists from various parts of the world. The majority of the participants agreed that economic, cultural, political and military oppression by imperialistic powers allied with national oligarchies constituted the most widespread form



of dehumanization right now in practice. They also said it was not possible to speak of humanization without expressing active solidarity with the struggle for national liberalization of oppressed people. The meeting was called by the World Council of Churches' Department on Church and Society.

And in a message to the First International Congress of Catholic Youth, Pope Paul, as well as speakers at the Berlin conference, stressed the urgent need for social reform. "The fact that ever more young Christians devote their energies and several years of their lives to help the underprivileged countries is

*The Jews are persecuting the Arabs,
The Arabs are persecuting their camels,
The camels are persecuting their fleas,
The fleas are persecuting the camels,
The camels are persecuting the Arabs,
The Arabs are persecuting the Jews.*

for the Church a reason for pride and confidence in mankind's future," the Pope stated in his message. He also urged that youth throughout the world renounce violence in the campaign for peace, because "peace cannot be achieved through force," another emphasis he shared with many of the speakers, most of whom represented Catholic youth or social service organizations. The Pope went on to caution that a precondition for peace was that everywhere on the globe the rights of men and peoples be guaranteed and respected, and any racial discrimination eliminated. He reminded his Berlin audience that "Christians must not forget that Christ reconciled heaven and earth, not by shedding the blood of others, but His own."

Dr. Fabrizio Fabbrini, an Italian pacifist already under sentence for refusing to do military service, faces another possible two-year sentence for rising during a Palm Sunday Mass service to protest the reading of the part of the Gospel that says the Jews chose to spare the life of Barabbas, "thus bringing down on themselves the curse of God." "Christ never condemned the Jews, and you are talking like a racist," he shouted to the priest. He was arrested by police on leaving the church, the charge, "disturbing a religious exercise of the Catholic religion."

Vince O'Connor, who runs the Bay Area CPF office (584 Page St., San Francisco) and is under indictment for refusing to submit to Selective Service defined alternative service, passed out a leaflet at City Hall that came close to the nitty-gritty of what a non-violent revolution would really amount to in this country. The occasion was a rally in memory of Martin Luther King, organized by the NAACP and the Mayor. Beginning with "IF YOU ARE HERE TO HONOR DR. KING," the pamphlet makes some interesting suggestions: "... And you are a businessman or storeowner to whom black or brown people of San Francisco owe money—for whatever reason! (then) Send your debtors their credit slips, telling them that their debts are clear. Write on the outside of the envelope, 'In memory of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'"

"... And you are a San Francisco policeman, (then) Send Mayor Alioto a note saying you believe enough in non-violence to wait yourself and your
(Continued on next page)

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brother cops to live through the next few months. Attach your service revolver to the note."

"... And you are a Roman Catholic of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, (then) Demand your Archbishop abandon the building of a thirteen million dollar cathedral that stands half-completed on the edge of the Western Addition."

The leaflet goes on, in several places, addressing men in service and men of draft age and taxpayers, calling for forms of civil disobedience. It would be interesting to know if there actually were many private and personal acts of humanity inspired by the death of Dr. King.

The Catholic Relief Service in its hustlings continues the "victims of communism" pitch it has used so successfully in becoming the biggest broker of human misery this side of the U.S. foreign aid program, with which it is allied in pocket and policy. In its drive running from Feb. 1 to March 31, it collected \$1,623,474 from American Catholics to help victims of the Vietcong Tet offensive, according to Fr. Robert L. Charlebois, CRS director for Vietnam. That's about a dollar a head for all the lives American policy has either eliminated or wrecked in that country.

"We are deeply conscious of the burdens of war on the spirit of our people, especially our youth. We appeal to all our communicants, to workers for peace and to our fighting men whose sacrifices we deeply appreciate, to offer prayers that God may guide us all in forming a Christian conscience on these problems so complex and so disturbing to our generation." So resolved the National Conference of Catholic Bishops at their spring meeting in St. Louis. The question is whether there will be a Christian conscience left to form in the next generation, and by this we don't mean to imply anything so poetic as nuclear justice. Just more resolutions like this one will be sufficient.

Meanwhile, Tom Cornell and David Miller expect any day now to begin serving their six-month terms for draft card burning as a result of the Supreme Court's decision turning down their appeal. Tom believed that only sheer madness could make a piece of paper sacred enough to imprison a man for burning

DAVID MILLER: "I AM FREE"

On June 19 David Miller appeared before the steps of the federal court house at Foley Square, New York City, and joined a demonstration that had been mounted there in his support. He had been ordered to surrender at that time and place to federal marshalls, and thus to start serving a two and one-half year sentence for draft-card burning. Dave, in October 1965, was the first man to



publicly burn a draft card after the passage of the law that made such action a felony. The Supreme Court refused to review his conviction after upholding the government's position in the case of David O'Brien.

David and his wife, Catherine Swann Miller, have been living in Washington, D.C. where they operated a Catholic Worker house of hospitality. They have one daughter, Juanita Clare, one and one-half years old, and they await another child in September. Dave is now at the

it, decided to test that madness, and found it to be true. As he and Dave Miller enter prison, however, it isn't for them that we weep.

In a significant decision for pacifists, the Supreme Court ruled on June 10 that civilian rather than military courts should decide whether conscientious objectors who become so after entering service should be released. The case involved a naval reservist, John A. Hammond of Hartford, Conn., who the court

federal house of detention for men, and will probably be sent to Allenwood Prison in Pennsylvania. His statement follows:

On Wednesday, June 19, 1968, at 10 A.M., I am scheduled to appear for surrender in federal court in N.Y.C. I will begin at that time to serve a two and a half year sentence for publicly destroying my Selective Service classification card. That act was performed almost three years ago at a rally in downtown Manhattan. Three weeks ago the U.S. Supreme Court finally chose to uphold the constitutionality of the act of Congress making such action illegal.

It is a sad state of affairs that has come to see myself going to prison and to see for the court the decision that must be at least inwardly embarrassing to them. The draft card still remains a symbol of forceful, inordinate authority over the minds and hearts of men and women struggling to love and to be free. I have loved and I am free. Free within myself and free within the Christ of my faith. I do indeed hope that others may find love. And for those who can bear the particular witness of draft refusal, I encourage and welcome them.

The world, as everyone can see, is still and continually in a state of turmoil. For me, my vocation is non-violent witness and a life among the poor up to and including jail.

As for the surrendering, I do not intend to entirely co-operate with it. I will have to be carried away rather than walk under my own power. This too is a symbolic act of conscience. I will be available at the time of surrender outside the U.S. Court in Foly Square, at a demonstration that may last for several hours.

Pax Christi,
David Miller

said was exposed to "new currents of thought" while in college, though after joining the reserve, and eventually joined the Society of Friends. The Navy apparently was willing to release Hammond, except for an advisory veto from General Hershey who seems to be taking such matters much too personally recently. It was also noted in the *Times* story that the court's decision conflicted with earlier rulings, most notably in the case of Air Force Captain Dale Noyd who refused to train pilots for service in Vietnam.

FAREWELL

by Tom
Cornell

An Appeal

(Continued from page 3)

these letter writers are contributors to the CPF. This doesn't mean that anything has been proved; at best it is an attempt to share an experience.

The idea of devoting an issue of the *Bulletin* to Resistance was not to mitigate a financial calamity; it just happens that the appeal letter is turning out this way. But to get back to finances. Last year the CPF went about \$9,000 over its budget. Demands on the CPF increased enormously during 1967 while income remained about the same. The discrepancy is partly due to the fever of much of last year, when an over-burdened staff neglected to perform the necessary dunning.

So here we are, with several thousand dollars to make up and the demands for CPF services greater than ever. The alternative is that a good many activities will have to be curtailed. Not draft counseling, which will go on in our homes if necessary, but the maintenance of an office where people can be counseled in greater numbers, with less hassle and more point to the matter at hand. Publications, which means information, must not only be expanded, which is desirable and needed, but kept up-to-date, which is essential. The staff should also be enlarged, especially to include more field workers, but what's more important is that the staff on hand be paid. And so forth.

The money has to come from somewhere. Once again this year, after considerable debate among members, it was decided that that somewhere would not be membership dues. Appeals, unpleasant as they are to make, would have to suffice. We hope they are still a luxury the CPF can afford.

One final word, which may have something to do with drop in contributions. That is, don't go away on vacation under the illusion that the war in Vietnam is all over except for the celebrating. It's not. Nor is our government's momentum toward peace so great that we can coast the rest of the way. Indeed, a good part of what produced that official momentum just a few months ago, namely Martin Luther King by his non-violent struggle for peace and justice, and Senator Kennedy by his presidential campaign on the peace issue, are dead. Peace still seems to be a long way off.

Cover photo, United Press International; photos, page 2, A. Kgola; page 4, Frank Speltz; drawing, page 12, Pat Ricci.

Six months! Nothing, really, compared to Dave Miller's two and a half years. Hardly an excuse to write a farewell. I'll be out by Thanksgiving. Should be able to do six months standing on my head, as the saying goes. So short a time, it's almost embarrassing. Maybe it's for my humility. The Holy Spirit may have determined that's all I could take.

I remember November 6, 1965, when Jim Wilson, Dave McReynolds, Mark Edelman, Roy Lisker and I burned our draft-cards, and my sentiments that day, the brave words about jail, the braver words before sentencing, too. Now, when it comes time to live those words, I have to admit that my appetite has been bad the past few days, that I have an undefined feeling of uneasiness, that, in short, I'm frightened: Will I do good time? Will they try to keep me in that hole of a detention house on West Street and not send me to a regular jail with light and air? Does Monica really know what she will do in my absence? And the kids . . .

I still believe in the words of that day. "We who have dedicated ourselves to the war upon war, to the development of nonviolence as an effective means to resist tyranny, cannot shrink from the consequences of our conscientious acts." "Fill the jails!" "Jail, No Bail!" I have carried such placards and I know

their power. And I know from counseling prospective jailbirds that men do better time if their attitudes toward the experience beforehand are positive. So I will look forward to a time for reflection, for a renewed prayer-life, for physical labor and an opportunity to write.

We are planning to have the "non-surrender" occur during a demonstration that will be more of a celebration. I will present myself before the federal court at the appointed time, but will not surrender. I will continue to walk with friends and family, balloons, flowers, and cotton candy, if we can find any, and maybe liberate two doves when the feds come to take me, to celebrate life and freedom in the face of the forces of repression and death.

So I suppose I am glad. Things have worked out better than we could have planned. The isolated acts of a handful of us two and a half years-ago have become a major movement of resistance to the draft. Our work at the CPF has prospered (if our coffers haven't) and we have established ourselves as an important part of the peace movement that, with a little help from our friends, is here to stay. And the price I have to pay is slight compared to that exacted of the dragooned anonymous ghetto dwellers who are fighting in Vietnam, or that paid by those courageous fools for Christ in Catonsville Jail.

Indian Heads

There are Indian heads in the dust
of my hometown
seen swirling down lonesome streets
on a summer day

currents of snakes
vanish in the haze of torpid air.

A body can't pass when the Indian heads
are out—
and the boys pinch the nuckles
deep on the insides of their pockets.

PAUL VELDE

Statement from Maryland

(Continued from page 2)

manifest and long standing tyranny which does great damage to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country—produces new injustices, throws more elements out of balance and brings on new disasters."

#32: "We want to be clearly understood: the present situation must be faced with courage, and the injustices linked with it must be fought against and overcome. Development demands bold transformations, innovations that go deep. Urgent reforms should be undertaken without delay. It is for each one to take his share in them with generosity, particularly those whose education, position and opportunities afford them wide scope of action."

#47: "It is a question of building a world where every man, no matter what his race, religion or nationality, can live a fully human life, freed from slavery imposed on him by other men or by natural forces: a world where the poor man Lazarus can sit down at the same table with the rich man."

#80: "The hour for action has now sounded. At stake are the survival of so many innocent children and for so many families overcome by misery, the access to conditions fit for human beings: at stake are the peace of the world and the future of civilization."

At the same time, we confront the Catholic Church, other Christian bodies and the synagogues of America with their silence and cowardice in face of our country's crimes. We are convinced that the religious bureaucracy in this country is racist, is an accomplice in war and is hostile to the poor. In utter fidelity to our faith, we indict the religious leaders and their followers for their failure to serve our country and mankind.

Finally, we are appalled by the ruse of the American ruling class invoking the cry for "Law and Order" to mask and perpetuate injustice. Let our President and the pillars of society speak of "Law and Justice," and back up their words with deeds and there will be "Order." We have pleaded, spoken, marched and nursed the victims of their injustice. Now this injustice must be faced, and this we intend to do, with whatever strength of mind, body and grace that God will give us. May God have mercy on our nation.

On Jail Community

(Continued from page 4)

perialism—the right being the American military mission there. An old colonialist theme, it seems, missionaries and troops, now given new flavor under the enlightened American effort. Santayana said, "Those who have not learned the lessons of history are destined to repeat its mistakes." Apparently, John has learned, and beyond repeating mistakes, he has resolved to mend them in others.

Next is George Mische, who has packed more militancy and service in his 31 years than most three activists I know. Married and the father of a two-month-old daughter, George did campus organizing while still in college, labor organizing for the AFL-CIO, plus foreign aid administration in the Dominican Republic, Honduras, San Salvador and Guatemala. For four years, he worked with delinquents in New York City and Jersey—two of these years in Harlem. Refreshingly open, resourceful and resilient, George has credit to a label largely undeserved outside our group—Christian revolutionary.

There remains Tom Lewis and my brother, Dan Berrigan, S.J. It is enough to say of Tom that he has literally put his future on the line by another civil disobedience following our blood pouring incident at the Baltimore Customs House on Oct. 27th. As for my brother, he is no stranger to Church authoritarianism or social injustice. An enormously gifted and prolific writer—he has given meaning to his words by his deeds going back to his ordination. Work with students among the poor and in behalf of blacks—exile to Latin America, jail in October, travel of Hanoi to obtain the release of captured American flyers. And now this.

So much for our jail community. Jim Bevel of SCIC once said that the movement ought to fill up the jails of this country. Not to seek jail, mind you, but to practice a level of civil disobedience which would make jail inevitable, and in a sense the moral complement of activism. Jail and fasting—the movement knows so little about them, and indeed, fears them entirely without cause. When movement people other than draft protesters, particularly the clergy, take the spirit of the Acts of the Apostles into jail with them, then the movement will have matured, revolution will be less violent, and justice more possible.

NEW CPF LITERATURE

Blessed are the Meek: The Roots of Christian Non-violence by Thomas Merton.

The author of *Seeds of Contemplation*, *Raids on the Unspeakable*, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*, *Seven Storey Mountain*, etc., treats Christian nonviolence as a way of life in this age of eschatological struggle. Brief and eloquent, practical and grounded in mature theological insight. Handsomely produced with a three-color cover design by Sister Mary Corita, I.H.M. 25¢

The Christian Vocation of Peace, by Gordon Zahn

A distinguished sociologist, Gordon Zahn is the author of *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars*, *What is Society?*, *An Alternative to Violence*, and *In Solitary Witness*. In this essay Dr. Zahn stresses the present necessity of the Church and Christians finding their prophetic voice and living peace as a vocation, in practical terms. 15¢

Revolutionary Atheism and Dialogue, by Peter Riga, S.T.D.

Fr. Riga is well known for his commentaries on recent papal encyclicals, *Pacem in Ter-*

ris, *Populorum Progressio* and for his writings on the theology of peace and nonviolence. He is currently on the theology faculty of St. Mary's College in California. "I would argue that the social teachings of the Church could serve as a very fruitful basis for . . . dialogue with present day Marxists, since Christian teaching goes beyond ideology or ideological differences. Oddly enough, both Marxists and most Catholics are largely ignorant of them." In production. 25¢

Conscience and the Just War by John Courtney Murray

The eminent Jesuit theologian and ecumenist was director of the John LaFarge Institute, a center for interreligious discussion of controversial topics, at the time of his death in 1967. The paper might better be called *Conscience and the Unjust War*. The theological case for recognition of the right of selective objection, i.e. objection to a particular war on grounds of the traditional just war theory, is unassailable. Legal and political implementation remains a problem. The current drive for legal recognition gets a solid assist from Fr. Murray. Excellent for study groups of any kind. 10¢

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BOOKS

Protest: Pacifism and Politics by James Finn, 528 pages, Vintage and Random House; paperback edition \$2.45.

An intense, readable and personal exploration of the protest movement as experienced by James Finn, editor of *Worldview* magazine. Most of the book is composed of transcripts of conversations, by and large very remarkable exchanges, between Finn and those he sought out in preparing this survey and evaluation: Joan Baez, A.J. Muste, Gordon Zahn, Staughton Lynd, Julian Bond, Bayard Rustin, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Abraham Heschel, Dorothy Day, Paul Ramsey, John C. Bennett, John L. McKenzie, S.J., Justus George Lawler, Everett Gendler, Steven Schwarzschild, David Reynolds, Richard Neuhaus, James Forest, Tom Cornell, David Miller, John Lewis, Jack Newfield, Arlo Tatum, William V. O'Brien, Frederick Franch, Tom Stonier, Denise Levertov, Mitchell Goodman and W. H. Ferry. Incredible.

Finn has done a very impressive job of piecing the conversations into a readable continuum by first surveying the religious aspect of the anti-war and pacifist movements, then heading into the various organizations—religious, political, pacifist, setting aside a single section for consideration of selective conscientious objection, concluding with a delightful collection of conversations under the banner, "Commitment Without Label."

It would be hard to find a better introduction to the American peace community, in all its complexity. Certainly there is none which is as animated and provocative.

A Penny a Copy: Readings From The Catholic Worker, edited by Thomas C. Cornell and James H. Forest, introduction by Msgr. Paul Hanly Furley, 271 pages, The Macmillan Company—\$6.95.

Realizing the significance of the Catholic Worker, both as newspaper and movement, it is remarkable that such an anthology has been so long in coming.

A Penny a Copy, compiled by two former managing editors of *The Catholic Worker*, is arranged chronologically, beginning with an editorial statement "To Our Readers" published in the first issue, May 1933, distributed at the annual left labor rally at New York's Union Square.

Many of the contributions in the collection are by CW co-founder and publisher, Dorothy Day. Others include Peter Maurin, Jacques Maritain, Paul Hanly Furley, Graham Carey, John Cogley, Gordon Zahn, Tom Sullivan, Robert Ludlow, Ammon Hennacy, Henri Perrin, Thomas Merton and Karl Meyer.

The subjects, and styles, range considerably: war, nonviolence, poverty, the Hearst newspapers, marxism, children, wild life, labor organizing, soup lines, race issues, free clothes, hospitality, farming and farming communes, atheism, the Rosenbergs, Max

Bodenheim, prison, fallout shelters, usury, garbage and the uses thereof, Pope John, Albert Camus, hawking newspapers on the streets . . .

There is a warmth about the book, a surprising cohesiveness, and perhaps most important a relevancy which, if anything, is more pressing at the moment than ever before. As is stated by the editors in their preface:

"Some would like to consign this volume to the racks as a momento of the '30s. 'Let it be a thorn in the side of our parents.' But that cannot be. For it is still going on, and to tell the truth the misery is deeper and the frustrations more bitter, the apocalypse closer and each present moment more acute. Wars and rumors of war, race war, class war. Wars of liberation and war to liberate the liberated. And as always the same victims, the people. The vast majority of the people, poor and hungry and sick unto death of liberation, the people whose cry is 'Peace and Bread.' The Body of Christ bleeding from a billion wounds. And still the Catholic Worker movement, poor among the poor, a quiet leaven, a bowl of soup, an oddly dated monthly, still a penny a copy, bringing news that is so old it looks like new."

(Subscriptions to *The Catholic Worker* are 25¢ a year or whatever the subscriber may wish to contribute—the address, Catholic Worker, 175 Chrystie St., New York, N.Y. 10002. Copies of *A Penny a Copy* may be ordered, prepaid, from the Catholic Peace Fellowship.)

The Committee by Walter Goodman. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York—\$10.00

A hard look at America's own Holy Office, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, made easier to read due to the Committee's low ebb at the present. It will surprise some to discover the House Committee, now 30 years old, was founded with intentions of the highest order—to combat anti-Semitism and nazism; anti-communism and the political witch hunts which HUAC led only later became the passion of holy mother the state.

The book should be of particular interest to Catholics if for no other reason than the particular enthusiasm, Catholicism and Catholics have had for anything anti-communist.

Dying among pigeons,
my eye falls from its socket
as though mind's fingers
had sighed, and rolls to a stop
still on the pavement.
It lies there
adjacent to mother's back
sprouting a tuft of crabgrass.
Like Danton's head,
it lies larger than life,
larger, anyway, than it had seemed,
and brighter in its severed state
than the baking sun.

PAUL VELDE

A Moment of Hope

(Continued from page 3)

appear to be very much aware of each other and what they are doing. Maybe this is because at that moment there was no distinction between their interior selves and the world around them. It is impossible to know what they were thinking. The moment is passed, and one recalls only the necessity of the here and now. One recalls that when Senator Kennedy was killed, one of the men wrestling the young assassin to the floor screamed at him, "You'll fry for this, you bastard! You'll fry for this!" The assassin is a bastard, and so nine others have willingly become bastards trying to stop assassination.

DO THE FUTURE A FAVOR

We'd like to think this issue of the CPF Bulletin—especially the extracts from letters on the draft, war and resistance—is the kind of thought provoking exchange which will help the reader clarify his own thinking. We think this issue would be especially useful for group discussion—in schools, within parish societies. We've printed extra copies. Perhaps you can put a bundle to good use.

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