

file copy: p. 6



Lunchtime Leafleting at Internal Revenue Service, New York City

## MONEY TALKS

by Maureen Finegan

The war is not winding down, but it has changed. Ground troops play a secondary role; men have been replaced by electronic and automated machinery. The killing is easier, but no less horrible and unjust.

The situation may sound hopeless and out of our hands. Yet every taxpayer has a hand in the war. Sixty-one percent of our tax dollar finances past, present, and future wars. By refusing to pay these war taxes, we can end our complicity and use our money for life-giving purposes.

April 15th will be R-DAY. Resist death; Refuse to pay for war; Renew life. This theme was developed at the National Working Committee meeting of War Tax Resistance held in Milwaukee (Jan. 7-9). There we emphasized the importance of the action and work that will lead up to R-Day. Energies will be focused into local communities to: 1. get more people to resist; 2. organize the resisters to do some or all of the following activities:

- tables at the IRS (from April 1-17) to hand out literature and talk with employees and people on the street
- clinics or workshops once a week or more to inform people

how to resist, possible consequences, and how the refused money can be used for constructive programs

- working committee meetings periodically to plan activities and to evaluate

- street theater dramatizing the air war, the enormity of the defense budget, and the connection to taxes.

- Daily Death Toll actions at IRS, draft boards, corporations... always showing how citizens can end their complicity

- work with the Harrisburg pilgrimage branch that will travel through your area

- radio and TV interviews; advertisements in newspapers and magazines

- press conferences

- gathering at IRS for resisters to give personal testimonies, and then march to a military graveyard (or other military symbol) to show where taxes would go if they were paid.

Joanne Sheehan, Bob Martin, and myself attended the Milwaukee conference and incorporated the results into our plans for a war tax resistance program. Through CPF we hope to awaken persons to their moral responsibility to refuse to pay for war, and to help organize communities of resisters. Our

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program is primarily an attempt to present war tax resistance not simply as a way to help end the war, but as a moral imperative for those who declare the war evil and unjust. In an age of advanced technological warfare, e.g. the air war in Indochina, in which machines, not men, are becoming the primary needs of the military, the conscription of a citizen's money is more important than the conscription of the citizen himself. In such a time, what we do with our money is as important as (and at times determines) what we do with our lives. Therefore, the payment of taxes should be the subject of a morally responsible choice. (For further thoughts on this, I suggest you write to us for a copy of *Moral Responsibility and War Tax Resistance*, a paper by Mike DeGregory of CPF).

At the National Council of Churches "Ecumenical Witness" Conference in Kansas City (Jan. 13-16) the CPF staff proposed war tax resistance as an action strategy in our discussion groups, among individuals, and through literature packets. The conference issued the following statements regarding conscientious tax refusal:

*We urge individuals to use their purchasing power and tax paying power to support policies and practices of peace and justice and to resist policies and practices of war and racism.*

*We urge individuals and religious organizations to withhold payment of the telephone excise tax and some portion of the federal income tax.*

*We suggest that our churches and synagogues provide information and counseling on war tax refusal, and that they support conscientious tax resisters who face prosecution.*

*We urge religious organizations to initiate efforts to establish legislation expanding the present legal provisions for conscientious objection to participation in financing war.*

War Tax Resistance has been organized and growing for about two years. At this point there are 190 War Tax Resistance centers, 23 alternative life funds, plus tens of thousands resisting. Between now and April 15th we hope to increase these amounts considerably, and to increase the visibility of resistance communities throughout the country. We have sent organizing packets containing information on the air war, the morality of the war, war tax resistance, life funds, and how a local war tax resistance center operates, to the CPF chapters.

Also available from War Tax Resistance is *Tax Talk*, (their monthly magazine - bulletin), and *Ain't Gonna Pay for War No More*, a book by Bob Calvert giving detailed information on war tax resistance. If you would like to become involved in resisting war taxes, counseling resisters, or organizing a local center, please write to us.

MAUREEN FINEGAN is on the staff of CPF, presently co-ordinating our War Tax Resistance program.

THE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP BULLETIN is intended as a bi-monthly publication and may yet appear that often; in the meantime no one need complain as it remains free in single copies. Editorial responsibility is with the staff of the CPF national office—Tom Cornell, Ken Curtin, Mike DeGregory, Maureen Finegan, Charlie King, Bob Martin, Bob Oliva, and Joanne Sheehan, being the most visible at present. CPF sponsors include Daniel Berrigan, Phillip Berrigan, Claire Huchet Bishop, Graham Carey, William Clancy, Martin Corbin, Corita Kent, Dorothy Day, John Deedy, Leslie Dewart, James Douglass, Jim Forest, Paul Hanly Furfy, Dom Bede Griffiths, Robert Hovda, Edward Keating, Justus George Lawler, Robert Lax, John L. McKenzie, Richard McSorley, S.J., the late Thomas Merton, Ned O'Gorman, Charles O. Rice, the late H. A. Reinhold, Peter Riga, Archbishop T. D. Roberts, Karl Stern, and Gordon Zahn.

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San Francisco, Calif. 94117

## MOVEMENT HISTORY MADE...

There is a 144-page book called "AIN'T GONNA PAY FOR WAR NO MORE" by Robert Calvert which discusses why we should resist war taxes. It explains how to resist the telephone tax, excise tax, income taxes, withholding taxes; relates personal experiences of war tax resisters; reveals the possible consequences and suggests alternative uses for the tax money.

"AIN'T GONNA PAY FOR WAR NO MORE" costs \$1.00. (10 to 100 copies, 75 cents, and 100 or more, 60 cents each.) To order the book write to: War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.

## THE CAMDEN 28

by Joanne Sheehan

In the early morning hours of August 22, 1971, J. Edgar Hoover announced that FBI Agents, aided by an informer, had arrested twenty people in and near the draft board in Camden, New Jersey. The following Friday, Attorney General John Mitchell made public the indictment handed down by a Federal Grand Jury, of these twenty plus eight others. All twenty-eight are charged with conspiracy to remove files from the draft board, FBI office, and Army Intelligence office. Twenty-one people are also charged on six additional counts, all related to the actual breaking into the draft board.

The twenty-eight are: Jayma Abdo, Dr. William Anderson, Milo Billman, Terry Buckalew, Paul Couming, Gene Dixon, Fr. Michael Doyle, Anne Dunham, Peter Ford, S.J., Keith Forsythe, Michael Giocondo, Bob Good, John Peter Grady, Marge Inness, Mel Madden, Edward McGowan, S.J., Lianne Moccia, Edward Murphy, S.J., Barry Mussi, Frank Pommersheim, Joan Reilly, Rosemary Reilly, Anita Ricci, Kathleen Ridolfi, Martha Shemely, John Swinglish, Sara Tosi, and Bob Williamson.

The original bail was set at over half a million dollars. After two weeks of hearings and appeals it was lowered to \$195,000, only 10% having to be paid to the court.

On December 2, Judge Lawrence A. Whipple, who has been assigned to their case, agreed to grant the defendants 120 days to file pre-trial motions. Eighteen of the defendants will serve as their own counsel in court (pro se), five will be appearing with co-counsel, and five others have retained attorneys to represent them. A trial date has not yet been set.

Why they did this action is best stated by them:

*We are twenty-eight men and women who, together with resisters across the country, are trying with our lives to say "no" to the madness we see perpetuated by our government in the name of the American people -- the madness of our Vietnam policy, of the arms race, of our neglected cities and inhuman prisons. We do not believe that it is criminal to destroy pieces of paper which are sued to bind men to involuntary servitude, which trains these men to kill, and which sends them to possibly die in an unjust, immoral and illegal war. We stand for life and freedom and the building of communities of true friendship. We will continue to speak and act out peace and justice, knowing that our spirit of resistance cannot be jailed or broken.*

The Camden 28 and the Defense Committee are building a community of active resistance which continues the message of the action of August 22, 1971. They have committed themselves to developing a strategy expressing offensive action. The 28 wish to share their ideas with as many as possible. If you would like to receive further information on the Camden 28, or participate in activities of the Defense Committee, contact: The Camden Defense Committee, 574 Benson Street, Camden, New Jersey, 08103

JOANNE SHEEHAN is on the staff of CPF, and is a member of the Camden Defense Committee.

## CHILDREN OF NATURE

by Harry Davis

On the night of August 21, 1971 five young people entered the Buffalo Draft Board office for the purpose of removing draft files and Army Intelligence records. They were halted in their attempt by the arrival of FBI Agents who consequently arrested them and they were interrogated for five hours before being moved to the Erie County Jail. They were later released on bail ranging from \$15,000 to \$35,000. The five, Charles Darst, Maureen Considine, Ann Masters, James Martin and Jeremiah Horrigan, are currently awaiting their upcoming trial which will probably begin within the next month. They have been indicted on charges of conspiracy, destruction of government property, and theft of government property. If found guilty, they could be sent to prison for a maximum of 40 years.

It is not unreasonable to assume that they will be convicted, since they have all admitted to the "crimes" with which they have been charged and have publically stated what they hoped to accomplish and the compelling reasons that led them to their action. One must hope that their sacrifice will redeem itself in the event that they are sent to prison. The frustrations of living in a society that is deaf to reason, deaf to the pleas of those who favor life and life-giving systems over death and destruction - the frustration of trying to work within the system for constructive change. They were forced into a radical, nonviolent action by a society which will listen to nothing less than a radical action.

Before their action at the draft board, the Buffalo Five printed up a statement concerning their proposed action. This was to be circulated whether or not their action was interrupted by the government. It gives the reasons for their action and makes clear certain very important aspects such as their non-violent commitment. Above all it gives some idea of their beauty, purity, sense of humanity and joyousness in the face of oppression.

Reprinted here are excerpts from what they call "STATEMENT OF THE BUFFALO":

*We feel it our right as men and women of responsibility, our duty before God and men, to take this action against these records that help make the Vietnam War possible - a violence of extraordinary arrogance and cruelty.*

*We feel that in times like there - when countries have the capability to wage total war and annihilate all life on this planet - a man's duty is far surpassed by his duty to the whole race. Our moral outrage and our sober rationality both say to us, as others have said before, 'Some property has no right to exist.' Absolutely, we say that.*

*This action springs from a belief that a person's life is sacred if to no one else, at least to him. And we believe that no government should have such total claims on a man's life as to be able to say: 'Man, from the time you are 18 until you are 26, you are our weapon. We as the government will tell you who the enemy is, who to kill. We will tell you when and where to kill him, and perhaps to be killed yourself. And only we as the government will judge the righteousness or wrongness of these wars.' We believe that no government should be saying this either by drafting a man to fight its wars or demanding money from him in the form of taxes to pay for them.*

*This is amazingly contradictory to the Gospel, to the very American ideals of free conscience and choice, in fact, to everything we have held sacred since infancy. The instant we start drafting armies to protect our freedoms, our freedoms are meaningless and we undermine the most basic freedom - the freedom not to kill on another's command.*

*In you, good neighbor, we wish to inspire neither alarm nor disgust by this our night's work. We move here against vandals and terrorists - especially those of official badge or office in our country. We could have used dynamite or fire upon these*

*rooms, or have pacified the man on guard as if he were an enemy or no man. We could have thereby purchased our own safety - and the success of what we set out to do. Indeed, such are the conventions of the land and the times. But they are not our conventions. To us they are as dead as the polluted air and rivers of this country - as violent as the life imposed upon the people of our cities. So we have chosen to create a way to hinder the abduction of our sons and brothers - and to open to citizens what our military protectors think of us.*

*We realize that Vietnam could happen again in many countries of the Third World solely because of American interests and money there. And if the Vietnam War were over tomorrow, the draft abolished the day after, problems of poverty, sickness, aggression, greed and blindness still exist, and we are all still faced with a struggle: how does a person of hopeful honesty and truth live for love and laughter and peace and sanity, how does he affirm the sanctity of all humanity and all life in a time when the world seems more and more given to fear and hate in which the victims are usually the innocent.*

*We are reminded of the words of Camus: "I wish I could love my country and still love justice."*

*Simply stated, we stand for life, love, laughter, music, food, food, friends, air, sunshine - all things green and living and beautiful.*

*We stand against fear, hatred, systems and structures not in the service of man, - the military-industrial complex which has run rampant and at the verge of destroying our life system - our mother of the earth.*

*We affirm these things by this action. We are one more set of lives standing on the side of life.*

The Buffalo

*We take this name because the Buffalo, a once powerful beast of freedom nearly exterminated under the advance of western civilization, is returning today in ever greater numbers - perhaps symbolic of nature's resilient resistance.*

*We are children of nature.*

*We are the Buffalo.*

HARRY DAVIS is on The Buffalo Defense Committee.

## CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Saturday, April 15, 1972

Mt. St. Charles Academy

Woonsocket, Rhode Island

The day will consist of several workshops and talks on peace and justice. The two scheduled talks are *The Church in Vietnam* and *The Air War in Indochina*. Nine workshops will cover various issues: the draft, the Harrisburg trial, personal and corporate responsibility, and the courts and prisons. The day's activities will come together in a plenary session followed by a religious celebration and a pot luck supper. The conference will conclude with a talk by Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker.

Resource persons will include: Matthew Audibert, O.F.M., Harry Bury, Tom Cornell, Robert Cunnane, C.S.C., Dorothy Day, Jim Forest, Richard Griffin, S.J., Elizabeth Hillman, Daniel Marshall, Paul McCabe, Anthony Mullaney, O.S.B., David O'Brien, Joanne Sheehan, Marj Swann, Gordon Zahn, and Michael True.

For further information including a schedule, list of workshops and directions, contact: Kevin Glover, C.P., Box 884, Assumption College, Worcester, Massachusetts 01609. Phone 617-756-8291. Working papers will be sent on individual workshops that you choose to attend.

## BANGLADESH and the Catholic Action Task Force on East Bengal

by Michael DeGregory

In November the Catholic Action Task Force on East Bengal was formed as a response to the tragic situation in East Pakistan. This tragedy - the genocidal massacre of ¼ million Bengalis and the subsequent flight of 10 million refugees into India - began in late March and had continued without any substantial response from the world community. Thus, the purpose of the Task Force was to organize responses through a program of education and action. It intended to provide reprinted articles and a newsletter on the situation, and to offer ideas for fund raising and nonviolent direct action.

In mid-December, having accomplished little, the Task Force became dormant. Its failure might be attributed to three factors: 1.) a lack of funds for printing and mailing - something that prevents many an idea from becoming a reality. 2) a lack of creative energy - too frequent an occurrence, helplessness in the face of an immense problem. 3) the sudden outbreak and quick end to the war between India and Pakistan.

This last factor, the Indo-Pakistani war, presented a particularly perplexing problem to those who are committed to peace and nonviolence. Some questions immediately arise: how should we, as pacifists, respond to a war even for an apparently just cause - self-determination of the Bengali people? Should we as a third party to a conflict, not directly involved, seek to remain impartial, merely calling for "peace" and a "ceasefire"? Or perhaps, should a proponent of nonviolence ever equate "remaining impartial" with a commitment to peace?

### Three stages of violence

In approaching this problem, a brief interpretation of violence as a three stage process might be useful. (This is an approach that Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife, Brazil and a leading advocate of nonviolence, has emphasized.)

Initially there is the *violence of oppression* in the form of poverty, racism, and other conditions of injustice which destroy the human spirit. An oppressed people oftentimes react to these conditions with the *violence of rebellion* in armed resistance to injustice. This resistance is then met by additional armed force by the oppressor, the *violence of repression*.

As pacifists we can condone none of these forms of violence. However, the second stage - the resistance by an oppressed group - is most understandable. And because of the demands of justice, our sympathy to their cause is appropriate.

In the particular context of Bangladesh, the socio-economic disparity between East and West Pakistan was the initial violence of oppression. The Bengali resistance to these conditions was met by Pakistan's genocidal repression in March 1971. The conflict further spiralled into a civil war between Pakistan and the Bengali liberation forces, the Mukti Bahini. The continued repression led India's armed intervention, bringing more violence and adding an international dimension to the conflict.

With this analysis of the situation and this understanding of violence, the sympathies and actions of the Task Force were clearly with the cause of Bangladesh.

With the outbreak of international war the Task Force immediately dispatched a letter to Indira Gandhi expressing distressful concern over India's resort to violence. We reminded her of the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi who realized that "the means are the end in the making". This letter, however, was motivated not only by opposition to India's resort to arms, but also by sympathy for India's concern for the Bengali refugees. We were very relieved by the quick termination of the war and rejoiced in the liberation of Bangladesh.



Although we fully realize the violence and suffering inflicted by both sides in a war, we do not think that being sympathetic to the cause of Bangladesh was inconsistent with nonviolence. The words of Pope Paul shed some light on this situation: "If you want peace, work for justice." As pacifists we must never justify or glorify the violence of others (even for a seemingly just cause), however we must certainly avoid the perpetuation of injustice in the name of "peace". (A "peace" which might be translated as "imposed order" - which is really a facade, disguising the underlying violence and injustice.) A true commitment to peace does not mean remaining equally aloof from all sides in a conflict situation. It involves an active effort, even "taking sides", working for justice through nonviolence.

### Responses still needed

Although the present situation on the Indian subcontinent is a substantial step toward justice, neither the formation of Bangladesh nor the release of its leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman will totally alleviate the immense suffering of the Bengali people. With ten million returning refugees, massive relief efforts are needed for the reconstruction and development of Bangladesh. With or without a task force, a response to the needs of Bangladesh is essential. Here are two ideas:

A "people-to-people" campaign is underway to recruit an American family to take responsibility for the life of one Bengali refugee returning home. Over a six month period, 35 cents a day (\$10 a month) will sustain the life of one person and help in the reconstruction of Bangladesh. For more information contact: EMERGENCY RELIEF FUND, INC., South Point Plaza, Lansing, Michigan 48910, phone 517-393-7666.

This individual assistance should be joined by a massive relief effort by the U.S. government. Diplomatic recognition of Bangladesh would facilitate this effort. It is a minimal gesture in light of the Administration's morally untenable support of the Pakistan government during this conflict. Write the President and Congress urging recognition of Bangladesh and ask a few friends to do likewise.

These steps are indeed small - 5 minutes to write a letter, 35 cents a day. Something that most Americans can well afford. These small steps are important, however, and would mean much to many. Please try to sacrifice some time and money. Please respond.

MICHAEL DeGREGORY, who was part of the Catholic Action Task Force on East Bengal, is on the staff of the Catholic Peace Fellowship.

## REMEMBER THE WAR

by Ms. Joanne McGloin

Three conferences, all concerned with the continuing Indo-China War, convened in Kansas City, Missouri, from January 12 - 16 of this year.

Over seventy women from seventeen countries participated in the first conference, January 12 - 13, at the United Methodist Grand Avenue Temple. Sponsored by Church Women United and entitled "Transitional Peace - Building Workshop", the agenda was quickly tailored to the priorities of the participants. Much individual impatience at the thought of another conference full of rhetoric, and our Third World sisters' moving testimonies, demanded the keeping of those priorities in the forefront. To paraphrase one African sister: American women must make the connection between the diamond rings on their fingers and the system of exploitation to which every American is an accomplice by her silence.

While "global consciousness" and "world family" were the underpinning concepts, most of the energy and time was directed toward concretizing strategies. A six point declaration was issued from the workshop. Special emphasis was on; personal action in both political and economic areas, international peace education, changes in consumer patterns, boycott of war-related industries, war tax resistance, and March 3rd, World Day of Prayer, as an occasion for re-evaluating church complicity in the war policy "through its investments and real estate holdings."

A non-luncheon was held Saturday, January 15, for Claire Collins Harvey, C.W.U. president. The money which would have paid for lunch was given to the Indochina Mobile Education Project.

From January 13 - 16 approximately sixty seminarians from various denominations and parts of the country met in the Hotel Muehlbach to discuss and strategize their special concerns. Corporate holdings in seminaries and denominations, the air war, educational alternatives in theological training, and the development of a nation-wide system of communication among seminaries were the anticipated priorities of the gathering.

Concurrently, the "Ecumenical Witness" Conference, initiated by the National Council of Churches and attended by over 600 delegates, gathered in the Imperial Ballroom of the Hotel Muehlbach.

Speakers included Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife, Brazil; Rev. Andrew Young, SCLC leader; Ms. Marion Wright Edelman, a lawyer presently with the Center for Law and Education of Harvard University; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches; Paul Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York; Dr. Krister Stendahl, Dean of Harvard Divinity School; and André Dumas of Paris, visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The well-packed agenda was altered to include hours of plenary discussion as well as small group and action workshop interchange. Closed-circuit television, films, exhibits, and a demonstration by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War continually attempted to remind the participants of the destruction which is daily showered upon the people and lands of South-east Asia. Testimonies of sisters and brothers from all over the globe, especially the Third World delegates, stated that the U.S. is no longer the hope of the "underdeveloped" and admonished us to cease interfering in the internal maintenance of their nations and seeking to exploit them for our own materialistic gain.

The Conference produced two major documents, a 2,000 word message and a strategy sheet dealing with suggested forms of action. The "Message" of the conference reminded all of the continuation of the war, the deceit of the Administration, and the growing insensitivity at home. It called on churches and synagogues "to make an immediate end to the war in Indochina their first priority." Besides accepting "as axiomatic the theme of racism in the war" and linking this to our domestic racist policies, the statement dealt with our responsibility of restitution upon the cessation of hostilities, and the need to take preventative measures so that the world can "shift from reliance upon an unstable peace based on the balance of terror to a system of law and justice, and the use of the world's resources for meeting the needs of the people."

The six areas of action covered in the strategy paper are:

- *actions to end American participation in the war*
- *combatting the tyranny of racism*
- *focusing the power of the religious community on the political process*
- *morally responsible use of economic power*
- *acts of repentance and reconciliation*
- *enhancing religious and other freedoms*

Specific actions called upon churches and their members to;

- *bring home the reality of the war*
- *withdraw military chaplains as a means of protest and replace them with a civilian ministry*
- *press for war tax resistance to be recognized as a valid form of conscientious objection*
- *urge and support war tax resistance and boycott of consumer products of war-related industries*
- *support the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches and encourage efforts to change the policies of war-related corporations*
- *work for an end to the draft, "broad, plenary, and general" amnesty, sanctuary for those who will now refuse to fight, and asylum for those who might seek it upon American withdrawal*
- *scrutinize candidates for the presidency and other offices with regard to their posture toward racial and economic justice at home as well as toward peace*
- *convene regional conferences of the same nature, with emphasis on the air war, applying pressure to Congress, and replication on the local level. April 3-17 was a suggested time for these conferences*
- *consider a hunger strike as a means of protest*

Copies of the Message and Action Statement are available from: Rev. Robert S. Bilheimer, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 576, New York, New York 10027.

Reactions to the conference were similar to anticipations. Many were, and still are, skeptical of the effect of one more meeting, no matter who was there. Others saw it as hopeful, not only that so many "credible" personages should participate in an anti-war meeting, but that concrete alternatives could be offered to combat the growing feelings of futility among those who dis-associate themselves from the U.S. government policies. The results remain to be actualized.

MS. JOANNE MCGLOIN, a seminarian, attended C.W.U.'s Peace-Building Workshop, the "Ecumenical Witness" Conference, and several sessions of the Seminarians Conference.



## DAI DONG

by Janine Veto

There is an increasing awareness that for the first time in history we are confronted by conditions capable of destroying civilization and even life itself. A concerned realization of this fact gave birth to *Dai Dong*, the new transnational effort in peacemaking sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Though our perceptions of our problems may differ, depending on our different locations and ways of life, the fact is that the problems are interrelated and global in nature and -- whether we consider nuclear war, over-population, environmental deterioration, or endemic poverty the major threat -- they are all rooted in inappropriate or obsolete political, economic and social structure. Implicit in *Dai Dong's* assumptions is that it has now become imperative to change these structures so that they are responsive to human needs and aspirations, because the only alternative to such change is catastrophe on a global scale. An attempt to make these changes will be an almost unbelievably difficult task, running across some of the deepest convictions that people have. The function of *Dai Dong* will be to build an understanding that the attempt must be made, that it cannot be made through war or violence or the triumph of one ideology over others, and that the only hope for the survival of a human society is through the development of a sense of interdependence and world community.

*Dai Dong's* first program initiative was the drafting of "A Message to Our 3.5 Billion Neighbors." The statement originated in Menton, France in May, 1970, at a meeting of scientists, and has since been signed by more than 2200 scientists from many countries. The statement was featured in the UNESCO *Courier* printed in twelve languages and continues to be circulated. Eighty per cent of the signers have also indicated a willingness to sign a pledge against engaging in war-connected work or research.

Partly as a result of the Menton Statement, *Dai Dong* has decided to sponsor an Independent Conference on the Environment in June, 1972. The Independent Conference will seek to demonstrate the difficulties of dealing with environmental problems through a world agency such as the UN to which individual nations refuse to relinquish sovereignty. It will examine the social, economic and political origins of the environmental crisis, and it can emphasize the need for global solutions that will transcend national and corporate interests.

To end this, *Dai Dong* will sponsor a Declaration on the Human Environment formulated by the 40 conference participants from all parts of the globe. Included will be noted scientists, economists and representatives from youth and Third World interests.

A statement by economists in response to the environmentalists' warning (in the Menton Statement), and a formulation by representatives of major world religions of their perceptions

of the relationship of man and his environment are also planned for the coming months.

During its 55 years of existence, the Fellowship of Reconciliation has worked toward building an equitable social order via its international pacifist organization. The name *Dai Dong* is derived from a pre-Confucian concept of a world in which "not only a man's family is his family, not only his children are his children, but all the world is his family and all children are his."

*Dai Dong* is staffed by approximately 25 people in the United States, Europe, and Africa. Most of these people are working on a volunteer or subsistence basis. For further information write to *Dai Dong* at Box 271, Nyack, New York, 10960, of Glaciset 32, 2800 Lyngby, Denmark.

JANINE VETO is Assistant to the Director of Fellowship of Reconciliation, and is presently working on *Dai Dong*.

## A GETTING-UP TIME STORY

by James H. Forest

Once upon a time the administrators of the richest, strongest government in the history of one of the universe's smaller planets were caught burning human beings, trees, plants, animals and villages.

Some of the people who caught these administrators doing that were people from the same country.

People in the same country were not supposed to be annoyed with things like that.

Even if they were annoyed, they weren't supposed to do anything except say, "Gee, I don't think it's right to burn human beings, trees, plants, animals and villages. It isn't nice and I sure wish you would stop doing that nasty thing."

The administrators kept a list of people who said that, hired more administrators to watch them, and sent out a nice letter telling these people that they certainly were glad to hear from them.

Then one day some of the people who had gotten an awful lot of nice letters from various administrators decided that getting nice letters didn't seem to be stopping the fires in which so many human beings, trees, plants, animals and villages were still being burned.

The fire department responsible for getting people to light those fires was called The Selective Service Company.

It did for The Army, Navy and Air Force Company what the Western Electric Company does for the Bell Telephone Company.

So they had an idea.

What they would do, they decided, was to begin a strike against The Selective Service Company. This might make it harder for the administrators to get people to burn people.

The organizers started by organizing themselves.

The younger ones did this by writing letters to The Selective Service Company asking the company to remove their names from the mailing list. "I will not be responsible for any further mailings received from your firm," they explained.

Many of the people who did this were arrested by another firm called The Department of Justice Company. Then they were sent to live in big stone houses where they got free haircuts, free television, free food, and permission to sign a form allowing employees of The Department of Justice Company to read their mail.

The older persons and the women were no longer on the mailing list or never had been, so at first they felt a little left out, especially when they noticed that all the young men who agreed with them were being sent to those stone houses where they got all those free things.

### DANIEL BERRIGAN RELEASED

As we go to press, Feb. 24, Daniel Berrigan, S.J. is released from Danbury Prison. He will be assigned to Woodstock Seminary, New York City, as his brother Phillip and six others go on trial in Harrisburg, Pa.

A group of about 300 friends and well-wishers welcomed Dan on the naked bluff where the prison is situated. A short liturgy followed in the Danbury area.

They got another idea. What they would do, they decided, was to take away the mailing list from the Selective Service Company.

When they started that, many of them were also sent to the big stone houses. Sometimes, though, the mailing-list removers forgot to leave a forwarding address, so some of them didn't get to go to the stone houses, or had to wait a few extra months.

So many people were taking their names off the mailing list, and so many mailing lists were altogether disappearing, that one day The Department of Justice Company announced that mailing-list removers were really Very Violent People Who Weren't As Nice As Most People Thought. This was in headlines all over the country right away.

The mailing-list removers were anarchists, one of the administrators said. When they grew up, he added, they wanted to be Kidnappers and Heating Tunnel Bombers. Several other administrators gasped.

Soon after that they wrote on a piece of paper. This was called an "Indictment" and it meant that the United States Government Company, which was in charge of all these other companies, shouldn't wait for these people to get any older, but should put them in stone houses right away.

At first the administrators wanted to put mailing-list removers in stone houses for the rest of their lives. But it turned out too many people thought the "Indictment" was funny. There was much laughter, which administrators do not like, so they wrote a new "Indictment" which said these people were not only planning to borrow a napping administrator and conspiring to turn off the heat to the administrators' office buildings - but they were plotting to continue removing The Selective Service Company's mailing lists.

Because of all these new, alarming discoveries, the maximum time these people would be allowed to stay in the stone houses was reduced to five years.

To show everyone why, some letters the administrators had captured from the mailing-list removers were shared with everyone in the world.

"No wonder they don't want them to stay in the stone houses such a long time," everybody commented.

At the time of this story-telling, there are still lots of fires burning lots of people, trees, plants, animals and villages.

On the other hand, there are a lot of people who seem to be taking their names off the mailing list, if they are lucky enough to live in an area that still has a mailing list. These people say this raises the possibility of a happy ending.

Others say the happy ending depends upon how many people find a way of taking their names off one or more mailing lists - or bringing a mailing list home forever.

The Selective Service Company, and The United States Government Company all hope people will forget about happy endings. And behave.

P.S. In case you don't want to behave, and are still interested in happy endings, and don't think burning people has much to do with happy endings, you might want to work with the Harrisburg Defense Committee. They need money. More important, they need brothers and sisters working to make known the meaning of the Harrisburg case and the sanity of resistance.

There are local affiliates of the Harrisburg Defense Committee all over the country.

The national address, where contributions are needed and from which local contacts can be found, is now located at 240 North Third Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 17101. Their main phone number is: 717-232-7531.

JAMES H. FOREST is co-founder of the Catholic Peace Fellowship. Presently living and working at Emmaus House, Jim has worked closely with the Harrisburg Defense Committee



The Christmas Peace Pilgrims.

## SIXTY-SIX MILES FOR PEACE

by Jack Riley

The Christmas Eve Candlelight Service at the West Point Cadet Chapel began as planned at 1930 hours. The only unusual event was the presence of 15 young peace activists sprinkled among the congregation. The young people, wearing the clothing of travellers, had just completed a 66 mile walk from Woodstock, N.Y. to the Military Academy. We had called it the Christmas Peace Pilgrimage and had begun our journey five days before from the village green at Woodstock.

For each of the five days, we spent our time walking and leafletting shopping centers, and, in the evenings, talking with people about nonviolence and peace and sharing the joy of the Christmas season with them. However, the most important feature was our presence at the West Point service. Having been granted permission to attend by the Provost-Marshall (the pilgrims planned to attend even if permission was denied) but told that any sort of demonstration would result in arrest, the pilgrims simply joined the congregation amid a few surprised looks. All of us felt a real value in this presence and this was reinforced by the many people who greeted us warmly when the service ended. We felt, at the time, that we truly communicated a message of peace and reconciliation. This feeling was just recently strengthened when, to our surprise, Rev. Hosutt of West Point invited some of us to return to the Academy and speak on pacifism to his church youth group.

The Christmas Peace Pilgrimage was an event of incredible gentleness and peace. Both for us, the pilgrims, and those we came in contact with, it left its mark and made so very real the celebration of Christ's coming. The entire experience was beautifully summed up in a prayer printed in the West Point Chapel Christmas bulletin:

*... we are lonely as the shepherds; as much in need of his birth as any who were there the first night. We need to see that star which shines from the darkest skies. For we, too, are on a pilgrimage of the soul; we need so much to know your purpose incarnate in the mystery of this child. Amen.*

JACK RILEY is co-chairman of the Mid-Hudson Nonviolence Center and Co-ordinator of the Poughkeepsie Catholic Peace Fellowship.

# THE AIR WAR, OR THE BANALITY OF EVIL

By DAVID McREYNOLDS

Hannah Ahrendt, in her excellent book on the Eichmann trial, subtitled it "The Banality of Evil." It is a term we find fits very well the current war in Indochina, where thousands of lives are taken each week as the war shifts from land to air.

One watches Nixon on television and sees a man who doesn't smoke, drinks little, worships regularly, loves John Wayne movies and Guy Lombardo music. A man totally lacking in excitement, very ordinary, and yet also the man who is ordering the massive killing in Indochina, seeking to achieve through air power what Johnson could not achieve with ground troops. We expect evil to trumpet its own nature, to wear horns or to leer at us. But instead it is only a man like Nixon, a man so ordinary he could be us. How very like Eichmann he is as one watches him on TV; Eichmann, the man who never really hated Jews but only carried out—with remarkable efficiency—the orders to murder them.

## "This Electronic Battlefield"

Most people I've talked with do not understand what the air war is. They conceive of it in World War II terms—a lot of planes dropping a lot of high explosives. It is that, but it is also horribly more than that. The Indochinese air war involves weapons of great sophistication, designed to wipe out all human life over a wide area. One weapon is the bomb which opens as it falls, spilling out hundreds of steel balls the size of grapefruit. Each of these balls in turn has an explosive charge inside and contains hundreds of steel pellets. When the balls hit, they explode, spraying out steel pellets which lack the velocity to penetrate wood or steel or concrete—but easily penetrate flesh. A bullet follows a straight path through the body but the pellets have a random trajectory, causing greater harm and—if they remain in the body—making it difficult to locate them for removal. Recently, as an improvement, the pellets are made of plastic, which do not show up on x-rays, meaning that Vietnamese doctors have no way of locating and removing them. We also drop "fleshete" bombs. The fleshete is like a tiny steel arrow, or a nail which has small fins instead of a head (They can actually be used, just like nails, in construction.) When the flechette hits the body it tumbles, leaving a wound similar to that of the dum dum bullets that fragment on contact. The "mother bomb" explodes in air, sending tens of thousands of flechettes hurtling down like a literal hail of death. And we have what can be called "foot bombs"—tiny little packets of cloth, the size and shape of a match book, which are scattered by the millions and which explode when stepped on. They are not fatal—they just rip off your foot.

In addition to these weapons, the corporations have helped out the Pentagon by building very special sensor devices that are dropped by air and monitor human movement. These sensors cannot distinguish between troops and children (neither can the steel pellets, the flechettes, the "foot bombs"). They just monitor movement and on the basis of that information air strikes are called in. From miles above the earth the B-52's rain down death on what might be children, or farmers, or perhaps even troops—the only thing that is certain is that something triggered the sensor devices.

The battlefield is being automated and every living thing becomes an enemy. Every living thing—the forests which we deliberately destroy, the crops which are burned and defoliated, the water buffalo, the people. And sometimes

even troops. Anthony Lewis, commenting on the air war in the January 1 *N.Y. Times*, said, "Before 1967, more than 100,000 people lived in the Plaine des Jarres. They got in the way of the American bombers operating over Laos, but this inconvenience was removed in a way reminiscent of Swift's 'A Modest Proposal'; The inhabitants were all either killed or forced out of their homes as refugees." Commenting on the recent massive bombing of North Vietnam, Fred Branfman warned in the *New York Times* of January 2 that "Unless checked by public opinion, the Administration may well be prepared to level Hanoi and Haiphong, mine Haiphong Harbor, and possibly even bomb North Vietnam's system of dikes."

How desperately sick is this electronic battlefield, this antiseptic war, in which no one takes any chances or risks—except the very real Indochinese dead. How easy to work for Honeywell or ITT, making up the parts for the bombs. How easy for Nixon to order a "pre-emptive air strike" from the comfort of his Western White House. How easy for our fliers to soar up in their B-52's, floating miles above the earth, dropping their wares through cloud cover, never even seeing the bomb blast. Peoples and forests vanish and none of us ever have to look at it or know about it except as one of those statistics which Laird reads out. Wasn't Germany like this, with men like Eichmann carrying out orders, corporations supplying the chemicals for the gas chambers without even asking questions? Here we have the vastness of crime but no one feels criminal, or turns restless in their sleep, for the blood and screams are unseen, unheard.

## "Changing The Color of the Corpses"

On a philosophical level we are all guilty for having allowed our economic system to run amuck, mindlessly churning out both Wonder Bread and pellet bombs. Nixon is too easy a target—our slogan should not be "Evict Nixon," but "Evict the System." And we must see that if Nixon is guilty, we are not innocent. If he gave the orders, did we resist strongly enough? I know I haven't. The invisible dead are on my conscience as well as on Nixon's.

On a more immediate political level it is our job to educate the public to the fact the war is not over. Yes, *our* casualties have dropped to almost zero. But thousands of our brothers and sisters still die each week, and many thousands more are maimed for life. Nixon's policy is racist—he believes that by changing the color of the corpses he can silence the peace movement. Thus far he is right, he has pandered to the worst within us and seems to have bet wisely. But there is a terrible danger that the air war, evil as it is, may expand still further as Vietnamization falters.

In Laos and in Cambodia our "armies by proxy" are losing ground. Most of Laos and Cambodia are already lost and this will expose South Vietnam more directly to attack from bases just across the border. The war is not winding down but expanding in the air and Nixon will be under a terrible temptation—with pressure from the Pentagon—to try once more for victory through leveling North Vietnam.

For those who are dying, the Vietnam war is still very much an issue. It is our job to make sure that it remains an issue with the American public, which is paying for the bombs. To this end the WRL has joined with other groups in a special campaign to emphasize the air war and educate the public on it. Write us for special materials.



## A MEANS FOR THE "DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLES": the New York Office for World Justice and Peace

by R. Lawrence Barbuto

The challenges of development, the new word for peace suggested by Pope Paul VI, introduce a new movement to Catholics. It is at once a more dynamic and disturbing element to the status quo than a peace movement based on the absence of war and on ending specific human conflicts.

Participation in the movement for human development is presented as the call of faith of each man and of all men and is directed to awakening and maintaining in all an inviolable sense of human dignity. This awareness, if going to the quick of each man's life, can only result in an urgency to work for liberation -- a thoroughly personal and communal imperative to action and, necessarily, conflict.

At stake then in human development actions is not an issue but a way of life, not merely a singular activity with an interest group but an awareness of one's participation in a global coalition for humanity. Finally, the movement calls not only for concern for the present lives of alienated individuals and peoples, but also for concern for the future of all in the human family, affluent and abjectly poor alike.

The priority action: education

The Archdiocese of New York, through the Office for World Justice and Peace established by His Eminence Terence Cardinal Cooke, has been attempting for the past 18 months to awaken the interest of New York Catholics in this movement. The Office directs its energies to a comprehensive, yet rather simple and direct message: Christ's call to action for justice in the world. And the message is delivered at all levels of Catholic life in New York. Significantly, the Holy Father's pastoral letter *Octogesima Adveniens* is an essential source for this call for commitment to the human development movement.

The stress from the inception of the Office has been to combine talk about development with action. In terms of program, however, the paramount interest has been to assure that education in the Archdiocese, in elementary and secondary schools and in colleges, reflects the facts of human conditions in the world and contains a continuing challenge to the values and attitudes of Catholics to respond to the human family. It is particularly in the forming of values that this emphasis on education has also included encouraging and assisting New York priests to bring the social dimension of the Gospel and the Church's teachings into their preaching and pastoral counseling.

Regular mailings are made to schools and parishes to offer program suggestions and assistance. More directly, the Office for World Justice and Peace has cooperated with *The Christophers* and staff of the Manhattan College peace studies program in developing a continuing teachers' workshop on peace-development education. The major seminary in the Archdiocese has also invited the Office to assist in developing a world justice and peace program for the continuing education of clergy and religious. Similar programs where the Office joins with individuals, lay organizations and other chancery offices have been developed.

These efforts for educators and priests are related to a central theme of co-responsibility that the Office for World Justice and Peace has sought to establish in its work in the Archdiocese. The permanency of this work, namely, teaching on this social dimension of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, will be dependent on the continued action of those responsible for the formal teaching structures of the New York Church. In the education sphere, therefore, the Office would appear relevant only until such time as world justice and peace becomes inte-

grated into the mainstream of teaching content, materials and methods.

### Task forces for social action

Action by the Office for World Justice and Peace beyond education, to include both political and professional involvement of New York Catholics, has been minimal; but the starts have been encouraging. One program was in response to an initiative of the Catholic Peace Fellowship on behalf of the Bengali refugees in India and the peoples of Bangladesh. A task force has been formed to provide a concentrated effort to elicit action centered on the recent foreign aid deliberations of Congress. An open letter by the Office to New York Catholics was made possible through the assistance of local groups that have opted for full-time action in international economic development. Finally, some exploratory efforts are being made to involve professionals in law, medicine, commerce and industry, social communications and the military to relate their work with world justice and peace.

... and the next half-century?

*Life is perpetuated only by renewal. If conditions do not permit renewal to take place continuously it will take place explosively. The cost of revolutions must be charged up to those who have taken for their aim arrest of custom instead of its readjustment. The only ones who have the right to criticize "radicals" -- adopting for the moment that perversion of language which identifies the radical with the destructive rebel -- are those who put as much effort into reconstruction as the rebels are putting into destruction. The primary accusation against the revolutionary must be directed against those who having power refuse to use it for ameliorations. They are the ones who accumulate the wrath that sweeps away customs and institutions in an indiscriminating avalanche. Too often the man who should be criticizing institutions expends his energy in criticizing those who would reform them. What he really objects to is any disturbance of his own vested securities, comforts and privileged powers.* (John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, 1922.)

### Underlying transformations needed

Continuing this call for action by both clergy and laymen, is underlined reference to the need for restructuring the social order. It is with this future-oriented concern, particularly, that Catholics are asked to reflect on the need to commit themselves to forging a new, yet ever-evolving, system under God where men will be encouraged and nurtured to work for justice, liberation and human development. As Pope Paul VI has stated:

*Changes are necessary; basic reforms are indispensable. . . the injustices must be fought against and overcome. Development demands bold transformations, innovations that go deep.* (*Populorum Progressio*, 81)

The relevance of delivering this message from the pulpit and in the classrooms of the Archdiocese cannot be overstressed. In this regard, the Office for World Justice and Peace is cooperating with the nation-wide and church-related programs in world order of the World Law Fund.

### Metanoia and solidarity

The message of the Archdiocesan Office, then, is not delivered to the United Nations, the United States Government, or to any other public or private institution. Rather it is simply addressed to New York Catholics. There is no attempt to say that one issue is more important than another; there is no list of issue priorities. Rather, the stress is put on the pluralism of options open to one who listens to the call of Christ in the oppressed and the alienated: to love "as I have loved you."

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In all, there is a sustained effort to gather all those who will listen to participate in raising awareness to the despicable human conditions of our world so as to affect a change of heart in New York Catholics -- and for the workers to similarly and continually experience *metanoia*. Being open, then, to sharing mutual joys and hopes, pains and afflictions, and to experiencing solidarity with all humanity, Catholics will act. The options for action are many in this movement for the integral human development of each and all men.

The Office for World Justice and Peace is simply a means to calling and assisting New York Catholics to take part in this movement.

R. LAWRENCE BARBUTO is Program Coordinator, Office for World Justice and Peace, Archdiocese of New York.

## ANOTHER UNCOMFORTABLE INN

by Bob Martin and Tom Cornell

"They must have raided Whitey Lane last night!" The D.C. jail is not 95% black as we were told, it is more like 99.5% black. As we were ushered through the dormitories, huge, vast, dimly lighted bulbs suspended from the ceilings, we heard it said of us.

We had gone to Washington for the Daily Death Toll project of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Clergy and Laymen Concerned. Although the daily papers tell us that the war is winding down in Indochina and that there were only six or seven fatalities there that week, we know that they are only counting the American dead, that the Indo-Chinese are still dying in massive numbers from our increased bombardment, at a rate of about 300 a day. So we decided to leave responsibility for these deaths where they belong, on the doorstep of Richard Nixon. We went to his house in Washington, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and lay down. Each day from November 8th until Thanksgiving there would be, it was hoped, about 300 people daily from a different city or geographical location to offer nonviolent civil disobedience in this way to the ongoing war.

New York's day was the 9th. We were 105 people in the core group, with a few more there for support. Some of us had determined to accept "Jail, NO BAIL," and "Time, NO FINE." We pleaded *nolo contendere* and were sentenced by Judge Sylvia Bacon, the first woman to be considered for nomination to the Supreme Court. We were lucky to get \$25 or two days. We took the time, no fine, as we had determined to do, 15 of us, three women and twelve men.

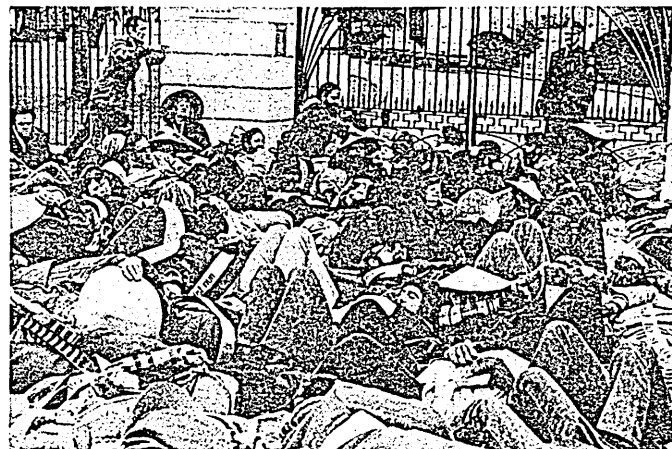
Igal Roodenko, Ed Gottlieb, Jim Peck, and Ralph DiGia represented the War Resisters League. To be frank, being with these men was the thrill of the experience. When the younger men found out about Jim Peck's experiences going back to Danbury prison in World War II, through the first Freedom Ride in 1947 and the famous Freedom Rides in Georgia in 1959 (he got 53 stitches to close up his head on that one) they were astonished and held him in awe, sitting in his union suit on a bench in our reception room, conducting himself with the knowing demeanor of an old jail hand.

Jail is always a learning experience. Here we learned something we had not counted on, how to multiply the six, seven, eight and nine tables on your fingers. Ed Gottlieb is a retired public high school principal who does not believe in schools or in useless memorization, even of seven times nine. Here's how it works. You have five fingers on each hand. Seven is two more than five. Hold up two fingers on one hand, folding down the others. Nine is four more than five. Hold up four fingers on the other hand and hold down one. Add the fingers that appear and put the sum in the tens column. Turn

hands over and multiply the number of fingers held down on each and add the result. It works every time.

Mike DeGregory, Mike Battaglia, Bob Martin and Tom Cornell represented the Catholic Peace Fellowship. Al Hardy and Pete McFadden, both of Philadelphia, Everett Moraine and Ed Himmelhoch added to our core group.

In court Ed Gottlieb read a statement for all of us. It was very short and matter of fact. We did not ask for special consideration, although we knew we would probably get it and did. A Puerto Rican had just been sentenced to ten dollars or ten days. His time was obviously not as valuable as ours. We took up a collection for him and made his fine.



At this point in the movement against the war, with mass mobilizations that are much less massive than they were two years ago, when patience and nonviolence is wearing thin, it was exciting, refreshing, and inspiring to see that a project as clearly classically nonviolent as this one could generate the enthusiasm and joy that it did. One of our arresting officers, a black man named Nelson, told us, "You're right." You know, this can work. You keep this up and you can win. Keep the pressure on. We complain to our superiors and they complain to theirs. You got rid of one President." Mr. Lissenbee seemed less happy. He punctuated his commands to us with the jet of tobacco juice he spat every few minutes from an open window of the bus.

We were transferred to the D.C. jail after one night on steel slabs. The women had it worse. There were as many as 4 to one bed. The second night we had mattresses and linens. We were properly deloused, jets of stinging kerosene compound shot onto the hairy patches of our bodies. As we were being processed out the next morning Ed Gottlieb was reading a pocket appointment calendar he carries. It has Hebrew prayers in it. He chanted *in sotto voce* a Hebrew prayer for the dead sung after synagogue services, very beautiful. One of the CPF people said; "They're taking all the beautiful things out of our religion." Ed replied, "Maybe I should have chanted this instead of reading our statement to the judge. We might have got ninety days."

We were sprung. Our possessions were scattered around the three jails we had been in those two and a half days. Gathering what we had left at the Park Police headquarters we saw a busload of people from Rockland County being brought in. They had done their lie-down that day. Maureen Finegan, Jack Riley, Ruth Best of the FOR, Allan Brick, Ron Young, many others, clergy prominent among them. They had the same approximate numbers we had. More than 85 elected to spend the night in jail, and about 10 of those remained for 2 more days, determined to accept "jail, no bail and time, no fine."

BOB MARTIN is on the staff of Catholic Peace Fellowship.  
TOM CORNELL is our National Secretary.

## HISTORY TURNS A CORNER

by Eileen Egan

The American Catholic Bishops made a historic decision at their meeting in November 1971. They declared the Vietnam War an unjust war.

"At this point in history," they announced, "it seems clear to us that whatever good we hope to achieve through our involvement in this war is now outweighed by the destruction of human life and of moral values which it inflicts."

While peace-minded Catholics rejoiced, more conservative Catholics were appalled. The publisher of *Twin Circle*, a national Catholic weekly of conservative slant, spoke for many when he wrote that he was "appalled that the American bishops have issued a statement with an underlying military conclusion without even consulting military authorities."

It would certainly seem that national hierarchies have refrained from issuing statements that were in opposition to the military policies of their respective nations. As Archbishop T.D. Roberts pointed out (in a memorable talk at a PAX Conference at the Catholic Worker Farm in Tivoli), far from applying moral norms to the wars being waged by their countries, the bishops of the world have under-written the war policies of their governments. In the wars of the twentieth century, said the Archbishop, "The hierarchies and the Catholics whom they represented have in effect been prepared to give a blank check to their governments to do more or less what they wanted."

Is it any wonder that governments like our own, commanding unspeakable powers of destruction, including thermonuclear instruments of genocide, feel free to utilize them indiscriminately on military targets or centers of civilian population? The conditions for a just war were always in the ethics books and should have been promulgated by every national hierarchy and handed to every Catholic who put on a uniform. As this was not done, the individual Catholic who applied the just war conditions to any recent war, was in a very lonely position. He had to stand before the national and hierarchical establishment and prove by citing the just war criteria that the war being waged was unjust. In general, the response to the anti-war stance of many Christians was that they were in no position to pass judgment on the morality of a given war because they could not have all the facts, and the duty of the citizen in wartime was to give "the presumption of justice" to his government.

Nevertheless, many Catholics and an increasing number of Protestants held out for the application of the just war criteria as a useful yardstick. This yardstick, they felt, could and should be applied by the individual if his ecclesiastical authorities did not apply it. Students of just war theology learned that even if one of the just war conditions were not met, the war was unjust. Thus in the Vietnam war, young people pointed out incessantly that it was unjust because *it was not declared by lawful authority*, in this case the government of the United States.

One of the most basic of the just war criteria is that of proportionality: whether the good to be achieved outweighs the probable evil effects of the war. It is on the basis of proportionality that the Catholic bishops of the United States have at last made a clear moral pronouncement.

History turns a corner:

Few people have realized that history turned a corner when a national hierarchy declared unjust a war that was at that moment being waged by its own nation. Further, it is not simply that a single national hierarchy has delivered a moral judgment on the war prosecuted by its government. What is more important is that the judgment has been passed on the nation that

commands the greatest military power in the history of mankind. This declaration may be as crucial a turning point in church history as was the adoption of the "just war" concept in the Fifth Century A.D. by St. Augustine of Hippo.

Though many people have already rejected the just war concept as a theology of violence, there are many whom it is still relevant. There is sometimes a tendency among convinced pacifists, to which group I belong, to "put down" those who cling to the just war tradition. We must respect their consciences as much as we respect our own, and we must be willing to talk with them in their terminology. If all the just war criteria were scrupulously applied, including the conditions that the war must be a last resort and must be just in cause and means, the conclusion reached by Pope John XXIII would be inevitable, namely "it is irrational to believe that war is still an apt means of vindicating violated rights."

The November 1971 judgement of the American hierarchy makes it mandatory, as Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton of Detroit makes clear, for any Catholic who reaches the same conclusion to refuse participation in the Vietnamese war.

*Young Catholics can take this declaration of their bishops to draft boards, even if they have not yet reached a position of complete nonviolence, of being ready to receive rather than inflict suffering. There may be some Catholic soldiers in Vietnam who will ask for discharge on the basis of this validation of their own judgment that the Vietnamese enterprise is unjust. We must be prepared to help them.*

While just war thinking insists on looking backward to a theology of violence, a moral theology that indicated how far you could go without committing sin; a recent pastoral letter by an American bishop looks forward to the time when the Christian community will become, after the example of Jesus, the reconciling community of mankind.

"The price of peace," says Bishop Carroll T. Dozier, in a Christmas pastoral letter to his people, "is our own self-restraint, our own turning of the cheek, walking two miles with those who force us to walk one with them. When Jesus appeared to his disciples and 'Peace be with you,' he showed them his hands and his side, scarred from his horrible suffering on the cross. We will begin to be peacemakers when we too are ready to suffer and die with Christ."

Bishop Dozier is Bishop of Memphis, Tennessee and his pastoral is entitled *Peace: Gift and Task*. The entire pastoral is reprinted in *Commonweal* for December 24, 1971.

A long thirst is at last being slaked by such statements. The thirst I mean is for the peace message of Jesus. At last we are hearing it preached unequivocally by our church leaders.

We failed to be ministers of Reconciliation

The silence, to complicity, of church leaders in the wars of our time is a scandal to those within and outside the church.

(Continued on next page)

### COMING TO YOUR TOWN...

CPF Staff Member Ken Curtin will be speaking on tour from mid-March through mid-June. His topics will be: THE CONTINUING AIR WAR, WAR TAX RESISTANCE, SPRING AND SUMMER PEACE ACTIONS and he will be presenting the NARMIC (National Action-Research on the Military-Industrial Complex) slide show on the air war. His itinerary will include New York State, the Midwest, east Texas and much of the South. Please write if you can set up any speaking dates for him in your area.

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The involvement of the hierarchy of Spain with one side in the Civil War has been a stumbling-block to those searching for Jesus in the church. In September 1971, an assembly of 250 Spanish bishops and priests met to consider the situation of the church in their country and passed a resolution asking for a separation of church and state. One of the most striking and poignant parts of the resolution dealt with the desire of the assembled clergy to atone for the role played by the Spanish Church in the Spanish Civil War in 1936-39.

"We humbly recognize," stated the resolution, "and ask forgiveness for this, that we failed at the proper moment to be ministers of reconciliation in the midst of our people then divided by a fratricidal war."

The resolution also asked for the recognition of conscientious objection to military service for ethical or religious reasons, and the ending of the acceptance of official posts by the clergy, including chaplaincies in official bodies such as trade unions. The ecclesiastics also requested the separation of military chaplains from military officialdom.

The church is becoming relevant to the over-arching problem of our time, war, when Catholic bishops declare an ongoing war unjust, when they proclaim the nonviolence of Jesus as a way of life and when they publicly ask for forgiveness for not being the reconcilers of men that Jesus called all his followers to be. It is for us as lay people to mount a stronger program of help to those who wish to take action on the moral teaching that the Vietnam war is unjust, especially those already in the military, and to show by our life-style the nonviolent, merciful message that Jesus gave us.

EILEEN EGAN is Vice-Chairman of PAX.

### YOU ARE NEEDED

The United FarmWorkers Organizing Committee, headed by Cesar Chavez, is searching for full-time organizers for the New York Boycott. UFWOC is preparing to begin a massive non-violent campaign against non-union lettuce so that thousands of striking farmworkers will have a chance to determine their own future.

Can you give a small part of your life to upgrade the miserable standard of living that farmworkers are forced to live under? We promise you hard work, experience in social change organizing, and the kind of community that comes out of struggle. You will not get rich but you will be fully supported; room, board, expenses, and five dollars a week. For further information contact:

UFWOC c/o Jose Gomez

19 W. 34th St.

N.Y.C., N.Y. 10001 (212) 594-0694

or

Boycott Central

P.O. Box 62

Keene, CA 93531 (805) 822-5571

### IBM PROJECT - POUGHKEEPSIE

Sunday, April 9th, will find people tenting on IBM's old camp ground. They will be celebrating life, and Spring and drawing attention to IBM's war contracts and complicity with the automated warfare of the American military. All are welcome - negotiations for the land are underway - IBM says "No", but we say "Yes". For more details, contact Peter Cunneen, IBM Project, 192 Main Street, Apt. 2, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 12601. Phone: 914-473-9102.

### Additions to the CPF literature list

Statement By American Bishops on Nuclear War, issued Fall, 1971, 15¢

Peace: Gift & Task, the Christmas pastoral letter of Bishop Carrol T. Dozier, of Memphis, Tenn. 20¢

CPF packet on war tax resistance 50¢

FOR packet on the Air War; sixty-five pages on the air war and information for local organizing \$3.25.

### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS RESISTANCE

by Charlie King

A thought-provoking by-product of draft counseling has been the constantly recurring opinion that there is a necessary dichotomy between conscientious objection and draft resistance. I hear this from the more politically aggressive men who come for personal draft counseling, and recognize it as the echo of peace movement rhetoric.

It is understandable that conscientious objection has lost its appeal as a vehicle for radical political action. Since World War II more humane provisions under law make the status of the conscientious objector less forbidding than under older systems involving prisons and work camps. The antipathy generated towards the draft and the military resulting from the disastrous policies in Indochina has made conscientious objection more acceptable in the public eye. As this option becomes more accepted it becomes less attractive to those who seek to confront the system.

There is probably some truth to the notion that whatever a government permits cannot be much of a threat. If our government provides legal status for the CO, then his resistance can be comfortably absorbed. This line of reasoning has further weakened the political value of conscientious objection.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to conscientious objection has come from the Resistance, a well known anti-war, anti-draft group which arose in the mid-sixties. The Resistance was launched as a movement of non-cooperation whose members refused to seek or accept any exemption or deferment from the Selective Service System. The CO, says the Resistance, works within a corrupt system that must be confronted, not manipulated. Many members of the Resistance followed this line with great integrity. Many, like David Harris, refused induction and made their defense in court a political and moral stand against involuntary servitude and war-making. They took the classic Gandhian stance: "jail - no bail; time - no fine." But their objective of filling the prisons was never fulfilled. Too many resisters chose to use the numerous loopholes involved in the complicated process of classification and induction. Rather than confront the issues, they beat the charges on a technicality. I remember taking a draft counseling course with a man who had spent over a year in a federal prison for refusal or induction. He was quite embittered towards the Resistance and felt that he had been misled by their promises of massive civil disobedience. He had met no other Resistance members during his prison stay.

Even if their actions were not as radical as their stated objectives their criticisms still have validity. It is true that the CO works within the Selective Service System. But it is important to note that he works in direct opposition to the expressed goals of that system. It might be said analogously that the CO works within the draft system about as amicably as the non-cooperator works within the court system, and with more opportunity for creative confrontation.

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(Continued from previous page)

It is true that government provides legal exemption for the CO and so it is not seriously threatened by him. But this is true only as long as CO's remain a tiny minority. As the number of CO's grows the government, in the latest Selective Service regulations, has reversed the trend liberalizing its policies towards CO's. It has started tightening up regulations regarding alternate service and has issued a new and far more complex CO questionnaire. A large number of CO's is, indeed, a threat.

My main point, however, is that Conscientious Objection when consciously used as a vehicle for draft resistance, offers unique and creative opportunities that are not given to the non-cooperator.

Primarily the CO chooses to confront, rather than to ignore or negate, the people who make up the Selective Service System. There is a subtle violence in writing off the people who keep the bureaucracy humming as persons not to be dealt with. In the normal course of the CO process, a man has several opportunities to meet face to face with his state or local boards. These occasions strip the board members of their bureaucratic immunity as they are forced to deal with the CO as a person, not merely as a transcript or a number. The matters discussed are almost always substantive rather than procedural. The CO has the opportunity to present written statements of his beliefs, to attest to them or to enlarge on them orally, and to present witnesses who may corroborate his statements and offer new insights of their own. The creative individual can use this meeting to challenge the board for their actions, to reproach them for their cooperation with injustice, to offer a higher ethical perspective; or even, as one friend, Ken Curtin, has done, to demand their resignation.

In addition to confronting the board members, the conscientious objector creates a tremendous drag on the smooth functioning of Selective Service. The forms and letters of reference that must be read, the personal appearances that must be arranged (at least two, often more), the endless classifying and reclassifying, and the burden of keeping abreast of a constantly changing set of regulations for CO's all slow the system down and make it much less effective. It rechannels the energies of draft boards from inducting war-makers to dealing with peace-makers. It has long been my contention that if every man who was opposed to the Indochina war were to file as a CO the administrative pile-up would bring the bureaucratic machine to a grinding halt.

Having taken advantage of these unique opportunities to confront and clog the system, the CO still is in a position to offer further resistance. If his CO claim is turned down he may refuse induction and take his place in the courtroom beside the non-cooperator, but with two advantages. First, he has had considerable opportunity to develop and externalize his opposition to war and to argue his case to a hostile audience. Second, he has eliminated the possibility that the court will convict him on the purely procedural basis that he has failed to exhaust administrative remedies at a lower level, i.e. within the Selective Service System itself.

If, on the other hand, he is granted CO status the individual has the option of refusing to perform the two years of alternate civilian service, an act of resistance that carries the same legal penalties as refusal of induction. Or, he may choose to respond by demanding an outlandish assignment that is obviously in direct opposition to the Selective Service System or the Army. For example, he may ask to be assigned to spend two years working to eliminate the draft and encourage resistance to the military, or he might request to work two years for peace in whatever manner he finds most effective. Whatever the clas-

sified CO decides to do with an alternate service requirement he is guaranteed the right to appear once again before his board and to use this meeting as creatively as possible.

Throughout all of these interchanges the CO is given a deeper understanding of the nature of the Selective Service System itself and of government bureaucracy in general. It is an excellent opportunity and incentive for clarification of thought and for contact with opposite worldviews. As draft counselors have observed, the CO process often has a radicalizing effect on those who pursue it. It is also hoped that the effect of many moral and courageous men confronting them with the evil of war is not lost on the members of the draft boards.

It may be argued that conscientious objection is an option only for the absolute pacifist, but it is required of a CO only that he be opposed to war. The modern reality of warfare as seen in Hamburg, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and My Lai is sufficient evidence for anyone to oppose war, regardless of his views on violence in relation to personal self-defense or police actions. It may be argued that conscientious objection is available only to the educated who are aware of the opportunity and can deal with problems of filling out lengthy forms and expressing abstract concepts in written or oral form. The response to this problem should not be a general condemnation of the CO position but rather an attempt to provide information and counseling to the poor and under-educated who still bear the largest burden in fighting our wars.

If our resistance to the criminal excesses of our government is to be ultimately successful then it must be creative. We must see the people behind the bureaucratic facades. We must be open to every opportunity to confront, to reproach, to present lucidly alternatives to the individuals who create or implement oppressive policy. Conscientious objection deserves a re-examination for its many advantages as a form of, or creative prelude to, resistance.

CHARLIE KING is our draft counselor at the Catholic Peace Fellowship.

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(See article on page 8)

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