

FELLOWSHIP

THE MAGAZINE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



Czecho- slovak Resistance

"The most dramatic case of nonviolent direct action against foreign aggressors that the world has ever known."

(Adam Roberts)

An Article by
George Lakey

**My Struggle as a Christian against the Marine Corps:
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WAR'S END?

The news comes through, again, that the North Vietnamese have pulled back, that there's a marked lull in the fighting, that a halt in the bombing and a cease-fire are in the air. The spirit, so often prompted to hope and so often battered into despair, reacts listlessly, not daring to believe, seeing one more trick. But if this one is another false alarm, another will not be, and the war will start to be over.

But it will not *be* over. There will still be long, protracted squabbling over terms, threats to resume fighting from both sides, all the things that go with a world still organized on the basis of power, still committed to organized murder as the ultimate recourse of power. There will still be the men in power to say, as Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford said, that if any attempt at invasion of western Europe were attempted, NATO forces would respond with a couple of atomic demonstration blasts over the advancing forces "to show that the West is not afraid to use nuclear weapons."

It is the Clifford mentality, repeated endlessly in the government of every great power and most lesser ones, that must be overcome. Not merely the Clifford unawareness that anyone with any sense in the West is afraid to use nuclear weapons; even more it is the state of mind that gives priority always to thinking about what to do if or when the haunting invasion comes, and never gets around to the root difficulties that might make invasion thinkable.

The peace movement, especially that section of it that is still able to look past the immediate issue to the whole need of man, will be more important than ever after the war ends.

DRAMA

Hottest thing on the peace scene these days is the Becks' Living Theatre. Julian Beck and his wife, Judith Malina, are pacifists, anarchists and the moving spirits in the Living Theatre. They burst on the peace scene more than a decade ago when they took part in the early demonstrations against civil defense (FOR furnished the money to bail them and a bunch of fellow demonstrators out), and became big news when their theatre was padlocked by

the Internal Revenue Service for back-due taxes. They left the country then, with their troupe, and have been touring Europe since. Now they're back and immediately hit the front pages when the cast and part of the audience left a Boston performance minus most of their clothes.

This clothes business is part of the "involvement" that is the mark of the Becks' theatre, and has caused a lot of heated conversation back and forth. Actors prowl through the audience, gently touching people and observing mournfully that they are not permitted to do a number of things, including take off their clothes. The response of the spectator to these pathetic revelations reveals whether he is open to new relationships or hopelessly hung up on bourgeois values. Openness is demonstrated best by throwing off all or most of one's clothes and joining the cast in a big pile-up on the stage, or a promenade through the theatre or even outside.

Young people are reportedly most given to this involvement, middle-aged people the least. In the interests of keeping the generation gap from becoming even wider than it is, we want to suggest timidly that this middle-aged hang-up is not necessarily a rejection of involvement itself so much as a confusion about one's wallet.

Consider this fellow's problem. He's sitting there feeling increasingly indignant about the plight of this poor little thing in the aisle who's been murmuring that "they won't let me take off my clothes," and wondering what he can do to help her. Within minutes the daring idea occurs to him: of course she should be able to take off her clothes, and so should he, and by golly he will. He leaps from his seat in exaltation, tugs at his tie, starts to pull off his jacket—and remembers his wallet.

Now of course his youthful critics will say, aha! that's exactly the hang-up, but that doesn't really answer our man's problem. His wallet contains not only tomorrow's lunch money, but the little piece of paper that entitles him to drive home after the show, and the other little piece of paper that will allow him to reclaim his car from the parking lot so he can drive home, and the piece of paper admitting him to a hospital and disclosing his blood type

if something untoward happens on the way, and the week's allowance for his high-school age son, and the check for a month's allowance to be sent to his college-age daughter, and the credit card that lets him telephone home for help when he's short of cash, and a dozen other things that don't matter in that night's involvement but are going to matter again soon afterward.

A few moments of that kind of reflection and the exaltation is gone, the plaintive voice of the actress becomes an irritant, and our man stalks out, feeling guilty and angry and muttering unkind things about irresponsibles. We don't know what the Becks can do about it, but we have a hunch that they might get more of the old codgers involved if they'd have a neatly uniformed usher to safeguard their wallets during the show.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Soviet suppression of Czechoslovakia's gropings toward democratic socialism was rough on the Czechs but may have been salutary for a lot of other people. For such, the reminder that ruthlessness is not ideological but in the nature of power, and of the sovereign nation-state, was a good thing. It reminded all of us that the struggle is not only for justice, but against the international anarchy of nation-states that makes human solutions to human problems impossible.

The consequences of the events of August and since on the peace movement may be considerable. Many of those whose passionate opposition to American actions in Vietnam had led them to a strong identification with North Vietnam as the incarnation of all human values were able to explain away Hanoi's instant support of Moscow by referring to its dependence on the Soviet Union for war supplies. It is an explanation that contains some truth, but not all, in view of Ho Chi Minh's background of ruthless suppression of his opposition. Fidel Castro was a more difficult case, since he acknowledged that the invasion was illegal but "necessary" nevertheless.

The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, whose biennial conference, in Yugoslavia, began the day after the invasion, came clean with a strong statement condemning the

Russians, supporting the Czechs, and drawing the obvious parallel between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. Not so with the Soviet-oriented—and largely financed—World Council of Peace, which may have had the coup de grace administered by the same tanks that held up Alexander Dubcek. With most western Communist parties (*not* including the tiny American group of the faithful) reacting to the invasion with outraged indignation, the WCP has floundered in embarrassed silence ever since.

It is a moment of historic importance for the Confederation, whose devotion to its non-aligned position had been stretched almost to the breaking point by Vietnam. If the Confederation can move now solidly in the direction of a world peace movement that is and stays non-aligned, resisting the temptation to throw its support to one side or the other, and becoming in fact a "government in exile for humanity," it can open up creative new possibilities for a world peace community, and few things are more important.

The beginning was good. American affiliates of the Confederation, including the Fellowship, have planned a protest to both the Russian and American governments, linking Vietnam and Czechoslovakia, on October 28.

Small Footnote on Czechoslovakia

The Czechs opened up new vistas to the "make love, not war" idea and at the same time introduced a note of downright meanness into nonviolent resistance, according to a report in *Peace News*. PN quotes Dr. Julius Tomlin, Czech philosopher, as describing resistance posters that "urged lovers to exacerbate the sexual frustration of the invading Russian soldiers by embracing fondly in public places!" That's what is known as hitting below the belt!

CATONSVILLE AND MILWAUKEE

There are at least two ways pacifists can view the acts of some twenty-three people, most of them Catholics, including a staff member and a vice-chairman of the Fellowship, in raiding draft boards in Catonsville, Md., and Milwaukee, and destroying the file records of more than 20,000 potential draftees.

One is illustrated by Allan Brick's account, elsewhere in this issue, of the trial of the Catonsville Nine and the

events surrounding it last month. Allan and the two thousand supporters who came for the trial were "turned on" by the dramatic anti-war, anti-draft actions. They and other solid supporters of nonviolence see them as prophetic, as redeeming nonviolence from the mire of ineffectualness in which it seemed to be wallowing, as the expression of an authentic theological insight that must have profound effects in the Catholic—and perhaps the Jewish and Protestant—community.

A diametrically opposite point of view is illustrated by a letter from a reader who sent in the clipping of our earlier account of the Catonsville event itself. "Does a pacifist organization," she asked, "endorse violence of this kind to bring about desired results; i.e., do the ends justify the means? What would be your reaction if some misguided 'patriot' destroyed your office?"

There is no agreed-upon standard by which to determine which view is right, or if either is. Hopefully both can be held and tolerated within the Fellowship, as have so many different judgments on the proper implementation of a common commitment. But to acknowledge that even at such points the judgment of the individual's conscience must rule, is not to say that the differing points of view should not be expressed and debated. If there are many pacifists who were turned on by Catonsville, there were many others who were as definitely turned off, and who regard the actions as a distortion of the pacifist approach and a dangerous re-enforcement of anti-democratic tendencies in our society.

For them the argument that "some property has no right to exist" cannot be disentangled from the immediately succeeding question of who decides what property that is. They are not persuaded that the actors in this drama "could do no other," as some have said. They see the act of burning draft board files as symbolic, which means that it is a political act, intended to communicate and persuade, rather than one to which a man is driven by conscience regardless of consequences. By this reasoning, the decision to burn the files was essentially a tactical one, calling for judgment not only about principles but about consequences.

If one follows this logic, as I do, then

one can arrive at a pretty dim view of the actions, while maintaining great respect for the sincerity and devotion of the actors. I am not much disturbed by the element of "violence," because it was minuscule except as it affected the files themselves and the possible feelings of the clerks who have to reconstitute them. What seems much more important is the message communicated through the assertion that "some property has no right to exist."

There are a great many Americans who would agree wholeheartedly with that judgment, and most of them are the committed enemies of the kind of society in which free discussion and dissent are tolerated, and in which the kind of anti-war movement that has changed the country's policies can come to the surface and be expressed. The Minutemen who raided the pacifist community at Voluntown, Connecticut, last August, with arson and perhaps murder in their hearts, believed deeply that that property had no right to exist. They risked their lives and liberty on their belief; four of them were shot by state police and all face prison terms. The hooded Kluxers who blew up churches and synagogues in the South, and the multitude of paranoids who cluster together to practice marksmanship have the same belief, and they hold it in total, if wrong-headed, sincerity.

Democracy is built on the notion that a society can risk the free assertion of such ideas, with whatever vigor and effectiveness their proponents can muster, while operating at any given moment on the decisions of the majority as determined by whatever means have been cooked up, and while denying to any group the right to impose its ideas on the society, except through the channels of the democratic process. The deficiencies in American democracy are appalling, and the recklessness in policy they have made possible may bring the whole world toppling around us, but the tragic dilemma of our times is that there are still no shortcuts to Utopia. No one has come up with any third choices: either there is some form of democracy, or there is some form of dictatorship.

It is a form of dictatorship, marked by the sharp suppression of liberal-radical expression, that threatens our society. If it comes, it will come through fear. Millions of our fellow-citizens, as the Wallace phenomenon has demonstrated, are in thrall to fear, and the anger that fear produces. They are

frightened of communism, frightened of black power, frightened of riots and crime in the streets and of the whole uncertainty that suddenly seems to have shaken their country and to threaten the security they had wrenched out of an insecure and recent past. They are angry because they are told that their troubles come from liberals and radicals, from pacifists and anarchists, from hippies and yippies and people who burn draft cards and attack draft boards. Their fear and their anger are real—real enough to lead them to fascism, and confrontation does not alleviate it, but only intensifies it. They believe with their whole hearts that some actions, some people, some groups, have no right to exist; they are sincere in that belief, and a good many of them are prepared to risk their lives in asserting it.

For that belief to prevail could well be the finish line for the human story, for it would seal off the world's most powerful country from self-criticism and change. Pacifists, who are required by their faith to reach through the hated ideas to the human beings who hold them, and to perform the act of reconciliation, have the greatest of stakes in preserving the freedoms democracy brings, while trying desperately to enlarge and extend them. They have an obligation to the undramatic methods of persuasion and reassurance, the appeal to the best in men, and to the ultimate understanding that we are all meshed in each other's lives. Catonsville and Milwaukee will seem, to some, to have weakened, not strengthened, such purposes. A.H.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Nothing could be more illustrative of the shifting, uncertain times than the kind of alliances people suddenly and embarrassingly find themselves in. Pacifists working for a campaign to end conscription find themselves shoulder to shoulder with Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater and Young Americans for Freedom, who oppose it as a manifestation of big government and prefer a highly trained, well-paid professional volunteer army anyway. People working for community control of school systems so that black and poor populations may redress some of the inequalities of their educational system discover that they are ideological bedfellows of Southern whites who want community control to keep the blacks in separate but unequal schools.

And now the peace people who want unconditional military withdrawal from Vietnam suddenly find their most recent ally is McGeorge Bundy, who had a lot to do with getting the troops there in the first place and wants them out for quite different reasons than they do. It's a strange world, neighbor!

Etcetera, 1968

"Violence today is . . . the systematically organized bureaucratic and technological destruction of man," writes Thomas Merton, quoted in *Fellowship* last month. Which is true but not exclusively so. Violence is also the crude but massive murder going on in the Sudan, the starvation of children in Biafra and Nigeria, guerrilla terrorism in Vietnam and a dozen other places in the world. "Sophisticated nations use sophisticated weapons like guns," a Biafran representative said to us in a discussion of the charges that food supplies to his people were being poisoned, "but in unsophisticated parts of the world like Africa much use of poisons still is made."

* * *

A lot of anti-war activity has come out of the churches since the FOR first created the Clergymen's Emergency Committee on Vietnam in 1965 and took a team to South Vietnam. Most recent move is the Hoa Binh (Peace) Ad Hoc Committee of churchmen, chaired by FOR-member Barton Hunter of the Disciples. It will try especially to forge new links with the Vietnamese religious communities.

* * *

Sometimes the really radical changes in a society sort of sneak up on us. Thus, risking the jeers of more radical observers, we would call attention to a recent color supplement in the Sunday *New York Times*, some 124 pages long, on Men's Wear. There among the ads and illustrations, through the whole section, were black models with the white, indistinguishable in everything except skin pigmentation, representing for the cynical the ability of the institution to absorb protest, perhaps representing to the sociologist a commercial recognition of a shift in attitudes that today makes black models and actors and story-lines acceptable, tomorrow may make complete integration a fact.

* * *

Writing before Election Day for an issue that, given the vagaries of the postal system, will almost certainly reach you after, what is there to say? A dismal choice at best, an impossible one for many. Someone will be elected; the temptation here is to say, whoever it is, God save us all!

Is it true that the Czechoslovak resistance to the invasion of five Warsaw Pact nations was "the most dramatic case of nonviolent action against foreign aggressors that the world has ever known"*? There is much reason for such a sweeping conclusion, thinks George Lakey in



Czechoslovakian students holding up their bloodied flag to Russian soldiers

* Adam Roberts, lecturer in international relations, London School of Economics, in "New Society," August 29, 1968

Czechoslovakia's Resistance

IN 1938, when Czechoslovakia was about to be sacrificed to Nazi Germany by the diplomats in Munich, Gandhi made a suggestion. Despite the fact that you Czechs are heavily armed, he said, you do not have a chance against the overwhelming might of Germany when dueling with the Germans' choice of weapons. Why not choose a different weapon, and struggle with nonviolent means?

No one could doubt the sincerity which lay behind that advice. Gandhi had fashioned an instrument of struggle which was giving no end of trouble to another imperial power with overwhelming military strength. But a vision, even when made practicable in one setting, often remains visionary in another. Gandhi's ideas did not match the current assumptions about the nature of power and the possibilities of politics.

But now, thirty years later, the Czechs and Slovaks have daringly made one of the fullest attempts in history to use nonviolent action as a national defense.

It is not the first such attempt. The German government used a policy of massive noncooperation in the Ruhr to oppose French invasion there in 1923. The Germans refused to mine coal, make steel, even to serve food or man the trains for the occupation, and received harsh reprisals from the frustrated French.

But the Ruhr was just one part of Germany, albeit critical for its econo-

my. The Czechoslovaks found their whole country occupied by 650,000 troops with a demand for a new government more to the liking of other Warsaw Pact powers. It is not surprising that, as the London *Observer* noted, some in military strategy circles watched the events with professional interest as a test case for the concept of "civilian defense." The strategy of civilian defense relies on the coercive power of mass noncooperation and direct action to prevent the opponent from achieving his goals. Inspired originally by Gandhian suggestions, it is now being elaborated by students of military defense problems, totalitarian systems, and nonviolent action for application to defense in the nuclear age.*

Although the full development of the Czech resistance was aborted by decision of its leadership, the successes and limitations of the heroic action may provide lessons for future occasions. We will explore below the Czech leaders' reasons for breaking it off, but it should be realized that the resistance did not move into full intensity. It was confined largely to demonstrations of protest, with some important tactics of noncooperation and civil disobedience. It did *not* include sustained economic noncooperation tactics, despite the fact

that the clandestine party congress which met August 21-22 issued an ultimatum to the Russian invaders to leave the country or face a general strike. The impressive unity of the one-hour work stoppage the next day is an indication of the possibilities of a sustained general strike, and other unused nonviolent tactics.

Major features of the resistance

Evidence conflicts on how much planning had been done by the Czechoslovak government for this contingency. But the fact remains that it was the legitimate government which called for resistance and set the example by its own firm refusal to cooperate with the invasion which began late Tuesday, August 20. (When the Finns were nonviolently, and successfully, resisting the encroachments of the Russian Czar, 1898-1905, their government also was leading the resistance.) This is one of the ways in which civilian defense is quite different from most nonviolent protest; the legitimacy and sovereignty represented by the government encourages a high degree of unity in the population. In the Czech case this unity was shown in many ways. After six days of occupation there was still not one radio station in the Prague area that was pro-

*A recent book with contributions from military and nonviolent strategists is *Civilian Resistance as National Defense*, Adam Roberts, editor (Stackpole). A paperback applying the concept to the U.S. is *In Place of War* (Grossman).

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Soviet. Czechoslovak policemen helped distribute resistance newspapers in Prague, and border guards joined in the work stoppage of August 23. Several reports indicate that the clandestine radio transmitters were from the Czechoslovak army, which in some places had refused to turn over their equipment to the Soviets.

The idea, if not the phrase, of non-violent action seems to have been "in the air" in the months preceding the invasion. The manifesto circulated in Prague by intellectuals called "the Two Thousand Words" called for strikes, demonstrations and boycotts in order to speed up reforms. There were official references to Hasek's *Good Soldier Schweik* as a national hero; the Schweikian gift for stymying authorities without unduly provoking them was well displayed in August. In July Czech writers were saying "If the Russians invade, don't shoot at them. Practice passive resistance."

Invaders Denied Legitimacy

The leadership group in the first hours of the invasion moved quickly to deny legitimacy to the invasion and provide the groundwork for diplomatic showdowns. They urged the people to remain calm and go to work, but promised that they would be able to defend themselves, "if necessary," by a general strike. But they apparently did not have a plan thoroughly prepared which took into account the emotions of an indignant people, leaving the initial response of the masses largely to improvisation. There had been none of the extensive training campaigns we associate with the Gandhian independence struggle of India, or even the less elaborate training in the nonviolent freedom struggle of black Americans. In this respect it was like the Ruhr, where, beyond the basic weapon of the strike, the Germans had to improvise their resistance in the face of French soldiers and bayonets.

The Czechoslovaks improvised magnificently. On the first day of the invasion there was a brief standstill in Prague reportedly observed by hundreds of thousands. Airport officials at Ruzyně refused to supply Soviet planes with fuel. At a number of places crowds sat in the path of oncoming tanks; in one village citizens formed a human chain across a bridge over the river Úpa for nine hours, inducing the Russian tanks eventually to turn tail. Swastikas were painted on tanks and slogans in streets. Leaflets in Russian, German

and Polish were distributed explaining to the invaders that they were in the wrong, and countless discussions were held between bewildered and defensive soldiers and angry Czech youths. Army units were given wrong directions, street signs and even village signs were changed, and there were refusals of cooperation and food. The work of the clandestine radio stations has been reported widely.

On the second day of the invasion a reported 20,000 people demonstrated in Wenceslas Square in Prague, and on the third day came the one-hour work stoppage which left the Square eerily still. On the fourth day young students and workers defied the Soviet curfew by a round-the-clock sit-down at the statue of St. Wenceslas in Prague. Nine out of ten people on the street were wearing Czech flags in their lapels. Whenever the Russians tried to announce something the people raised such a din that the Russians could not be heard.

Overt Violence Diminishes

As one might expect, violence by the Czechs seemed to be greatest in the first day of the invasion. Uncertain, furious, without clear alternative means of resistance, some Czechs improvised with gasoline-soaked rags for tank-burning, sniping from buildings, and stone-throwing. Even though an alternative course to violence was not clearly outlined by the Czech government which could express the powerful emotions of the anguished people, there were still only scattered incidents of violent resistance.

An important aspect of the strategy of civilian defense is weakening the reliability of the repressive agents. If the political authority loses the control of his troops and police, he may be lost. This happened dramatically in the February, 1917, uprising in Russia which deposed the Czar and which was largely nonviolent. Unreliability has happened since then with Russian troops. At the Vorkuta forced labor camps in Siberia, during a large strike by the political prisoners in 1953, the troops became message carriers between camps and had to be replaced by soldiers from Soviet Asia who did not speak Russian. Also in 1953, some of the Russian troops suppressing the general strike by East German workers refused to fire, and in the 1956 Hungarian uprising Soviet troop reliability became so uncertain that fresh troops had to be brought in. Even

though Asiatic troops were brought into Hungary, the general strike was able to continue in Budapest for some time after the Soviets crushed the military resistance.

In Czechoslovakia, too, much of the energy of the resistance was spent weakening the will and increasing the confusion of the invading forces.

This is a picture which will always stay in my mind: a blonde Prague girl crawling under the fixed bayonets of a tank crew, standing up and chalking swastika on the monster's bows. Then she spat, and crawled back again. The soldiers looked on helplessly. In their faces was written bewilderment and shame. They had not expected this sort of thing here.

(Heinz Schewe in the *London Observer*, August 25, 1968)

By the third day military authorities were putting out leaflets to their own troops with counter-arguments to those of the Czechs. The next day rotation began, with new units coming into the cities to replace Russian forces. The combination of confrontation and lack of anxiety about personal injury (because of the nonviolent character of the resistance) began to take its toll among the troops early.

The Curtailment of Resistance

For the Kremlin as well as for the Czechoslovaks, the stakes were high. To attain its objective of deposing the Dubcek regime the Soviets were reportedly willing to convert Slovakia into a Soviet republic and Bohemia and Moravia into autonomous regions under Soviet control. Premier Cernik said "my life and that of my comrades was in great danger." What Moscow preferred, of course, was a new government still under the Presidency and legitimacy of Ludvik Svoboda. But it was forced by the resistance to accept a continuation of Dubcek and some of his liberal colleagues at the center of the government.

For Czechoslovakia, eight months of an independent road to democratic socialism, with the concomitant flowering of culture, political activity, and economic innovation, was at stake. The compromise boded ill for that road: in addition to the likely continued presence of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia, censorship and a crackdown on dissent were part of the bargain struck in Moscow on August 26. Even though the curtailment of liberties is likely to be more softly and inefficiently done by a sympathetic Czech regime

The Meaning of the Catonsville Nine Case

by ALLAN BRICK

"One of the reasons we burned the draft files in Catonsville," said Mary Moylan, nurse-midwife for people in the slums of Baltimore, "is that there is so much death around and so many people afraid of being alive." It was the night forum held after the second day of the trial. Twelve young men, acting spontaneously, had just interrupted her account of the day in court by burning their draft cards. The atmosphere all through the hall was what it had been throughout the protest and support actions of the first two trial days: what defendant George Darst had called "a sense of unity, a sense of freedom, a sense of humor." All present—an incredibly wide spectrum of people (with all shades of dress and anti-dress, religion and anti-religion, politics and anti-politics—were experiencing what can only be described as a worship service for all mankind. The card burnings had come as a swelling anthem singing out how the shouting streets, the liberated draft boards, the courtroom, the cells, and this parish hall of St. Ignatius were all the same place and it was universal: the people's church.

The night before, following the first

day's impassioned street march of some 1,500 to the courthouse downtown, Dorothy Day had spoken of the self-immolation of Rogery Laporte. She told of his many acts of selfless service during the period at the Catholic Worker house in the New York Bowery that had preceded his final sacrifice. Suggesting that the act of the Catonsville Nine was an extension of Father Dan Berrigan's poem about Roger Laporte, she added: "I feel that the act of the Catonsville Nine is an act of repayment of this debt, and an act of giving of their freedom."

That thus to give of freedom is to receive freedom was the steadily deepening lesson of the first two days. Tonight, these young men felt and expressed it for everyone. And as they acted they saw in Mary Moylan's face the light and beauty of their own reality. Seeing her, it was perfectly real to think of the North Vietnamese woman cradling her child and on her back bearing the gun that is for instant use against invaders. Mary was the same woman, hers the same courage, but, because her situation allowed her more accuracy, the target of her destruction was destruction itself. Her target was

not the human body—that of one's self or others—but the very *machinery* of killing and enslavement: the state's sacred draft files that reduce identity to a number, a person to a weapon.

After she spoke, the marathon of card burnings continued. Several dozen men, and sometimes their women (two women together would hold each other's hands, with the cards, aloft), kept the light flaring. Again and again the flames sang back the words of the other platform speakers, saying that all there gathered knew what Mary Moylan knew: "how it felt to be out where people are alive after being in a courtroom with dead pieces of paper."

What power had they, these actions of burning? Were they anything more than *poetry* against a juggernaut? Indeed they were not; nor were they anything less.

Toward the end of the evening Howard Zinn, Boston University professor, read a poem. Dan Berrigan had written it at the time when he and Zinn, visiting North Vietnam, had the experience of joining women and children as they climbed into an air-raid shelter for safety from an

than by the kind of government Moscow would prefer, it is still a bitter pill to swallow for the thousands who demonstrated their anxiety about the settlement and for the National Assembly which initially repudiated it.

With nonviolent action as well as with military action, one rarely gains at the bargaining table what one has not already gained in the field. Why did not the Czechs escalate the conflict by declaring sustained strikes in industries the invaders have depended on, by continuing the political noncooperation at all levels, by beginning boycotts of the invading countries' goods, and if needed use a general strike? The economic interdependence of the countries involved would insure a very high price inflicted on the occupying powers, and the additional expense of occupation including rotation would probably, as Harry Schwarz of the *New York Times* pointed out, sabotage the Soviet five-year plan. If it is correct that Dubcek survived because the Kremlin became convinced the Czechs would accept nothing else, then nonviolent tactics of more coercive power might even more frustrate the

Soviet hope for a return to the era of Novotny.

Dubcek might have been answering this line of thought when he said, "We must prevent new suffering and further losses as this would not change the situation and would prolong the abnormal conditions in our country." The suffering would be enormous, it is safe to say, for even though nonviolent resistance seems much less costly in lives than violent resistance, it is nevertheless not without its price. And would it change the situation?

One's answer to that depends on one's analysis of the whole Eastern European situation. If present Kremlin leaders still believe, as Stalin did, that any democratic eastern European government will be anti-Soviet, and if they are as worried as they say they are about West Germany and the strategic position of Czechoslovakia, and if they are determined to stifle dissent inside the Soviet Union, and if Gomulka, Kadar, and Ulbricht are in as difficult positions as they seem to be—then gaining independence even within the Warsaw Pact may be possible only by shaking up the whole Communist

political configuration in Europe. Proposing further resistance in that context would indeed be a radical matter, for it goes to the root of the Soviet security system. If the leaders of a nation of fourteen million people shrink before that task, it is understandable.

Historical perspective is required, of course, before sure assessments can be made of the forces involved and the wisdom of calling off open struggle with the invaders at this point. The "victory" that the Soviet Union won in Czechoslovakia may be the same sort that the Democratic Party Establishment won in Chicago the same week, one which sows the seeds for later trouble.

Certainly the Czechs are experienced now with the technique of nonviolent struggle and have felt their strength which may be exercised again at a more propitious time. Meanwhile, the men in the Kremlin will get little comfort from Machiavelli, who once observed that the prince who "has the public as a whole for his enemy can never make himself secure; and the greater his cruelty, the weaker does his regime become." ■

American bombing. The poem, as read by Zinn, concluded:

I picked up the littlest
a boy, his face
breathed with rice (his sister calmly
feeding him
as we climbed down)

In my arms fathered
in a moment's grace, the messiah
of all my tears. I bore, reborn
a Hiroshima child from hell.

How the words of the poem had literally become Dan Berrigan's burning of the Selective Service death-files was suddenly clear. If it was in any sense true that his arms held, "fathered," the child reborn from a Hiroshima hell, then it had to be his own arms that acted to fend off the very agents that were coming to kill the child. And thus it was also clear that these words were far more than the creation of one individual; this reading, Catonsville, these new card burnings, were also literally the same flames into which fourteen men had delivered 20,000 Milwaukee draft files two weeks before. It was clear that such freedom, already pronounced by thousands of draft-refusers and -resisters, would be enacted by many thousand more.

And yet people have asked, what is the effectiveness of these forcible occupations of draft boards and these deliberate acts of destruction of the files and cards that are "government property"?

First, the actions are politically effective. But, immediately, the objection is raised: this is your weakest ground of all—certainly the reverse is true! The general public, understanding nothing of the nature of these resisters or what has motivated them to act, becomes horrified; the demagogic appeal to "law and order"—which more and more justifies police repression and curtailment of civil liberties—is given much greater strength.

Certainly, some of this happens; though, as a matter of fact, the forces of demagoguery and police-state repression were upon us anyway, *not* caused by resistance actions (though these can exacerbate them) but by the continuing War and the repressive atmosphere it necessitates. It was the Johnson Administration and its allies throughout the political establishment who, by continuing the highly unpopular war and by thus refusing to deal with the real needs of U.S. society, brought on the repression. Black people, for example, moved to the tactics and the despair of looting and rioting only after the promised half-a-loaf of LBJ's "War against Poverty" proved to be a crumb. More war, not more jobs, was the only "program" for poverty; as more draft, not better schools, has been the only "program" for students.

Despite the public ignorance of the nature and purpose of the draft-file burning actions, there is another kind of influ-

ence and thus an indirectly *political* effect that must be considered. This is the effect upon the Church. Churchmen have considerable influence—if not much primary power—in our society, and today in America, even as in the days of Saul and David, what happens in the Church can have its effect. And though these "extremist" draft-file-burning Catholics will be vilified within their own Church as they are outside, *what* they are saying cannot be mistaken. There is too much religious tradition for that. And too many central issues come together in the background and personalities of the Catonsville Nine.

Three of those acting in Catonsville—Thomas and Marjorie Melville and John Hogan—had been relieved of their posts in the Maryknoll Order in Guatemala; in Catholic and liberal religious circles it is widely known that the reason for this was their deep identification with the impoverished Latin American people and their consequent support of revolutionary forces in Guatemala. Another one of those acting, George Mische, had served both in the U.S. Alliance for Progress in the role of negotiating aid programs with Latin American governments and in the AID; his credentials for having taken a close look before he abandoned as fraudulent the U.S. professions of help for Latin America could not be better. Thus the exploitation by the United States of the third world becomes interlocked with such intra-Church issues as population control and the repressive establishment role of the Church in underdeveloped countries; interlocked as well is the issue of military servitude throughout the world, focused by the identification of the Berrigans with draft resisters in this country. So it was that when hundreds of seminarians and Jesuit scholars, from St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore and from nearby Woodstock College, took part in the Monday demonstration, along with such Protestant leaders as Bishop James Pike, Harvey Cox, and Richard Neuhaus, they knew that here, deeply joined, were the basic issues of war, injustice, and an irrelevant Church establishment.

For inseparable from the political potential of this action in terms of numbers of affected churchmen is its power in terms of key ideas. Most crucially, it reaffirms *democracy*. But, you may say, how can that be? These people have taken power into their own hands! They have chosen to destroy property which is not only property but *government* property and hence both a result and an instrument of the electoral process. You may say, moreover, that, bad as it is, the draft law was made by Congress—which could end it if it chose. Those who want to preserve democracy must preserve democratic processes, even the ones they don't like!

Again, the criticism has some validity. But only to the degree that one accepts

that we in the United States, with our perpetuated undeclared War that the majority opposes, with our domestic and international policies based on national (or is it privileged-class?) security at any price, with our now apparently permanent forced military service, actually *have* democracy. If one perceives that, to a considerable degree, democracy is gone, then one has to confront the fact that government mechanisms and government property have taken us over. That they, the people, are primary and sacred—without people existing only as their functionaries. From this point of view, one has to see some truth in the Catonsville Nine's pronouncement: "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."

Even more important than these aspects of political effectiveness, is Catonsville seen in the whole tradition of religious witness and prophetic acts. With respect to the Vietnam horror perpetrated with great piety by a government and technology gone out of control, what is religious duty? Certainly there is no question of whether or not one *should* go unto Pharaoh. The question is *how*. And does one have the strength to hear—confront that matter, to repress—the call to witness? The nature of the call, whether it is true or false, must be judged according to the nature of the Pharaoh. How totalitarian is he? How much electoral recall do you, do any of the people have? Speaker after speaker at the Baltimore forums reviewed the tradition of Judaeo-Christian prophecy from Jeremiah, to Jesus (even the Jesus of the money-changers and the Temple), to Luther, to George Fox, seeing the Catonsville Nine as present somewhere in the long roll-call. With a touch of humility the Nine even admit it. Dan Berrigan told the forum crowd: "[We act] somewhat in David's shadow—at least in the league, at least second term. . . . We want to be as lifelike as possible. . . . We don't think we'll betray you." In a more contemporary reference, Gordon Zahn compared the present resisters with Franz Jaegerstaetter (the martyred Catholic CO in Hitler's Germany, whose story Zahn tells in *In Solitary Witness*). Jaegerstaetter, said Zahn, was a silent and isolated "selective objector" who simply could not go along with the fascist state. What he *could not do* was the whole point. But in the present case the point is "the motivation" of believers who *acted*. People, said Zahn, should look at what the Catonsville Nine are saying by means of their action, and at why they are saying it.

Finally, the Catonsville (and Milwaukee) action is a deeply significant

(Continued on page 15)



Man qua man must mend his splits into tribes, states



Resources must be stepped up to meet basic needs



Freedom, too, is indivisible or we die

These three set the stage for

The Outlook FOR MAN

by W. WARREN WAGAR

I CAN LAY NO CLAIM to any personal suffering as a result of the maladies of twentieth-century civilization. It is almost shameful to say it, but I cannot think of more than a few brief moments in my life when I have suffered at all. In a sense, this is the American experience. We are a people who have not suffered, although certain individuals and groups among us have had no share in our collective good fortune.

Even in my work as a historian, I have chosen what might seem like an eminently hopeful subject for my next book—the idea of progress in Western thought since Darwin and Marx. For three or four years now, I have been reading hundreds of volumes by scientists, theologians, philosophers, sociologists, historians, and publicists of all kinds written since 1880, which have proclaimed the good tidings of the gospel of progress. I have devoted several academic seminars to the idea of progress as a problem in modern European intellectual history.

But I do not have good tidings for you. In the seven years since I wrote *THE CITY OF MAN*, I have become intellectually, though not emotionally, convinced of the failure of mankind; of its imminent disappearance from our planet; of the winding up of the experiment in civilization which began some six thousand years ago. I look at the world I shall eventually leave to my four children, and I regret the love that gave them life, and the love that guards and nourishes them to this day.

This is not a profession of belief in original sin. I am not a Christian—I am a Unitarian—and Unitarians have little or no use for the traditional doctrine of original sin. What is happening to mankind is not the result of a sudden upsurge of dark, malevolent passions from the depths of man's depravity or animality. In the simplest terms, civilization has proved too much for us. We hoped, not many years ago, that we could go on solving indefinitely the problems that civilization has always presented to us, with the help of the ever-growing powers that civilization puts in our hands.

But there was always the danger that the problems would descend upon us more rapidly and more thickly than we could acquire, or at least learn to use, the powers available for their resolution. Man-in-society, after all, is not personal man. There is no question of authentic moral choice in man-

to-man situations. Man-in-society is the most cumbersome and complex phenomenon in the known cosmos, but what science however subtle could have predicted that this social organism might one day become so ponderous that it could no longer support its own weight?

No Future at All?

Even now, how can we know? I can only say, on the basis of the evidence available to me, that I believe the point of no return and no exit may have been reached: the implosion-point, beyond which man-in-society can have no imaginable future at all.

This is a tragic predicament, but it is no man's fault. There are no heroes or villains, saints or sinners, angels or devils in the human situation. Each of us must be man enough to renounce the romantic imagery of our various moral traditions, and stand up to our destiny as men. It is just barely possible that in so doing, we can even delay or evade the doom that threatens our civilization—but we should be ill-advised at this late hour to think of it as anything more than that: a bare, the barest, the most marginal and problematic of possibilities.

The challenge to civilization may be studied conveniently under three headings: the problem of survival (war and peace), the problem of poverty (the widening gap between the developed and underdeveloped nations, and also between earth's resources and the long-term needs of its rapidly growing human population), and the problem of freedom (the danger to personal dignity and choice posed by the magnitude of modern social organization). None of these was really a problem just a few hundred years ago. War, poverty, and tyranny were the normal, and I would suggest as a historian, the necessary condition of man. But all the achievements of all the human societies of the long period before 1800 can be seen now as only the indispensable foundation for the new industrial order that emerged in Western Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and spread from there to the whole planet in the past one hun-

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dred and fifty years. Quite suddenly, the warfare, inequality, and despotism once essential to the economy of progress became unnecessary, then intolerable, and now potentially fatal, not only for progress, but for civilization itself. Even the division of mankind into many separate tribes, nations, and regional societies, hitherto a harmless enough fact in itself, is today impossible to sustain, now that the world has been transformed into a geo-physical and geo-political unity by Western technology. Furthermore, the material resources that seemed endless when the world's population could be numbered in the millions and when few of those millions lived in anything but abysmal poverty, are now being depleted at an alarming rate and most will be totally exhausted in very little time at the present rate of consumption.

These are not just new variations of old or perennial human problems. Conventional wisdom is inadequate to solve them. Old allegiances do not lose their intrinsic meaning, perhaps, but they lose much of their present value and relevance. The conservative mind may once have had much to offer the world; today, conservatism is the major enemy of civilized life on earth—although this is not, of course, to argue that everything learned in the past should be discarded, must all at once be committed to the flames.

The War-Peace Dilemma is Paramount

Let us look a little more closely at these unprecedented challenges to civilization. The first, as I suggested, is the problem of survival, the problem of war and peace. All the other problems that we may discuss all feed into this one; this is the paramount issue. The principal reason for this is the fact that our civilization has been racked by two major world wars in this century and will sooner or later, as matters rest, experience a third, is the political fragmentation of the world's peoples into more than a hundred nation-states, each jealous of its so-called sovereignty and each unwilling to entrust its powers as a sovereign state to a world government. Many of these nation-states also possess an arsenal of weapons of total destruction—nuclear, bacteriological, chemical, and radiological—that will render any future unrestricted war more costly to human life than all past wars combined. Each state is fortified in its sovereign will by the rich repertoire of nationalism, which draws on many traditions, institutions, myths, and customs both ancient and modern, and which means much more to the mass of people and politicians in each country than the cosmopolitan ideals of religion and humanism. Most of the men who fought the first and second World Wars, for example, were either socialists or Christians, or both. But they fought just the same, in the sacred name of France or England or Russia or Germany.

If we think that matters have altered for the better in regard to nationalism since World War Two, let us undeceive ourselves as quickly as possible. During the Soviet-American "Cold War" of the late 1940's and early 1950's, the political scientists told us that world power had been "polarized." The decision for war or peace rested on the shoulders, ultimately, of only two men: Harry Truman and Joseph Stalin. It might be argued that Dwight Eisenhower and Nikita Khrushchev continued to bear that burden in the late 1950's. Today, we are advised that world power has been "depolarized." In the Western, the Communist, and the Afro-Asian

neutralist countries, "polycentrism" prevails. There are scores of major centers of independent power in the world, from which decisions can emanate that will crucially affect the survival of mankind and the maintenance of international peace. Permit me to name just a few of the capitals involved: Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Belgrade, Bucharest, Prague, Moscow, Cairo, Algiers, Jerusalem, Havana, Brasilia, Pretoria, New Delhi, Islamabad, Jakarta, Hanoi, Tokyo, Peking.

Washington and Moscow are still perfectly capable of hurling nuclear missiles at one another at a moment's notice; but their decisions are no longer the only ones that matter. We must also take into account what Paris thinks, what Bucharest plans to do, what Cairo is up to, what Peking has in mind, and so on. Furthermore, nationalism in some form or other is the only straw that most of the peoples in most of the world's countries can cling to in the world-storm of insecurity that blows day and night in this last half of the twentieth century. I was somewhat surprised during my first visit to the Scandinavian countries in 1958, that even here the flags fly. In fact, I have never seen so many flags flying before or since as I saw in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark while touring them by car in the summer of 1958. I did not once catch sight of the flag of the United States. But the bright crosses of the Scandinavian national banners were deeply imprinted in my brain by the time I crossed the last frontier into Germany.

The Two-Power Monopoly Vanishes

In some way, perhaps, the disappearance of the Soviet-American world-political monopoly is no doubt a good thing. In the long run, it only complicates enormously the problem of peace. Each passing year increases by two or three the number of powers in opposition to provide the miscalculations and false steps that might plunge the whole of mankind into a new world cataclysm.

One obvious case in point is the steady growth of the international nuclear club. There are now five nuclear powers. By the end of the century, there could well be twenty-five. More than sixty nations in July signed the United Nations nuclear non-proliferation treaty, but I have no more faith in that treaty than any of us have in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, also signed by more than sixty nations, forty years ago. In the first place, look at the roster of countries not signatories to this new treaty: Argentina, Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Pakistan: half the world's population just there! In the second place, the treaty is conceived, as was the Kellogg-Briand Pact, in terms of the existing nation-state system, which it does not touch in the slightest respect. As just one illustration of the thought-world of this most unremarkable document, let me quote from Article X:

Each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject-matter of this treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country.

In short, the treaty does not begin to include all the powers in the world which have or soon could choose to have nuclear weapons, and even those it does include shrink from sacrificing one jot of their sovereignty.

now opening up between the rich world and the poor world will probably prove more dangerous to world peace than the competition between "capitalism" and "communism" as embodied in the rivalry of Soviet Russia and the United States.

But once again, very little is being done to work out adequate and timely solutions. The amount of economic and technical assistance granted by the United States and Europe to the underdeveloped countries since the second World War at most equals in value the cost to the United States of one year's fighting in Vietnam, and the greater part of this aid has come in the form of loans which must be paid back. In any event, we are speaking of aid that flows from one capital to another, serving the national policy aims of the power structure in the former and all too often wasted and misused by the power structure in the latter.

Nor is it adequate to the needs of the areas concerned. Gunnar Myrdal in his new book, *ASIAN DREAMS*, supplies with a careful review of the problem of poverty in nine South Asian countries. At last a major problem of great complexity has been presented to the general literate public, a book that blinks none of the complex issues involved: *ASIAN DREAMS* is three volumes long, containing 2,287 pages and 100,000 words. In fairness to Professor Myrdal, let me say that he seems to be less pessimistic than I am with regard to the prospects of the underdeveloped world. But I venture to suggest that as a professional economist, he may be overlooking certain political and psychological factors that enter into the picture.

South Asia Has Centuries to Overcome

Be that as it may, Myrdal does explain fully the obstacles that must be cleared if South Asia is to meet the transition to Western-style affluence. He is under no illusion as to the magnitude of the undertaking. I especially recommend the fourteenth chapter, in Volume One, in which he enumerates the differences between the conditions that prevailed in the Western world in the early stages of industrialization and the conditions that prevail in South Asia today. In climate, population density, conditions of international trade, social equality, social discipline, and moral and religious attitudes, South Asia in the twentieth century and Western Europe in the eighteenth century stand far apart.

Not to be overlooked also is the difference in the rate of technological progress. In the eighteenth century, Western countries were themselves the chief initiators of progress and at first it occurred quite slowly, rarely running ahead of the power of social institutions to utilize and adjust to it. In the twentieth century, when even Europe is hard-pressed to keep pace with the United States, South Asia and the rest of the underdeveloped world feel themselves falling steadily further and further behind. The danger is that

the dynamics of technological progress will work to the ever greater disadvantage of the underdeveloped countries, increasing their difficulties and decreasing their development potential. (*Asian Drama*, I, 700)

Meanwhile, most of the world's countries, even in the temperate zones, continue to increase their populations at a rate that can only be explained in terms of collective madness. What is a sane and reasonable procedure for the individual

family, becomes madness from the point of view of mankind. The slight progress which (with Western help) the underdeveloped countries can make from year to year is invariably eaten up by their growing populations.

But the demographic explosion is world-wide. It ill behooves Westerners to chide Asians for not practicing or enforcing birth control when until very recently artificial birth control was unlawful in most Western countries and still comes under the ban of the Roman pontiff in his feloniously irresponsible encyclical, "Of Human Life," issued recently. For whatever reason, birth rates have risen appreciably since the second World War in many of the developed countries. You may be interested to learn that the "Mother of the Year" in the United States in 1968, chosen from fifty-one contestants, was a North Dakota farm wife who has had eighteen children. She received her award at a gala luncheon in a famous New York hotel, which stands on a small, overcrowded island, suffering with misery: but the mores of the Great Plains of a century ago are still obviously a marketable commodity in the eyes of the manipulators of mass opinion in the United States in the year 1968. I might add parenthetically that the "Mother of the Year" is very up-to-date in her thinking. She admits that young mothers today probably should not have eighteen children. But she sees no reason, I quote for exact words, "why everybody can't have eight or ten."

Not Only Are Mouths Being Multiplied

In any event, we all know what is coming. The unrestricted multiplication of mouths will lead, before the end of the century, to the unrestricted multiplication of hunger, disease, and despair. Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, the Greek city-planning expert, told a conference in San Juan last autumn that if the United Nations were to agree on a world master-plan for birth control and begin to implement it right now, the present world population of three and a half billion would still soar to seven billion by the year 2000 and level off in the twenty-first century at approximately twelve billion and this is the best we can hope for, if we act now.

Nor should we imagine that the earth's natural resources of air, water, minerals, flora, and fauna can survive indefinitely their unrestricted exploitation and waste by the industrial civilization we already have. This is still another problem, often merrily ignored in our conventional talk about raising the living standards of the billions of people now alive or soon to come in the middle latitudes. By the twenty-first century, mankind will find itself in a classical ecological quandary: a steadily rising population will be competing for a steadily shrinking quantity of means of subsistence, shrinking not only in relation to the population but also in relation to the fixed total of available resources necessary for industrial civilization as we now know it. Quite obviously, we should be trying to reduce the world's population as rapidly as possible, to conserve what is left of our natural resources. Instead, it is only a question of whether we shall have twelve billion people in 2100, says Dr. Doxiadis, or thirty billion. I do not know what response may be forthcoming from God to explain how thirty billion very demanding and very large organisms are

to share the dwindling treasures of the planet, but I have no doubt at all with regard to the response of nature. If we push her far enough, she will simply write us off as a failure, and the lamps of earth will one day wink out forever.

The third challenge to civilization in our time is of a very different order, not quite so directly related to the problem of survival, but I cannot bring myself to pass it by in silence. This is the challenge to liberty. The personal freedom now enjoyed by millions of people in many countries is in large measure something quite unique in human experience: the heritage of the progress of religion, of Anglo-Saxon common law, of the Enlightenment, of the American and French Revolutions, and the work of many dedicated liberals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries throughout the world. But our unprecedented personal freedom is threatened at every turn by the unprecedented need for social discipline and organization of all modern technical societies and of all their would-be imitators in the underdeveloped world. Human needs are increasingly subordinated to the needs of the machine.

Technicism in Tomorrow Needs No Ideology

It is probable that the trend toward technocratic and bureaucratic dehumanization, noted with deep concern by modern social critics, will become even more pronounced in times to come, not only because of the growing complexity of technology and social organization, but also because of the challenge to survival and well-being already discussed. I doubt very much that the initial response of most of the major countries to that challenge will be the collapse in a state of helpless jelly. They will respond by organizing what natural and human resources they have to the ultimate degree. The response of China in the 1950's and of Germany in the 1930's is the kind of thing I have in mind, although in the future I would expect a much smaller role, if any, to be played by messianic ideologies such as Communism or Hitlerism. Technicism needs no ideology. It operates according to the logic of the machine, and it has its way along mechanical paths appealing to that same terrible logic.

The new technical society of the embattled masses of the twenty-first century, if it comes to that, may not be able to solve the problems of war and ecological imbalance any more readily than the older, liberal society. I do not see it much more chance of doing so. But one thing, at least it can do, whether for a time it saves humanity from physical annihilation or not. It can destroy humanity spiritually; and so, in a broader sense, we are back again to the question of survival: the survival not of *Homo sapiens*, the "naked ape," but of *humanitas*, of all in human life that gives value and meaning to the human person and to the Family of Man. Needless to add, this is a danger that mankind would face even if we succeeded, *mirabile dictu*, in organizing a world state.

I conclude, then, that the end of history is clearly in sight. If you ask how we are to be saved, I hardly know where to begin. We are probably not going to be saved at all. We are most assuredly not going to be saved by a simple increase in the level of our technical sophistication; I am convinced of

that. My country in particular fairly brims over with bright-eyed scientists and architects and engineers who, for a few trillion dollars, could quite easily make the world over again and perhaps even "terra-form" the moon. The deserts can be reclaimed, billions of people can be fed from algae and yeast farms, construction materials can be extracted from ordinary sand and rock, and we can all live in giant floating or flying skyscrapers made of aluminum and plastic. For a few trillion dollars. There are also the social and behavioral scientists who can tell us "scientifically" how to generate love power, resolve conflicts, and teach people how to be sociable while they are asleep. Nearly all the panaceas of the technicians that I have so far encountered are either incredibly costly or monstrously authoritarian, or some combination of the two.

We Must Make a World Decision—and Soon

But I do not have a panacea of my own. I shall not attempt to recapitulate the argument advanced in my book *THE CITY OF MAN*, which is in turn a recapitulation of the books of a dozen twentieth-century prophets of world order, but I may say this much. We can begin to find a way out of the predicament in which we find ourselves by making one crucial and irrevocable decision. We can decide that the human predicament in the twentieth century is a crisis too vast and too deep to yield to any segmental solutions. It is too big for Christians, too big for Muslims, too big for Buddhists, too big for Marxists, too big for Americans and Russians, white men or black, bourgeois or proletarians. We can decide to make a paramount commitment to mankind, to become citizens of the City of Man, to forget or at least to set aside all differences for the sake of being, and to work unambiguously to overthrow the nation-state system, the equalization of the standard of human life throughout the world, and the building of a free and unified planetary civilization.

I am afraid that things will have to get far worse before such a program can attract more than a handful of people. But it will come when humanity will stand, even more clearly than it does now, with its back to the wall, when the alternative will be much more obvious, and we shall be called upon to cast the finally deciding vote, for or against mankind. Then, it may well be too late to salvage civilization. No one knows. But on the day when the majority of men of wealth, power, intelligence, and spirit in the human race decide that segmental solutions are futile, that only by a concerted effort spanning every continent and creed can civilization be rescued, on that day we shall, as a species, begin the long march back to racial sanity.

In the intervening years, of course, it is the responsibility of those who see what is coming to prepare the world mental and spiritual climate for the emergence of that firmly resolved open conspiracy of the world's great men. The catastrophes that could bring such a conspiracy into being will lead to nothing if the air around us is not charged with expectation.

I think that such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation in its world organization may be able to contribute significantly to the emergency of this climate of expectation, because what we are discussing is not a political or social

War and Disease: An Anthropological Perspective

by ALEXANDER ALLAND, JR.

Warfare and disease are closely linked. The historical record is crowded with associations between war and the outbreak of major epidemics. The reasons behind such associations, both biological and behavioral, are far more complicated, however, than is generally assumed.

Extensive warfare in any part of the world has always had the side effect of producing severe impairment of public health facilities and of disrupting normal life patterns for civilian populations, which, in turn, are often correlated with rising disease rates. The imposition of modern warfare on Southeast Asia, particularly a war that is fought principally against guerrilla forces with no distinct battle lines, creates serious problems for the health of the entire population. Taking the tropical ecology and the type of warfare into account, the following factors can be expected to affect epidemiological patterns.

1. With vast areas of the country under only tenuous control, it is impossible to impose any effective public health measures on the population at large. Potential epidemics are difficult to check, and the endemic focuses of disease cannot be wiped out.

2. Defoliation of forest land in guerrilla-held territory drives wild animal populations into new areas, increasing the risk of contact between animal reservoirs, potential domestic animal carriers, and human populations.

3. The dislocation and relocation of large segments of the population increase

the possibility that groups from different ecological zones will cross-infect each other with exotic diseases against which they have no genetic or acquired immunity.

4. Both relocation camps and cities become over-crowded. Increased population densities and poor sanitation, combined with inadequate diets, increase the risk of epidemics.

5. Disruption of the local ecology and indigenous behavioral patterns leads to the breakdown of existing barriers to disease.

6. The stress associated with relocation, lowered nutritional standards, and cultural deprivation due to changes in traditional life patterns is sure to lower resistance to common diseases. Under such conditions, normally benign diseases can become serious health hazards for the population.

7. The increased disease risk produced in such groups may last long after a return to normal conditions.

It is therefore possible that we are risking the health of relocated and incarcerated individuals, possibly for a long time to come. Furthermore, this concerns a very large segment of the South Vietnamese population. Countless people have become refugees from American bombing or Vietcong attack. At least two million of these have been or are in relocation camps while the remainder have been left to their own devices. This is perhaps the first war in which a major segment of the civilian population has been so uprooted for so long. (One must include the Japanese occupation and the war with the French along with the present episode.) It must be admitted that we do not know what effects, if any, will appear in the incarcerated segment of the Viet-

namese population several years from now, but published descriptions of the camps suggest that severe stress is an everyday experience.

The kind of conventional warfare that has been raging for the past three years is, intentionally or not, a kind of covert biological warfare. The continued imposition of stress conditions upon an area with a delicate health balance will, in a variety of direct and indirect ways . . . subject the inhabitants to the same type, if not the same degree, of pathological devastation as that brought about by overt action involving biological and chemical agents.

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CPF Staff Member in Draft Board Raid

Jim Forest, national co-chairman of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, was among fourteen war resisters who broke into a Milwaukee Selective Service office, seized 5,000 draft records, soaked them with homemade napalm, and burned them in a small park at the foot of a flagpole dedicated to World War I veterans. All were arrested, charged with both federal and state crimes, and held under bond in the Milwaukee county jail. The group included five Catholic priests.

As the records burned, one of the team read from the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John.

"We strike at the Selective Service System," a spokesman for the group said, "because the draft, and the vocational channeling connected with it, are the clearest examples at hand of America's marriage to coercive political methods, exercised within and without its borders."

movement as such. It is a religious movement, concerned with matters of the mind and heart, of faith and morals. It is quite obvious even today that most of the problems of humanity are world problems, which demand solutions drawn to the new planetary scale of human intercourse. The prevention of war, the relief of poverty, and the protection of freedom lie beyond the power of the existing nation-states to achieve: only the concerted will of humanity has even a chance of doing what needs to be done. But the concerted will of humanity can become an existential reality only through persuasion and conversion. Only when we have a coherent world-vision more attractive to men's minds and hearts than any value-system that sustains the present structures of power, can we hope to move toward a new world order. The change begins at the level of thought: not action.

Of course we must never seek to deceive ourselves. It is unlikely that we have time enough to move all the way from thought to action to achievement. Nor are there strong indications in recent years that any significant fraction of the moral and intellectual leadership of mankind has even begun

to make an explicit paramount commitment to the cause of a free world society. The new populism of the student rebellion both East and West has had a certain purgative value no doubt, making quite clear the disillusionment of many young people with respect to the established order. But I see no evidence that the rebels can supply an authentic alternative to that order. Their movement is one of protest, not of vision. The generation of prophets of world civilization studied in my book—the generation of Toynbee, Teilhard de Chardin, Jaspers, Northrop, and Mumford—has not been followed by a second.

If we were extraterrestrial gamblers, considering dispassionately the prospects of the City of Man, we should probably be more inclined to place our bets on the city of fishes, or microbes, or flies, than wager a single galactic dollar on this unlikely creature known as man. But we are men. When all else is said and done, this fact remains. As men, we must hope. As men, we must think and, having taken thought, we must act. Let us resolve to risk all that we have, against all the odds, for mankind.

Twenty Years in Committee: The U.S. Refusal to Ratify Genocide and Other Human Rights Conventions

by Diane Leonetti

Few draft-age men in Canada are aware that the United States is a solemn signatory to a Declaration that includes the provision: "Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." Welfare recipients in the U. S. may be interested in another provision of the agreement which reads: "Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. . . . All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection." And let the Poor People's Campaign note the section that proclaims: "Everyone has the right to work . . . to protection against unemployment, and to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection." These provisions and twenty-seven more in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted unanimously by the United Nations twenty years ago, are aimed at assuring human beings everywhere the right to "life, liberty and security of person."

But this inspiring document is not legally binding; it merely serves as a guideline for the conventions on human rights, which countries are expected to give the force of law by internal legislation. Our legislators do not rise up in opposition to the U. S. signing agreements which can be (and are) ignored whenever it is convenient. But send them the Convention against genocide or racial discrimination which, once ratified, is expected to be legally binding, and hear them raise the cry of states' rights. It was even suggested in Congress that such agreements could enable the UN to reach into U. S. colleges and punish members of fraternities that bar blacks.

This kind of thinking, on the part of Southern senators mostly, has caused bills for ratification of the conventions against

slavery, genocide, forced labor and the political rights of women to die in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Until recently, the United States stood with the Union of South Africa and Spain as having ratified *none* of the 19 conventions aimed at safeguarding such human rights as the right to live.

At least one senator, Wisconsin Democrat William Proxmire, found the situation intolerable. Daily he rose in the Senate last year to speak on the immediate necessity for that body to ratify the five human rights conventions before it—the genocide convention since 1949! Daily he expressed his concern for the Senate's "appalling inaction" with respect to them, until at last two slavery conventions were put to a vote and ratified. The others are still in committee.

Yet none of these conventions conflict with the laws of this country; in nearly every case we already have laws providing the same safeguards. In the case of genocide we have none, deliberate, systematic mass murder being unthinkable. But the fact is that 70 countries have ratified the genocide convention during the twenty years it has languished in committee here.

The U. S. having signed the Declaration, the President should submit all of the Human Rights Conventions to the Senate for ratification. This year, twenty years after the unanimous adoption of the Declaration, is International Human Rights Year and a very good time for such action. Special efforts are being made by the UN to increase ratifications by member nations of the Conventions, particularly those on genocide, slavery, political rights of women (Italy and even Haiti have ratified this one, but not the U. S.), racial discrimination and discrimination in education. In the interest of improving the lot of human beings everywhere, U. S. senators should be urged at

least to bring those conventions already pending in the Senate to a vote.

War Resisters International is recognizing Human Rights Year with a world appeal for recognition of another profound human right: the right not to kill. Part of the WRI statement reads: "As the right to live is a basic human right, so is the right not to take life. Nonetheless, millions of young men and in some countries also women, are conscripted into armies to participate in the process of preparing for and actually carrying out of killing and destruction. People who challenge the right of government to conscript, who refuse to be ordered to do military service on grounds of conscience and who want to assert their right not to take life are put behind bars and tortured. A very small proportion of United Nations member countries can claim that they recognize this right, but even most of those do so only during peace time. How many among them would uphold this right above everything else in time of war is doubtful.

"Moreover, once a man has become a soldier it is hard and often impossible for him to get out of the forces, even though it is considered that there are greater chances of awakening of one's conscience after having some experience of military life, particularly during a time of war. But no! The right to life and the right not to take life are less important than the duty to look after the interests of the rulers."

The WRI issued an appeal for recognition of conscientious objection as a human right, signed by prominent persons on all continents. The campaign includes helping COs in countries like Switzerland and Italy, working for legal recognition of COs in Spain and Yugoslavia, where they are given long prison sentences, and assisting draft resistance in the U. S. and everywhere. ■

The Meaning of the Catonsville Nine Case

(Continued from page 8)

example of revolutionary nonviolence—perhaps the most important in the United States in many years. Howard Zinn suggested that "Catonsville"—as an act of complete rationality, of keen intelligence with regard to chief problems and their causes in this society, and of deep dedication—is essential nonviolence. He pointed out the insanity of a topsy-turvy society that typically makes "nonvio-

lence" into a justification for its violence; that makes the demand for peaceableness, by those who are economically secure, into the covering up of exploitation if social reconciliation is really to be achieved, the fraudulent peace of the "law and order" status quo must be actively exposed; and the status quo itself must be actively, even forcibly, resisted. Zinn believes that the Catonsville Nine have spoken simply and even obviously to a society whose misunderstanding of them is the mark of its deep perversity. Given the "insane" society whose misunderstanding of them is

the mark of its deep perversity. Given the "insane" society that puts property and the sacred state over the people, whom property and the state should serve, the Catonsville action is indeed nonviolence. Nonviolence not peaceableness, not as sentimental "reconciliation," but as the nonviolent resistance that the extreme nature of our situation demands.

Ed's note: The day after Allan Brick left Baltimore the Catonsville Nine were found guilty and will be sentenced November 8. An appeal is being prepared.

To our subscribers and would-be subscribers: We are in a fix! The electronic machine which keeps the records that produces the names that ensure your getting FELLOWSHIP regularly is having its troubles. It seems to have dropped some names we are unable to find. On the other hand, if you—or anyone known to you—are not getting FELLOWSHIP regularly it also may be that you have not sent us \$4.00 each year. If you are in doubt, ask us right away and we'll send you the magazine and let you know of your financial standing with us.

THE PUBLISHERS

Army Yields to Pressure: Moves Deadly Gas from Denver

The U.S. Army, yielding to strong public pressure, has decided to move large quantities of lethal nerve gas out of its arsenal in the heavily populated area near Denver.

A group of scientists and teachers had protested the presence of what they estimated to be 100 billion lethal doses of gas manufactured and stored at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal. They said an accident such as a plane crash, or an earthquake, could release the chemicals and urged their prompt removal.

Meanwhile, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor has authorized a \$5,000 partial payment for the death of 6,000 sheep in Utah following a military test of poisonous gas. Resor also recommended paying the balance of a \$276,685 claim submitted by the Anschutz Land and Livestock Company of Denver.

Nationwide Draft-Card Turn-in Set for November 14

The fourth nationwide turning in of draft cards has been set for November 14 by The Resistance, coordinating group for the action. The first three turn-ins, in which more than 3,000 young men returned their draft cards to federal authorities, took place on October 16 and December 4, 1967 and April 3, 1968.

Persons wishing to participate in the November 14 demonstrations, which will take part in various sections of the country, should contact the national office of: The Resistance, 5 Beekman St., New York, N. Y. 10038.

Pacifists Protest Czech Occupation in USSR, Warsaw-Pact Countries

Protests against the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia were carried out by pacifists in Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia and Budapest last month in an effort to encourage those in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries "who are already strongly opposed to the occupation of Czechoslovakia, and to show solidarity with those who have with great courage openly protested against occupation."

In Moscow, Vicky Rovere of New York and Andrew Papworth of England were arrested for distributing leaflets calling on the Soviet people to come to the aid of "your comrades in Czechoslovakia." In the leaflets, the authors identified themselves as opponents of the arms race and of the American action in Vietnam. The pacifists were later released and returned to their respective countries.

Similar protests took place in the other Eastern capitals, where demonstrators carried banners and posters with such slogans as: "End NATO," "End the U.S. War in Vietnam," and "End the Occupation of Czechoslovakia." Among the protesters was Robert Eaton, recent captain of the ketch Phoenix which sailed medical supplies to North Vietnam.

Sponsors of the demonstrations were War Resisters International and Quaker Action Group.

FOR Secretary Heads Radio Draft Panel

John Andrew Sonneborn, executive secretary of the New York Fellowship of Reconciliation, is conducting a draft counselling panel over radio station WBAI (99.5 FM) every Wednesday night at 9:00 p.m.

The panel also includes a high school teacher and member of the New York Fellowship's executive board, Harry Miles, and a lawyer who handles the stickier details.

Persons are urged to call in (212) Oxford 7-8506 and put their questions before the panel.

WBAI is a non-commercial, subscription-sponsored station under the auspices of Pacifica Foundation. Subscribers pay \$12 a year for a bi-weekly folio that lists programs in advance. Programming emphasis is on documentary features and classical music.

Scientists Urged to Study Aggressive Patterns

A clamor is being raised for an all-out effort to understand the factors that generate aggression and to seek out ways to control it, according to a recent article in the *New York Times*.

Dr. Nikolaas Tinbergen, professor of animal behavior at Oxford University, has issued a call for a "crash program" to find ways of keeping man's intergroup aggression in check. "It may already be too late," he said, "man may destroy himself before he learns such control . . . but the effort must be made."

The current surge of interest in the subject has produced a deluge of books, both popular and learned, as well as many scientific articles. Some of the most notable include *On Aggression* by Konrad Lorenz and *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict* by Margaret Mead, R. L. Holloway et al.

South Africa Church Council Attacks Apartheid Policy

The most powerful attack on apartheid by any religious body has been made by the South African Council of Churches. "Enforcing racial segregation," the Council asserted in a statement issued by them, "is to despise God's gift and to reject Christ."

Members of eight different churches, including Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic bodies, drew up a 2,500-word document entitled "A Message to People of South Africa." A total of 6,500 copies were sent to South African clergymen and church groups as well as to national councils of churches elsewhere in the world.

The "policy of separation or apartheid," the statement said, "is a demonstration of unbelief in the power of the Gospel. . . . Advocates of this policy inevitably find themselves opposed to the church if the church seeks to live according to the Gospel and show that God's grace has overcome our hostilities."

A spokesman for the group, speaking at a press conference launching the report, said its message involved "planning for South Africa's future on the basis of responsible, orderly and increased integration—integration being precisely the opposite concept of the present apartheid policy."



Lampedusa Islanders Protest Atomic Waste Plan

Some 4,500 inhabitants of Lampedusa, Italy's most far-off island, turned out in mass recently blocking all port operations, following word that the Italian Atomic Energy Agency was planning to use the island as a dumping ground for nuclear waste.

When the Agency ship arrived at the island it was greeted by people shouting, agitating and threatening to attack it. Authorities reportedly succeeded in dis-suading the crowd from attacking, but joined in with the protest themselves.

The ship was forced to sail back to its home port when water and food were running out and the island people would not let anyone land for new provisions.

Despite the opposition, the Agency announced plans to pursue the project. Islanders have responded with a general strike: fishermen have pulled in their boats, peasants are staying at home during vintage time, and all general workers have chosen to remain idle.

Meanwhile, at Uchinoura, Japan, twelve fishing boats deliberately entered the designated danger zone where Japanese scientists were to launch a rocket in a series of tests. The launching was called off minutes before firing time as a result of the action.

Abolition of Capital Punishment Advocated by National Council

The National Council of Churches has placed itself in official opposition to capital punishment.

The action, in the form of a policy statement made during the Council's General Board fall sessions, called for abolition of the death penalty under both federal and state law throughout the United States.

The statement urged member churches and state and local church councils "actively to promote the necessary legislation" for abolition—"particularly in the 37 states which have not yet eliminated capital punishment."

Some of the reasons for the decision included: belief in the "inherent worth of human life and the dignity of human personality as gifts of God," preference for rehabilitation over punishment, and serious doubt, supported by statistics, that capital punishment is a real deterrent to crime.

Congressman Gonzalez Fights Draft for Vietnam

Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez voted against the draft law last year. This past September, he introduced an amendment which would make service in Vietnam and other combat areas voluntary "unless Congress has declared a state of war to exist in that area." Gonzalez, a Texas Democrat, is "profoundly disturbed that we have empowered our government to conscript any number, without limit, of men" and send them into an undeclared war, while others stay home and reap vast profits.

"We so easily say to a young man that he must leave home, school, family and life, because it is his duty," Gonzalez told the Congress, "but we do not say to war profiteers that they should act more from patriotism and less from greed. We have expanded our defense procurement by billions of dollars without adding one iota to the powers of (bodies that could) exert some control over excessive profits by war suppliers. How can we do this in the name of justice? Dare we say to history that we value human life so little, and property rights so much?"

For two years, Gonzalez has been asking the Congress these questions. With no support from the administration and in the face of active opposition from representatives whose states have war industry, he succeeded in extending the life of the Renegotiation Board, the watchdog agency, for 3 years. Now he is pressing for a uniform system of accounting so that excess profits cannot be so easily hidden.

Six Shot in Polaris Farm Foray

Six people were shot in a clash of heavily armed Minutemen and state troopers at the Polaris Action Farm in Voluntown, Conn., recently. The Minutemen, an ultra-right-wing, radical group, had been carrying cans of gasoline with the intention of burning the farm down when they met the troopers face to face. Four Minutemen, one trooper, and a staff member of the farm were wounded in the gun battle that followed.

This was the latest in a long history of attacks on the farm initiated by Polaris Action Farm opponents including local gangs, hoodlums, radical right-wing groups and individuals.

Polaris Action Farm is sponsored by the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action.

SOME LATE, LATE BULLETINS

Milwaukee-Catonsville defendants. *The fourteen accused of destruction of Selective Service records in Milwaukee September 24 have now been released on bail (lowered from \$425,000 to \$67,000!) pending trial in federal court December 1. One of them, James Forest, has returned to his work with the Catholic Peace Fellowship. He is soon to be joined in the office by Thomas Cornell, who will finish his jail term for draft card burning shortly before Thanksgiving. No appeal date has yet been set for the defendants of the Catonsville draft record burning case, and their sentences will not begin until then.*

Ronald Young - Trudi Schutz Wed. *FOR director of youth work Ron Young was married to Trudi Schutz, on the staff of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objection in Philadelphia on October 5, in the chapel at Shadowcliff, in Nyack. The couple is now on a combined wedding trip and staff speaking engagement on the Pacific Coast and Hawaii. Their many friends send felicitations.*

National Draft Card Turn-in. *November 14 has been set as the fourth special day in a year's time to mobilize action and support for turning in draft cards as young men protest against being drafted for service in Vietnam. Check localities for hour and place.*

Embassies of USSR and USA reproached for their part in aggressions against Vietnam and Czechoslovakia. *US representatives of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace have waited on Russian and American ambassadors to the United Nations at the time of the anniversary of Czech independence. Their message to both embassies said in part: "The military adventurism of the two great super powers manifested in these imperialistic actions demonstrates that these governments, far from being the protectors of the people, have become the enemies of all men, threatening to draw down upon mankind the nuclear destruction that will terminate the human experience."*

HOW MARY ELIZABETH BURNS FOUND HER CONSCIENCE— DESPITE, OR MAYBE BECAUSE OF THE MARINE CORPS

A real-life conversation between a conscientious objector and her counselor, Fr. Richard McSorley

✦ WHEN MARY ELIZABETH BURNS of Grand Junction, Colorado, was 18, she wanted to join the Peace Corps as a means of seeing something of the world and its people. A devout Catholic, she consulted her priest, who suggested a military career. Mary Elizabeth joined the Marines.

After serving half of her 3-year hitch and rising to the rank of corporal, Mary Elizabeth began to have doubts about the Vietnam war, war in general, the military, and how you square your religious beliefs with mass killing. At home, her twin brother, Tim, had faced the same questions and decided to refuse induction.

Mary Elizabeth's feelings about the military crystallized at Parris Island, S. C., where dazed young civilians are pounded into Marines in eight weeks of the roughest basic training in the U. S. She was not prepared for the kind of dehumanization she saw there, although she had encountered it in milder form during her own basic training. When orders came through for officer's training school at Quantico, Mary Elizabeth made her decision. She changed to civilian clothes, turned in her dog tags to her commanding officer, and wrote a three-page letter to the battalion C. O. requesting discharge.

Her court martial was brief. Corp. Burns held that conscience and religious training gave her no choice but to quit the military. Witnesses, including the chief of neuropsychiatric service at Bethesda Naval Hospital, testified to the sincerity of her position and belief, others to the depths of her religious conviction. A one-man court martial, Marine Capt. James W. Jones, found her guilty of "wilfully disobeying" orders to put on her uniform and report to Quantico. She was fined \$20, reduced in pay and rank, and confined to barracks for 45 days. A few days later, the Marine Corps decided to release her with a general (neither honorable nor dishonorable) discharge.

The story is told in Mary Elizabeth Burns' own words in the interview that follows. The Rev. Richard McSorley of Georgetown University, who aided in her defense, puts the questions.

Mary, when and why did you join the Marines?

I joined two years ago in April, 1966. I was going to a small junior college in our home town called Mesa College and I thought it was time that I started doing

something for people besides myself. I wanted to get involved with other humans. I spoke to a priest at home who suggested the Military would be good because I could listen to so many people and hear what they had to say. So I went.

At that time, did you have any questions about the moral rightness or wrongness of being in the service?

No, it never entered my mind. Grand Junction is a small town. It's not remote, but not that much was written about the war and I didn't question it at all. I knew a war was going on but I wasn't concerned and I didn't think about it at all. That was in April, 1966.

Mary, did you have any Catholic education background?

Yes, we have a strong Catholic family and I'd gone to parochial school in Grand Junction and in Kansas City, Missouri.

Did you finish college?

No. I was only in college for two quarters.

When did you first begin to question the rightness or wrongness of your being in the Marine Corps?

Actually I started to question it three days after I joined when I was in basic training and I saw the way these people were treated and how I of course was treated myself. That's when I questioned the military.

Well, what treatment made you question this?

I started questioning it at Parris Island because the drill instructor would yell and scream at all the girls. She would call them "pig" and such names and ask what kind of mother they had or what kind of family they came from because of the way they made their bed or the way they dressed. If a girl was ugly or fat, a comment was made on that and she was laughed at in front of the whole platoon, which was about 40 girls. Everyone laughed, because of fear, at these comments.

Often, men would walk by when we were outside drilling. If a girl ever looked—well, one time a girl glanced over at one of the men, and the drill instructor stopped the whole platoon to scream at her. She said that the man would never look at her because she was so ugly and so tall! There were many instances like this.

In general then, you felt that it was a depersonalization or a treatment without respect for human dignity?

These people were less than human. The instructors treated them like they had no soul and no mind, and were there for the convenience of the government.

Mary, what other experiences added to this impression that the military did not respect human dignity?

Right after I trained, I had to stay on Parris Island for a month for school and I listened to some of the boys talk about some of their training which was much worse



*"I felt free and
for the first time*

than ours. Some of the things that happened to the men were unbelievable. I really knew then that there was no respect for individuals in the military.

What are some of the things that happen, some of the stories you heard?

One boy was telling me about a boy who grabbed a bottle of suntan lotion, (Parris Island is very hot in the summer and you have to wear suntan lotion) and ran into the bathroom and drank from it so he would get sick. He hoped he would be discharged as unsuitable. They took him to the hospital and pumped his stomach out. The next day, they were lined up for drill inspection and the drill instructor put a bayonet up to his throat with a knife on the end of it. "Fall on it," he said, "if you want to die, fall!"

What about people being punched and kicked?

The drill instructors think some of these people are so stupid that the only way to get anything across is to hit them or kick them. Often times on the rifle range, they'll come over and stomp on their fingers and tell them how to shoot a gun. They break jaws and they break ribs, but these boys have so much fear that they don't report it. They know that if they do they'll get it much worse when they come back.

Isn't that against the law?

Yes it is. The drill instructor can be taken off the drill field or sometimes I think they can be taken out of the military. But most of these boys are only 18 or 19, and they are afraid to report it. The only one they can talk to is the drill instructor and if they request permission to talk to someone higher, he'll ask why. They're not obligated to say why, but often unless they do they won't get permission to talk to someone higher.

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*good about myself
in two years."*

You have a mass impression from many stories, not just one or two?

That's right. I heard stories all the time. When the boys would tell me about it they would be laughing, but I think that's just a mechanism to help them forget about it and make them think that it wasn't so bad.

Did you see any of this mistreatment yourself?

In November, 1967, I was at Parris Island for a week for a swimming class and since they had no facilities for females, I had to swim with the recruits. They had many, many recruits coming in, I think at least 500 a day. When I was there they tried to treat the boys fairly well, but I saw them hollered and screamed at and thrown in the pool. Once, one of the swimming instructors pulled a tall thin boy out of line and said to me, "Now, isn't this one of the ugliest maggots you've ever seen in your life?" The boy hadn't seen a female in at least four weeks, and they said that about him. I just walked away.

Did you talk to any returning marines who expressed a certain amount of joy in killing?

I talked to returnees, but they didn't talk much about the joy of killing. Some said that killing didn't bother them at all, but I talked to many who said it did bother them.

Did this affect you?

Yes, it did because I just couldn't see how they could go there and kill these Vietnamese people. That's all I could think about at the time. I didn't have any facts, but I was wondering about it all the time.

Did your brother's stand against the war have any impact on you?

I'm sure it did. Tim and I were always

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very close and we think quite a bit alike. At the time I went into the military, he was thinking about going into the Army. I wrote and told him not to do it because the type of person he was couldn't possibly stand it. That's when he started looking into it and deciding that he'd never go. When he came out to talk to me in November ('67) that's what he talked about constantly. We talked about the rightness or wrongness of it and around and around about it. We also talked about the way these people were trained because it seems that humanity, a part of their soul seems to leave because of the training they go through. They take Christ out of a person, which isn't right.

Was Tim of one mind with you on this?

Yes, he was.

Did your Catholic training help you at all to come to this position?

Yes it did. It was probably my Catholic training that did it more than anything. In the Catholic school we'd always been taught the worth of a human being was above and beyond all else.

The worth of man?

The worth of man and thou shalt not kill and love your neighbor and love your enemy so you can see God the Father in heaven someday. So much of this training I hadn't even thought about until the time came when it was necessary for me to think about it. It was Catholic training.

Wasn't there some teacher in school whose memory came back to you? Someone who you and Tim remember having who stressed Thou Shalt Not Kill as an important commandment?

Yes, I think it was our fifth grade teacher. I think there had been a murder in our town or Denver and she was talking of the horror of taking another human life. We have no right in any circumstances to take another life. Only God gave life and only God can take it away.

And when you started thinking about this in the context of the war then you realized that it had made a deep impression on you?

Yes. I should have gone back quite a way further than that, too. I remember when I was very young, I must have been about 3 or 4, my parents and some friends of theirs were talking about World War II and the Germans and the Jews and my mother said something about killing the Germans. Maybe it wasn't right even though they were slaughtering Jews. That's all I remember from that conversation because I was so young, but I did remember that not too long ago.

Did both your parents support your stand about not continuing with the Marines?

Well, they both supported me by saying that we all have to do what we think is right and best. My mother is behind me; my father is not sure which side of the fence he's on. He'd prefer that I stayed in the military.

Was your dad in the military himself?

Yes, he was in the Air Force.

What brought you to the point of decision where you said, "I can't go on with this any longer. I can't wear this uniform any longer?"

In November when I was at Parris Island, I finally decided that when I returned I'd have to do something. It was time for action and not just thinking about it.

And it took you about a year to decide not to wear the uniform, did it not?

No, this was in November, '67, just last November before Christmas.

Did you stop wearing the uniform then?

No, I waited until March. I wanted to think about it some more. I went home in February and before I left, I knew that when I came back in March I would do it.

What was the final incident or evidence that convinced you that you had to do it or was it just everything?

It was everything I had seen. I had been thinking about it before, but the worst was Parris Island, where I saw those boys being trained and watched the look in their eyes, that lost and dead look. I knew then that if the American people were going to treat their own boys this way, there was no doubt how they were going to treat the Vietnamese people, whom they couldn't identify with and certainly had no love for.

And that was the basic reason that most appealed to you that you shouldn't be part of it?

Yes, it was.

Did you try to get discharged before you decided against turning in the uniform?

No, I walked into the Commanding Officer's Office and handed her all my cards and papers. I told her that I couldn't possibly support the military organization any longer because of moral convictions.

What did she say?

Right then she didn't know what to say. She waited a few minutes, left and came back. Then she talked about it for an hour, about Communism, and the whys of being in Vietnam. Then I had to go to the Battalion Commanding Officer and we talked about it for another hour and one half.

What did she say?

Well, this was a man, the commander of the whole base. He also talked about why we should be over there and Communism and the horrors of it. Then in the afternoon I was sent to talk to the Catholic chaplain.

This is Father O'Connor?

No. This is Father Eckert.

What did he say? Did he tell you that you might be a little upset in your mind and that you didn't know what you were doing?

Yes. He said that I was like a 13-year old, that I didn't know what was going on, and that I was probably confusing the issue with womanly feelings. He said I didn't have enough theology behind my statements and beliefs and I'd better go back and think about it. He said he would pray for me.

Did he show any indication that he thought other people were using you to discredit the service?

Oh yes. I had to watch out for groups that would use me and try to get publicity and make a bad name for the service and ruin me for life.

Did he talk to you about the Catholic Worker?

Yes, because I'd told him that I had been down to the Catholic Worker and he asked how many times I had talked to these people and how often I see them, and what we talk about. I tried to explain that when I

was down there we were usually just serving soup to all the old men that come in, and that I never really had a chance to talk to them. He thought they had been brain-washing me.

He did not encourage you at all in your stand against the war?

Oh, no, not at all.

And what about the other priest, Father O'Connor?

I think Father O'Connor is the head chaplain of the whole Marine Corps. He was much worse because he kept saying, I knew Diem personally and I know so and so personally, and I have been there twice, and I've written a book, and I'm in a position to know whereas you aren't, and all these other people who write pamphlets and books, well, they just don't know. And you're a heretic because of the things you say about your Church, and I hope some day that you will take a vow and be able to stick to that vow. He also said that I was wishy-washy.

Did it upset you to have two Catholic priests talk to you this way?

Yes, especially Father O'Connor. When I left I thought he hated me and couldn't stand the sight of me. That's what upset me most. There he was a priest and I was sent to him for help, and well, he wasn't very compassionate.

What about the psychiatrist? Did he annoy you?

No, the psychiatrists were very good. They just said that they didn't agree with me but that didn't mean that I was wrong or out of my mind.

Once you had made your decision, were you afraid to go to jail or get punished?

A lot of times I thought about going to jail and I was frightened. I knew nothing about jail except the stories I'd heard but I wasn't going to turn my back because I had been threatened with jail. I just thought that I'll let be what will have to be.

In this connection, your brother's example was a help to you wasn't it? Because he had already been in jail before your trial came up, correct?

Yes. He said that you can take anything that must be taken for the love of God and mankind. I believe this, so I wasn't going to back down just because of jail.

After your trial and after you took your position, did you feel any stronger or weaker in your convictions?

Oh, I felt much stronger. I felt very good. After the trial I just quit worrying about going to jail or anything. I cared, but it didn't seem to matter anymore because I knew what I was doing—what was right and what was wrong. I felt free and good about myself for the first time in 2 years. I had finally realized I had a mind that could truly think for itself, and no threat of punishment would turn me back to the conformity of the military that is a living death.

Did the support of other people like Dr. Spock who wrote to you help in any way?

Yes it did because it's so much easier to suffer when others are standing by offering compassion, agreement and kind words. What I did was easy because so many people were communicating with me. I have tremendous admiration for those who suffer alone and ignominiously.

Do you think that a girl who wasn't as good

MUDRA

DO NOT LISTEN TO THE POET
IN HIS MORNING COFFEE THERE IS A DROP OF TEAR
DO NOT LISTEN TO ME
PLEASE DON'T

IN MY MORNING COFFEE THERE IS A DROP OF BLOOD
DO NOT SCOLD ME MOTHER
I CANNOT SWALLOW THE LIQUIDS
THE AIR IN MY LUNGS IS FROZEN

HE SAID LET HIM WEEP THROUGH YOUR EYES
BECAUSE HE HAS NOW NO EYES

HE SAID LET HIM WALK ON YOUR FEET
BECAUSE HE HAS NOW NO FEET

AND WITH MY HANDS
I AM TOUCHING YOUR NIGHTMARE

HE SAID HE HAS BEEN SAVED
HE NEEDS NO MORE SALVATION
SALVATION IS FOR US

MY HAND ON THE SURFACE OF THE TABLE
THE UNIVERSE REMAINS SILENT
THE GREAT OCEAN HAS NEVER CALMED HER SOBBING
AND THE FIVE MOUNTAINS WITH THEIR PEAKS
MAINTAIN THE ORIGINAL POSITIONS OF SKY AND EARTH

FAR ABOVE THE SAME MILKY WAY
THE SECRET OF THINGS IS TO REVEAL THEMSELVES
YET MY RIGHT HAND IS ON THE SURFACE OF THE TABLE
WAITING FOR MANKIND TO BE AWAKENED

NO! MY HAND WILL NEVER RETURNED OVER ON THE SURFACE
OF THE TABLE

LIKE THE HALL OF THE SHELL
BALANCING ON THE SHORE

LIKE THE CORSE OF A MAN STRUCK DOWN BY A BULLET
MOUNTAIN AND RIVER ARE OVERTHROWN

CELESTIAL BODIES ARE OUT
AND THE GREAT OCEAN CEASES ITS EVERLASTING MURMUR

MY HAND IS STILL ON THE TABLE
AND THE FIVE MOUNTAINS STILL

DOMINATE OVER
THE SECRET HAS NOT REVEALED ITSELF

THE CELESTIAL BODIES CONVERSE WITH EACH OTHER
MY HAND IS STILL ON THE TABLE

WAITING FOR THE MOMENT
TO REVERSE THE BALANCE OF SKY AND EARTH

THE HAND
THE MOUNTAIN-LIKE LITTLE HAND

what hank

looking as you would have made out as well at the trial?

This is the first time I've heard any reference to my looks. I had never thought about it before. I feel certain any female would have come out as well.

Well, don't you think that your good looks helped in winning public sympathy?

No, I never thought about it. It was a moral issue. I was so fortunate because of my lawyers and the manner in which they handled the press and the Marine lawyers.

Now that the trial is over and you have been discharged, was this more than you expected to get out of the trial?

Yes, it was. I didn't expect to get out so fast if I could get out at all. It just came, four days after the courtmartial.

Do you have any regrets about it now?

No, I have none whatsoever. I feel great.

Do you think that your faith in God has increased as a result of living according to what you believe in this issue?

Yes, I know it has.



Americans and South Vietnamese voted for peace ... got war. Why?

*A
Fellowship
Pre-Print*



The material shown on this and the following three pages is also being issued in folder form for special distribution. Write us for prices.

Americans know that an overwhelming majority voted for Johnson instead of Eisenhower, to end the Vietnam war.

Americans know that an overwhelming majority of those voting in the primaries voted McCarthy or Kennedy for President, to end the Vietnam war.

Americans DO NOT know that the South Vietnamese even more overwhelmingly have desired and have voted for peace, have been drafted to, and continue to pay their lives for the war.

AN ELECTION THAT WAS A TRAVESTY

On September 2, 1967, there had been a primary election in New York for Governor. For the first time in the history of the State, the primary was held on a Tuesday.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

From New York, supporting peace, had been elected Mayor John Lindsay. He had been elected to the Council on Assassinations. The Council on Assassinations was a body set up by the government to study the assassination of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

There were other candidates. As a result of the primary, the election was held on a Tuesday. The election was held on a Tuesday.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

AN ELECTION THAT WAS DISREGARDED

General Thiệu Khanh was elected to the office of President of the Republic of Vietnam. He was elected to the office of President of the Republic of Vietnam.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

American officials always claim that the United States government is not involved in Vietnam. They claim that the United States government is not involved in Vietnam.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

— One potential candidate was Governor Rockefeller.

The U.S. State Dept. has withdrawn its support because it is convinced that the Chinese government is not serious about reforming its political system.

An Old Story - China's invasion of North Vietnam. The government of Hanoi.

... 1955-1956 ... of ... at a ...

SUPPRESSION OF POST-ELECTION DISSENT

The Student Resolutions - On September 5, 1989, a group of students ...

The Professors' Statement - In the ... of ...

The Buddhist Uprising - In the ... of ...

The Professors' Statement - In the ... of ...

The Buddhist Uprising - In the ... of ...

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LETTERS

Any honest, clearly-expressed viewpoint expressed in a letter of no more than 200 words will be printed—space and makeup permitting! They must be signed and identified, but identification may be omitted on request.

Dear Editors:

I like your July editorial, Alfred Hassler, insisting that pacifists maintain a peaceful goal and methods even though they may sympathize with some Communist objectives. I think we should learn, if we don't already know, that *there is but one ultimate goal*: namely, God, creative Nature, or the individual spontaneous Whole in which our bodies live, move, and have their being.

The Whole is not a total. God is the eternal, or spatial, Whole which, through evolutionary time, successively creates totalities as modes of itself. A totality at any time is known as "the world."

"God is peace," active peace, the underlying "unmoved mover." All beings are fundamentally God enjoying the divine self through creating harmonies out of conflicts. Human beings enjoy eternal peace here and now insofar as we aim at and work for objectives that manifest and organize peace.

Community control of land and of banking are such objectives. They were espoused by Karl Marx, but have no integral relation to Communist bitterness, schematic determinism, arrogance, and cold-blooded use of violence.

Contrary to propaganda, community control of land and of banking would encourage truly free enterprise, not crush it—provided the community were a true community: a society of common understanding and appreciation, mutual service, and non-violent public order.

Any region of the world controlled by such a community might well be considered the kingdom of God on earth; and the controlling human center of this ecological community would then be the true church, regardless of the place, time, or personalities of its origin. The main work of pacifists, I believe, is to build, through preaching and practice, the true church throughout the world.

—WENDELL THOMAS
Lugoff, S. C.

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

"You and I live in the two largest and strongest countries of the world and upon their relationship depends the general peace of the world . . . You and I ought to take all measures within our power to insure that shalom prevails between our countries . . . War is the greatest misfortune in the world . . . Of all the misfortunes which come upon the world—elemental catastrophes such as storms, tornadoes, earthquakes, floods and the various epidemics—the worst of all is war."

—Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levin,
Chief Rabbi of Moscow, U.S.S.R.
in an address in New York

Page 1

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THAT MEN MAY LIVE . . . in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an association of men and women of all faiths who recognize the essential unity of mankind and have joined together to explore the power of love and truth for resolving human conflict. Always vigorous in its opposition to war, the Fellowship has insisted also that this effort must be related to achieving a peaceful world community. It therefore recognizes peace as the fruit and pleasure of a community that cherishes and defends the full dignity and freedom of every human being everywhere. Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words,

1) They identify with those of every nation, race and religion who are the victims of injustice and exploitation, and seek to develop helpful resources of active nonviolent intervention.

2) They work to abolish war and to create a community of concern transcending all national boundaries and selfish interests; as an integral part of that commitment they refuse to participate personally in any war, or to give any sanction they can withhold from preparation for war;

3) They strive to build a social order that will utilize the resources of human ingenuity and wisdom for the benefit of all men, and in which no individual or group will be exploited or oppressed;

4) They advocate methods of dealing with offenders against society that will be founded on understanding and forgiveness, and that will seek to rehabilitate the offender rather than punish him;

5) They endeavor to show reverence for personality in all situations, in association with persons of other racial, credal or national backgrounds;

6) They seek to avoid bitterness and contention in dealing with controversy, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the effort to achieve these purposes.

All who agree with the principles of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are invited to contribute and are urged to become members. Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

After King: A Memo to His Students

by LAWRENCE POSTON

✦ TODAY I WISH to inform you that beyond the imposition of a general pass-fail system I am abandoning my grading in this course. Assuming that you meet the minimum requirement and hand in your term paper, you will grade that paper yourself. The grade will be meaningful as a test of your performance against the standard of your own abilities, not against a largely fictitious standard established by the more practised members of the class. I hope that this will put our relationship on a basis in which learning is motivated by your sympathy for the literature, not by my coercive powers.

On the face of it, this is a rather curious reaction to an appalling national tragedy. The event in Memphis reminds us that violence permeates all aspects of the national consciousness. As a teacher of literature, I would be remiss if I did not reexamine the nature of the profession and establish my own part in that violence. Since my special interest in the Victorians has merely confirmed an innate tendency to moralize on public events, perhaps you will forgive me if for a few moments I play the role of not-so-Ancient Sage.

For this course and another one, I have been rereading two novels by Dickens, *Great Expectations* and *Bleak House*. Both of these novels raise fundamentally similar questions about the relationships that prevail among human beings. Neither was written in the peace and quiet of an academic retreat, and neither in them nor elsewhere did Dickens pretend to adopt the objectivity we associate, in theory, with the academic life. He addressed himself directly to the most burning issues of his time. The central problem in his world is, How does one replace the old bonds that hold men together—the bonds of coercion, distrust, blindness—with new bonds of gentleness, trust, understanding? How does one banish the fogs of Chesney Wold and London, or the mists on the marshes at the beginning of *Great Expectations*, with the clarity that comes of understanding ourselves and our ties to others? The deadlocked society of interminable

Chancery suits, the inverted world in which men are held in unnatural bondage to those who are not fit to rule them—these patterns must be broken out of, the regression to primeval slime that we see at the beginning of *Bleak House* must be reversed. Dickens does not stop by addressing our hearts; he asks us to act.

The question of action has special ironies for an academic. This is my fifth year at this university. It has been a protected life on the surface, but the protection has been something of an illusion. We live in a society without sanctuaries. I am told that on Friday night, when Washington was burning, one local radio station carried advertisements for hand-guns. The point is not to determine whether that report is true but to understand what is wrong with a society in which it sounds true. Survival, the local civil defense ads tell us, is an individual responsibility. That's what it says in the yellow pages.

Dr. King once said that he pitied anyone who did not believe in something enough to go to jail for it. I have never been to jail, and in 1963 I came to a campus which was largely untouched by any crusading spirit. Your student newspaper was a dull, placid sheet of the sort in which journalism instructors rejoice. There were probably a few ripples of interest in the Peace Corps, but this was pretty much a slumbering campus. It is livelier now, sometimes silly, but by and large a more genuinely educated campus, more fun to teach in. At the same time I have seen some signs that the American university and you along with it are in trouble.

Some of you don't know it. You are pursuing your degrees; you go to the library, maybe even on Friday nights; you do your assignments. You may have a vague restlessness you can't define, but this doesn't mean you know what the trouble is. It is not that you may get killed in Vietnam, although you may; it is not that you face unemployment when you get out. It is, rather, that deep down inside most of you don't believe. I don't mean you don't believe in God, parents, or good grades;

LAWRENCE POSTON is associate professor of English at the University of Nebraska and an occasional contributor to magazines.

you may believe in all of them, or think you do, with varying degrees of intensity. What I mean is that your world doesn't have any shape or organizing principle. You have been taught not to set too high a valuation on human life; and you have been taught, Blessed are the violent, for they are the decision-makers.

The American university—I speak in the abstract here—has participated in your corruption. In the university you are learning some good things, to be sure, in and out of the classroom. Basically, however, these good things come to you within the context of a little world which increasingly reflects the standards of the larger world outside. The university is in trouble, not because its survival is threatened but because it is sick with its own power. A university is not threatened by a student sit-down in the corridors of the Administration building, although that may be a nuisance. It is not threatened by the occasional crusading legislator on the lookout for an issue, at least not a university of this size. No, what threatens the university is its involvement in the political affairs of another country, its secret contracts for research in biological and chemical warfare. The student activists, many of them, are the conservatives, for they sense something of what the university once was and what it could yet be.

If you have a hierarchical turn of
(Continued on page 28)

Two
teacher
differen
th
learnin
violence

college face in ways, issues of in a society

The editor considers it both bad form and contempt for his readers to apologize or "explain" anything he decides to print. But because Jerry Farber's piece is so different in tone from what a pacifist magazine generally publishes, and because it is so deliberately provocative, we felt you would want to know that we are sending it to a number of teachers and students whose responses we expect to carry in the next large issue of FELLOWSHIP. Put your own with them!

JERRY FARBER was a teacher at California State University in Los Angeles at the time he wrote this article.

✱ Students are niggers. When you get that straight, our schools begin to make sense. It's more important, though, to understand why they're niggers. If we follow that question seriously enough, it will lead us past the zone of academic bull . . . where dedicated teachers pass their knowledge on to a new generation, and into the nitty-gritty of human needs and hang-ups. And from there we can go on to consider whether it might ever be possible for students to come up from slavery.

First let's see what's happening now. Let's look at the role students play in what we like to call education.

At Cal State, L.A., where I teach, the students have separate and unequal dining facilities. If I take them into the faculty dining room, my colleagues get uncomfortable, as though there were a bad smell. If I eat at the student cafeteria, I become known as the educational equivalent of a nigger-lover. In at least one building there are even rest rooms which students may not use. At Cal State, also, there is an unwritten law barring student-faculty lovemaking. Fortunately, this anti-miscegenation law, like its Southern counterpart, is not 100 percent effective.

Students at Cal State are politically disenfranchised. They are in an academic Lowndes County. Most of them can vote in national elections—their average age is about 26—but they have no voice in the decisions which affect their academic lives. The students are,

The Student as Nigger by JERRY FARBER

it is true, allowed to have a toy government of their own. It is a government run for the most part by Uncle Toms and concerned principally with trivia. The faculty and administrators decide what courses will be offered; the students get to choose their own Homecoming Queen. Occasionally, when student leaders get uppity and rebellious, they're either ignored, put off with trivial concessions, or maneuvered expertly out of position.

Smiles and Shuffles

A student at Cal State is expected to know his place. He calls a faculty member "Sir" or "Doctor" or "Professor" and he smiles and shuffles some as he stands outside the professor's office waiting for permission to enter. The faculty tell him what courses to take (in my department, English, even electives have to be approved by a faculty member); they tell him what to read, what to write, and frequently, where to set the margins on his typewriter. They tell him what's true and what isn't. Some teachers insist that they encourage dissent but they're almost always jiving and every student knows it. Tell the man what he wants to hear or he'll fail you . . . out of the course.

When a teacher says "jump," students jump. I know of one professor who refused to take up class time for exams and required students to show up for tests at 6:30 in the morning. And they did, by God! Another, at exam time, provides answer cards to be filled out—each one enclosed in a paper bag with a hole cut in the top to see through. Students stick their writing hands in the bags while taking the test. The teacher isn't a provo; I wish he were. He does it to prevent cheating. Another colleague once caught a student reading during one of his lectures and threw her book against the wall. Still another lectures his students into a stupor and then screams at them in a rage when they fall asleep.

Just last week, during the first meeting of a class, one girl got up to leave after about ten minutes had gone by. The teacher rushed over, grabbed her by the arm, saying, "This class is NOT dismissed!" and led her back to her seat. On the same day another teacher began by informing his class that he

does not like beards, mustaches, long hair on boys, or capri pants on girls, and he will not tolerate any of that in his class. That class, incidentally, consisted mostly of high school teachers.

Follow Orders

Even more discouraging than this Auschwitz approach to education is the fact that the students take it. They haven't gone through twelve years of public school for nothing. They've learned one thing and perhaps only one thing during those twelve years. They've forgotten their algebra. They're hopelessly vague about chemistry and physics. They've grown to fear and resent literature. They write like they've been lobotomized. But, Jesus, can they follow orders! Freshmen come up to me with an essay and ask if I want it folded and whether their name should be in the upper right hand corner. And I want to cry and kiss them and caress their poor tortured heads.

Students don't ask that orders make sense. They give up expecting things to make sense long before they leave elementary school. Things are true because the teacher says they're true. At a very early age we all learn to accept "two truths," as did certain medieval churchmen. Outside of class, things are true to your tongue, your fingers, your stomach, your heart. Inside class, things are true by reason of authority. And that's just fine because you don't care anyway. Miss Wiedemeyer tells you a noun is a person, place or thing. So let it be. You don't give a . . . ; she doesn't give a . . .

The important thing is to please her. Back in kindergarten, you found out that teachers only love children who stand in nice straight lines. And that's where it's been at ever since. Nothing changes except to get worse. School becomes more and more obviously a prison. Last year I spoke to a student assembly at Manual Arts High School and then couldn't get out of the . . . school. I mean there was NO WAY OUT. Locked doors. High fences. One of the inmates was trying to make it over a fence when he saw me coming and froze in panic. For a moment, I expected sirens, a rattle of bullets, and him clawing the fence.

(Continued on page 28)

Memo to My Students

(Continued from page 26)

mind, you can classify violence beginning with the more dramatic crimes and shading off into exclusiveness or mild coercion or neglect. On television the other night I watched one of the network newscasts. Film clips of the fighting in Vietnam were interspersed with commercials for a deodorant and a detergent. Such a juxtaposition is itself a form of violence; we are being degraded by the equations we are implicitly invited to make. In turn, you are being instructed on the principle of what a leading educator has described (approvingly) as the carrots-and-stick philosophy of learning. You will be rewarded for long hours of study, you hope, by a good grade; you will be punished for your devotion to alcohol or sex by a bad one unless, to be sure, you are very bright and very facile. Your education is conceived in terms of a multiplicity of credit hours, and if you are male you know that your performance and your academic future are inextricably linked to the war-making potential of your country.

We all die daily and undramatically, and the conclusions which prefaced this talk are very undramatic indeed. My background is Stevensonian liberal, my instincts reformist. I feel slightly embarrassed on picket lines, and I have not been arrested for anything more serious than speeding (another form of violence still). But one begins always, if one is to begin, by reducing the level of violence in one's own life, trying to put one's relationships on a non-coercive footing.

The study of literature is a discipline. Students often complain that a spontaneous pleasure in literature ends with the ability to dissect it. I suspect that they are really complaining of the hook-up between their dissection of it and someone else's evaluation of them. Left to your own devices, I hope you will discover that an appreciation of complexity in art does not preclude the spontaneous response; it deepens it. There are too many dangerous simplifiers on the loose; the man who shot Martin Luther King saw life very simply indeed.

When I alluded to objectivity in academic life, I did not intend to devalue it. The university is, paradoxically, both a part of and a retreat from a larger society. It should not be a laboratory which both endorses and duplicates the pressures of the community. It should

offer you a time of quiet, not—as too many of your teachers try to make it—a permanent retreat from action. It is a place where you may learn to love, to distrust all forms of coercion, to substitute cooperation.

If the free man, says Paul Goodman, “employs nonviolent ‘passive resistance,’ it is in order not to complicate further, by material weapons and authoritative organizations, the situation which is already too encumbered. He sets up the vacuum in our learned follies, so that original forces can operate to our advantage.” What I have done today in modest measure is to set up a vacuum for you to fill. Much more than an understanding of Victorian literature hangs in the balance, although I hope you will acquire that too. What hangs in the balance is whether you will know how to use your freedom when you leave, and help us break out of the repetitive patterns of Dallas and Memphis which have all too often poisoned our atmosphere and corrupted our spirit.

Student as Nigger

(Continued from page 27)

What school amounts to, then, for white and black kids alike, is a 12-year course in how to be slaves. What else could explain what I see in a freshman class? They've got that slave mentality: obliging and ingratiating on the surface, but hostile and resistant underneath.

As do black slaves, students vary in their awareness of what's going on. Some recognize their own put-on for what it is and even let their rebellion break through to the surface now and then. Others—including most of the “good students”—have been more deeply brainwashed. They swallow the bull . . . with greedy mouths. They honest-to-God believe in grades, in busy work, in General Education requirements. They're pathetically eager to be pushed around. They're like those old grey-headed house niggers you can still find in the South who don't see what all the fuss is about because Mr. Charlie “treats us real good.”

College entrance requirements tend to favor the Toms and screen out the rebels. Not entirely, of course. Some students at Cal State L.A. are expert con artists who know perfectly well what's happening. They want the degree or the 2-S and spend their years on the old plantation alternately laugh-

ing and cursing as they play the game. If their egos are strong enough, they cheat a lot. And, of course, even the Toms are angry down deep somewhere. But it comes out in passive rather than active aggression. They're unexplainably thick-witted and subject to frequent spells of laziness. They misread simple questions. They spend their nights mechanically outlining history chapters while meticulously failing to comprehend a word of what's in front of them.

Inward Anger

The saddest cases among both black slaves and student slaves are the ones who have so thoroughly introjected their master's values that their anger is all turned inward. At Cal State these are the kids for whom every low grade is torture, who stammer and shake when they speak to a professor, who go through an emotional crisis every time they're called upon during class. You can recognize them easily at finals time. Their faces are festooned with fresh pimples; their bowels boil audibly across the room. If there really is a Last Judgment, then the parents and teachers who created these wrecks are going to burn in hell.

So students are niggers. It's time to find out why, and to do this, we have to take a long look at Mr. Charlie.

The teachers I know best are college professors. Outside the classroom and taken as a group, their most striking characteristic is timidity. . . . Just look at their working conditions. At a time when even migrant workers have begun to fight and win, college professors are still afraid to make more than a token effort to improve their pitiful economic status. In California state colleges the faculties are screwed regularly and vigorously by the Governor and Legislature and yet they still won't offer any solid resistance. They lie flat on their stomachs with their pants down, mumbling catch phrases like “professional dignity” and “meaningful dialogue.”

Professors were no different when I was an undergraduate at UCLA during the McCarthy era; it was like a cattle stampede as they rushed to cop out. And, in more recent years, I found that my being arrested in sit-ins brought from my colleagues not so much approval or condemnation as open-mouthed astonishment. “You could lose your job!”

Now, of course, there's the Vietnamese war. It gets some opposition from a few teachers. Some support it. But a vast number of professors, who know perfectly well what's happening, are copping out again. And in the high schools, you can forget it. Stillness reigns.

Forces A Split

I'm not sure why teachers are so chicken. . . . It could be that academic training itself forces a split between thought and action. It might also be that the tenured security of a teaching job attracts timid persons and, furthermore, that teaching, like police work, pulls in persons who are unsure of themselves and need weapons and the other external trappings of authority.

At any rate teachers ARE short on guts. And, as Judy Eisenstein has eloquently pointed out, the classroom offers an artificial and protected environment in which they can exercise their will to power. Your neighbors may drive a better car; gas station attendants may intimidate you; the State Legislature may . . . on you; but in the classroom, by God, students do what you say—or else. The grade is a hell of a weapon. It may not rest on your hip, potent and rigid like a cop's gun, but in the long run it's more powerful. At your personal whim—any time you choose—you can keep 35 students up for nights and have the pleasure of seeing them walk into the classroom pasty-faced and red-eyed carrying a sheaf of typewritten pages, with title page, MLA footnotes and margins set at 15 and 91.

The general timidity which causes teachers to make niggers of their students usually includes a more specific fear—fear of the students themselves. After all, students are different, just like black people. You stand exposed in front of them, knowing that their interests, their values, and their language are different from yours. To make matters worse, you may suspect that you yourself are not the most engaging of persons. What then can protect you from their ridicule and scorn? Respect for Authority. That's what. It's the policeman's gun again. The white bwana's pith helmet. So you flaunt that authority. You wither whisperers with a murderous glance. You crush objectors with erudition and heavy irony. And, worst of all, you make your own attainments seem not accessible but awesomely remote. You conceal your mas-

sive ignorance—and parade a slender learning.

"White Supremacy"

The teacher's fear is mixed with an understandable need to be admired and to feel superior, a need which also makes him cling to his "white supremacy." Ideally a teacher should minimize the distance between himself and his students. He should encourage them not to need him—eventually or even immediately. But this is rarely the case. Teachers make themselves high priests of arcane mysteries. They become masters of mumbo-jumbo. Even a more or less conscientious teacher may be torn between the desire to give and the desire to hold them in bondage. There is a kind of castration that goes on in schools. It begins, before school years, with parents' first encroachments on their children's free unashamed sexuality, and continues right up to the day when they hand you your doctoral diploma. . . . It's not that sexuality has no place in the classroom. You'll find it there but only in certain perverted and vitiated forms.

Bleeding Brains

How does sex show up in school? First of all, there's the sadomasochistic relationship between teachers and students. That's plenty sexual, although the price of enjoying it is to be unaware of what's happening. In walks the student in his Ivy League equivalent of a motorcycle jacket. In walks the teacher—a kind of intellectual rough trade—and flogs his students with grades, tests, sarcasm and snotty superiority until their very brains are bleeding. In Swinburne's England, the whipped school boy frequently grew up to be a flagellant. With us, the perversion is intellectual but it's no less perverse.

Once A Nigger

So you can add sexual repression to the list of causes, along with vanity, fear and will to power, that turn the teacher into Mr. Charlie. You might also want to keep in mind that he was a nigger once himself and has never really gotten over it. And there are more causes, some of which are better described in sociological than in psychological terms. Work them out, it's not hard. But in the meantime what we've got on our hands is a whole lot of niggers. And what makes this particularly grim is that the student has less chance than the black man of get-

ting out of his bag. Because the student doesn't even know he's in it. That, more or less, is what's happening in higher education. And the results are staggering.

For one thing damn little education takes place in the schools. How could it? You can't educate slaves; you can only train them. Or, to use an even uglier and more timely word, you can only program them.

At my school we even grade people on how they read poetry. That's like grading people on how they make love. In fact, God help me, I do it. I'm the Adolph Eichmann of English 323. Simon Legree of the poetry plantation. "Tote that iamb! Lift that spondee!" Even to discuss a good poem in that environment is potentially dangerous because the very classroom is contaminated. As hard as I may try to turn students on to poetry, I know that the desks, the tests, the IBM cards, their own attitudes toward school, and my own residue of UCLA method are turning them off.

Another result of student slavery is equally serious. Students don't get emancipated when they graduate. As a matter of fact, we don't let them graduate until they've demonstrated their willingness—over 16 years—to remain slaves. And for important jobs, like teaching, we make them go through more years, just to make sure. What I'm getting at is that we're all more or less niggers and slaves, teachers and students alike. This is a fact you want to start with in trying to understand wider social phenomena, say, politics, in our country and in other countries.

Intimidate or Kill

Educational oppression is trickier to fight than racial oppression. If you're a black rebel, they can't exile you; they either have to intimidate you or kill you. But in high school or college, they can just bounce you out of the fold. And they do. Rebel students and renegade faculty members get smothered or shot down with devastating accuracy. In high school, it's usually the student who gets it; in college, it's more often the teacher. Others get tired of fighting and voluntarily leave the system. Dropping out of college, for a rebel, is a little like going North, for a Negro. You can't really get away from it so you might as well stay and raise hell.

How do you raise hell? That's a whole other article. But just for a start,

(Continued on page 30)

THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM By George McTurnan Kahin and John W. Lewis, Delta paperback, 1967, 465 pp., \$2.95.

This book will rank at the top of the accounts of our involvement in Vietnam. Written by two experts of Cornell University's South East Asia Program and documented at every step, it establishes the main points of the tragedy which have long been plain to its students.

For example, Ho Chi Minh's patriotism has always taken precedence over his communism; he had won Vietnam's independence from France as an ally of the United States and could well have continued in that capacity, to our great gain.

Student as Nigger

(Continued from page 30)

why not stay with the analogy? What have black people done? They have, first of all, faced the fact of their slavery. They've stopped kidding themselves about an eventual reward in that Great Watermelon Patch in the sky. They've organized; they've decided to get freedom now, and they've started taking it.

Students, like black people, have immense unused power. They could, theoretically, insist on participating in their own education. They could make academic freedom bilateral. They could teach their teachers to thrive on love and admiration, rather than fear and respect, and to lay down their weapons. Students could discover community. And they could learn to dance by dancing on the IBM cards. They could make coloring books out of the catalogs and they could put the grading system in a museum. They could raze another set of walls and let education flow out and flood the streets. They could turn the classroom into where it's at—a "field of action" as Peter Marin describes it. And, believe it or not, they could study eagerly and learn prodigiously for the best of all possible reasons—their own reasons.

They could. Theoretically. They have the power. But only in a very few places, like Berkeley, have they even begun to think about using it. For students, as for black people, the hardest battle isn't with Mr. Charlie. It's with what Mr. Charlie has done to your mind.

Instead, the Truman Administration began to support France's attempt at reconquest in mid-1949, as an element in the containment of China, and Eisenhower poured out a billion a year to aid France in reconquering Vietnam, until France had to make peace in 1954.

Having fought unsuccessfully to prevent the Geneva accords of that year and refusing to sign them, Secretary of State Dulles then moved to prevent the unification elections in 1956 and to set up a separate state in South Vietnam under Diem, who prevented the elections and became one of the worst tyrants in modern history. All the steps by which he drove the South Vietnamese into guerrilla resistance are detailed, as he established a carpetbag government of Catholic collaborators with the French who had fled from the North after Geneva, largely on U.S. warships.

The book disproves completely our official thesis that the revolt against Diem was engineered from the North, which was in desperate straits due to the war and to being excluded from the surplus rice of the South. It was not until September 1960 that Hanoi finally announced its approval of the rebellion, when the "insurgency had become so manifest that if Hanoi had not proclaimed its approval it might well have lost any influence over the future course of events" in the South. (p. 108) Up to that time Hanoi had consistently discouraged the rebellion. Its clandestine radio broadcasts were long attacked "violently" by Hanoi.

The National Liberation Front is "not Hanoi's creation; it has manifested independence and it is Southern." Moreover, Hanoi's belated blessing of the rebellion was not followed by effective aid to the South. The same party congress in Hanoi (Sept. 1960) launched a five-year plan for economic development and a major cutback in defense spending to finance it (p. 116).

The book records the official missions to Vietnam of General Maxwell Taylor and Walt W. Rostow, Vice President Johnson and Eugene Staley, all of whom advised escalation of one kind or another. The adamant determinations of Secretaries of State Dulles and Rusk to "contain" communism and China, regardless of the rights of the Vietnamese people, are duly recorded.

This is as it should be. History will deal firmly with all advisers who promoted or helped to escalate our attempt to turn South Vietnam into an American base. But this will not be enough. It will be imperative for all Americans who are in any degree keepers of our national conscience to rise up promptly and mightily against the next attempt of our Government to suppress social discontent abroad with helicopters, napalm and worse. We must be certain, too, that if we permit further Vietnams—with all

their agonies, near-genocides and degradations for all concerned—we shall bring an authoritarian government on ourselves at home.

For the first time, possibly excepting the Civil War, we have looked lately down the steep incline at the bottom of which lies national oblivion—destructive failure both abroad and at home.

THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM should help us avoid that sad and unnecessary end for the American dream. It is an essential handbook for forestalling future Vietnams.

—D. F. FLEMING

BOOKS RECEIVED

(some will be reviewed)

A GOD FOR MODERN MAN by Roland Gammon. The Sayre Ross Company. 1968, 162 pp., \$4.95

AMERICAN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENTS by Joseph R. Conlin. Glencoe. 1968, 133 pp., paper

THE AMERICAN CRISIS IN VIETNAM by Senator Vance Hartke. Bobbs Merrill, 1968, 163 pp., \$5.95

AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE FOR AMERICA by Robert Theobald. Swallow, 1968, 186 pp., \$1.95

A PLACE FOR YOU by Paul Tournier. Harper, 1968, 224 pp., \$4.95

BEYOND THE CHAINS OF ILLUSION by Erich Fromm. Simon & Schuster, 1968, 182 pp., \$3.95

CHINA AND CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY edited by William J. Richardson. Friendship Press, 1968, 144 pp., paper: \$2.50

THE CHRISTIAN AND REVOLUTION by Melvin Gingerich. Herald Press, 1968, 229 pp., \$4.50

CHRISTIANS HAVE TROUBLES, TOO by Henry R. Brandt & Homer E. Dowdy. Revell, 1968, 127 pp., \$3.50

CHRONICLES OF NEGRO PROTEST by Bradford Chambers. Parents Magazine Press, 1968, 319 pp., \$4.50

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND MORAL LAW by Edward H. Madden. University of Washington Press, 1968, 214 pp., \$7.50

DEADLY LOGIC by Philip Green. Schocken, 1968, 361 pp., paper: \$2.45

DETROIT INDUSTRIAL MISSION: A Personal Narrative by Scott Paradise. Harper & Row, 1968, 158 pp., \$5.95

THE DEATH OF A NATION by John A. Stormer. Liberty Bell Press, 1968, 184 pp., paper: 75¢

THE DRUGSTORE LIBERAL by Sherrill and Ernst. Grossman, 1968, 199 pp., \$4.95

DYING WE LIVE edited by Helmut Gollwitzer et al. Seabury, 1968, 205 pp., paper: \$2.75

EINSTEIN ON PEACE edited by Otto Nathan & Heinz Norden. Schocken, 1968, 704 pp., paper: \$2.95

- ENCOUNTER OF THE FAITHS by George Wayland Carpenter. Friendship Press, 1967, 174 pp., paper: \$1.75
- THE ETERNAL LIGHT edited in consultation with the Jewish Publication Society of America. 1967, Harper and Row, 247 pp., \$8.95.
- ETHICS: CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE by Frederick M. Sawyer. Vantage Press, 1968, 162 pp., \$3.75
- THE FACE OF VIOLENCE: An Essay with a Play by J. Bronowski. World, 166 pp., paper: \$2.25
- FOUR RELIGIONS OF ASIA by Herbert Stroup. Harper & Row, 1968, 212 pp., \$6.00
- FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS by James Finn. Random House, 1968, 520 pp., paper: \$2.45
- GANDHI by Geoffrey Ashe. Stein and Day, 1968, 404 pp., \$8.95
- GHETTO REBELLION TO BLACK LIBERATION by Claude M. Lightfoot. New World, 1968, 192 pp., \$1.95
- THE GIFT IS RICH by E. Russell Carter. Friendship Press, 1968, 117 pp., paper: \$1.95
- HAMMARSKJOLD: THE POLITICAL MAN edited by Emery Kelen. Funk & Wagnalls, 1968, 236 pp., \$5.95
- HOW CHURCHES FIGHT POVERTY by Elma Greenwood. Friendship Press, 1968, 159 pp., paper: \$1.95
- HUMAN VALUES AND ADVANCING TECHNOLOGY by Cameron Hall. Friendship Press, 1968, 176 pp., paper: \$1.50
- THE HUXLEYS by Ronald W. Clark. McGraw Hill, 1968, 398 pp., \$8.95
- IN QUEST OF THE LEAST COIN by Grace Nies Fletcher. Herald Press, 1968, 190 pp., \$4.75
- IN SOLITARY WITNESS by Gordon Zahn. Beacon, 216 pp., \$2.95
- IS ANYBODY LISTENING TO BLACK AMERICA edited by C. Eric Lincoln, Seabury, 1968, 280 pp., paper: \$2.95
- THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X by George Breitman. Schocken, 1968, 169 pp., paper: \$1.95
- THE LION IN THE STONE by Henrietta Buckmaster. Harcourt, 1968, 464 pp., \$6.95
- THE LONG VIEW by Alan Paton. Praeger, 1968, 295 pp., \$6.95
- THE LOPSIDED WORLD by Barbara Ward. Norton, 1968, 126 pp., \$3.95
- LOVE, LOVE AT THE END by Daniel Berrigan. The Macmillan Co., 1968, 118 pp., \$4.75
- MARXISM AND CHRISTIANITY by Alasdair MacIntyre. Schocken, 1968, 143 pp., \$4.50
- NEED IS OUR NEIGHBOR by Byron L. Johnson, Friendship Press, 1966, 128 pp., paper: \$1.75
- ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NONVIOLENCE by Leo Tolstoy. Signet, 1968, 302 pp., paper: 95¢
- PHILOSOPHY AND THE HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING by W. B. Gallie, Schocken, 1968, 236 pp., paper: \$2.45
- THE POLICE AND THE PEOPLE by Algernon D. Black. McGraw-Hill, 1968, 246 pp., \$6.95
- THE POPULATION BOMB by Dr. Paul R. Ehrlich. Ballantine, 223 pp., paper: 95¢
- RELIGIOUS IDENTITY by Gibson Winter. The Macmillan Company, 1968, 143 pp., paper: \$1.45
- REFLECTIONS ON PROTEST edited by Bruce Douglass. John Knox Press, 1968, 188 pp., paper: \$1.25
- READY TO RIOT by Nathan Wright Jr. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, 148 pp., \$4.95
- RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT by M. S. Arnoni. 1968, 191 pp., \$6.00
- SALT AND LIGHT by Eberhard Arnold. Plough Publishing House, 1968, 309 pp., \$4.75
- SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN THE NORTH edited by T. Bentley Edwards and Frederick M. Wirt. Chandler, 1968, 352 pp., paper: \$4.25
- SCIENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY by J. G. Crowther. Schocken, 1968, 403 pp., \$8.00
- SEEKING TO BE CHRISTIAN IN RACE RELATIONS by Benjamin E. Mays. Friendship Press, 1964, 127 pp., paper: \$1.50
- THE SILENT WEAPONS by Robin Clarke. David McKay & Co., 1968, 230 pp., \$4.95
- SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE by Sugata Dasgupta. Porter Sargent, 1968, 223 pp., \$6.95
- SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS WERE ADDICTS by Virginia Ely. Fleming Revell, 1968, 128 pp., \$3.50
- THE SPARROW AND OTHER STORIES by Jane T. Clement, Plough Publishing House, 1968, 198 pp., \$4.95
- SOUNDS OF THE STRUGGLE by C. Eric Lincoln. Friendship Press, 1968, 252 pp., paper: \$1.95
- STRUGGLE OF DECENCY by Robert Root and Shirley W. Hall. Friendship Press, 1965, 174 pp., paper: \$1.95
- THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION: SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN DEPTH by Robert Perucci and Marc Pilisuk. Little Brown, 1968, 689 pp., paper: \$5.95.
- THE TRUMPET OF CONSCIENCE: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. Harper, 1968, 78 pp., \$3.95
- UNLESS PEACE COMES edited by Nigel Calder. Viking, 1968, 243 pp., paper: \$1.95
- VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS by Shalom Endleman. Quadrangle, 1968, 471 pp., \$10.00
- VENTURES IN MISSION by Paul O. Madsen. Friendship Press, 1968, 159 pp., paper: \$1.50
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- VIETNAM: WHO CARES? by Atlee and Winifred Beechy. Herald Press, 1968, 154 pp., paper: \$2.00.
- VIETNAM by David Schoenbrun. Athenaeum, 1968, 214 pp., paper: \$2.95
- VIETNAM VIEWPOINTS compiled by Margaret Hoffmann. 1968, 186 pp., paper: \$1.50.
- VOLUNTEER TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT: A MANUAL FOR COMMUNITY GROUPS by Ann Stenzel and Helen Feeny. Seabury, 1968, 223 pp., \$5.95
- WAR AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA by Edward LeRoy Long Jr. Westminster, 1968, 130 pp., paper: \$1.65
- THE WEAPONS MERCHANTS by Bernt Engelmann. Crown, 1968, 224 pp., \$4.95
- WEALTH AND WANT IN ONE WORLD edited by Muriel S. Webb. Friendship Press, 1966, 126 pp., paper: \$1.95
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- WHEN RIVERS MEET by Phyllis Naylor. Friendship Press, 1968, 160 pp., paper: \$1.75
- WHY BLACK POWER? by Joseph R. Barndt. Friendship Press, 1968, 122 pp., paper: \$1.50
- WRITINGS IN TIME OF WAR by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Harper, 1968, 315 pp., \$5.95
- YOUTH ASKS WHAT'S LIFE FOR by D. T. Niles. Thomas Nelson, 1968, 94 pp., paper: \$1.50

PAMPHLETS

- JEWS IN EASTERN EUROPE edited by Emanuel Litvinoff. European Jewish Publications.
- PILGRIMS OF PEACE AND OTHER POEMS by Bonnie Day. Coach House Press. 29 pp., \$2.00
- THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN. Southern Christian Leadership Conference. \$1.00
- TRADE WAR: NO PROFIT, NO GLORY, NO NEED. The Emergency Committee for American Trade, 12 pp., free
- THE UNITED STATES AND EASTERN EUROPE. International Relations Council and the American Assembly.
- VIETNAM: VITAL INTEREST OR TRAGIC MISTAKE by Norman N. Royall Jr. AFSC, 36 pp., 35¢.

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