

**JOHN F. KENNEDY-INSTITUT FÜR NORDAMERIKASTUDIEN  
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN**

**MATERIALIEN - 24 -**

**Pazifismus in den USA**

**Band 2**

**Herausgegeben von Ekkehart Krippendorff**

**Zusammenstellung und Redaktion: Christian Bartolf**

**Unter Mitarbeit von**

**Katja Bäcker**

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VIII. Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg  
CHRISTIAN BARTOLF

1. Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Ersten Weltkrieg (1)

Während des Ersten Weltkrieges gab es ca. 4.000 Kriegsdienstverweigerer ("conscientious objectors" oder "CO"s). Die Regierung berücksichtigte sie durch einen waffenlosen Dienst im Militär und bot nach 1918 jenen Verweigerern, die diesen Status nicht akzeptierten, als Alternative Landarbeit an, aber immer noch unter militärischer Aufsicht. Die von ihren Erfassungsbehörden als 'waffenlos' klassifizierten jungen Wehrpflichtigen zählten 20.873, und eine unbestimmbare Anzahl beantragte die Befreiung als anerkannter Kriegsdienstverweigerer, die ihnen ihre Ämter verweigerten. Absolute Verweigerer, die jeden Dienst unter militärischer Aufsicht nicht akzeptierten, saßen harte Bestrafung in Militärgefängnissen ab. Dort wurden sie begleitet von vielen politischen Verweigerern, die die religiösen "Qualifikationen" nicht besaßen, um als legitime Verweigerer von der Regierung anerkannt zu werden.

Kriegsdienstverweigerer bekamen virtuell keine organisatorische Unterstützung und sahen sich so im Ersten Weltkrieg ausweglos und ausnahmslos im Gefängnis wieder. Eine Sektion des Versöhnungsbundes, der 1914 in Großbritannien gegründet worden war, wurde im darauffolgenden Jahr in den Vereinigten Staaten begonnen. Er brachte religiöse Pazifisten aus unterschiedlichen Friedenskirchen zusammen, befürwortete allerdings nicht die Kriegsdienstverweigerung an sich oder kümmerte sich nicht um die Kriegsdienstverweigerer, denen härteste Strafen aufgebürdet wurden. Im November 1915 wurde das antimilitaristische Komitee in New York gebildet, um Präsident Wilsons Vorbereitungsprogramm auf den Krieg zu begegnen. Ein Jahr darauf wurde es zu einer nationalen Organisation unter dem Namen der 'Amerikanischen Vereinigung gegen den Militarismus' mit einem Vollzeitinteressenvertreter in Washington. Unter ihren Vorsitzenden waren

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der Geistliche John Haynes Holmes (2) von der Kirche der New Yorker Gemeinde, die Sozialarbeiter Lillian Wald (3) und Jane Addams, der Verleger Max Eastman, der Umweltschützer Amos Pinchot, Rabbi Steven S. Wise und Norman Thomas (4), der damals aktiv im Versöhnungsbund war. Als die Nation in den Krieg eintrat, änderten sich die Ziele der 'Amerikanischen Vereinigung gegen den Militarismus' von der Gegenerschaft gegen den Militarismus "als unvereinbar mit amerikanischen Traditionen und Institutionen" zur "Bewahrung demokratischer Einrichtungen und Freiheiten in Kriegszeiten"...

Roger Baldwin (5), der 1918 bis 1919 ein Jahr im Gefängnis war wegen Waffendienstverweigerung aus politischen Gründen, saß dem Büro der 'Vereinigung für Kriegsdienstverweigerung' vor und führte ihre Entwicklung an in die 'Amerikanische Vereinigung zum Schutz bürgerlicher Freiheiten' (6).

Die absoluten Kriegsdienstverweigerern für gewöhnlich zugemessene Gefängnisstrafe betrug zwischen 20 und 25 Jahren. 142 "CO"s wurde lebenslänglich erteilt - 17 wurden zum Tode verurteilt, was später umgewandelt wurde, wobei einem Verweigerer die Flucht vor der Hinrichtung nur dadurch gelang, daß er nach Übersee ging und die Verpflichtung akzeptierte, Verwundete aus dem Niemandsland zu evakuieren. In Wirklichkeit jedoch arbeitete kein Verweigerer länger als drei Jahre im Gefängnis, weil alle bis November 1920 entlassen wurden.

Das Gefängnis war für Kriegsdienstverweigerer des Ersten Weltkrieges brutal, da sie von der Regierung als Feiglinge und Drückeberger porträtiert wurden, als Männer, die nicht ihre patriotische Pflicht erfüllen würden. Folter und Brutalitäten waren an der Tagesordnung.

Im Oktober 1918 wurde eine Gruppe Molokaner, christliche "Non-Resisters" und Emigranten aus Rußland, nach Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, gebracht, um dort ihre Zeit abzudienen. Weil sie nicht unter militärischer Aufsicht arbeiten wollten, wurden sie in ein Loch geworfen, stehend an die Zellengitter gefesselt für neun Stunden am Tag, und es wurde ihnen jeder Postverkehr verboten.

Andere Kriegsdienstverweigerer versuchten, gegen ihre Mißhandlungen zu protestieren, aber Gefängnisoffizielle fingen ihre Protestschreiben im Gefängnis ab. Am 2. November 1918 begann Evan Thomas (7), zu einer lebenslänglichen Strafe als Verweigerer verurteilt, aus Protest einen Arbeitsstreik. Er wurde ebenfalls in das Loch geworfen und an die Gitterstäbe gefesselt. Andere Verweigerer schlossen sich dem Streik an und folgten Thomas in das Loch, wo es ihnen nicht erlaubt war, miteinander zu sprechen. Wächter, die gegen diese Brutalität aufbegehrten, weigerten sich, diese Regelung zu unterstützen, und so drangen bald Nachrichten über den Streik und die Behandlung der Molokaner an die Außenwelt. Nach sieben Wochen Einzelhaft wurden Thomas und die anderen Verweigerer befreit, und das Kriegsministerium verbot die Fesselungen als illegal. Dies war nur eine der Reformen, welche die Kriegsdienstverweigerer von der Regierung erwirkten während dieser Phase.

Die Gefängnisreform kam zu spät, um die beiden Hofer-Brüder vorm Tod zu bewahren, die mit zwei anderen christlichen "Non-Resisters" zusammen fünf Tage in Zwangsjacken, an eine Eisenkugel gekettet und in einer nassen, pechschwarzen Kerkerzelle in Alcatraz, Kalifornien, verbrachten. Die meiste Zeit davon wurden sie angehalten, stehenzubleiben, ihre Hände an die Gitterstäbe gefesselt. Nach Fort Leavenworth übergeben, wurden sie wieder in das Loch gesteckt, wo die beiden Brüder an Lungenentzündung erkrankten und später starben.

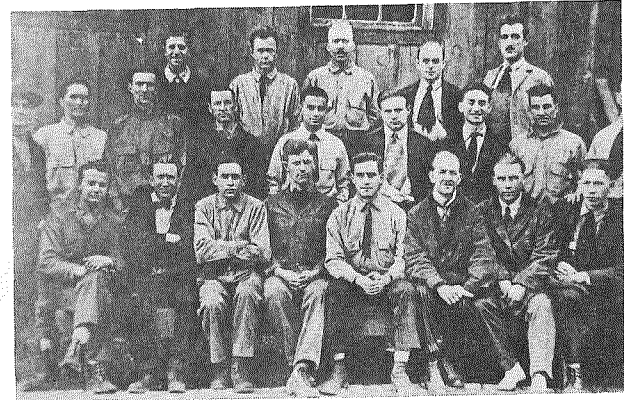
Einige Verweigerer weigerten sich sogar, sich bei der Erfassungsbehörde registrieren zu lassen, und saßen kurze Gefängnisstrafen in zivilen Gefängnissen ab. Oft wurden sie nach ihrer Entlassung willkürlich eingezogen und dazu gezwungen, entweder den Militärdienst zu akzeptieren oder lange Gefängnisstrafen in Militärgefängnissen zu riskieren.

Es dauerte nicht bis nach dem Krieg, daß politische Verweigerer eine Organisation bekamen, die ihre Ansichten förderte und sie unterstützte. Die "War Resisters League"

wurde 1923 auf die Initiative von Jessie Wallace Hughan, Tracy D. Mygatt und Frances Witherspoon hin gegründet, als offensichtlich wurde, daß der Versöhnungsbund sich nicht auf nichtreligiöse Verweigerer beziehen konnte mit seinem Einfluß. Jeder konnte ein Mitglied der Liga werden, wenn er oder sie ein Gelübde unterzeichnete, sich von jeder Kriegsbeteiligung lossagen zu wollen. Ein Großteil der Unterstützung wurde der Organisation von pazifistischen Mitgliedern der Sozialistischen Partei zuteil, und viele Jahre lang verrichtete die "War Resisters League" den größten Teil ihrer Arbeit auf dem Feld der Erziehung, befürwortete die Kriegsdienstverweigerung und half jenen, die Hilfe benötigten, mit Rechtsberatung und anderweitiger Unterstützung.

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Als politischer Reformler und früher Pazifist, geboren in Wellesley, Massachusetts, graduierte Roger Baldwin in Harvard, zog nach St. Louis, Missouri, und arbeitete im sozialen Bereich. Beim Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges erklärte er sich als Kriegsdienstverweigerer und bot der 'Amerikanischen Vereinigung gegen den Militarismus' seine freiwilligen Dienste an. Baldwin war in großem Maße dafür verantwortlich, daß sich von dessen Büro für Kriegsdienstverweigerer die "American Civil Liberties Union" entwickelte, der er als Direktor von 1917 an bis 1950 vorstand. 1918, als er zu einem Jahr Gefängnis verurteilt worden war, erklärte er vor der Urteilsverkündung dem Gericht seine Motive zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung - seine Begründung und die von anderen wurden zum Dokument:

DOKUMENT 19



Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Ersten Weltkrieg  
im Gefängnis von Fort Douglas, Utah, 1919

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Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Ersten Weltkrieg:

Roger Baldwin und andere -  
Gründe zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung,  
1917 - 1918



## I [Carl Haessler]

I, Carl Haessler, Recruit, Machine Gun Company, 46th Infantry, respectfully submit the following statement in extenuation in connection with my proposed plea of guilty to the charge of violation of the 64th Article of War, the offense having been committed June 22, 1918, in Camp Sheridan, Ala.

The offense was not committed from private, secret, personal, impulsive, religious, pacifist or pro-German grounds. An admixture of quasi-personal motives is admitted, but they were in no sense the guiding or controlling factors. I have evidence for each of these assertions, should it be required.

The willful disobedience of my Captain's and of my Lieutenant-Colonel's orders to report in military uniform arose from a conviction which I hesitate to express before my country's military officers but which I nevertheless am at present unable to shake off, namely, that America's participation in the World War was unnecessary, of doubtful benefit (if any) to the country and to humanity, and accomplished largely, though not exclusively, through the pressure of the Allied and American commercial imperialists.

Holding this conviction, I conceived my part as a citizen to be opposition to the war before it was declared, active efforts for a peace without victory after the declaration, and a determination so far as possible to do nothing in aid of the war while its character seemed to remain what I thought it was. I hoped in this way to help bring the war to an earlier close and to help make similar future wars less probable in this country.

I further believe that I shall be rendering the country a service by helping to set an example for other citizens to follow in the matter of fearlessly acting on unpopular convictions instead of forgetting them in time of stress. The crumbling of American radicalism under pressure in 1917 has only

been equalled by that of the majority of German socialist leaders in August, 1914.

Looking at my case from the point of view of the administration and of this court, I readily admit the necessity of exemplary punishment. I regret that I have been forced to make myself a nuisance and I grant that this war could not be carried on if objections like mine were recognized by those conducting the war. My respect for the administration has been greatly increased by the courteous and forbearing treatment accorded me since having been drafted, but my view of international politics and diplomacy, acquired during my three years of graduate study in England, has not altered since June, 1917, when I formally declared that I could not accept service if drafted. Although officers have on three occasions offered me noncombatant service if I would put on the uniform, I have regretfully refused each time on the ground that "bomb-proof" service on my part would give the lie to my sincerity (which was freely granted by Judge Julian Mack when he and his colleagues examined me at Camp Gordon). If I am to render any war services, I shall not ask for special privileges.

I wish to conclude this long statement by reiterating that I am not a pacifist or pro-German, not a religious or private objector, but regard myself as a patriotic political objector, acting largely from public and social grounds.

I regret that, while my present view of this war continues, I cannot freely render any service in aid of the war. I shall not complain about the punishment that this court may see fit to mete out to me.

## II [Maurice Hess]

I do not believe that I am seeking martyrdom. As a young man, life and its hopes and freedom and opportunities for

service are sweet to me. I want to go out into the world and make use of what little talent I may have acquired by long and laborious study.

But I know that I dare not purchase these things at the price of eternal condemnation. I know the teaching of Christ, my Savior. He taught us to resist not evil, to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and do good to them that hate us. Not only did he teach this, but he also practiced it in Gethsemane, before Pilate, and on Calvary. We would indeed be hypocrites and base traitors to our profession if we would be unwilling to bear the taunts and jeers of a sinful world, and its imprisonment, and torture or death, rather than to participate in war and military service. We know that obedience to Christ will gain for us the glorious prize of eternal life. We cannot yield, we cannot compromise, we must suffer.

Two centuries ago our people were driven out of Germany by religious persecution, and they accepted the invitation of William Penn to come to his colony where they might enjoy the blessing of religious liberty which he promised them. This religious liberty was later confirmed by the Constitution of Pennsylvania, and the Constitution of the United States.

If the authorities now see fit to change those fundamental documents and take away our privilege of living in accordance with the teaching of the scriptures of God, then we have no course but to endure persecution as true soldiers of Christ.

If I have committed anything worthy of bonds or death, I do not refuse to suffer or to die.

I pray God for strength to remain faithful.

## III [Roger N. Baldwin]

The compelling motive for refusing to comply with the draft act is my uncompromising opposition to the principle of conscription of life by the state for any purpose whatever, in

time of war or peace. I not only refuse to obey the present conscription law, but I would in future refuse to obey any similar statute which attempts to direct my choice of service and ideals. I regard the principle of conscription of life as a flat contradiction of all our cherished ideals of individual freedom, democratic liberty, and Christian teaching.

I am the more opposed to the present act, because it is for the purpose of conducting war. I am opposed to this and all other wars. I do not believe in the use of physical force as a method of achieving any end, however good. . . .

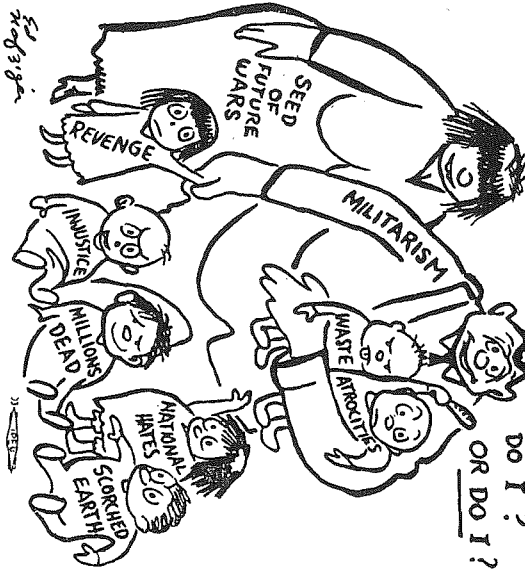
I am not complaining for myself or others. I am merely advising the court that I understand full well the penalty of my heresy, and am prepared to pay it. The conflict with conscription is irreconcilable. Even the liberalism of the President and Secretary of War in dealing with objectors leads those of us who are "absolutists" to a punishment longer and severer than that of desperate criminals.

But I believe most of us are prepared even to die for our faith, just as our brothers in France are dying for theirs. To them we are comrades in spirit—we understand one another's motives, though our methods are wide apart. We both share deeply the common experience of living up to the truth as we see it, whatever the price.

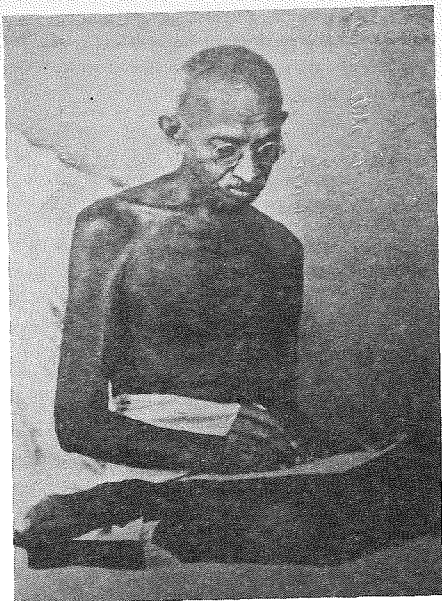
Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself just one protest in a great revolt surging up from among the people—the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the few—profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political state itself, against exploitation, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. . . .

Having arrived at the state of mind in which those views mean the dearest things in life to me, I cannot consistently, with self-respect, do other than I have, namely, to deliberately violate an act which seems to me to be a denial of everything which ideally and in practice I hold sacred.

I AIN'T SUCH A BAD GUY AT HEART — I UNITES A NATION, DON'T I? STIMULATE PROGRESS IN TRANSPORTATION, PRODUCTION, INVENTION — ENCOURAGE PATRIOTISM, COOPERATION — CREATE MARKETS AND RELIEVE UNEMPLOYMENT — DON'T I? I GOT MY WIFE AND KIDS TO SUPPORT AND I DON'T ASK TOO MUCH PAY DO I? OR DO I?



aus: THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, Oktober 1942



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948)



*Conscientious Objectors,  
World War II*

Richard Gregg, *Pacifist Program in Time of War, Threatened War or Fascism*

*Two Assumptions and a Definition of Pacifism*

This discussion is based on two related assumptions. The first is that pacifism must be an effort to create by non-violent methods a new and better civilization. Pacifism is not just an attempt to postpone any threatened war, nor merely to create a permanent condition of non-war, leaving the rest of our insti-

tutions and customs just as they are. We must build a new order. All of the ways and institutions of such a new order would be very different from what we are accustomed to. They would be different not merely because that new civilization would be free from war, its accompaniments and results, but because it would necessarily embody much more respect for personality, interest in people, justice, tolerance, freedom, and love than we now have.

Our second assumption is the reason for this enlarged task of pacifism. War is an important and necessary institution of our present civilization. War is not just an ugly excrescence, or superficial illness, or occasional maladjustment, or temporary personal mistake of a few leaders of an otherwise fair and healthy society; war is an inherent, inevitable, essential element of the kind of civilization in which we live. For that statement there is ample authority from statesmen, economists, sociologists, historians and philosophers of the Left, Right and Center. War is of the very tissue of our civilization, and the only way to do away with it is to change, non-violently and deeply, the motives, functions and structures of our civilization. Such change is required in order to meet successfully the vast changes of our environment during the past two hundred years. We must alter many habits and change many routines and expectancies. We cannot eliminate all conflicts, but we can reduce their number and use non-violent methods of settling them before they reach a violent stage. Our present order produces war. We must make a new civilization. This is a task to stir men's imaginations and energies.

If you say that such a task is too difficult, I reply in the terms of the old Sanskrit saying: "Magic powers do not come to a man because he does things that are hard, but because he does things with a pure heart." Miracles can be accomplished by singleness of purpose and utter devotion.

If you say that we pacifists are too few to do the work, and

together with the delicacy of balance of modern economic and social forces, makes it possible in much shorter time to escape war, provided we work at its causes.

So sure am I that the real task of pacifists is to remake the entire civilization that I feel that the very word "pacifist" is so inadequate a description as to be practically a misnomer. The makers of peace will have to deal with far more concrete and detailed matters than an abstraction called peace.

If these assumptions be true, and if war or fascism should come or be imminent in a country which does not have universal compulsory military service in peace time, what ought a pacifist citizen of that country to do? I am not fitted by knowledge or experience to make suggestions to people of other nations, though possibly in this discussion there may be something that could be partly adapted for their use.

#### Program for the Pacifist

##### PLEDGE NOT TO FIGHT OR HELP WAR

Before war comes, absolute pacifists of eighteen years or over, men and women, ought first of all to sign a written pledge not to support or take part in any war, and file that pledge with some appropriate organization.

Such a pledge is more than a public gesture of refusal to do something on moral grounds. It is an affirmation that the human will is free, that a man can resist the slavery and dictatorship inherent in war. It is a step toward the renunciation of all domination, a step in support of a deeper freedom and democracy. Furthermore, such a written statement objectifies purpose, gets it outside. One can look at it and realize more fully and clearly its implications, relationships, and probable effects. Filing the pledge with a pacifist organization commits the signer to new relationships and new efforts, brings into play his sense of consistency, of honor, and of pride, starts new con-

we must not be presumptuous and foolish, the answer is that every great human movement was begun by a very small group of people, and often when the clouds were dark. The decisive work of the government of all nations, in both the political and economic realms, is done by a few people. If society is in any sense an organism, the great changes produced in the bodies of animals by exceedingly small quantities of hormones may illustrate this point. In the realm of physics also we know that an integrated and delicately balanced system of forces, some of which may be very powerful, can be greatly altered by applying quite small forces at proper times and places.

Maybe you will say that such a task as remaking an entire civilization is too long, that we haven't time, that we must first stop the threatening war, and that only after that has been accomplished should we take up the larger problem. If you say that, you are simply denying one of our assumptions—that war is an integral element of our civilization. We cannot abolish an essential feature of a system, unless we alter the nature of the system. Concentrating all our efforts on postponing war would not leave energy for the deeper changes which are required if the causes are to be eliminated. The so-called normal forces in our present society are not strong enough to stabilize the situation during a breathing spell. Deep changes must begin now, before war comes to us, in order to get our better civilization later, whether war comes or not. My opinion is that if we direct all our energies toward making the deeper changes, we would probably escape war, but if we try to suppress or postpone the symptom, war, the pent-up forces will soon break out still more destructively. International diplomatic agreements do not alter civilizations. They are too superficial and fragile to meet the end.

Even with the acceleration of modern social processes it would probably, for psychological reasons, take at least three generations to remake a civilization. Yet that very acceleration,

sistent friendships and gains strength from them. Modern war is so highly mechanized that more energy is needed for making and repairing machines than for fighting. Industrial conscription will be needed almost more than military conscription; women can do many industrial and farm jobs; so women as well as men will probably be conscripted. For all these reasons, women as well as men should sign such pledges.

Those who oppose such pledging of individuals perhaps forget that the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and many other countries took such a public pledge in the Briand-Kellogg Pact of Paris. That Pact states that "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

Each government that signed that Pact asked by implication all of its citizens to uphold it in so doing; that is, asked each citizen also to refuse to go to war. This is especially true in the United States where treaties of the Federal Government with other nations are considered a part of the law of the nation. And since each government that signed that Pact maintains courts to uphold and enforce the sanctity of contracts and of solemn public oaths, no government can with moral consistency demand that any one of its pacifist citizens who has given a public pledge renouncing war, should break that pledge. If you say that such a pledge is contrary to public policy and therefore invalid, I would say that by the Pact of Paris the governments explicitly stated what their public policy would be in this matter.

It is true that the Pact of Paris does not end the right of the



signatory governments to self-defense, nor the right of certain European governments to go to war to fulfill certain prior treaties such as the pact of Locarno; nor does it prevent the British government from fighting in certain undefined areas of "interest." These exceptions were imposed by various governments as a condition of their signing the Pact, and were accepted by the United States Government. Nevertheless, until the signatory governments expressly repudiate the Pact, it must be regarded as at least a solemn aspiration, intended to prevail in every instance within the range of possible governmental action, and to be heartily supported by citizens in every instance possible to them. The exception of self-defense is no exception to absolute pacifists, for they believe that modern war has demonstrated its inability to defend anything of moral value, and further they believe that non-violent resistance is the most effective mode of self-defense. The other exceptions do not apply to the United States Government or its citizens.

If you cynically say that the Pact of Paris was only a hypocritical fraud which the nations never intended to keep, as proved by the fact that none of them disarmed after signing the Pact, it is also a fact that the governments of the United States and Great Britain both continually protested against the unilateral violation of treaties and said that such actions were one cause of war. That they are one cause is true. If governments have failed in regard to that Pact, there is all the more reason for the individual pacifist to keep his pledge. Private citizens therefore have weighty precedent and civic obligation in renouncing war, and strong political as well as moral sanction for keeping such a pledge.

Another objection is that no one should promise to do certain things without knowing what the circumstances will be at the time when the promise is to be fulfilled. It is argued that such promises would make one live not by faith or spontaneity but by mechanical rule. But everyone who marries—vowing to love, cherish and honor the partner till death do part—makes

a partly blind pledge, as does also everyone who signs a promissory note. They do not know what the circumstances will be in the future. Furthermore, although in some situations complete, uncommitted freedom of moral choice and action from hour to hour and from day to day may be desirable, in the case of war this is not so.

As has often been pointed out, before going to war all governments suppress many pertinent facts and fill the news with so much distorted propaganda that it is impossible for any person, at the time he is conscripted, to know enough of the facts to make a sound decision as to the rights and wrongs of the particular defense or aggression. Also by that time, since he does not live in a vacuum, he will have become influenced by the prevailing war passions. That influence is not conducive to sound judgment, nor at such a moment does he have time enough to weigh the various considerations and think them through carefully.

Those who object to advance pledges against war apparently do so on the basis that certain wars may be justifiable. Wars, they say, have been fought for such noble ends as saving democracy, for religion, for "honor," for national independence, for or against communism, for or against fascism, and so on. They seem quite willing to overlook the fact that in modern wars the alleged reason for fighting is very rarely the real reason, and that it is practically impossible to ascertain the facts at the time when the decision must be made. But even if the alleged reasons were true, I believe that modern weapons and methods of war, monstrosly expensive, destructive, and indiscriminate, have ended the possibility of war's saving or promoting anything of real value. In war democracy vanishes; religion (for those who fight or support the fighting) becomes a vast unreality, inconsistency, and deception; political independence, if outwardly retained, is rendered nugatory by dependence upon financiers and upon militarists; revolution is made much more likely; fascism enters the moment

war is declared; and the terrible impoverishment and breakdown of social bonds at the end of the war makes even successful and true communism or fascism impossible. I wonder whether even self-respect or honor will remain when people survey the wreckage.

Those who do not believe all this will probably admit that the people who would support wars if they considered them morally defensible are in effect inviting the government to frame up the story so that the entry into war "this time" looks wholly justifiable. In such feats governments have had much successful experience.

Sometimes people refuse to sign a pledge against war simply because they are unwilling to face the issue, think the problem through, and make a decision. Their reasons against pledging are rationalizations of their unwillingness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Let me note here one form of statement for signature which has proved to be psychologically effective in persuading those who sign it to face the problem squarely, abandon their previous ambiguity, and come through to a clear, sure position. Though intended for church members, it could be re-phrased for those whose grounds for pacifism are entirely intellectual or social.

"A Statement by members of the Broadway Tabernacle Church of New York City on the relationship of the Christian way of life to the practice of war, to be signed by such members of the Church as desire. This statement is sponsored by the Young Men's Club.

"I have quietly considered what I would do, if my nation should again be drawn into war.

"I am not taking a pledge because I do not know what I would do when the heat of the war mood is upon the country. But in a mood of calm consideration, I do today declare that I cannot reconcile the way of Christ with the practice of war.

"I do therefore set down my name to be kept in the records of this Church, so that it will be for me a reminder, if war should come; and will be a solemn declaration to those who hold to this conviction in time of war, that I believe them to be right; and I do desire with my whole mind and heart that I shall be among those who keep to this belief.

"I set down my name to make concrete my present thought upon the question of war, and declare my purpose to think and talk with others

A pledge not to go to war or support war is not merely a promise the fulfillment of which comes only at some time in the future. Because of the deeper meaning of pacifism, such a pledge is a present choice of a way of life, and action upon it commences as soon as the decision is reached. It is almost impossible to be peaceful in war time unless you have made up your mind in advance.

The written pledge is a necessary step, but only a slight advance. Carrying it out is harder and still more necessary. . . .

*Refuse to Cooperate with War Preparations  
or Governmental "Alternative Service"*

Numerous European governments are now introducing various schemes for the protection of citizens against bombing attacks by enemy airplanes. There is real danger, if war comes, of its beginning without any announcement other than a sudden rain of bombs from the air. Events in Spain, Ethiopia and China

about it that my beliefs in the way of Christ shall become operative in this and in other questions which now confuse our thought and action.

..... Date ..... Signature

..... Remarks

"We expect and would appreciate your personal comments upon this statement, in case you have reservations about it, or desire to enlarge upon the principle."

The young men who are pacifists and members of this church work in pairs. A pair of them call on an older member of the church and say that if there is another war, they will be called to go. They ask the older person to think through with them what their position should be. They present him with a copy of the above statement and ask how he feels about it and whether he would be willing to sign it. Some of the older people wriggle, but they find it very hard to dodge the issue and to avoid the necessity of doing much thinking they never did before. A remarkably large proportion of this church are now conceived absolute pacifists.

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have shown how extensively bombing from the air would be used, and its terrible results.

The protective schemes take various forms:—"blackouts" at night, especially in cities, underground shelters, gas masks for as many as possible, plans for moving children and old people out of cities, and the enlistment of a few persons in every small urban area to inform people of that area how to protect themselves against bomb attacks—whether gas, incendiary, or high explosive—also to keep up morale and prevent panic. Registration of all citizens is planned for the stated purpose of measuring and supplying them with gas masks.

In Great Britain it is widely believed that these measures are futile and that the reasons alleged for them are false. A committee of scientists has pointed out that the gas masks are utterly ineffective against vesicants like mustard gas; that no adequate protection is afforded for the mass of the population against high explosives; that high explosives would spoil any attempts to protect buildings against poison gas. A recent book by John Langdon-Davies explains a new method of silent approach that was used in bombing Barcelona in March, 1938. There the attacking planes rose to an altitude of over 20,000 feet and, with their engines stopped, glided for over fifty miles to their destination, thus evading detection by the sensitive sound detectors. They dropped high explosive bombs on the city and got away before the warning sirens could be sounded. Photographs illustrate the destruction.

On the basis of such evidence it is believed by many that the whole government effort in this matter is meant to frighten the citizenry enough beforehand so that they will be pliable and accept all sorts of repressive measures proposed under the guise of safety. It is claimed that the real purpose of the registration is to have a list which can be used for militaristic, industrial, and civic control by the government the instant war breaks out, or for a fascist coup. Government spokesmen have assured the public that these arrangements are solely for safety,

raids need useful activity to relieve the anxiety and suspense between raids. That sort of strain can best be relieved by manual or physical work for one another in companionship. Governmental organization of such work is, in time of war, so full of compulsion and threats that it will not promote the kind of community that pacifists desire. Therefore they will want to do it independently, relying on human kindness rather than coercion.

If the government offers to the conscientious objector the chance to do ambulance work, nursing, or hospital work, may he or she accept it as legitimate alternative, non-combatant service? I believe not. Granted the compassionate motive for it, yet the compassion is being used by the government to make the wounded fit for further fighting, if possible, or at least to keep them and their families and friends loyal. Hospitals and nursing help to prolong the war. The wounded will be cared for even though the pacifists refuse such work. There will be no dearth of war-minded nurses, ambulance men, surgeons, physicians and hospital orderlies. If there were a real danger of such a shortage, it would mean that pacifism would be so widespread that there would be no danger of war.

I am assuming that the pacifist in refusing such service is not doing so out of cowardice. If he is afraid, he should either do some equally dangerous service independent of government and try to develop his courage or else join the army and fight.

If he has not chosen his own form of service to the community before war begins, and finds it necessary suddenly to choose an alternative service, let him insist on a job not subject to governmental control and orders, and serving civilians. Inasmuch as most civilians will be doing war work directly or indirectly, and war is now totalitarian, it may prove almost impossible to do any form of work which will not be warped and used by the government for war ends. But service to civilians can be done before war and after war, and therefore cannot be so completely bent to war uses as service to the

but history shows that in time of war governments often do not abide by their promises and assurances. Those who give the assurances as to how laws are intended to be used and limited are usually in the legislature; but those who carry them out are in another branch of the government, with different traditions and often far away. The wording of laws is sometimes unduly broad and even ambiguous. The government is a huge, unwieldy organization, poorly coordinated. Those at the top who plan broad policies are often far-sighted, sensitive, and statesmanlike; but those who execute the laws in detail are sometimes short-sighted, petty, domineering, and callous, and have very different ideas as to the purposes and limitations of a law from those who framed it. In war time the pressure for results is tremendous, and mass excitement is intense. Judicial operations are always slow and expensive, and at such a time largely in abeyance. The military are in the saddle, and they are not noted for patience, democratic procedure, or political sagacity.

For these reasons I would advocate opposition to and refusal to join such governmental schemes for alleged safety in air raids. It will not do for pacifists to join in the hysterical herd fear. They can organize and operate first aid corps without being under government orders. Outside of government organization, they can feed, comfort, guide, reassure, and otherwise help terror-stricken people. They can carry out transport of food and supplies and otherwise keep the community life functioning independently of, or at least in effective supplement to, the government. They can do certain things to maintain community morale and prevent panic, such as organizing and working on sanitation squads, fire brigades, poison gas decontamination squads, squads for removal of wreckage, feeding such field squads, the care of children. And of course preparation of surgical bandages and dressings. Cheerful courage and fellowship can be expressed in singing together at work. From experience in Spain it seems that people subject to air

fighting forces. Let him try to serve the community or society rather than the national state, for it is to the former that we owe most of our social and cultural heritage. Always there is work at housing, road making, farming, forestry, building flood control dams, civilian hospital work, subsistence gardens, drainage of swampy ground, racial reconciliation, promotion of friendship between people of different religions, helping the unemployed and very poor of every race or religious persuasion within reach, helping civil prisoners or orphans, helping refugees, interned enemy aliens and prisoners of war, educational and recreational work, and care of children, provided such jobs are wholly under civilian direction. If the government will not permit the pacifist to work free from its orders, then he is a candidate for jail.

Work with the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Boy or Girl Scouts, Salvation Army, or any similar organization, if it is under military command, would be taboo for the pacifist. Nor would chaplaincy in the army or navy be right. But relief work under strictly civilian or pacifist church direction in or outside the war zone, or in neutral zones, may be regarded as consistent.

## PAY TAXES

Should a pacifist refuse to pay taxes to the State at war? Of course refusal would not release him from paying indirectly a share of the expenses of war, at least as long as he stays out of jail. A fraction of the cost of everything that he uses or consumes goes toward taxes paid by the manufacturers and distributors of those goods, and is used in part for war purposes. The pacifist may refuse to pay a fine for non-payment of taxes, but he cannot prevent the government from seizing his property and using it or the cash proceeds from it for war.

The fact is that all money and property rights are created and maintained by the State. So far as the pacifist uses money and property he will have to "render unto Caesar the things

that are Caesar's." As he has been using money and property, and helping others to pay taxes up till now, knowing that the government believes in war and has been preparing for war, he can hardly absolve himself from this measure of responsibility for war. The only way he can cease completely from helping economically to support war is by going to jail and staying there until his nation really abandons war as a method.

Indeed, where all of society is engaged in a system of which war is an integral part, it is impossible for any individual wholly to free himself from complicity, unless he cuts himself off entirely from society. Short of that, the question is—at what point will he make the wisest compromise? If he is trying only to save his own soul, there is some question as to the value of his martyrdom. If he sincerely believes that by going to jail for refusal to pay taxes or by paying a fine he is effectively arousing men's minds against the evil, he may be right. It is ironical to note, however, that through a fine the State secures about twice as much money from him as if he had paid his taxes.

Since modern war is so largely caused by the workings of our economic system, a thoroughgoing refusal to support war would have required pacifists to stop using that system long before they were fined or went to jail. Their economic action and their testimony to truth must go to a deeper level. Romantic, futile gestures will not do, no matter how conscientious. Pacifists should choose a different line. They should realize that in our pecuniary civilization a refusal to pay taxes is, like a general strike, an open and final challenge to the very existence of the State. This is not merely because the government could not function without money. It is a matter of administrative existence. If sincere pacifists were allowed to withhold payment of their taxes because the government spends money on preparing for war, sincere Christian Scientists must be given a similar privilege because the government supports hospitals and physicians. Vegetarians could refuse tax payments because

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the obstacles, the changes, or the three-generation period required for non-violent adaptations to deep cultural alterations. Hence, at the risk of seeming fussy and prolix, I want to set forth in detail, as I see them, those required stages. Pacifists should continue to pay taxes until they (1) have worked out a plan of a better kind of State, (2) have worked out and tested a non-violent method of winning power and making changes, (3) have got into actual operation a number of the transitional organizations necessary, (4) have acquired skill and self-confidence in this non-violent method, (5) have in minor ways demonstrated to the public their executive capacity and responsibility, (6) in minor struggles have demonstrated to the public the effectiveness of the method and its actual non-violence, (7) have achieved an increase of social and political unity between formerly inharmonious groups in their nation, (8) have got into practical working some supplemental economic devices for helping to carry the most depressed part of the population during the stress of change and afterward. Not till all this has been done will the pacifists be prepared for a successful struggle with the State. Not till then can they hope that society will follow and trust them with the guidance of supreme political power. To refuse to pay taxes without thorough preparation of this sort would be poor strategy and be bound to fail. Obviously, here in the Occident, we pacifists have not yet made any such preparation. It will take a number of years, with attempts and failures as a part of learning, before we can win self-confidence and public trust.

In the meantime, to square his conscience and clarify his position, the pacifist may, of course, every time he pays his taxes, prior to war, protest to the government against the use of his tax money for war purposes.

The question naturally rises here, why should the pacifist refuse service in the army if he does not refuse to pay taxes? The answer is perhaps twofold. Wars are only occasional; the uses of the economic system are constant. It is feasible to re-

the government inspects meat and subsidizes cattle farming. Wealthy and extreme conservatives could claim exemption because the government spends so much money on relief for unemployment. The same holds true of a refusal to pay a part of one's taxes proportional to what the government spends on war out of its total budget. A democratic government could not carry on its affairs if any individual taxpayer or minority group of taxpayers could dictate how tax funds should be allocated. I am not overlooking the fact that actually in most governments a minority of the taxpayers do secretly control much of government policy and administration, especially its foreign policy and military establishment. But that merely means that those governments are not truly democratic. A democratic government exists to administer certain activities for the whole body of citizens, and citizens may not interfere with its administration without penalty, except by due process through the legislative or executive branches. I am not saying that any of the ideals of any minorities are wrong. But to put them into effect in a democratic government they must get open control of the government by becoming a majority.

A refusal to pay taxes is a challenge to the existence of the government; against that challenge the State will do battle with all its resources. Pacifists who are consistent and practical, who agree with the initial assumptions of this pamphlet, should not refuse to pay taxes, at least until they have prepared themselves sufficiently to assure themselves a reasonable chance of success in such a struggle. Since our initial assumption is that the character of civilization itself must be altered, the preparation must be more than just a political struggle to win a majority of votes. That may be one of the steps, but the effort must go much deeper.

Pacifists should therefore continue to pay taxes until they have accomplished a considerable number of advances. Because desire for reform is apt to be intense, warm, and impatient, it usually does not estimate clearly and soundly either

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fuse to take part in war, and yet be an active and useful citizen for most of one's life; but to refuse to use this economic system would almost completely cut a person off from modern society, or at least make his social contacts so tenuous and his existence so precarious as greatly to cut down his usefulness. Secondly, just as a victim of a swindle is not responsible for the use to which the swindler puts the stolen property or money, so the pacifist is morally not directly responsible for the use to which the State applies the tax money which it exacts from him by force of law. I do not mean that the State is a swindler, but the helplessness of the taxpayer is like that of the swindler's victim. For his own positive acts, however, for joining the army, and as a soldier killing and wounding enemies, the individual is morally responsible. I have answered elsewhere the argument that it is cowardly to help pay another person to do what one is unwilling to do oneself. . . .

#### AID THE STRUGGLE OF LABOR

What ought the pacifist to do in relation to the class struggle? I refer not only to the occasional violence that breaks out in strikes and lockouts, but also to the silent, covert violence of economic pressure and exploitation.

So far as possible the pacifist will try, by non-violent means, to alter our present social and economic system, and replace it by something better, as I have already indicated. Since that is slow work, there is much hardship and injustice along the way for him to ameliorate, just as a believer in violence might do ambulance work in war. As best he can, the pacifist will try to persuade labor unions to see that non-violent resistance is realistic and is, even under provocation and violence by employers, a much more effective method of struggle than violence. He should try to prevent open violence in any local industrial quarrel. Governor Murphy's work in the Detroit automobile strike of 1937 was a successful instance of this sort.



Pacifists will try to learn the truth about general industrial conditions in their locality and about any particular strike that may arise there, and will try to spread the truth abroad. And they will, when possible, promote specific proposals for conciliation or arbitration of conflicts.

If there should be continued violence in some strike, ought pacifists to act as stretcher bearers for the wounded—either strikers, police or others? If both sides are violent as a matter of policy, I would say no, as I would advise against pacifists being ambulance workers in international war. It merely helps prolong the violence. But if the labor union were really committed to non-violence, and yet some members break down under severe provocation, then I think pacifists may help take care of the wounded. During strikes pacifists can help the families of strikers in various ways.

Pacifists who are not union members may wonder in some strike whether they ought to help picket. Each case must depend on its own merits. If outsiders undertake a responsibility of that sort, it may be necessary to stay by it long after the strike is over. If a union is not strong enough to win a strike and enforce the terms of settlement, the withdrawal of outside help at once when the strike is over may result in such severe victimization of the strikers by the employer that the last state of the workers may be worse than the first. It does not do for outsiders to wade into an industrial conflict just out of emotional sympathy. Definite responsibility is involved and real understanding required.

#### REFUSE TO DEMONSTRATE WITH COMMUNISTS OR FASCISTS

In an industrial struggle should pacifists demonstrate together with Communists? Most Communists, being intelligent people, do not want to use violence, but they believe, quite rightly, that it is pretty sure to be used by the employer group and by the State in any big struggle, and Communists are willing in

voluntary suffering. They are not trying at present to do away with jails.

Legal punishment is based, at least in theory, not on a desire for cruel revenge, but implies that the prisoner has a personality capable of change and growth, and therefore worthy of respect. A political prisoner has not, like the ordinary criminal, disobeyed the law for selfish reasons, but for the sake of ethical principles. Therefore he deserves more respect than an ordinary criminal. Certainly the pacifist has an unusual degree of respect for personality. But public hysteria in wartime is often cruel, and some prison superintendents and guards fail to act up to the highest standards of their occupation.

Pacifists in jail should work hard at the tasks set them, provided those tasks are regular prison work and not for military use. They should obey prison rules and regular discipline; should not object to inconveniences or mere hardships; should wear without objection prison clothing provided it is not military uniform; should not ask for or accept special privileges. They should be courteous and conform to all self-respecting, non-military gestures, modes of address or other signs of respect toward prison officials. They should be open and above-board, and not deceitful. They should not ask for any unnecessary conveniences.

But they are entitled to refuse to obey orders clearly intended to humiliate them or to insult or violate their beliefs, taking without protest any lawful punishment for their disobedience. They must use common sense and not be touchy or filled with false pride. If past history is repeated, there will probably be attempts by some prison officials to provide work which would get the conscientious objectors into an inconsistent position, thus undermining their resistance. If this happens, the conscientious objectors will be wise to refuse to do such work. Some of the prisons may be hastily arranged concentration camps without rules or facilities for work. In such case the prisoners can perhaps help the authorities develop kinds of work consistent with their position and good for the

that event to use it in self-defense. Also their general attitude toward employers and financiers as a class and often toward them as individuals is not only one of distrust but ranges through contempt, anger, fear, hatred, and desire for revenge. Witness the adjectives of Communist leaders and the cartoons of Communist artists. Under severe stress such feelings inevitably find expression in physical violence. So if the police attack a crowd of demonstrators containing both pacifists and Communists, the latter are almost sure to fight back, and in the *melée* it is not easy to distinguish between pacifists and Communists. So the public will condemn the pacifists as severely as the Communists—indeed more so since their pacifism will seem to be mere hypocrisy. For these reasons I doubt whether, in justice to their beliefs and the desire to win converts, pacifists can afford to take part in public demonstrations with Communists. Since Fascists are committed to violence from the beginning, the same refusal applies to them. This is no "holier than thou" attitude, but a deep-seated conviction of the importance of method. And it involves a further conviction that no "popular front", no civil liberties, and no thorough democracy can nowadays be successful or enduring except on the basis of non-violence. Because modern violence is totalitarian, to it as a near-absolute one must oppose another near-absolute, pacifism without compromise.

#### BEHAVE WISELY IF IMPRISONED

On one further matter pacifists will want to be prepared. I refer to their conduct in prison, if they go there. What I suggest here is based chiefly on the advice of Gandhi to his followers.

Pacifists in jail are political prisoners, not ordinary criminals. They have courted imprisonment to prove the strength of their convictions, to testify to the truth as they see it, to try to win public opinion, and to try to persuade the government by their

morale of all concerned, jailers as well as prisoners. Pacifist prisoners may protest against cruel treatment, against filth and insanitation of all kinds, or spoiled food. Any protests should be addressed at proper times to the duly constituted authorities. If, after adequate time has been allowed for consideration by the authorities, no answer or an utterly unsatisfactory answer is returned, the prisoners may refuse to work, taking as cheerfully as possible the legal penalties for such refusal. They should not resort to hunger strike unless the matter is of the gravest importance. It is usually countered by forcible feeding. Hunger strike is a two-edged weapon very dangerous to use—I mean morally dangerous—except on very rare occasions and by very clear-thinking, experienced persons who have a long record of orderly, responsible, well-balanced, and markedly unselfish conduct.

Perhaps the three hardest things about prison life are loneliness, weakening of initiative, and a temptation to resentment. To offset the first the prisoner will be wise to read as much as the prison permits, and when that is not possible, to develop as many ways of enriching and cultivating his inner life as possible. In this way he will also develop a field for initiative. If sooner or later he can get permission to have paper, pen and ink, he will find that recording his thoughts and then pondering on them will help him to solve many problems and develop a well-integrated personal philosophy that will give him poise and serenity. Or he may write stories, essays or poetry. The prisoner will find it a great help to set aside a regular time each day for silent meditation, even though it be very brief. If he is religious, he will use prayer as well as meditation, but meditation is advisable in all cases. It is not an escape from reality, but a way of making contact with underlying reality, principles and truths. It will enrich his inner world, do away with inner conflicts, and provide a field for initiative, spontaneity and freedom. Thus he may keep himself from being stunted and crippled by his punishment.

If prison officials are cruel, he can try to remember that it

is probably due to frustrations, indignities, humiliations, or cruelties that they themselves suffered, perhaps when they were young, or perhaps to war hysteria. So it is a symptom of the evils of our civilization, and not all their personal fault.

In some situations it will be very difficult to decide what is the wisest way to act in prison. Many situations cannot be foreseen. The foregoing considerations will perhaps serve as a general guide. It will be helpful if pacifists, in advance of going to prison, can read accounts of the experiences of former conscientious objectors. . . .

#### *Pacifist Program Under Fascism*

Besides planning what he should do in case of war, the pacifist must consider what would be his duty in case of increasing domestic repression of liberties, of governmental violence turned not ostensibly against another nation, but against the majority of its own people, of what we call fascism or totalitarian dictatorship directed by any group. There are reasons for thinking that fascism in this and most countries is likely to come whether the present European and Far Eastern wars spread further or not.

External unification and economic centralization of the world are being brought about by swift modern communication and transport and the spread of literacy and the printing press. Along with these there is a decline of the present world economic system. These are taking place before self-restraint and self-control and moral foresight have developed sufficiently to meet the increased temptations and increased responsibilities. It is quite possible that these facts are creating new economic and political centralization and totalitarian control in all countries. Strong unexpected pressures demand swift decisions. The tempo of all economic and social processes has greatly speeded up. The old economic forces are probably not mobile enough to adapt themselves quickly to the rapid changes. Under the im-

Such developments, especially their violence, will not prove effective, I think, to solve man's economic, political or social problems. After two or three generations the estimated rapid decrease in population of all industrialized countries may lighten the pressure toward centralization and dictatorships. Nevertheless, at present these tendencies increase, so what shall a pacifist wisely do about them?

Because fascism involves so much conflict and violence, it seems to me that if fascism comes, the pacifist's program should be practically the same as what I have already described in case of war. It should include great simplicity of living, training in small groups, perhaps no larger than three, refraining from adverse criticism of the government, silent non-violent work toward a better civilization (especially helping the unemployed and lowest paid workers of industry and agriculture toward self-help), taking a pledge against war and violence of any sort, refusal to join the military forces, maintaining contact with one another, working out plans for mutual aid, paying taxes, endeavoring to avoid indignation, resentment and bitterness, patient endurance of whatever suffering may come, promoting truth. As a fascist government would attempt to monopolize all public services, the pacifist would have to use ingenuity to discover interstices and be useful in them. The pledge not to go to war should include a pledge not to use violence in self-defense against fascist oppression. Such a program will require understanding of the power of non-violence. It will be furthered by a special interpretation of history from this point of view. Deep religious conviction will be needed in order to refrain entirely from bitterness in the face of prolonged violent repression and to keep up what the military men call morale. Assistance of the unemployed and poorest groups is expedient as well as just, because the more economic security they can have from sources other than the government, the less support they will give to a dictator's regime. Christians will recall that Jesus lived in a period and coun-

try of inflation, unemployment, high tariffs, and more or less autarchy for military reasons, the working and the middle classes in all countries have suffered so severely that the demand for economic security is almost a mania. Many people are willing to yield up certain civil and political liberties in return for promises of security. Millions of unemployed and discouraged young people are naturally eager for a change which will provide activity and reasonable promise of the means of livelihood. Certain systems of political and economic ideas rationalize this situation.

It is also possible that the perfection of the airplane will, after the present war has spent its momentum, practically end large-scale warfare between industrialized European nations. Bombing from the air not only endangers statesmen, but makes probable the destruction of most of the industrial equipment of a nation in a big war. This would not only end the material supply for the fighting forces, but would make it impossible to profit by a victory because the victorious nation would not be able to manufacture for the newly won market. Modern war would also increase the likelihood of violent revolution. Hence the future leaders of Europe's industrialized nations will be likely to avoid war at whatever cost. If this proves true, the stresses and strains of modern society can be kept from smashing up most of our present institutions probably only by universal fascism and some civil wars after the manner of Spain. Because of the isolation afforded by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans the United States will, for a time, not be vitally affected by the danger from air attack. But the economic decline and other rapid changes operate here, and these may be sufficient to put fascism into control.

Even though the leaders of fascist movements begin as noble idealists, the power which they must assume in order to make a centralized economy work tends inevitably to grow. And presently the use and enjoyment of such immense power creates a permanent bureaucracy and poisons its members.

try of brutal repression and restriction of liberty. In one sense the Sermon on the Mount was, and still is, advice for living in a dictatorship.

It should be remembered that we are all partly responsible for our corporate failures to live up to our ideals of democracy, justice, equality, and freedom. We are all involved in economic and political mistakes. The changes in our economy are so rapid as to come close to breakdown. The need for economic security demands swift action to prevent starvation and suffering on a scale too great to be endured. It may be that all of us, pacifists included, may have to yield up temporarily large amounts of liberty of action and speech in order that the largest possible numbers of people may live. In so doing we would be paying part of the price for our own and our predecessors' failures and mistakes. Such yielding would not be mere cringing to an arbitrary and wholly personal tyrant. Yet personal and bureaucratic tyranny creeps in soon. To resist that tyranny non-violently and to suffer punishment voluntarily for our resistance will be another part of the price we must pay for past errors. And the toil of building non-violent and better forms and modes of human association will be yet another part of the price we must pay. But we can have joy and deep satisfaction in such work.

Some may say that the foregoing proposals are an abandonment of the method which Gandhi advocates and has used so successfully against the imperial dictatorship he opposes. But if they will study his writings and the record of his activities more carefully, they will find that most of his time and energy have been spent in constructive organization and propaganda for reforms among his own people. The time he has devoted to direct, open struggle against the Government in campaigns of non-coöperation or civil disobedience has been relatively small. Even during the times of open struggle, his criticisms of the Government have been impersonal. He has not imputed evil motives to any individuals in the Government, but has always spoken of them as friends or as people he would like to be friendly with. He has clearly indicated that silence combined with constructive work is often the wisest policy.



aus: THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, Mai 1942

## 2. Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Zweiten Weltkrieg

Der Ächtung des Angriffskrieges im Pariser Friedenspakt 1929, der sich 62 Nationen anschlossen, inklusive der Vereinigten Staaten und jeder größeren Kriegsmacht des nächsten Weltkrieges, korrespondierte auf der Ebene der von Anti-Kriegs-Empfindungen geschwängerten Stimmung der Völker der britische "Eid von Oxford" (8), "unter keinen Umständen für ... König und Vaterland zu kämpfen" - der vor allem die Unterstützung von tausenden Studenten und jungen College-Absolventen erfuhr. Aber das Gelübde bedeutete nichts weiter als eine Unterschrift auf einer markierten Linie. Es ignorierte die ernstesten Spannungen einer weltweiten Depression, eines eskalierenden Klassenkampfes und den Aufstieg totalitärer Herrschaftsformen in Europa und innerhalb ehemaliger Demokratien. Doch waren es immerhin 60.000 College-Studenten am 12. April 1935, die in den USA einen landesweiten Streik gegen den Krieg durchführten und im darauffolgenden November 20.000 Studenten in New York, die auf den Straßen demonstrierten. Richard Gregg (9), ein amerikanischer Schüler Gandhis, veröffentlichte 1934 ein Buch mit dem Titel "Die Macht der Gewaltlosigkeit" (The Power of Nonviolence), das gewaltfreie Formen der Verteidigung gegen einen äußeren Aggressor gegenüber einer bewaffneten Macht bei einer Invasionsdrohung befürwortete und somit in der beginnenden Rezeption der Aktionen und Schriften Gandhis in den USA dessen Lehren auf den Bereich internationaler Konflikte hin ausdehnte. Neben der Herausforderung einer radikal gewaltfreien Alternative zum Krieg, die sich in Gandhis indischen Satyagraha-Kampagnen manifestiert hatte, waren amerikanische Pazifisten unter den ersten, die dem aufkommenden europäischen Faschismus mit Protestdemonstrationen schon frühzeitig begegneten und damit der Gandhis Prinzipien genau entgegengesetzten Herausforderung der Zeit zu trotzen begannen. Die ersten Proteste gegen die Behandlung deutscher Juden und anderer Minderheiten auf internationaler Ebene fand 1933 unter der Leitung von Rabbi Steven S. Wise und des Geistlichen John Haynes Holmes (10) statt.

Als Präsident Franklin Delano Roosevelt sich weigerte, die Einwanderungsbeschränkungen für flüchtige deutsche Juden zu senken, damit diese der Verfolgung mit tödlichem Ausgang entgehen könnten, protestierten Pazifisten, mit Worten und Taten, hartnäckig gegen die Regierungsadministration. Das Schicksal von Millionen jüdischer Opfer blieb jedoch trotz aller Bemühungen besiegelt...

Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg (1936-1938) zerriß die Pazifisten in zwei Lager. Der Sozialistenführer Norman Thomas (11) erklärte, daß bis hinein in den Extremfall gewaltfreie, mit Demokratie vereinbare Methoden von den Kämpfern angewandt würden. Aber man würde dem Faschismus von seiten der republikanischen Helfer aus vielen Nationen nirgendwo ohne Kampf weichen. Eine unabhängige antifaschistische und antimilitaristische Alternative zur Roosevelt'schen "Appeasement"-Politik scheiterte schon während der Zeit des Spanischen Bürgerkrieges, was sich nach Kriegsbeginn auf fatale Weise wiederholte. So wurde der Kriegseintritt der USA von einigen Gruppierungen nach dem Angriff der deutschen Armee auf das stalinistische Rußland, zuvor hart bekämpft und heftig umstritten, befürwortet und somit eine gemeinsame Front gegen Nazi-Deutschland unterstützt. Auch nicht sowjetfreundliche Kräfte wie Liberale und linksgemäßigte Anhänger der Antikriegsbewegung unterstützten Roosevelts Politik der Kriegsvorbereitungen, kollektiven Sicherheit und schließlich den Kriegseintritt, während lediglich eine harte Kerngruppe von Pazifisten, in Isolation, bei ihrer prinzipiellen Kriegsgegnerschaft verharrte.

John Haynes Holmes (1879-1964), einer der ungewöhnlichsten und mutigsten Sprecher der Pazifisten schon seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg und praktischer Förderer des ökumenischen Gedankens in seiner "Community Church", behauptete seine Position folgendermaßen:

"See the multitudes of men and women, thousands of them, boys and girls in the colleges, who were against all war in 1930 and 1931 and 1932-37, and then began to hem and haw in 1938 and 1939 ; and today at last are full fledged supporters of the present war ! Yesterday they were rapturously taking the Oxford Oath ; today they are as rapturously taking the oath to King and Country. What has happened ? The same thing that happened in the last war. Propaganda has worked its miracle of changing an imperialist war into a holy crusade for no other reason than it is being fought now and therefore can be made to seem one more crisis in the course of civilization. To such propaganda the genuine pacifist is immune. He had thought his problem through... He knows that war solves no problems ; that war destroys victors along with vanquished ; that war is murder and therefore wrong." (12)

Als die japanische Luftwaffe Pearl Harbor am 7. Dezember 1941 attackierte, stimmte allein Jeanette Rankin (13) im Kongreß gegen die Kriegserklärung ...

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Von allen Bürgern der USA waren allein die Pazifisten gegen das Kriegsfieber immunisiert und damit gegen den anschwellenden Irrglauben gefeit, daß die Sicherheit der Nation auf militärischer Macht basiere. Die Isolation der pazifistischen Bewegung in Gefängnissen und "Civilian Public Service"(CPS)- Arbeitslagern führte zu einem Gefühl abgetrennter Gemeinschaft. Pazifisten hatten ihre eigenen Hilfsorganisationen und ihre eigenen Veröffentlichungen. Der "Conscientious Objector", ein von Jay Nelson Tuck herausgegebenes monatliches Blatt, berichtete gründlich über alle Anliegen der Bewegung, während Julius Eichels "The Absolutist" den Streit um die Frage des Ausmaßes von Nicht-Zusammenarbeit voranbrachte. Eichel kämpfte um die Rechte der Kriegsdienstverweigerer innerhalb von Gefängnissen. Er organisierte ebenfalls Familien und Freunde von inhaftierten Kriegsdienstverweigerern, die ihre Angehörigen und Freunde ermutigten und gleichzeitig ein besseres Verständnis förderten von den Gründen, warum ihre Söhne, Ehemänner oder Freunde ihre Zeit absaßen aus Prinzip.



Eichel selbst war im Ersten Weltkrieg als "CO" inhaftiert worden. Im September 1942 wurde er zum einzigen Kriegsdienstverweigerer, der in beiden Weltkriegen inhaftiert wurde, als er wegen seiner Weigerung, sich registrieren zu lassen, verhaftet und bei einer Kautions von 25.000 Dollar festgehalten wurde. Obwohl sie technisch gesehen innerhalb der Altersgrenzen für Wehrerfassung lagen, wurden Männer, die während des Ersten Weltkrieges im Wehrpflichtalter waren, im Zweiten nicht eingezogen, weswegen Eichel bald entlassen wurde. Pazifistische Organisationen berieten Kriegsdienstverweigerer, intervenierten und machten Eingaben bei der Regierung in deren Anliegen und machten Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und Hilfsdienste für Proteste gegen Inhaftierungsbedingungen und Ungerechtigkeiten im CPS.

Die "War Resisters League" insbesondere gewann den Ruf, sich für Radikalpazifisten einzusetzen, deren wachsende Militanz bei fortwährender Kriegsdauer sie im Umgang mit Regierungsautoritäten fortlaufend in immer größere Schwierigkeiten brachte.

Die Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Zweiten Weltkrieg hatten gegenüber ihren Vorgängern im Ersten voraus, was jenen noch gefehlt hatte: den Beginn einer theoretischen Beschäftigung mit Gandhis Gewaltfreiheit als einer positiven Kraft für soziale Veränderung ("Satyagraha").

Gandhis Verständnis von Gewaltfreiheit betonte nachdrücklich den Aufbau dezentral organisierter Gemeinschaften, die in Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit und wechselseitiger Hilfe begründet sind, und unterstützte den Gebrauch massiven zivilen Ungehorsams und der Nicht-Zusammenarbeit, wenn der Staat sich in das konstruktive Programm einmischen wollte. Gandhis Arbeit in Indien wurde in den USA von Richard Gregg, Abraham Johannes Muste (14), Jessie Wallace Hughan und anderen popularisiert und ab 1940 begannen Pazifisten mit Vermittlungen seiner Grundgedanken mit amerikanischen Verhältnissen... - anfangs Gemeinschaften, mehrfach Kolonien oder "Ashrams" genannt, und gegen Ende des Krieges durch Erfahrungen in organisierten, direkten Aktionsmethoden.

Zwei dieser Gemeinschaften, durch Gandhis Beispiel ins Leben gerufen, waren der Harlem Ashram (1940-1947) und die Newark (New Jersey)- Kommune, eine kommunale Kolonie. Ein von Indien zurückberufener Missionar, Jay Holmes Smith (USA), war der führende Kopf des Harlem-Ashram wegen seiner offenen Solidarität mit der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung im Sinne Gandhis. Ein halbes Dutzend Pazifisten bildeten den Kern der Gemeinschaft, sie teilten alle Besitztümer und führten ein diszipliniertes, christlich orientiertes Leben, inklusive Bedingungen am Rande des Existenzminimums. Während des Krieges finanzierte der Harlem-Ashram Pilgerfahrten unter dem Motto "Nahrung für Europa", um die US-Regierung zu bedrängen, der hungernden Bevölkerung im von Deutschen besetzten Europa Nahrung und Kleidung zu senden. Die Newark-Kommune (1939-1944), von David Dellinger (15) gegründet und anderen Mitgliedern des 'Union Theological'-Seminars, umfaßte über 60 Menschen. Im Herzen des Newark-Ghetto gelegen, diente die Kommune als Kulturzentrum für Kinder der Nachbarschaft, schwarz und weiß. Sie organisierte zudem ein kooperatives Einkaufsprogramm und erwarb später eine Farm in Chester, New Jersey, die gemeinschaftlich bewirtschaftet wurde. Nach dem Krieg halfen einige der Mitglieder beim Aufbau neuer Kommunen und der Libertären Presse, einer Arbeiterkooperative, wo zahlreiche Zeitungen, so auch das Magazin "Liberation", gedruckt wurden. Gewaltfreie Kampagnen gegen Rassenungerechtigkeit, den britischen Imperialismus in Indien, die US- Herrschaft in Puerto Rico, Rassentrennung in öffentlichen Gebäuden, für verbesserte Lebensbedingungen im Wohnungsbereich und der Nachbarschaftshilfe, für freie Mahlzeiten in der Schule und Gemeinwesenarbeit zugunsten von Partizipationsinteressen der Gemeinde setzten diese Kommunen als konstruktive Arbeit den verstärkten Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen von Polizei und Militär entgegen. Ein von der Newark-Kommune mit ins Leben gerufener Ausschuss für "People's Peace Now" demonstrierte und agitierte öffentlich gegen die Flächenbombardierungen von deutschen Städten, die Beschränkungen für jüdische Einwanderer und die Politik bis zur bedingungslosen Kapitulation, welche den Krieg verlängerte und zur



Katastrophe von Hiroshima und Nagasaki führte... Als eine Brücke von der alten zur Neuen Linken, so wie vorbildlich Dave Dellinger wirkte, waren die Kommunen zusammen mit dem "Catholic Worker" und anderen Zentren kommunaler Wirtschaft, lokaler Organisation und nationaler Aktionen wegbereitend für Bürgerrechtsbewegungen und dem Komplex von Ideen und Aktionen der neuen Friedensbewegungen.

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Das "Selective Service"-Gesetz von 1940 bedeutete eine Verbesserung des Wehrpflichtgesetzes von 1917. Obwohl nur religiöse Verweigerer von der Regierung als ehrlich anerkannt wurden, wurde die Definition von Religion durch darauffolgende Gerichtsbestimmungen beträchtlich erweitert. Jene, die beim Militär nicht als Non-Kombattanten dienen wollten, hatten die Möglichkeit, entweder ihre Zeit in CPS-Lagern abzudienen oder Arbeit im nationalen Interesse zu verrichten. Obwohl die CPS-Lager unter Aufsicht der Regierung standen, wurde den drei traditionellen Friedenskirchen - Quäkern, 'Brethren' und Mennoniten - die Verantwortung im finanziellen und verwaltungsmäßigen Bereich übertragen. Zusätzlich wurde "NSBRO" geschaffen, "National Service Board for Religious Objectors", mit dem "American Friends Service Committee" (AFSC), dem Versöhnungsbund (FOR), der "War Resisters League" (WRL) und anderen pazifistischen Organisationen als Unterstützer, um die Orientierung der Lager zu überblicken.

Es gab während des Zweiten Weltkrieges, geschätzt, etwa 52.000 von der Regierung klassifizierte Kriegsdienstverweigerer. Von dieser Zahl wurden 25.000 Männer '1-A-O' klassifiziert, innerhalb des Militärs als Nicht-Kombattanten ihren Dienst abzuleisten, und 11.996, als 'IV-E' klassifiziert, wurden angewiesen, in einem der 151 CPS-Lager Zivildienst zu leisten. Kriegsdienstverweigerer verrichteten dort ohne jede Bezahlung Knochenarbeit beim Bäume-pflanzen, bei der Bewirtschaftung ländlicher Gebiete und der Erschließung neuer Landstriche für Agrikulturen

sowie bei der Konservierung von Erdreich durch aktive Unterstützung von Farmern. Andere dienten freiwillig in besonderen Projekten, in Anstalten für geistig Behinderte oder als fliegende Feuerwehreinsetzgruppe zur Löschung von Waldbränden in Gebirgsgegenden und auch als menschliche Versuchskaninchen in medizinischen Forschungsversuchen. Zusätzlich verweigerten 6.086 Männer die Zusammenarbeit mit der Erfassungsbehörde bis zu Gefängnisstrafen, 450 mehr als im Krieg zuvor. Drei Viertel der inhaftierten Kriegsdienstverweigerer während des Zweiten Weltkrieges waren Zeugen Jehovas. Die anderen waren eher traditionelle Pazifisten und schlossen jene ein, die sich, erfaßt zu werden, verweigerten, die die Bewerbung für einen anerkannten Kriegsdienstverweigererstatus verweigerten, den Regierungsanordnungen für einen Alternativdienst nicht folge leisteten, und jene, die noch widerspenstigere Positionen vertraten. Während der Krieg andauerte und fortschritt, wurde man sich zunehmend bewußt, daß die legale Anerkennung zumindest in gleichem Maße eine militärische Angelegenheit wie eine Anerkennung von Gewissensgründen bedeutete...

...

"A person cannot create a voluntary society in the permanent framework of an involuntary society. A pacifist society must be voluntary, for involuntary service implies the use of force or violence to personality, by definition. The CPS program is an involuntary society that cannot free itself as long as it continues on its basic assumptions, namely:

- 1) that a nation can tightly conscript human lives even for apparently good use, and
- 2) that it is satisfactory and moral for fellow pacifists to act as agents in enforcing involuntary servitude for the Selective Service Act and the United States government." (16) ...

Am 16. Februar 1942 schreibt Alex Stach diese Stellungnahme von seiner Flucht aus dem CPS-Lager in Merom, Indiana. Evan Thomas, Vorsitzender der WRL, war einer der wenigen pazifistischen Köpfe, der die Abschaffung von CPS-Lagern zu einer Zeit forderte, als die "War Resisters League" als Organisation dieses System noch immer unterstützte. Thomas schrieb:

"Privilege loves to fool itself. Because of its nature, it is unable to face issues squarely or to think in terms of principle. The CPS- camps are privilege bought with pacifist money. They represent a weak and ineffectual attempt to skirt the issue of conscription and not to meet it." (17)

Thomas spürte, daß, wenn die Regierung ein Wehrpflichtgesetz durchsetzen wollte, es seine Pflicht war, Alternativen für Kriegsdienstverweigerer zu schaffen. Ähnlich war es seine Pflicht, eine Aufgabe des Kriegsdienstverweigerers, der gegen das Prinzip der Wehrpflicht aufbegehrte, gegen diese Wehrpflicht in all ihren Formen zu protestieren. Thomas spürte, daß die CPS- Lager einen unlogischen Kompromiß darstellen würden, weil sie von Pazifisten finanziert wären und somit der Idee der Wehrpflicht Legitimität verleihen und somit dem Grundsatz, daß die Regierung ein Recht besäße, den Status eines Kriegsdienstverweigerers rechtmäßig einzustufen und damit definieren zu können.

Die Kontroverse zum CPS spaltete die pazifistische Bewegung in sich gegenüberstehende Parteien. Die Militanten in den Lagern und in den Gefängnissen spürten, daß ihre Organisationen und deren Führer Kompromisse eingegangen waren und sie fallen ließen. Die Traditionalisten spürten, daß es ihre Aufgabe war, den Kriegsdienstverweigerern zu helfen, auch wenn dies bedeutete, das CPS- Experiment kritisch zu unterstützen, und eben nicht jene "Störenfriede", deren Nicht-Zusammenarbeit nicht das wirkliche Anliegen verdeutlichte. Die "War Resisters League" und Führer wie Abraham Johannes Muste, der damals geschäftsführender Vorsitzender des Versöhnungsbundes war, wechselten schließlich zum absoluten Standpunkt hinüber. Diese Radikalisierung war der Anfang größerer Veränderungen in der pazifistischen Bewegung, da die militanten Vertreter, aus Gefängnis und Lager entlassen, die Posten in vielen der gewaltfreien Gruppen besetzten und sie in aktivistisch orientierte und radikale Organisationen umwandelten.

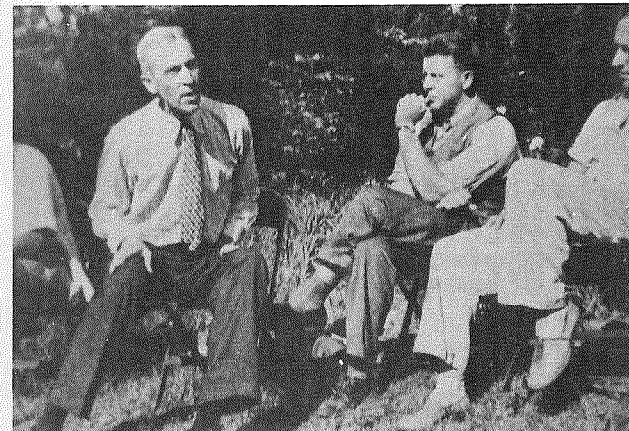
A.J. Muste reflektierte den sich ändernden Standpunkt zu CPS- Lagern während des Krieges:

"I had always had great respect for the absolutist position of refusing to register for the draft and refusing to accept any alternative service. I had always backed up those who had taken that position. I did believe at the beginning of the war, however, that the Civilian Public Service Camps, as they had originally been planned, were a major improvement over the brutality toward conscientious objectors in the First War. The work was to have offered a special kind of pacifist witness and was to have been creative social work planned in large part by the religious groups administering the camps. It soon became evident that government control of the camps was quite real, not nominal, and that the creative work was in the line of raking leaves ...

Moreover, the original concept was for the CO to work freely under no discipline but that of the religious organizations administering the camps. We wound up, however, simply administering conscription for the government. Selective Service retained full control and laid down the rules." (18)

Muste und der Versöhnungsbund zogen ihre Unterstützung des CPS zurück - das war 1944 - und Muste selbst nahm als seinen persönlichen Standpunkt fortan und vertrat aktiv: die absolute Position - die "War Resisters League" hatte ihre Arbeit im "NSBRO" März 1943 bereits eingestellt !

1941 schrieb Abraham Johannes Muste in seinem Essay "The World Task of Pacifism" über das Anliegen aktiver Pazifisten während des Krieges (Dok.21) :



Evan Thomas (1890-1974)

# THE ESSAYS OF A. J. MUSTE

Edited by  
Nat Hentoff



A CLARION BOOK  
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1941\* It is a common thing to hear people of practically all schools of thought say that what is going on today is not a war in the ordinary sense of the term but a revolution. One of the leaders of the younger generation of pacifists said to me recently that for the most part our pacifist movement is not aware of how profound and sweeping are the changes that are coming and that, as a consequence, we pacifists are still approaching our tasks with a narrow and provincial vision and on a petty scale.

On the other hand, Gerald Heard has said that the pacifist movement alone can qualify as the "receiver" for the bankrupt Western world, which faces extinction unless pacifists are prepared to "take over" presently. I believe this to be a sober statement of fact. I shall try to explain why and how it is so.

The order of life to which we have been accustomed in the Western world is very evidently breaking up. This is true of its spiritual and cultural and also of its economic and political aspects. In life these are never really separated, but for convenience we may deal with each for a moment.

Of course Renaissance and Reformation grew a great impulse for

\* This essay was published some time before the United States' entry into World War II, a development A. J. Muste was prophetically certain would take place. For the duration of the war, A. J. Muste served as National Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and when the call came for men above forty-five to register for the draft, he was one of sixteen leading pacifists who refused to do so.

*The Essays of A. J. Muste*

the liberation of the human spirit and its various cultural expressions, a movement largely justified in its efforts, one example of which was the freeing of economic, political and intellectual life from ecclesiastical fetters. From this point, however, there was a tendency to set man at the corner of the universe—despite fervent protestations that the anthropomorphic must be given up in favor of the scientific or of some other outlook—a tendency to conceive of man as really the highest form of moral being and to put any thought of God, of moral Being beyond man, out of the picture. Whenever man is thus cut off from the living source and end of his being, which is deep within and yet infinitely beyond himself, disaster overtakes him and his societies, as is now again the case. Man, whose spirit was to have been freed at last from ancient restraint and superstition, has not for centuries found himself less free than he is today: a cog in a machine in our own industrialism; a pawn in the hands of a totalitarian state under Fascism; or the tool of a totalitarian party under Communism. Men who think it childish to bow the knee before God and to be humble followers of the gentle Jesus do bow the knee by millions before Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, a favorite movie idol, an impersonal trade union, a political or a business boss. Many of the most sophisticated and sensitive spirits in our day who cannot degrade themselves to that level fall into disillusionment or cynicism, the mood of being able to "see through" everything and everybody but no longer able to "see anything in" anything or anybody.

This is the result of inexorable spiritual law. "If there is no God," exclaims one of Dostoevsky's characters, "then I am God." And when men come to believe that, when they really believe there is no objective Good for which they can live; no law of reality to which high and low are truly subject; no One in all the universe more honest, more dependable, more capable of living in and building up a free society than they are themselves, then they cannot respect and trust themselves or one another. The bond of community is broken and life flies apart.

Equally, in a political and economic sense, our world is falling in pieces. We have productive machines to furnish the material means for the good life in abundance; but we fail or refuse to devise ways for distributing these goods in equitable or brotherly fashion, and so the machine is periodically clogged by its own output. There are just two ways to meet such a situation. One is to take the brakes off the machine and distribute the goods. We have everywhere rejected that course; therefore we have to put brakes on so that

*The World Task of Pacifism*

the machine will not be completely buried under its own products. That means an end to any form of "free enterprise," individual or cooperative. The State is the only agency available to put on the brakes, so everywhere we get rapidly increasing state intervention in the economic process, in order to limit production by crude methods such as plowing under cotton, burning coffee and leaving fruit to rot beneath trees; or by more subtle methods such as tariffs and production quotas.

But the supposed remedy aggravates the disease and causes a further contraction of the economy. For nations to try to be self-sufficient, grow all their raw materials and manufacture all their goods is as uneconomic as it would be for Texas to try to have its own steel industry and for Pittsburgh to insist on raising its own wheat. Rivalries between sorely pressed nations become intense and all devote increasing capital and energy to unproductive war expenditures. This "puts the unemployed to work" on producing war implements which no one can eat, wear, or live in, resulting eventually in still further contraction of production and more complete collapse.

Not a single country in the Western world has broken away from this circle. In one nation after another, therefore, the point has been reached at which the pressure on the masses is so severe that no organ of criticism or opposition can be permitted to exist. A war-time "communism" must be instituted to ration out the few goods that remain and to prepare for a death-struggle with some other national unit. That means dictatorship, totalitarianism—deadly uniform throughout, except for the color of shirt it wears! If the unemployed, whom we in the United States now are "putting to work" in arms plants and military camps, presently walk the streets again without jobs, it seems certain that nothing on earth will prevent the emergence of an American dictatorship.

War will not stop this process of disintegration; it is fatuous to hope that it can, even momentarily, given a victory by the "right side," halt the process so that a new beginning may be made. This is true whether we look at the matter from the ethical and spiritual or from the politico-economic viewpoint. In the former case, war is itself an extreme expression of our disintegration, our inability to meet difficulties except by increasingly brutal strife; and, as experience has demonstrated, neither the poverty, exhaustion, disillusionment and humiliation of defeat, nor the nationalistic exultation and the moral let-down of victory contribute to the healing of the nations. Similarly, in the economic and political realm, war



is the inevitable expression of our failure and refusal to face our real problems and to institute sane solutions. War can only serve, as World War I and its aftermath have made clear for all who do not close their eyes, to accelerate fearfully the process of impoverishment and breaking up.

The best chance—in fact, the only chance we have left—to stop the movement of disintegration and to begin building on sounder foundations without first passing through a period marked by chaos and incalculable woe, is an early peace. Such a peace is, however, conceivable only if nations were to recognize that war offered no way out of any real problem and if they were to turn their attention seriously to dealing with those economic and cultural conditions which we have described and which constitute the roots of war. Obviously, that would mean that the present rulers would be converted to what might be called a realistic pacifism or that other leaders who did take that position would come to the front. And this in turn clearly implies that a great responsibility such as we alluded to in the beginning would be placed on the pacifist forces.

Unfortunately, the chances that events will take this turn are not bright. If the war continues, an appalling situation will obtain at its close. This will be true, as I have elsewhere tried to set forth at some length, whether it ends in a nominal British victory or a nominal German victory or in a stalemate of complete exhaustion in which neither side pretends to have won a victory. An increasing number of non-pacifist observers accept in private conversation if not in public utterances this analysis of the future.

Assuming that Europe is not reduced to utter anarchy, we are likely to be confronted with a revolutionary situation. We recall that this was the case at the close of the last war. At that time there was, in the defeated countries, a revolt against those who had been in command during the war. They were held responsible for the distress that had overtaken the masses and were considered unworthy of the trust of leadership. To whom then did men turn? They turned to the Communists and Social Democrats who had in one degree or other been opposed to the war, who had pointed out its danger and futility even while war was going on and who had been the first to agitate for peace. Nor was this phenomenon confined to the defeated countries. In France and Great Britain, also, the Socialists, Communists and Labor Party people, including such pacifists or near-pacifists as Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, were

given the trust of the people and rose to positions of responsibility. A moment's reflection will indicate that it was bound to be. People experiencing disillusionment with war, finding that its fruits turn to ashes in their mouths, inevitably reject the leaders who were instrumental in leading them into war and whose prophecies of its blessed results have been disproved; and by the same token they must turn to those who were on the other side and who were clear-sighted enough to see the outcome, and brave and honest enough to tell what they foresaw.

In its essentials, the situation after the present war will present the same characteristics. There will, however, be two important differences. In Europe, the revulsion against war and against those who are thought of as war-makers will be practically as great in countries that are nominally victorious as in the others. It seems inconceivable that anywhere the regimes that were in control at the opening of the war should survive its end. Even apart from the factor of distrust and resentment felt against the leaders who took them into the war, the conditions will differ so vastly from those to which people have been accustomed that they will only fumble in their efforts to deal with them. Witness how these same regimes, even in the democratic countries, fumbled the ball after the last war!

But there will be an even more important difference. The Communists and Socialists of various hues, to whom the masses turned at the close of World War I, rejected imperialist wars, but in varying degrees they accepted violence and war, offensive or defensive, if waged on behalf of the proletariat. War between nations could achieve no good; but war between classes and the setting up of a temporary proletarian dictatorship based on force were seen as instruments of liberation. But the events of the post-war period in Russia and elsewhere have, to put it mildly, thrown grave doubts on this thesis. I doubt whether anyone who comes to the masses—fed up with the horrors of war—with the gospel that they can now turn to civil war in order to set up an iron dictatorship which will give them a utopia on the Russian model will actually be regarded as a savior and liberator. It is indeed not impossible that Stalin might become the "receiver" of a bankrupt Europe—much more likely, perhaps, than that it should be Churchill or Roosevelt or even Hitler—but that would be an indication, not that new hope had inspired the masses of Europe, but that they despairingly had accepted a debased Bolshevism as preferable to utter chaos.

The movement to which alone men might turn with hope, in

the conviction that the journey into a new day had indeed begun, would need to have certain characteristics. It must be a movement which renounces war and organized violence of all kinds and which had made it clear beforehand that this was its stand. It must be a movement which renounced dictatorship, which summoned men to a life organized around the principle of cooperation and not of coercion or individualism. It must be a profoundly religious movement. For men will no longer be able to believe in the too simple and mechanical notion that if you will only set up a new system, all our problems will be solved. They will not really be able to believe that a new world is possible unless they can believe that new men can be created, that they themselves can be delivered from imprisonment in the self and become conscious of unity with the whole, united with God, with moral reality beyond themselves. They will need a faith that transforms and saves them, gives them eternal resources to live by and values to live for.

But this simply means what Gerald Heard has said in effect, namely: only the Christianity of Jesus—only religious pacifism—can build a movement which goes to the root of evil in man and in society, a movement which men will trust and which can take over when the war is ended or has run its course.

A searching question immediately arises. Should the religious pacifist movement think of itself in these large terms as a mass movement for achieving social change by nonviolence? It seems to me increasingly clear that we can no longer evade the responsibility and the challenge. If we do seek to evade it, we shall no longer be able to believe in or respect ourselves. Either we believe our own words when we say that love, nonviolence, community form the basis on which all human association must be founded—and in that case we must do our utmost to achieve such an order, especially when the multitudes will be asking, "To whom else shall we go?"—or we do not really believe what we say. In that case we ought, of course, to stop saying it. Furthermore, we would be forced to admit that our pacifism is indeed the escape from social and political realities which our critics charge. Those of us whose roots go down into the Jewish-Christian prophetic tradition cannot evade the call to pray and work for the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth.

To put it in another way, either we do resign from the world and abandon political activity altogether—quit voting, quit working against conscription laws or for provisions for conscientious objectors in draft laws, and the like—or else we must reso-

lutely carry out the political task to its end, the organization of all life on true foundations and for worthy ends. We cannot keep on saying, in effect, to the disinherited and oppressed: "We suffer with you; we hope that your wrongs may be redressed; we share your dream of a world in which men shall live together as brothers. But we are opposed to violence. If, therefore, you resort to violence, we shall have to stand aside."

We must indeed resolutely refuse to be tempted to violence: that is the short cut which invariably turns out to be the blind alley. But if we leave it at that, then, in effect, as our critics have pointed out, the disinherited are condemned to the choice between acquiescence in tyranny or resorting to violence. We pacifists must go on to show that evil can be overcome and a new order built in the spirit by the method of nonviolence.

Or we may look at our dilemma from still another angle. Obviously there will be, during the war perhaps, and at its close certainly, a vastly increased need and demand for the pacifist work of relief and reconstruction in which the Society of Friends has pioneered and which has so profoundly won the confidence of all peoples. It is unthinkable that this work should be abandoned, and failure to extend it enormously, whether through existing or new agencies, would be pretty nearly equivalent to abandonment. But how maintain separate relief and reconstruction under the conditions which will prevail then in Europe and elsewhere? Will relief which is not reconstruction be anything but a mockery, a business of trying to stop the tide with a board fence? Will not the reconstruction require to be general in scope, including housing, transportation, and all the rest? And how will it be possible for American Friends Service Committee workers to draw a line between rebuilding houses and helping to build an order of life which will make houses something more than shelters for driven cattle or ravening wolves? Have we not always said that it was not material goods we were bringing to men, except in a secondary sense, but a demonstration or at least a symbol of a new way of life? What are we to give men when they have despaired of other ways of life and hold out their hands in hope? I see only two choices: to retire from the field and shamefacedly to admit that what we have been only playing at building life on truth and love; or humbly to undertake leadership of the new world, and seek to build our vision into economic and political reality, as, for example, did William Penn.

But is not all this a fantastic kind of day dreaming? Is it even

remotely possible that the religious pacifist forces; the Christian forces, should measure up to such a challenge? It is of course possible that we may fail through our own fault; that for lack of faith and discipline the salt will lose its savor, the light be hidden under a bushel or extinguished. To that problem we must return in a moment. But before the Western world can or does begin to rebuild, it may break up as utterly as did the western Roman Empire; in this event small groups of pacifists might serve as little islands of safety and sanity and faith in a black sea of barbarism, as did the monasteries in the beginning of the Dark Ages. For this also we must be prepared, if it should come; but we have not yet arrived at that point. Assuming then that, in the post-war period, we might be given the chance to provide leadership in building a new order and that we ourselves are prepared to undergo the severe disciplines, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, which that would entail, is there any possibility that the forces of nonviolence may in some degree meet the situation?

Several observations may be made in answer to that question. In the first place, the fact that we are now few and that the self-styled realists do not think that they need to take us into political consideration is not at all decisive. In the nature of the case, the revolutionary element remains small, little noticed unless it be to visit persecution upon it, so long as men still hope that the world can go on much as it has done or that they can wake up presently as from a nightmare and find themselves safe in the old bed. For the majority of people, to turn to those who say boldly that the old order must go on and that men must build on new and divine foundations would mean to admit utter inadequacy and to accept blame for apostasy and insensitiveness. They may not come to that until the bankruptcy of the forces of the old order can no longer be hidden.

Secondly, we are appreciably stronger than we were a score of years ago, not only in numbers, but in intellectual comprehension and spiritual development. When we consider that in theological writing and discussion it is the non-pacifists rather than the pacifists who are on the defensive, when we note the advance in dealing with the problem of the conscientious objector both in the church and in the nation, and observe the widespread interest in activities of the American Friends Service Committee, we need not despair.

In the third place, every period of upheaval in history has revealed that there are men and women of great technical, organizing,

administrative ability who cannot adjust themselves to a new order and who in one way or another sabotage it. There are, however, not a few such experts and technicians who have long known that the old order was thwarting them and stultifying them in the exercise of their abilities, and many who have no objection to placing their technical and other talents at the disposal of the forces of the new day. There have always been military leaders who have readily transferred their services to the regime which has overthrown that for which they had fought for a lifetime. Our own best scientific, engineering and organizing minds often devote themselves now to forging diabolically effective instruments of slaughter and destruction. Many such brains will continue to do so as long as men believe that war is a possible solution for social problems. Let men once come out from under the spell of that delusion, and we shall be surprised at the resources both in ordinary human beings and in the intellectual leaders which will be released for the work of building a new world, resources which men will joyously put at the service of those who have been the prophets and pioneers of the new order. Indeed not a few people who themselves are not pacifists already ask for the opportunity of putting their talents at the disposal of the work of Friends.

Fourthly, the Gandhi movement in India is giving the world an example of the use of nonviolence on a mass scale. Not only may we pacifists learn much from Gandhi and his followers in building a mass nonviolence movement in this and other Western countries, but we may hope that people generally in the Western world will be impressed by this oriental example, as the futility and waste of violence becomes more obvious. Furthermore, cooperation between Eastern and Western nonviolence movements may well come to have a decisive influence on world events.

It may be fruitful to observe in passing those fundamental characteristics of the Gandhi movement which must also, I believe, mark the growing pacifist movement in the United States. First of all, it is a religious movement. It is based upon convictions about the very nature of life and the universe, convictions held not merely by the mind but by a moral commitment of the whole being to the practice of them. Pacifism, with Gandhi and, if not with all his followers, certainly with those who constitute the inner core of his movement, was not a tool that you pick up or lay down, use today but not tomorrow, use in this relationship and not in some other. It was a way of life. You cannot really practice pacifism unless you are a

pacifist, and likewise, in the measure that you are a pacifist, it becomes unthinkable ever to practice violence whether physical or spiritual. Hence also the program of personal training and discipline is an indispensable part of the movement.

It is an economic and social movement. These elements are symbolized in Gandhi's program by spinning. About some aspects of Gandhi's economic program I am dubious—for instance I am not convinced that it is necessary or desirable to go back to a pre-machine economy—but such questions may, for our present purpose, be put to one side. Three elements implied or suggested by Gandhi's emphasis on spinning are, as I see it, essential to an adequate non-violence movement.

First, any movement which undertakes to give leadership or help in building a better world must give much attention to the ordering of the economic life. It must clarify its thinking as to the kind of economic order to strive for. It must decide how much socialization is possible without the creation either of a totalitarian state or of a political machine which, besides crushing the liberty of the individual, could fail in the narrow economic sense because of bureaucratic administration and attendant red tape, the deadening of initiative and the accompanying temptation to evade responsibility. It must not only invent, it must experiment with schemes for a more decentralized, human and cooperative way of living.

The second essential symbolized by Gandhi's spinning plan is the expression of our basic philosophy of life in the economic sphere now rather than some day in the future when a new system is established. To postpone action has been the prevailing tendency among Socialists and Communists: "The day will come when socialism will be established and then we'll be socialists. Meanwhile there is not much that can be done to alleviate the evils of the present order and you personally go on living and doing business much as any capitalist might." One difficulty with this approach is that workers are hungry and cold now and they cannot wait until the revolution to do something about it. But there is a deeper and more subtle difficulty, which may be put this way: If you say that men cannot live as socialists until socialism has been established—or as Christians until a Christian world has been achieved—then you are saying in effect that non-socialists can build socialism and that people who are not Christians except in a theoretical sense can build a Christian order of life. That has an implication which the social democrats never faced squarely, but which the Communists saw

clearly and accepted: namely, that if the new system does not represent the general conviction of the people, it has to be set up in the first instance by violence and that human beings must be regimented in the new environment until they are psychologically reconditioned and adapted to the new system. But the Russian experience has reminded us that, in this realm also, violence and coercion are self-defeating and that the product of regimentation is not a finer man, but a degraded human being. We are driven to the conviction that men who are autocrats and lovers of power in their own souls will not build a democratic world; men who are essentially self-seekers will not build a cooperative commonwealth. It equally follows that men who have entered into the spirit of community will inevitably be driven to seek to give expression at once to their inner spirit in economic relationships. As the early Christians, the Franciscans, the early Friends illustrate, there is always creative experimentation in the economic life where there is genuine and fresh religious experience.

Gandhi's spinning program has a third important element for those who seriously desire to build a nonviolence movement. It shows that manual work has important effects on the individual spirit and that corporate manual activity is a powerful agent for unifying pacifist groups within and also for unifying them with their non-pacifist neighbors, especially workers and farmers.

Gandhi's movement, finally, is a political movement. It expresses the determination of the masses of India to free themselves from the yoke of British imperialism without violence and without hatred for the oppressor. For our present purpose it is not necessary to elaborate this point except to observe that, in addition to developing mass resistance to war, a Western nonviolence movement must make effective contacts with oppressed and minority groups such as Negroes, share-croppers, industrial workers, and help them to develop a nonviolent technique, as Gandhi did in the India National Congress.

Our conception of the ultimate, major task of the religious pacifist movement will necessarily have an important influence on our ideas about the strategy of the movement in the immediate war crisis. Discussion of the attitudes and activities of pacifists in time of conscription and war indicates that there are some who incline toward an activist and militant and others to a more quietist pacifism. The latter would discourage direct opposition to the war activities of the nation, urging concentration on works of mercy and



reconstruction. This reconstruction must be such that it will not antagonize people, but that it will illustrate the underlying spirit of love which animates us, and enable us to survive without being subjected to fruitless suffering until such time as the masses recover from their war-mania and are able to weigh calmly our counsels about national and international policy.

It seems clear to me that we must indeed do our utmost to remain in fellowship with our own countrymen and fellow-churchmen. We must seek to identify ourselves with their need and suffering. If community is to be temporarily broken, it must be they and not we who do the cutting off, and even then we must harbor no ill will and be on the look-out for opportunities to be helpful to them in simple human ways. It is also clear that we cannot engage in sabotaging the activities of our fellow-citizens who feel called to fight. We seek to wean our fellows from the desire to make war, not to interfere from without with their war-efforts or to destroy their property. Our non-cooperation with the war-effort of the nation, if enough were moved to participate in it, might of course at some stage have a decisive effect upon that war-effort; but this would not be the result of a positive and deliberate destructive act on our part but simply the result of our inability to cooperate with what seems to us an evil and ruinous course. Besides, it would not be an act of disloyalty to our own country but of obedience to a higher law and to a sovereign "not of this world."

Furthermore, the negative act of refusal to support war is only one part of pacifism, of the way of love and nonviolence. Never can we abate our efforts to give positive expression to pacifism in cooperative living and brotherly service.

I am, however, equally clear in feeling that in time of conscription and war, we cannot retire for practical purposes from political activity, from attempting to influence the nation's course, especially when there are still certain democratic channels available for doing so. The movement as a whole should not, it seems to me, become quietist and non-political. That might be merely an expression of an isolationist or escapist attitude, neither of which expresses the true spirit of community with our fellows.

For one thing, there will always be concrete issues on which we must speak or run the risk of being traitors to the truth. Civil liberties will be abridged; minorities may be persecuted; labor may be denied its rights and the masses may be made to bear an inordinate share of the costs of war. Certainly the fact that one may not be

able to speak out on such matters without having to suffer for it, or without offending many, would hardly be sufficient cause to excuse silence. Periodically, in a war situation, the question comes up as to whether an effort should be made to negotiate a peace or whether the war shall go on until our own nation is in a position to dictate a peace. Periodically, the question of war aims or peace terms will or should be raised.

We have already pointed out a more fundamental reason why the pacifist movement cannot, save at peril to itself and mankind, retire from the arena of political discussion. In that arena the process of education and miseducation is going on all the time. Silence may contribute to it as well as speech. The extent to which the masses will have confidence in us and turn to our leadership after the war will depend upon whether we have given practical demonstrations of love and of our ability to build and organize. But it will also depend on whether by our analysis and interpretation of events we have demonstrated our intellectual capacity for leadership, our ability to see that war was futile before that became common knowledge, and our courage to speak the truth when it is unpleasant and dangerous to do so. It is impossible to read, for example, the early history of the Quakers without realizing that it was precisely because they could not be silenced, because they continued to bear witness to their faith and to oppose personal and social sin even when multitudes were offended, that those multitudes at last said in effect: "Obviously these Quakers are serious. We have come upon a strange species of human being who refuses to compromise the truth or to be clubbed into silence. Consequently, we shall have to adapt ourselves to this strange phenomenon. With this man who refused to try to buy immunity, we shall have to compromise, give him special exemptions and a peculiar confidence!" This may indeed be a good time to recall George Fox's words, written in 1667: "The cry is now amongst them that are without, 'where is there a Quaker for such and such a trade?'—Oh! therefore, Friends who have purchased this through great sufferings, lose not this great favor which God hath given unto you, but that ye may answer the witness of God in every man which witnesseth to your faithfulness, that they may glorify your Father on your behalf."

Here I think we have put our fingers on what must be foremost and basic in our shaping of pacifist policy in time of crisis. Probably we are not all called upon to bear our witness in the same way. Some will be led to a more militant course, others to a quieter form of

witness. The former must take especial pains to make sure their only motive is love; the latter that they are not unwittingly influenced by fear or a tendency to avoid difficult and complicated issues. All who have committed themselves to the way of love and nonviolence must remain in fellowship and unity with each other, not thinking of themselves as more orthodox or honest or useful pacifists than those who put the emphasis in a different place. The fact that this spirit of unity and mutual confidence has obtained between non-registrants and registrants has been very heartening. But most important is it that all of us should be deeply and unreservedly committed to that life "which taketh away the occasion of all war." We should realize that that life is the hope of the world, the one means of salvation. Our task is always the positive one of witnessing to that life and of practicing it.

The problem which confronts us at any moment is never: to what extent can we compromise with existing economic and political institutions, adapt ourselves to the demands of the world? Our problem always is to bring the state and other institutions of the world to adjust themselves to the demands of the Christ spirit, to the way of life which His truest followers incarnate, though in order to accomplish this we have no weapons but those of reason, love, humility, prayer, and willingness to die for our faith. In outward appearance, the point at which we arrive by these contrasting processes of the world adapting itself to us, or of adapting ourselves to the world, may at a given moment be much the same; but the direction in which we are going as we pass through that point will be the decisive matter. If we are doing the compromising, there will be no end until our power is gone. If the state is being made to adapt itself to the demands of the spirit, then, to mix the metaphor, it is clear that the yeast has not lost its fermenting power and the lump will yet be transformed into wholesome bread.

All this has, finally, an important bearing upon the question of alternative service under the conscription act. One of our best loved leaders who earned his right to speak and be listened to by his sufferings as a conscientious objector in the last war, has said: "There is of course no absolutely consistent and final position in this complicated world; but there are only two approximately consistent positions under conscription: either you accept conscription—and then you may as well do what the government forces you to do—or else you refuse to be ordered and put it up to the government to leave you alone or put you in jail."

With what is aimed at in this drastic saying, I am in thorough accord. If our readiness to render what is called alternative service arises out of an intellectual blurring of the issue between totalitarianism and democracy, between conscription by the state and voluntary service to society; if it arises from a desire to make it easy for the government to carry forward war which we profess to regard as evil and suicidal; or if it arises from an unconfessed and unforced impulse to avoid unpleasantness and persecution for ourselves, a desire to have our fellow-citizens say with a sigh of relief, "These pacifists are harmless and jolly good fellows after all"; or if from a desire to hold our young people organizationally in the membership of some denomination or sect—then there would, in my opinion, be no important difference of principle between such alternative service on the one hand and non-combatant or even combatant service on the other hand. In that case a handful of absolutists going to jail or to their death as did the uncompromising pioneers of Quakerism would do more for religious pacifism and for the salvation of mankind from the curse of war than thousands of so-called pacifists in alternative service camps.

But I do not believe we are confined to the choice among submitting to conscription; a form of alternative service which amounts to submitting to conscription because in effect it is a device to smooth the way for the war-machine and its Fascist trends; or going to jail. There are those who will not be true to the Inner Light unless they follow a course such as that of the non-registrants, which leaves the government no alternative except at once radically to alter its own course or send these men to jail. From the beginning it has been my conviction that these men rendered a great service to the cause of pacifism and democracy and prophetic religion. Our movement would have been poorer and would, I think, have won less regard even from those who oppose us if we had not produced such "absolutists." Fidelity to conscience at cost to the individual in the face of general opposition and disapproval still has power to win the respect of men who also have "that of God" in them. Every man has in his own conduct a line beyond which he will not go, no matter how absurd it may seem to others to draw the line at just that point, the point at which he must stand with Athanasius or Luther against the world, and say, "So help me God, I can do no other." There are known to be COs who registered but also consider themselves "absolutists" and who will refuse to accept anything but that complete exemption from compulsory or assigned service which is available

to British "absolutists" under the law in that country. If such men take this course as a result of mature reflection and an unreserved commitment to the leading of the Spirit, I believe they will do a great service. Personally, I should wish to be morally identified with them.

This does not mean, however, that acceptance of alternative service necessarily and under all conditions represents a compromise with evil, "making the best of a bad business," taking shelter and keeping still until the storm blows over. The issue is sufficiently fundamental to warrant consideration. From one standpoint, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of war-resistance, of total refusal to have any part in war. Some of our critics, referring to this phase of pacifism, speak of it disparagingly or with violent condemnation as "merely negative," and sometimes we are a bit intimidated by them. These critics, in most instances, do not mean that they want us to abstain from war and in addition do something else. They themselves are not ready to do this "merely negative" thing and sometimes just because this "merely negative" thing is so hard and would have such decisive and positive repercussions! In a sense, the nations cannot solve, they will not even face, their real problems so long as they think resort to an armament boom and presently to war constitutes a "way out." To say that refusal to participate in war and so to help remove this tumor from the body politic is "merely negative" is the same as applying that description to removal of a tumor from the body physical. Of course it is negative and in itself not sufficient, but in the first place, unless this is done the patient will die and in the second place, if it is done the life forces in the organism can flow unimpeded and can do the positive job of making that organism vital and effective again.

Nevertheless there is a sense in which war resistance is only incidental in the pacifist way of life, in the life of love and non-violence. To break out of the hard shell of the Self, which is all the time seeking to defend itself against its brothers and therefore commits aggression against them; to know in one's inmost being the unity of all men in God; to express love at every moment and in every relationship, to be channels of this quiet, unobtrusive, persistent force which is always there, which ever goes on, after "the tumult and the shouting dies, the captains and the kings depart"—this is the meaning of pacifism. This is the love which binds man and maid together; which all through the ages has held the primary social unit, the family, together; which underlies the patient and

beautiful labor of the multitudes who year after year plow the ground, sow the seed, reap the harvest, bake the bread, make the clothing, construct the buildings; which leads the dying soldier to give his last cup of water to his dying comrade, even to his dying foe. This it is that must always find expression even where on certain issues we must stand against our brothers and accept the bitter fact that Christ came to bring "not peace but division," even sometimes between mother and child, lover and beloved. On this account, in a world which in a sense is always committed to misunderstanding and division, under the dominion of an evil spirit, we have all the time got to be insisting on our right to "alternative service." Even if we were all thrown into jail or concentration camp, we should have to devise ways of rendering "alternative service" there and proclaim our right to give food and drink to our "enemies." And even when we accept complete separation from our fellows, pursue the "negative" way of refusal to participate in evil to the point where men slay us, from our point of view it means nothing unless that also is an expression of love for and unity with "that of God" in them. "If I give my body to be burned and have not love, it is worthless."

Thus the individual pacifist, at every moment, and especially in every crisis, is confronted with the twofold need of resisting human customs and institutions—coming "out from among them" and being "separate"—because he must "obey God rather than men," and at the same time creatively and at whatever cost serve his fellows. The pacifist movement must of necessity, I think, help the individual at both points. If it fails to provide channels for the positive and sacrificial service of human need, it will fail its youth as truly as if it became slack in its resistance to war. Looking at the matter from the standpoint of the movement itself, it must deal vigorously and imaginatively with the problem of "alternative service" since its responsibility is to say to the world in Christ's name not only "War is not the way," but "This is the way; walk ye in it."

From such an analysis of the problem, certain conclusions as to the character of constructive pacifist service inevitably flow. In the first place, it must be civilian service, for we have to exemplify a way of life which excludes war, "takes away the occasion of all wars." In the second place, it is important—personally I am prepared to say essential—that the service be under private auspices and control and not under a civilian department of the government. The basic reason for this is that the service projects must grow out of and must

express the spirit of religious pacifism; otherwise we are making no distinctive contribution. If this requirement is to be met, the religious pacifist bodies will have to be in charge of the life of the camps. This will apply to the organization of the actual work program of the camps which can express or deny the basic pacifist attitudes, make or break the pacifist purpose of the enterprise. It will apply also to the educational program of the camps, which also will inevitably tend to produce either more convinced and disciplined pacifists or less convinced and disciplined pacifists. Another reason why it is important that camps be under private auspices rather than civilian departments of the government is that, in an age when the tendency toward totalitarian state control is so powerful and prevalent, and when conscript service is inevitably tied up to regimentation for war purposes, no greater service can be rendered to society than keeping alive the spirit of voluntarism, the principle of free association, thus providing a demonstration of how morale can be developed and society served by non-state or non-governmental bodies and without resorting to conscription.

The third characteristic of the work-projects must inevitably—so it seems to me—be that they cost the individual CO and the pacifist movement something substantial; they must represent a sacrifice rendered to our fellows, an identification with them in self-denial and suffering, a sacrifice on behalf of our principles and faith. The longer I reflect upon it the more convinced I become that unless the Public Service Camps do quite clearly represent a sacrificial contribution on our part, they will not only bring no positive results, but will throw discredit upon the whole religious pacifist movement in the eyes of the masses. Not only must we not ask for government funds for maintenance of CO's, administration, and education in the camps; we must, it seems to me, refuse them. "Alternative service," government financed and controlled, would not be a genuine pacifist alternative at all. It would represent an almost complete absorption into the program and machinery of a government engaged in war preparation, and probably war, and tending increasingly toward dictatorship. We are well aware that large numbers of our CO's would be unable to accept such service, and would go to jail instead. So far as the religious pacifist movement is concerned, we could not cooperate with such a program without greatly weakening and obscuring our witness. It would mean that in effect the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, for example, and the various Service Committees, would become gov-

ernment agencies instead of agencies of the pacifist movement. Grave issues in the realm of church-state relationships, in addition to all the other considerations we have named, would obviously be raised. Certainly the religious pacifist forces should not themselves initiate a movement in this direction.

On the other hand, work-camps in which, because we are willing to pay for the opportunity, we can hold before men the vision of the world-task of pacifism, challenge them to voluntary discipline and weld them into a joyous fellowship, may make a great contribution to the achievement of that world-task which it has been the aim of this paper to suggest.

Anmerkungen

- 1) Dieser Beitrag basiert weitgehend auf:  
Cooney/Michalowski: The Power of the People. Active Nonviolence in the US, Culver City 1977, S. 44/45, 74-84 und besonders S. 92-107 -----  
Zur Geschichte der Kriegsdienstverweigerung in den USA:  
Schlüssel, Lillian D. (Hrsg.): Conscience in America: A Documentary History of Conscientious Objection in America, 1757-1967, New York 1968 - und:  
Seibert, Russell Howard. The Treatment of Conscientious Objectors in War Time, 1775-1920 (Ph.D.Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1936) - und:  
Wright, Edward Needles: Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War, Philadelphia 1931
- 2) Holmes, John Haynes: New Wars for Old, New York 1916  
Holmes, John Haynes: Patriotism is not enough, New York 1925  
Holmes, John Haynes: I speak for myself, New York 1959  
---  
John Haynes Holmes (1879-1964), ein ehemaliger unitarischer Geistlicher und zugleich einer der ungewöhnlichsten und mutigsten Prediger in den USA, wandte sich schon früh gegen Kriegsvorbereitungen und Wehrpflicht, war in zahlreichen Organisationen Gründungsmitglied und gründete nach 1921 eine ökumenische Gemeinschaft, die Community Church, in der Indianer, Chinesen, Juden, Katholiken und Hindus genauso gut wie Protestanten ihren Platz fanden. Als Kritiker des Hitlerismus blieb er stets strikt bei seiner absoluten Gewaltablehnung und plädierte schon sehr früh für die Entwicklung gewaltfreier Alternativen nach Gandhis Vorbild. (vgl. Cooney/Michalowski, a.a.O., S.80)
- 3) Wald, Lillian D.: Windows on Henry Street, Boston 1934 - und:  
Duffus, Robert L.: Lillian Wald, Neighbor and Crusader, New York 1938
- 4) Voss, Carl Herman: Rabbi and Minister: The Friendship of Stephen S. Wise and John Haynes Holmes, New York 1964
- 5) Baldwin, Roger: Recollections of a Life in Civil Liberties - in: The Civil Liberties Review, Vol.2, No.2 (1975), S. 39-72
- 6) "American Civil Liberties Union" - dazu:  
American Civil Liberties Union: The Bill of Rights in War: A Report on American Democratic Liberties in Wartime, New York 1942
- 7) Thomas, Evan: Why We Oppose Military Conscription, New York 1944 - und:  
Chatfield, Charles (Hrsg.): The Radical "No": The Correspondence and Writings of Evan Thomas on War, New York 1974  
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Evan Thomas (1890-1974), Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg und einer der Wortführer gegen Wehrpflicht, Ersatzdienst und Krieg, nach dem US- Kriegseintritt im Zweiten Weltkrieg, setzte sich eminent für Kriegsgegner in Gefängnissen ein. Er argumentierte, daß politi-

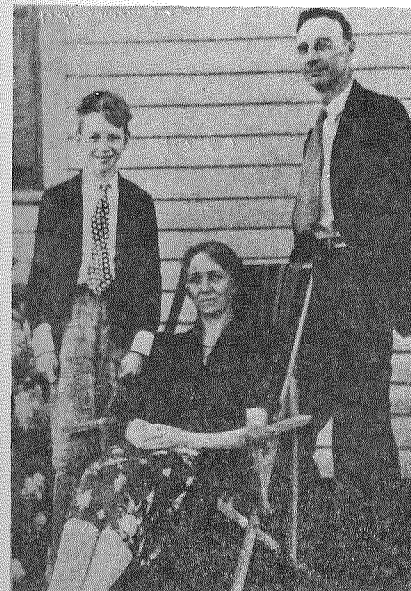
- sche und philosophische Gründe für eine Kriegsdienstverweigerung genauso legitim seien wie gesetzlich anerkannte religiöse Motivationen. Nach seiner Inhaftierung im Ersten Weltkrieg und seiner Gefängnishaft bis 1919 engagierte sich der Privatmediziner bis 1951 verstärkt für eine antimilitaristische Demokratisierung und betonte in seinem Essay "The Positive Faith of Pacifism" die Notwendigkeit von Nicht-Kooperation mit dem Militär und, wie sein Bruder, der spätere Sozialistenführer Norman Thomas, die Anliegen einer revitalisierten Friedensbewegung nach dem Krieg.  
(vgl. Cooney/Michalowski: The Power of the People, a.a.O., S. 104/105)
- 8) Dem "Eid von Oxford"(Oxford Oath) ging ein halbes Jahrzehnt zuvor der Abschluß des Briand-Kellogg-Paktes am 27.8.1929 voraus, welcher jeden Angriffskrieg ächtete und ein diplomatisches Korrelat zur wachsenden Anti-Kriegs-Bewegung in Europa darstellte. Zum Zeitpunkt des "Oxford Oath" schien der Völkerbund als Garant für ein System kollektiver Sicherheit bereits obsolet zu werden und die Selbstverpflichtung großer Teile der Bevölkerung (wie auch die Ponsonby-Unterschriftenaktion Ende der zwanziger Jahre) eine entsprechende Reaktion darauf zu sein.
  - 9) Richard Gregg, ein Schüler Gandhis, veröffentlichte mehrere Titel in Nachfolge von "The Power of Nonviolence" (Philadelphia 1934), die Gandhis Anregungen aufnahmen und Gedanken des konstruktiven Programmes in den USA zu popularisieren versuchten:  
- Training for Peace: A Program for Peace Workers, Philadelphia 1937  
- The Value of Voluntary Simplicity, Wallingford 1936  
- A Discipline for Nonviolence, Philadelphia 1941  
- What's it all about and what am I ?, New York 1968
  - 10) siehe Anmerkung 4
  - 11) Norman Thomas: War's Heretics: A Plea for the Conscientious Objection, New York 1917  
Norman Thomas: The Christian Patriot, Philadelphia 1917  
Norman Thomas: The Conscientious Objector in America, New York 1923 - sowie seine Schriften vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg:  
Norman Thomas: As I see it, New York 1932  
Norman Thomas: The Choice before us: Mankind at the Crossroads, New York 1934  
Norman Thomas: War: No Glory, No Profit, No Need, New York 1935  
Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe: Keep America Out of War: A Program, New York 1939 - und:  
Chatfield, Charles (Hrsg.): Norman Thomas: Social Realism Through Peace and Democratic Justice, New York 1971  
Johnpoll, Bernard K.: Pacifist's Progress: Norman Thomas and the Decline of American Socialism, Chicago 1970  
Fleischman, Harry: Norman Thomas: A Biography, New York 1944



- 12) vgl. Cooney/Michalowski: The Power of the People, a.a.O., S. 89
- 13) Harris, Ted Carlton: Jeanette Rankin: Suffragist, First Woman Elected to Congress and Pacifist (Ph.D.Dissertation, University of Georgia, 1972) - und:  
Josephson, Hannah: Jeanette Rankin: First Lady in Congress: A Biography, Indianapolis 1974 - und:  
Schaffer, Ronald: Jeanette Rankin, Progressive Isolationist (Ph.D.Dissertation, Princeton University 1959)
- 14) Hentoff, Nat (Hrsg.): The Essays of A.J. Muste, Indianapolis 1967 - und:  
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Batz, William George: Revolution and Peace: The Christian Pacifism of A.J. Muste (Ph.D.Dissertation, University of Minnesota 1974)
- 15) vor allem:  
Dave Dellinger: Revolutionary Nonviolence, New York 1970  
Dave Dellinger: More Power Than We Know: The People's Movement Towards Democracy, Garden City/New York 1975 (vgl. Cooney/Michalowski: The Power of the People, a.a.O., Seite 189)
- 16) und
- 17) Cooney/Michalowski: The Power of the People, a.a.O., S. 100
- 18) ebd., S. 101/102

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- Baez, Joan: Daybreak, New York 1968
- Harris, David and Joan Baez: Coming Out, New York 1971
- Harris, David: Goliath, New York 1970



John, Anna und A.J. Muste  
am Brookwood Labor College  
in Katonah, New York 1930

IX. Abraham Johannes Muste - sein Leben als Programm -  
- und der Versöhnungsbund

DIETER HOFMANN

1. Abraham Johannes Muste

Abraham Johannes Muste war jahrzehntelang eine zentrale Persönlichkeit des amerikanischen Pazifismus. Zuvor arbeitete er in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren in führenden Positionen der Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Im Evangelium sah Muste eine revolutionäre Kraft, und so suchte er nach Wegen, religiöse und humanitäre Prinzipien zu politischen Normen zu erheben.

A.J. Muste wurde 1885 in Holland geboren. 1891 wanderten seine Eltern mit ihm und seinen drei Geschwistern in die USA aus. 1909 ordinierte er zum Priester der calvinistischen Reformierten Kirche. Vier Jahre später schloß er das "Union Theological Seminary" in New York mit Auszeichnung ab.

Unter dem Einfluß der Schriften amerikanischer Quäker begann der junge Pfarrer ab 1914 die Lehre vom "bellum iustum", dem gerechten Krieg, in seinen Predigten anzuzweifeln. Warum sollte die christliche Lehre von der Nächstenliebe nur für die Beziehungen zwischen Individuen, nicht aber für die Beziehungen zwischen sozialen Gruppen und Nationen gelten? Grundlage seiner Überlegungen war die Bergpredigt (1). In den folgenden Jahren kam er mehr und mehr in Konflikt mit der Position seiner Kirche und mußte schließlich 1917 sein Pfarramt aufgeben (2).

1918 zog er mit seiner Frau Anna Huizinga Muste, mit der er drei Kinder hatte, nach Boston, wo er in einer pazifistischen Kommune lebte, in einer Quäkergemeinde predigte und Kriegsdienstverweigerer betreute. Die Kommune versuchte ihr Leben nach den Prinzipien "der Wahrheit, der Gewaltlosigkeit und der Liebe" zu organisieren (3).

Schon seit 1912 hatte Muste sich mit sozialistischen Ideen beschäftigt (4). Als 1919 in einer Nachbargemeinde ein Streik ausbrach, unterstützten Muste und seine Freunde die Arbeiter. Nach einer Woche wurde Muste zum Leiter des Streikkommittees gewählt und brachte den Streik nach 15 Wochen erfolgreich zu Ende (5). Dies war der Beginn seiner

Laufbahn als Arbeiterführer, Organisator von Streiks und Schlichter von innergewerkschaftlichen Streitigkeiten. Muste war Mitbegründer und von 1921 bis 1933 Leiter einer gewerkschaftlichen Heimvolkshochschule (Brookwood Labour College) im Staat New York, in der Arbeiter für gewerkschaftliche Aufgaben geschult wurden (6).

Von 1926 bis 1929 war er Vorsitzender der "Fellowship of Reconciliation" (dem Versöhnungsbund), anschließend führte er bis 1933 die "Conference for Progressive Labour Action", eine Vereinigung bislang unorganisierter und ungelernter Industriearbeiter. Muste war einer der Ersten, die sich für die Anwendung von Sitzstreiks bei Arbeitskämpfen einsetzten. In seinem Essay "Pacifism and Class War" schrieb Muste 1927:

"In a world built on violence, one must be revolutionary before one can be a pacifist."

Weiter schrieb er:

"There is certain indolence in us, a wish not to be disturbed, which tempts us to think that things are quiet, all is well. Subconsciously, we tend to give the preference to "social peace", though it be only apparent, because our lives and possessions seem then secure. Actually, human beings acquiesce too easily in evil conditions; they rebel far too little and too seldom. There is nothing noble about acquiescence in a cramped life or mere submission to superior force." (7)

Anfang der dreißiger Jahre wandte sich Muste unter dem Eindruck der wirtschaftlichen Depression und der steigenden Zahl der Arbeitslosen den Klassenkampftheorien von Marx, Lenin und Trotzki zu. Er versuchte zwischen konservativen und kommunistischen Gruppen zu vermitteln und strebte eine Arbeiterpartei nach englischem Vorbild an (8). 1933 gründete Muste die "American Workers Party" (9). 1934 ging er in seinem revolutionären Engagement noch einen Schritt weiter und betrieb die Fusion der "American Workers Party" mit den amerikanischen Trotzkiisten. Als Führer der trotzkistischen Arbeiterpartei strebte er einen gewaltsamen Umsturz des Gesellschaftssystems an, da er nicht mehr daran glaubte, auf fried-



lichem Wege eine gerechtere und friedvolle Gesellschaftsordnung erreichen zu können. Religion und Pazifismus verschwanden vorläufig aus seinem Leben. Anstatt zum Umsturz der Gesellschaftsordnung kam es jedoch zur Zersplitterung der Partei durch endlose Flügelkämpfe (10).

Einigen Grundsätzen blieb er dennoch treu: Sein trotzki-stischer Partner James Cannon vertrat die Auffassung, daß sich Freundschaft und persönliche Beziehungen den Interessen und Prinzipien einer Bewegung unterzuordnen hätten. Für Muste dagegen gab es kein von den Interessen Einzelner zu abstrahierendes Interesse einer Bewegung ; erst recht nicht den Begriff der "Masse" (11).

So wird klar, weshalb es für ihn auch nie einen Unterschied zwischen Gesinnungsethik und Verantwortungsethik geben konnte. Wenn er in seiner Funktion als Vorsitzender/Leiter einer Gruppe oder Bewegung Entscheidungen traf, entschied er stets so, daß den Betroffenen noch immer die Möglichkeit offenstand, sich unterzuordnen oder eine eigene, ihnen angemessen erscheinende Position zu formulieren. Durch diese eigenständigen Entscheidungen grenzte sich niemand aus, sondern Muste sah darin eine Ergänzung des Ganzen. Da Muste durch seine engagierte Parteiarbeit von Dezember 1934 bis Juli 1936 gesundheitlich stark angegriffen war, schickten ihn seine Freunde im Sommer 1936 auf eine mehrmonatige Europareise (12). Gleich zu Beginn traf er in Norwegen einige Tage mit Trotzki zusammen. Trotz ihrer teilweise sehr unterschiedlichen Ansichten schätzten sich beide Männer sehr (13). Vor allem Mustes Fähigkeit, Menschen zu bewegen, hat Trotzki an ihm immer bewundert. Nach Mustes Ausstieg aus der Partei wies Trotzki James Cannon persönlich an, nichts zu unternehmen, "that would strike Muste's prestige" (14). Zum Ausstieg kam es durch ein Schlüsselerlebnis, das Muste kurze Zeit nach seinem Zusammentreffen mit Trotzki in Paris hatte. In der Kirche St. Sulpice wurde ihm plötzlich klar, daß sein Platz in der Kirche ist. Unverzüglich beschloß er, mit den Trotzki-isten zu brechen und sein Leben wieder dem Christentum zu widmen (15). Im Herbst desselben Jahres trat Muste

wieder in den Versöhnungsbund ein, dem er schon einmal seit seiner Gründung im Jahre 1916 angehört hatte und dessen Vorsitzender er schon einmal von 1926 bis 1929 (dem Beginn seines Vorsitzes in der "Conference for Progressive Labour Action") gewesen war (16). Bald darauf wurde er zum hauptamtlichen Sekretär für industrielle Angelegenheiten gewählt (17).

Es war jedoch keine Rückkehr zum bürgerlichen Pazifismus und kein Verrat an der Arbeiterbewegung. Vielmehr versuchte er die Verweigerung der Beteiligung an Kriegshandlungen mit dem Widerstand gegen die häufig ökonomischen Kriegsursachen zu verbinden. Nach schlechten Erfahrungen mit internen Streitigkeiten der sozialistischen Parteien und den autoritären Verfahren der zentralistischen Kaderparteien baute er von nun an nicht mehr auf Parteien, sondern setzte auf Einpunktbewegungen, Bürgerinitiativen und deren Zusammenschlüsse. Er agierte so auf noch breiterer Front als früher. Muste war vor allem ein Aktivist und Organisator, dem für die grundlegende Analyse und Theoriebildung kaum Zeit blieb (18). Bei seiner Organisationsarbeit verfolgte er zwei Linien: Er versuchte, Menschen, die in bestimmten Zusammenhängen standen und pazifistisch orientiert waren, zu Zellen zusammenzuschließen, die die Institutionen, in denen sie arbeiteten, beeinflussen sollten, die wiederum auf die übergeordneten Machtzentren mit pazifistischen Ideen einwirken sollten. Auf diese Weise organisierte er z.B. Teile der Kirchen oder Wissenschaftler (19).

Die zweite Linie war eher praktisch an den aktuellen Erfordernissen ausgerichtet. Wenn eine Organisation seinem Weg der pazifistischen Revolution nicht folgen wollte oder konnte, gründete er eine neue, wie z.B. das "Committee for a Nonviolent Revolution" - als der Versöhnungsbund nicht mehr radikal genug war - und danach das "Committee for Nonviolent Action" (20).

Muste gab seine "absolutistische", positive Grundhaltung niemals auf ; noch bis 1940 glaubte er, daß die gesamte amerikanische Linke nahe daran wäre, dieselbe Wandlung durchzumachen wie er selbst. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und der Atombombe glaubte er, nun müßten sich die Menschen

Gott zuwenden. In seiner Hoffnung stützte er sich auf Paul Tillich, der geschrieben hatte:

"A people can become the church, if in an unexpected historical moment it is seized as a whole by the transcendental idea and for its sake renounces power."  
(21)

Sein Hauptaugenmerk galt seit 1936 der Verhinderung von Kriegen bzw. deren Abbruch. Nur drei Jahre nach seiner Abkehr vom Trotzkismus bezeichnete ihn das "Time Magazine" als Amerikas Pazifisten Nummer eins (22). Gleichzeitig arbeitete er an der Entwicklung gewaltfreier Kampftechniken wie Sit-ins und Streikposten und unterstützte die schwarzen Mitglieder des Versöhnungsbundes bei der Gründung des "Congress of Racial Equality" (CORE), der für die Bürgerrechtsbewegung Pionierdienste leistete (23). Kurz nach Mustes Ernennung zum Versöhnungsbund- Vorsitzenden im Jahre 1942 eröffnete der Versöhnungsbund ein Büro in den Südstaaten sowie ein Büro für "Race Relations" (24). 1943 forderte er die schwarzen Kirchenführer in seinem Artikel "What the Bible Teaches about Freedom" auf, gewaltfreien Widerstand gegen die Rassentrennung zu initiieren (25).

Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges wandte er sich gegen den Kriegseintritt der USA und forderte Präsident Roosevelt auf, konstruktive Schritte zu unternehmen: Abrüstung, Umverteilung der Ressourcen, Abbau von Zollschränken und eine Berichtigung der Währungsverhältnisse nannte er als vordringliche Aufgaben (26). Später unterstützte er Kriegsdienstverweigerer. Seine Vorschläge, wie der Krieg zu beenden sei, legte er in dem Essay "War is the Enemy" nieder (27).

Schon während des Zweiten Weltkrieges, aber vor allem danach setzte in den USA die Gandhi-Rezeption ein. Muste fand bei Gandhi eine neue Lehre für die Revolution und deren Verteidigung mit gewaltfreien Methoden. Eine Arbeitsgruppe der amerikanischen Quäker, in der auch Muste mitarbeitete, untersuchte die Möglichkeiten des gewaltfreien Widerstandes als Mittel der Verteidigungspolitik. Als Vorbild dienten die Erfahrungen aus dem

zivilen Widerstand gegen die deutsche Besatzungsmacht in Dänemark und Norwegen. Diese Studien verstärkten bei Muste die Überzeugung, daß die Orientierung an der Bergpredigt nicht Unterwerfung unter Diktatoren bedeutet und kein Rückzug aus der politischen Verantwortung ist (28). Für ihn waren die Begriffe Revolution und Religion synonym (29). Synonym in dem Sinne, daß für Muste beide Begriffe Befreiung und Erlösung bedeuteten.

Damit stand er in krassem Widerspruch zu seinem Gegenspieler Reinhold Niebuhr, dem führenden Sozialethiker unter den protestantischen Theologen jener Zeit. Dieser hatte sich schon zu Beginn des Krieges vom Pazifismus abgewandt. Niebuhr rechtfertigte die atomare Abschreckung mit dem Hinweis auf die sündige Natur des Menschen (30), die unauslöschlich sei (31). Muste kritisierte selbst am Pazifismus, daß dieser häufig zu etwas zu billigen und einfachen Lösungen neige. Er bestand jedoch darauf, daß es das Wesen des Christentums gerade sei, daß der Mensch als moralisches Wesen sich nicht auf die Sünde als den Regelfall einstelle, sondern die Hoffnung auf Vollkommenheit nicht aufgeben (32).

Nach Kriegsende setzte er sich zunächst für eine Weltregierung ein. Nachdem jedoch dieses Ziel in weite Ferne gerückt war, engagierte Muste sich im "Third Camp Movement". Das Ziel war weder ein dritter militärischer Block noch Neutralität, sondern eine internationalistische pazifistische Bewegung, die gegen Militarismus, Kolonialismus, rassische und nationale Diskriminierung, Armut, Neokolonialismus der Supermächte, für die Emanzipation der Bürger von der Staatsmacht und für die Befreiung der Menschen aus ökonomischen, politischen und technischen Zwängen kämpft, die ihre menschliche Würde und ihre Selbstverwirklichung einschränken (33). Tausend Exemplare des Essays "Camp of Liberation", in welchem er diese Ideen niedergeschrieben hatte, wurden zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges 1954 beim Versand von der Post abgefangen und vernichtet (34).

Über einige Jahre hinweg versuchte Muste Albert Einstein für seine pazifistischen Vorstellungen zu gewinnen. Zunächst verlief die Kommunikation nur in einer Richtung, d.h. über offene Briefe von Muste an Einstein. Muste nannte dies selbst einmal "imaginary correspondence with Albert Einstein" (35). Auf Mustes Initiative hin wurde 1949 die "Society for Social Responsibility in Science" (SSRS) gegründet. Die Mitglieder verpflichteten sich, ihre Fähigkeiten auf konstruktive Weise zum Nutzen der Menschheit einzusetzen. 1950 trat Einstein der SSRS bei, war innerhalb der Organisation aber nie aktiv tätig (36).

1956 war Muste Mitbegründer der Zeitschrift "Liberation", wobei er bis zu seinem Tod auch als Herausgeber tätig war. "Liberation" war Sprachrohr verschiedener Strömungen: des utopischen Sozialismus und des Anarchismus, der gewaltfreien Revolution und der Bürgerrechtler, der "Third Camp"- und der Friedensbewegung (37). Um nach dem Krieg Pazifismus innerhalb der Kirche wieder stärker in die Diskussion zu bringen, gründete Muste 1950 die "Church Peace Mission" (CPM), der er als "Missioner" bis 1962 vorstand (38). CPM war ein Zusammenschluß von pazifistischen Sekten, religiösen pazifistischen Organisationen und traditionellen Friedenskirchen (39). CPM organisierte und finanzierte Seminare und Konferenzen für Theologen, Seminaristen, Studenten und Lehrer. Dabei kam es auch zu einem regen Austausch mit dem nichtpazifistischen Teil der Kirche.

Ab Mitte der fünfziger Jahre weitete Muste seine Aktivitäten auf die internationale Ebene aus, versuchte den innerkirchlichen Dialog auch in Westeuropa in Gang zu setzen, wobei er eine Reihe von Theologen zumindest für eine atompazifistische Position gewinnen konnte. Darüber hinaus knüpfte er im Rahmen der CPM Kontakte zu Kirchenvertretern aus Ostblockstaaten (40). Nach dem Vorbild Gandhis begann Muste ab 1955 verstärkt mit demonstrativen gewaltfreien Aktionen und zivilem Ungehorsam gegen die Atomrüstung vorzugehen: Demonstrative Nichtteilnahme an einer "Zivilschutzübung" in New York (1955); Eindringen in ein Atombombentestgelände in Nevada (1957); organisatorische und agitatorische Unterstützung der Schiffe

"Golden Rule" und "Phoenix", die 1958 in ein Wasserstoffbombentestgebiet der USA im Pazifik einlaufen; Eindringen in ein Sperrgebiet in Nebraska, in dem Silos für Interkontinentalraketen gebaut werden (1959). Alle diese Aktionen fanden in der Öffentlichkeit ein breites Echo, teilweise weltweit. Muste und seine Mitstreiter wurden meist zu kurzen Haft- oder geringen Geldstrafen verurteilt. Aus diesen Aktionen ging die Organisation "Nonviolent Action against Nuclear Weapons" hervor, die sich 1958 in "Committee of Nonviolent Action" (CNVA) umbenannte (41).

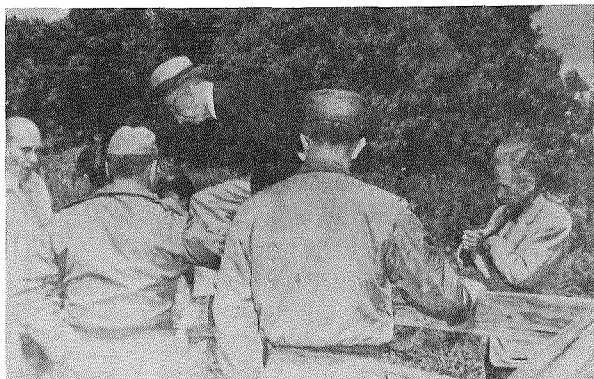
1960/61 war das Jahr, in dem sich Muste für das Zustandekommen des Friedensmarsches von San Francisco nach Moskau einsetzte und er mit den Ostblockregierungen erfolgreich verhandelte, um für die Friedensmarschierer freien Durchgang und Redefreiheit zu erreichen (42). Ende 1959 hielt er sich vier Wochen in Afrika auf. Er wirkte bei der Organisation des Widerstandes gegen den ersten Atombombenversuch Frankreichs in vorderster Front. Obwohl alle Verhinderungsversuche scheiterten, sah er dennoch einen Erfolg darin, daß die Idee des gewaltfreien Widerstandes in weiten Teilen Afrikas dadurch bekannt wurde (43).

In seinen letzten Jahren galt Mustes Hauptaugenmerk dem Vietnam-Krieg. Er agierte auf den verschiedensten Ebenen: Neben den Organisationen, denen er ohnehin verbunden war, arbeitete er beispielsweise mit dem SDS zusammen, der sozialistisch orientierten Studentenschaft, sprach mit (Verteidigungs-)Minister McNamara, organisierte Massenveranstaltungen und sprach auf unzähligen Versammlungen. Muste gelang es, Liberale und Radikale, Konservative und Kommunisten, Pazifisten und Kriegsgegner aller Art zu gemeinsamem Handeln zusammenzuführen (44).

1967 starb A.J. Muste 82-jährig, kurz nachdem er von einer Vietnamreise mit Martin Niemöller zurückgekehrt war, während deren Verlauf er auch mit Ho Chi Minh zusammengetroffen war (45). Muste ist in seinem Leben drei Wege gegangen, den des bürgerlichen, gewaltlosen Pazifisten, den des gewaltsamen Revolutionärs und den dritten Weg des gewaltfreien Aufständischen. Diese Entwicklung war für ihn ein dialektischer

Prozeß, in dem jede Position einen berechtigten Widerspruch zur vorhergehenden darstellte. Schließlich fand er ein Konzept in der Verbindung von Christentum, Pazifismus und Sozialismus, das in den verschiedenen und durchaus unterschiedlich charakterisierbaren sozialen und politischen Bewegungen Beachtung fand. Die treibende Kraft seiner Arbeit war sein Glaube an die Vernunft und das Gute im Menschen. Dieser Glaube gründete sich in seiner tiefen religiösen Überzeugung.

Die Mittel, die Muste zur Erlangung eines Zieles einsetzte, waren für ihn mindestens ebenso wichtig wie das Ziel ; denn auch wenn dieses nicht erreicht wurde, sah er in den angewandten Maßnahmen die Möglichkeit zur Erziehung der Menschen: "There is no way to peace ; peace is the way."



A.J. Muste steigt über den Zaun der Mead- Raketenbasis in einem Akt des zivilen Ungehorsams, um gegen die US-amerikanische Raketenpolitik zu protestieren - Omaha, Nebraska, 1. Juli 1959

#### Anmerkungen

- 1) Theodor Ebert: Abraham Johannes Muste, in: Hans Jürgen Schulz - Von Gandhi bis Camara, Stuttgart 1971, S. 108 (kurz: Ebert 1971)
- 2) ebd., S. 110
- 3) ebd., S. 110
- 4) Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson: Abraham went out, Philadelphia 1981, S. 15 (kurz: Robinson 1981)
- 5) Theodor Ebert: Abraham Johannes Muste - ein Leben mit der Bergpredigt, in: Gewaltfreie Aktion, Heft 53/54, 1982, S.2 (kurz: Ebert 1982)
- 6) ebd., S. 2
- 7) Robert Cooney/Helen Michalowski: The Power of the People, Culver City 1977, S. 138 f.
- 8) Ebert 1982, S.3
- 9) Ebert 1971, S. 112
- 10) Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson: A.J. Muste and ways to peace, in: Charles Chatfield - Peace Movements in America, New York 1973, S. 84 (kurz: Robinson 1973)
- 11) Ebert 1982, S. 3
- 12) Robinson 1973, S. 84
- 13) Robinson 1981, S. 62 ff.
- 14) ebd., S.66
- 15) ebd., S.63
- 16) Cooney/Michalowski, s. Anm. 7, S. 138
- 17) Robinson 1981, S. 66 f.
- 18) Judith Stiehm, Nonviolent Power, Lexington 1972, S. 18
- 19) Robinson 1973, S. 86
- 20) The Nonviolent Activist, Heft 2/1985, S. 4
- 21) Robinson 1973, S. 87
- 22) Time Magazine, 10. Juli 1939, S. 37
- 23) Ebert 1982, S. 5
- 24) Robinson 1981, S. 111
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A.J. Muste in Nord-Vietnam kurz vor seinem Tod,  
Januar 1967

## 2. Der Versöhnungsbund

Der Versöhnungsbund, 1915 gegründet, war die zentrale pazifistische Organisation in den Vereinigten Staaten während der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Er trug zu einer erweiterten und fortschreitenden Verfassung der Friedensbewegung bei, und der Pazifismus wurde unter seinem Einfluß zu einer aggressiven, schöpferischen und radikalen Kraft mit einer abklingend bildungsbürgerlichen und legalistischen Aura. Der Versöhnungsbund wurde 1914 in England gegründet, als Ergebnis eines Gelübdes zweier christlicher Geistlicher, des Engländers Henry Hodgkin und des Deutschen Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, die den begonnenen Krieg zwischen den Nationalstaaten nicht zum Zerstörer ihrer persönlichen Freundschaft werden lassen wollten und zum Brecher ihrer Friedensarbeit. Einige Monate später, 1915, wurde der amerikanische Zweig mithilfe von Gilbert Beaver, Edward Evans und Charles Rhoades und anderen errichtet und demzufolge Versöhnungsbundgruppen in 27 weiteren Ländern gegründet mit einem internationalen Sekretariat in Brüssel (jetzt: Alkmaar/Holland). Während des Ersten Weltkrieges erhob der Versöhnungsbund vehementen Protest gegen die Übel der Massenkriegsführung und tat sich nach der Mobilmachung als eine der freimütigeren und aktionsorientierteren Friedensgesellschaften hervor, von denen, die sich während des Krieges gebildet hatten. Zu seinen Mitgliedern zählten Geistliche und Studenten, Lehrer, YMCA- und Sozialarbeiter, Berufstätige und andere aus vielen Glaubensrichtungen, "welche die wesentliche Einheit der Menschheit anerkennen und die sich zusammenschlossen, um zur Lösung menschlicher Konflikte die Macht der Liebe und Wahrheit zu ergründen." Nach dem Krieg ermutigte der Versöhnungsbund seine Mitglieder, die christlichen Ideale des liebenden Dienstes am Nächsten und der Gemeinschaft mit einer Verpflichtung zu gewaltfreier, sozialer Aktion zu vereinen. Versöhnungsbundmitglieder unterstützten Arbeitskämpfe und Streikbemühungen um Arbeitserleichterungen in den 20er und 30er



Jahren, schrieben für und gaben heraus die radikale religiöse Zeitung "The World Tomorrow" (von 1918 bis 1934 veröffentlicht) und waren einflußreich in der "Nie wieder Krieg"- Bewegung. Sie halfen auch dabei mit, Koalitionen von Friedensgruppen aufzubauen, und betreuten in den Jahren kurz vorm Zweiten Weltkrieg Kriegsdienstverweigerer.

A.J. Muste war von 1940 bis 1953 Vorsitzender des Versöhnungsbundes und teilte diese Position zeitweise mit John Nevin Sayre, der auch dem Internationalen Versöhnungsbund vorstand. Während dieser Phase waren Bayard Rustin, George Houser und John Swomley in Versöhnungsbundkampagnen von und mit Jugendlichen aktiv in Anliegen zwischenrassischer Beziehungen und gegen die Wehrpflicht. Der Versöhnungsbund stand für das Recht auf freie Meinungsäußerung und bürgerliche Freiheiten ein während der McCarthy- Ära und organisierte Kampagnen für eine Umwandlung der Todesstrafe für Julius und Ethel Rosenberg (im Atomspionagefall) und überdies eine Versammlung in der Carnegie Hall (New York) 1956, um Kommunisten (und Pazifisten) Gelegenheit zu geben, öffentlich in freier Rede Stellung zu beziehen.

Der Versöhnungsbund war Mitorganisator der ersten bedeutenden Demonstration gegen den Krieg in Vietnam 1964 und blieb in vielen Protestkundgebungen jahrelang darin aktiv. Versöhnungsbundmitglieder beteiligten sich an Bündnisaktionen und organisierten Projekte, die darauf abzielten, die Öffentlichkeit über den Krieg zu unterrichten und wenigstens zu einem geringen Maße das Elend der in den Kämpfen direkt Betroffenen zu lindern. Sie veröffentlichten ganzseitige Anzeigen in Zeitungen mit Aufforderungen, den Krieg zu beenden, sandten schon früh eine interkonfessionelle Forschungsgesandtschaft nach Vietnam und sammelten Hilfsgelder. 1965 errichtete der Versöhnungsbund die amerikanische Hauptverbindung zur buddhistischen Widerstandsbewegung in Vietnam. Der Versöhnungsbund sprach sich auch nach dem Krieg gegen den amerikanischen Militarismus aus und veranstaltete

Abrüstungskampagnen, forderte somit eine neue Priorität in der Einschätzung und Neuabmessung der amerikanischen Wertvorstellungen zugunsten "der gefährdeten Spezies Mensch". Aus dem Versöhnungsbund wuchsen solche Organisationen heraus wie die Nationale Konferenz von Christen und Juden, die amerikanische Vereinigung für Bürgerrechte, die nationale Stiftung für Religion und Arbeit, die Liga der Kriegsgegner, die Liga zur Verteidigung der Arbeiter, der Ausschuß über Militarismus in der Erziehung, der amerikanische Ausschuß zu Afrika, der nationale Rat gegen die Wehrpflicht, die Friedensstifter, die Gesellschaft für die soziale Verantwortlichkeit in der Wissenschaft, die kirchliche Friedensmission und Dai Dong. Nach über 60 Jahren bleibt der Versöhnungsbund eine bedeutende Kraft in der Entwicklung der Praktiken aktiver Gewaltfreiheit in den Vereinigten Staaten.

Während sie sich um Abrüstung, Friedenserziehung und soziale Reformen Mitte der 30er Jahre bemühten, begann der Versöhnungsbund, sich auf den Krieg vorzubereiten, indem er eine "Krisenstrategie" entwickelte, um sowohl Gemeinden als auch Konfessionen während der Kriegszeit anzuhalten, Pazifisten zu identifizieren, zu rekrutieren und zu organisieren. 1936 gab es über 60 örtliche Gruppen, und die Mitgliedschaft stieg von ungefähr 5.000 im Jahre 1938 auf knapp unter 15.000 bei Kriegsende.

Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges, als die japano-amerikanischen Bewohner der Westküste zwangsweise deportiert und umgesiedelt wurden (1942), protestierte der Versöhnungsbund bei der Regierung, agitierte für Befreiung und erneute Rückgabe der Siedlungen und versorgte die in Internierungslagern gehaltenen Japano-Amerikaner mit freundschaftlichen Hilfeleistungen und Unterstützungsaktionen.

Während viele Versöhnungsmitglieder wegen ihrer Kriegsgegnerschaft im Gefängnis oder in CPS- Lagern saßen, veröffentlichte der Versöhnungsbund eine Beilage zu seiner Zeitschrift "Fellowship", welche die alliierte

## Of Holy Disobedience

DOCUMENT 22



Maury Englander

1952 A book has just been published in this country which the French writer Georges Bernanos wrote in Brazil, where he had exiled himself because he would not remain in France under Nazi occupation. It is entitled *Tradition of Freedom* and it is a hymn to freedom, an impassioned warning against obedience and conformity, especially obedience to the modern State engaged in mechanized, total war.

In the closing pages of this work, Bernanos writes:

I have thought for a long time now that if, some day, the increasing efficiency of the technique of destruction finally causes our species to disappear from the earth, it will not be cruelty that will be responsible for our extinction and still less, of course, the indignation that cruelty awakens and the reprisals and vengeance that it brings upon itself . . . but the docility, the lack of responsibility of the modern man, his base, subservient acceptance of every common decree. The horrors which we have seen, the still greater horrors we shall presently see, are not signs that rebels, insubordinate, untameable men, are increasing in number throughout the world, but rather that there is a constant increase, a stupendously rapid increase, in the number of obedient, docile men.

It seems to me that this is a true and timely warning. It might serve as a text for a general appeal to American youth to adopt and practice the great and urgent virtues of Holy Disobedience, non-conformity, resistance toward conscription, regimentation, and war. For the present I want to use Bernanos' words as an introduction to

some observations on the discussion regarding the absolute and relative role of these "virtues" which goes on chiefly among pacifists, members of the Historic Peace Churches and similar groups. I think it will be readily apparent, however, that the principles set forth have a wider bearing and merit consideration by all who are concerned about the maintenance of freedom in our time and the abolition of war.

Most believers in democracy, and all pacifists, begin, of course, with an area of agreement as to the moral necessity, the validity and the possible social value of No-saying, or Holy Disobedience. Both pacifists and conscientious objectors draw the line at engaging in military combat, and most of us indeed at any kind of service in the armed forces. But immediately thereupon questions arise as to whether we should not emphasize "positive and constructive service" rather than the "negative" of refusal to fight or to register; or questions about the relative importance of "resistance" and "reconciliation" and so on. It is to this discussion that I wish to attempt a contribution. It may be that it will be most useful both to young men of draft age and to other readers if we concentrate largely on the quite concrete problem of whether the former should register, conform to other requirements of the Selective Service Act which apply to conscientious objectors and accept or submit to the alternative service required of them under the law as amended in June, 1951; or whether they shall refuse to register, or if they do register or are "automatically" registered by the authorities, shall refuse to conform at the next stage; and in any event refuse to render any alternative service under conscription. We deal, in other words, with the question of whether young men who are eligible for it shall accept the IV-E classification or take the more "absolutist," non-registrant position. (For present purposes, consideration of the I-A-O position, the designation used for draftees who are willing to accept service in the armed forces provided this is non-combatant in character, may be omitted. The IV-E classification is the designation used for persons who, on grounds of religious training and belief, are opposed to participation in any war. Those who are given this classification are required to render alternative service, outside the armed forces and under civilian auspices, and designed to serve "the health, safety and interest of the United States.")

Two preliminary observations are probably necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding. In the first place, in every social move-

ment there are varied trends, or emphases, and methods of working. Those who hold to one approach are likely to be very critical of those who take another. Disagreements among those within the same movement may be more intense, or even bitter, than with those on the outside. I suppose it can hardly be denied that every movement has in it individuals whose contribution is negative, and that such individuals do not all come from within one wing of the movement. Objective evaluation also leads to the view that the cause is forwarded by various methods and through the agency of diverse individuals and groups. But this does not mean that discussion within the movement of trends and methods of work is not useful and important. Even if it were true that each of several strategies was *equally* valid and useful, it still would be necessary for each to be presented and implemented clearly and vigorously in order for the movement to develop maximum impact.

Secondly, in what I shall have to say, I am not passing moral judgment on individual draftees. But, although a pacifist minister should not pass moral condemnation on the young man in his congregation who in obedience to his conscience enlists or submits to conscription, we do not deduce from this that the minister should abandon his pacifism or cease to witness to it. Similarly, that in the pacifist movement we support various types of COs in following the lead of conscience does not rule out discussion as to the validity and usefulness of various strategies. It is one thing for a young and immature draftee to follow a course which amounts to "making the best of a bad business," and for others to give him sympathetic understanding and help; it is very different for pacifist organizations or churches to advocate such a course, or to rationalize it into something other than it really is.

As some readers may be aware, the writer has advocated the non-registrant position. The majority in the pacifist movement probably believe that it is preferable for COs to accept or submit to the alternative civilian service which was required under the World War II Selective Service Act and is again required now under "peacetime conscription."

The varied considerations and arguments which currently enter into the discussion of this choice confronting the youth of draft age tend, as I see it, to fall into three categories, though there is a good deal of overlapping. One set of considerations may be said to center largely around the idea of Christian or human "vocation";

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a second set has to do with the problem of "the immature 18-year-old"; the third with the relation of the pacifist and citizens generally to military conscription and the modern power-state.

The argument for accepting alternative service, under the first category, has been stated somewhat as follows:

God calls us to love and serve our fellowmen. This is, for Christians and other pacifists, a matter of vocation. If, then, the government in wartime, or under peacetime conscription, requires some service of mercy or construction from us which is not obviously and directly a part of war-making, we will raise no objection to undertaking such work. We may even seek, and shall certainly be grateful for the opportunity to demonstrate our desire to be good citizens and helpful members of society, and to show a reconciling spirit.

This question of the meaning and implications of Christian or human vocation in the context of military conscription clearly needs careful analysis.

The question of his vocation does not or should not arise suddenly for the Christian, or for any morally sensitive and responsible individual, when Congress enacts a conscription law. The committed Christian presumably has been engaged in an occupation and a way of living which he believes to be in accord with the will of God. This need not be some unusual or spectacular occupation. A Christian farmer, factory worker, miner, teacher, raising a family and giving an example of unselfishness to his neighbors; his wife maintaining an unobtrusively wholesome Christian home; the children walking in the footsteps of such parents—all these may be following a true Christian vocation.

Then war, or peacetime conscription, comes along. If these people are pacifists, they hold that direct participation in war or in combat training is inconsistent with a Christian profession and calling. They must, therefore, refuse such participation. At this point, the government tells those of them who come under the draft that they must nevertheless render some civilian service within or under the conscription system. In most cases this will be something different from what they have been doing and will involve temporary removal from the home community.

It has for some time troubled me that a good many pacifists of draft age seem ready to acquiesce in this situation and that, furthermore, many who are not directly affected by the draft seem to feel at such a time they must immediately find something else to do

than that which they have been doing—something that is often referred to as "meaningful" or "sacrificial." Was what they were doing so definitely not meaningful or sacrificial? Unfortunately, this is very likely the case in many instances. But it does not follow, as is seemingly often assumed, that this justifies going into some entirely new work, a "project," as we say, perhaps preferably relief work which has some connection with the war effort, something which society will regard as the "equivalent" of support of the war effort. Certainly the fact that a young man of draft age has not been following a meaningful or Christian vocation does not automatically or by itself constitute a warrant for submitting to conscription for so-called civilian service. It may well be that God calls him at this juncture to put meaning into the life he has been living and into the work he was supposed to be doing.

It is certainly incumbent on us to search our hearts as to whether this rush to get into other jobs and to go to distant places may be motivated by fear of men and of the authorities, by a desire to be thought well of, by a dread of the social displeasure or actual legal punishment which might fall upon us if we were to continue quietly in the home town at the work which we had been doing when war fever, if not outright hysteria, seizes the people. "If I were still pleasing men," said St. Paul, "I should not be the slave of Christ."

I am convinced that our thinking in these matters is often distorted. Fundamentally, God calls men and women to "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it and have dominion" over the animal creation—to sow the grain, weave the cloth, build the homes and the temples to the Eternal. That is what most people should be doing most of the time. In fact, unless they did, even the armies would soon have to stop in their tracks! War comes along and breaks into this normal life of human beings. That it does this is one of the gravest indictments of war. To resist this breaking up of orderly family and community life—not to yield to the subtle and insistent pressure to do something "different" under the tacit assumption that the normal cannot be meaningful—is one of the great services that may be rendered by the people who believe in nonviolence and reconciliation. "In returning and rest shall ye be saved, in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

It is sometimes said that it is important for pacifists to make it clear that they can face hardship and danger and are ready to suffer, if need be, on behalf of their convictions. Granted that this

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is true, it by no means automatically follows that draft-age youths should submit to conscription or that other pacifists, on the advent of war or conscription, should leave what they are doing for other work. It well may be that the most challenging opportunity to display courage, hardihood and readiness to suffer will be found precisely in the community in which one has been living, and in trying to do the ordinary things about which we have been speaking. There is reason to think that some Congressmen may have been influenced in supporting the "deferment," or virtual exemption, for COs under the original 1948 United States Selective Service Act because they were convinced that few who claim to be COs would have the nerve to stand up against the pressure if they tried to go their normal way in their town or college, while others were being drafted and forced to leave home or school. Obviously, only a pacifist who was leading not a self-indulgent but a disciplined life, who was ready to face danger and suffering and who deeply loved his fellows, could follow such a course. It is possible that some leave the home or college environment not because they wish to face hardship but because they yield to the temptation to try to avoid it.

Let us, after these preliminary observations, try to determine how—from the standpoint of the concept of Christian vocation—the pacifist may judge the action of a government which requires so-called alternative conscript service of him or of his children or fellow-pacifists. There are, so far as I can see, only three possible verdicts. One is to say that the government is demanding that these conscripts shall at least temporarily *abandon* their Christian, or true, vocation for work to which they clearly are *not* "called." A second is to say that the government is competent in these special circumstances to determine, and has correctly determined, that the alternative service to which it assigns COs constitutes their Christian vocation for the time being. The third possibility is to reason that when the government thus forces a Christian into another occupation, it is performing an unwarranted and sinful act, but that the Christian's duty in such a situation is to practice non-resistance. It, therefore, becomes his vocation to undertake the work which is imposed upon him, not because it is somehow good in itself but because non-resistance to evil constitutes Christian behavior.

The first case is easily disposed of. If the individual is convinced that he is being forced out of his Christian or human vocation into something which requires him to disobey God or conscience, he has no alternative but to refuse to comply with the State's demand, per-

mission to this evil becomes the vocation of the persecuted Christian. Given certain premises, there is logic in this position, but it is nevertheless open to serious question. In the first place, non-resistance to an evil should not mean cooperation with it. "Depart from evil and do good" is the law. Pacifists in general, and Christian pacifists in particular, have to ask whether, in conforming with any of the provisions of a draft law and especially in rendering conscript service regarded as of "national importance" by a war-making state, they are not helping conscription to run smoothly; helping thus to force conscription on millions of youth and thus in turn promoting war, since conscription is an integral part of an armaments race. The phenomenon of increased tension between nations when they lengthen the compulsory service period for youth is a familiar one. This, of course, raises the whole question of our evaluation of the meaning and role of military conscription, to which we shall return later.

In the meantime, one or two comments need to be made on the phase of our problem under discussion. If what is really happening is that the war-making state is inflicting an evil on people, forcing them away from their vocation, subjecting them to a measure of persecution, then it seems we ought to keep this clearly in our own minds and ought not to let the government or the public assume that we think otherwise. The expressions of "gratitude" which we have sometimes heard addressed to government for "permitting" pacifists to render alternative service seem inappropriate. We cannot have it both ways: accuse the State of the grave sin of invading the realm of Christian vocation and at the same time thank it for doing us a "favor" by making the invasion less than total. The State is not doing God or Christian people a favor in recognizing conscience, though that is what most United States Congressmen think they are doing in making some provision for COs. The pacifist who in any way encourages this notion is in danger of helping to give currency to the idea that conscience is a private whim which legislators may see fit to indulge for prudential reasons, as long as those who are afflicted with this peculiarity are very few in number. If non-resistant pacifists get off the high ground of patiently bowing the neck to Caesar's yoke, letting Caesar inflict the scourge of civilian conscript service upon them, they are immediately on the low ground of bargaining for indulgence for a small and, in that view, not too principled or brave a minority. Standing on that lower ground they have very little bargaining *power* and results will reflect that fact—

haps to resist it nonviolently, and take the consequences. He probably will be forced out of his accustomed place and work anyway, but his non-conformity, or non-cooperation with the State's demand, at this point becomes his true vocation.

The second possible decision is to hold that, in the context of conscription and provided it does not require service in the armed forces, the State may determine what one's Christian vocation is. Some of the Mennonites' statements and those of some other pacifists seem to me to fall under this head. The position seems to me a very precarious one and I question whether Mennonites, for example, can maintain it as consistent with their own theology and Christian ethics.

It is essential in the Christian concept of vocation that the "call" is from the Spirit speaking in the heart of the believer. And the believer must always remain in a position where he can be free to respond to the prompting of the Spirit. But, under a conscription regime, how can this be? The position taken by Jehovah's Witnesses that they cannot submit to conscription because they must always be free to "witness" to the faith is, in this respect, surely a strong and impressive one. It has a bearing, incidentally, on our earlier general observations about Christian vocation. It seems to me that Christian pacifists need to give much more thought than they have to whether in, this particular respect, the Witnesses, so far from being eccentric, are not taking the clear and consistent, centrally Christian stand. The fact that the Witnesses hardly can be classified as pacifists in the usual sense of the term does not affect the relevance of this question for pacifists and for Christians generally.

In Mennonite thought, government, the State, though it is "an ordinance of God" to curb sin, is itself by definition sinful, not Christian, not a part of "the order of redemption." Where, then, does the State get the competence, or the mandate to determine, of all things, the *Christian* vocation of a *believer*?—And particularly the war-making arm or department of the State? If the war department or its adjunct, Selective Service, is qualified to determine Christian vocation as part of its conduct of, or preparation for, a war, why, then should not the labor department tell Christians where to work in peacetime?

There remains a third possible position, namely, that the State is undoubtedly doing an evil thing in taking the individual out of the work to which he feels God has called him, but that the principle of non-resistance to evil then comes into operation and sub-

as during World War II. On the other hand, the sufferings which the COs endured in World War I both in Great Britain and in the United States, when there was virtually no legal or social recognition of them, according to all competent observers were largely responsible for the fairly liberal provisions made for COs in World War II. The Army did not want to "be bothered with these fellows again."

This does not mean that, if the imposition of alternative service is accepted, it should be rendered grudgingly or that feelings of hostility toward government officials with whom one may deal are appropriate. Quite the contrary. If we decide to go with Caesar one mile, the Gospel enjoins us to go two! We have the choice of not going along at all or of going two miles, but never a skimpy one mile.

I think it is now generally admitted that there was not a great deal of this glad, spontaneous "second miling" on the part of the conscript COs in World War II, though there was considerable talk about it among older folks. Civilian Public Service, in large measure, simply did not operate on the high spiritual plane that was originally hoped and is still sometimes implied or stated, but for many was making the best of a bad business, perhaps for lack of clear guidance, or of the courage to follow another course.

It will be recalled that a considerable number of Civilian Public Service men declared flatly that it was inconsistent, and indeed hypocritical, to talk of spontaneous service under conscription. "We are here," they said, "not because our desire to serve brought us here. We are here because the government, as part of its war program, passed a conscription law and under that law took us by the scruff of the neck and forced us to do this job. We have no choice but this or the army or jail. That is bound to color this whole experience, except perhaps for those who can shut their eyes to reality. Any one who denies this is a hypocrite."

It seems to me that these COs placed the finger on an essential point. Compulsion does enter into "service" under a conscription law. It affects the whole picture. Therefore, the evaluation to be made of the IV-E position, and of alternative service under it, is not disposed of by asserting that "service is at least as real a part of Christian or pacifist life as witness or resistance." That statement is perfectly correct. Service to men and fellowship with them on the one hand, and non-cooperation with evil, witness against injustice, nonviolent resistance on the other, are both essential in

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the pacifist way of life. There is some of each in every pacifist life. The most "reconciling" pacifist refuses to use a gun or even, probably, to put on a uniform. Some of the most extreme "resisters" in prison were known for the thoughtful and gentle service they rendered to criminal fellow inmates. A very discerning English pacifist observed: "For some their witness is their service, for others their service is their witness"—or resistance. Each type needs to be on guard against the temptations peculiar to it, including the temptation to question the motives or underestimate the contribution of the pacifists of the other type.

But the service which is the essence of pacifism is free, spontaneous, joyous, sacrificial, unbought. To magnify or glorify this is by no means automatically to magnify or glorify the IV-E position *under the draft*. Here, as we have pointed out, an element occurs which is contradictory to pacifism, freedom and spontaneity—the *element of compulsion in a context of war and war preparation*.

It seems to me that it is important for pacifists to bear this in mind as we make plans to deal with the problem of alternative service under the amended 1948 Selective Service Act. No matter how "liberal" or "considerate" the conditions for administering alternative service may be in the estimation of government officials or the pacifist agencies, if alternative service is accepted or acquiesced in at all, it will inevitably pose grave problems from the standpoint of Christian vocation and it will not, I think, be possible to escape the contamination or corruption which "conscription" infuses into "service." At the moment it seems possible that Selective Service regulations will permit some individuals to remain at their accustomed occupations. We put aside certain questions, to which we shall return, as to what the act of registration itself implies in the context of conscription for atomic and biological war. Here we emphasize that, once a man has appealed to the State to permit him to remain in his job and has been granted such permission, it is not exactly the same job as before. Others will not be given the same permission, and he should not evade the question of whether he can acquiesce in and, to a degree, benefit from such discrimination. He will have to ponder whether the consideration in his case is because officials regard his work as a contribution in some way to the war effort, or desire to placate and silence an influential person. If he should conclude that he ought to change jobs, he would have to consult the authorities again, and what then?

In conferences with Selective Service officials efforts are being made to avoid some of the features of the wartime Civilian Public

Service set-up which deeply troubled a good many Quakers—such as the close supervision by military men allegedly functioning as civilians and the undesirable and frustrating character of much of the work to which IV-E men were assigned. Even if substantial concessions are obtained, it would be well for us to be on guard against idealizing the situation. It is hoped that a good many young men will in effect be furloughed to projects at home and abroad which will not be exclusively for COs of draft age, and which will have real social value. It will not be the same as if these men had undertaken these jobs out of a sense of vocation and mission, apart from the context of conscription. We will know that for the most part they did not volunteer until conscription came along. The same questions faced by the man who is permitted to remain in his own job will confront these young men on projects. In addition, their term of service and rates of pay will be set by the government.

To sum up this first part of our analysis, it is my conclusion that the one consistent attitude toward conscript alternative service from the standpoint of Christian vocation—if one accepts such work at all—is that which regards submission or non-resistance to the evil which the State imposes upon him when it interferes with his normal occupation, as the vocation or duty of the Christian man. Any other attitude seems to me to involve a considerable measure of rationalization. The Mennonites came nearest to adopting this non-resistant position and the fact that the experience of Mennonite youths in Civilian Public Service was less frustrating and brought better results than was the case with others, save in exceptional instances, seems to me to bear out my analysis. As we have pointed out, those who non-resistently take up their cross of conscription should bear it joyously and be ready to carry it the second mile.

We turn next to a brief consideration of the arguments for the IV-E as against the non-registrant position which center around the problem of "the immature 18-year-old youth." A number of 18-year-olds, it is pointed out, have a strong aversion to war and a leaning toward pacifism. They are, however, emotionally immature. If they have no choice but the army or jail, all but a few will choose the army and are likely to be lost to the pacifist cause. They could be held and possibly even developed into a radical pacifist position, if they had a third choice, namely, civilian service. On the other hand, the youth who chooses prison rather than the army, in the absence of such a third possibility, may suffer grave psychological injury.

I am sure no one will be disposed to be callous or "tough" in

his attitude toward any youth faced with a problem such as we are discussing. Anyone in the position of counselor to an individual will want to avoid "psychological pressuring" to induce him to take this or that course, and will strive to help the young man to make his own decision, in accord with his own inner need and conviction, rather than to impose a decision upon him. But I conceive that it would be my duty as a Christian minister to have this same attitude in talking and praying with a young man who was going into the army. I would have no right, nor do I think it would do any good, to "pressure" him, against his conviction and inner need, to refuse service. But this would certainly not mean that I give up my own pacifist convictions, or refrain from doing all I can in general to spread them or from making this particular young man aware of my own thoughts, and feelings.—This in spite of the fact that, if young men who had planned to submit to the draft are consequently won to the pacifist position, this may entail considerable suffering on their part, anguish for parents who disagree with them, and so on. It is fairly certain, incidentally, that in many typical Southern communities—though by no means exclusively in the South—a youth who chose the I-A-O (medical corps) position, not to mention IV-E, would have as tough a time as a non-registrant in many metropolitan centers. We cannot, therefore, escape the conclusion that, as we have a responsibility to choose the pacifist or non-pacifist position, and to bear witness for pacifism if that is the stand we take, then, if we are pacifists, we have a responsibility to decide whether complete non-cooperation with military conscription is the more consistent, committed and effective stand or not; and if we so decide, then we are required to do what we can to make known our stand and the reasons for it.

I have the impression that a great many pacifist ministers, perhaps even the majority, will work harder to keep a young pacifist parishioner from taking the "absolutist" position and going to jail rather than into civilian service, than they would to get the run-of-the-mill young parishioners to think seriously about not going into the army. They somehow seem to feel that a more awful thing is happening to the young CO who goes to jail than to the 18-year-old who goes into the army. It is my impression that this same feeling is an unconscious factor in the thinking of many lay pacifists when they react strongly against the idea of COs going to prison. This puzzles me greatly. Why should they have this reaction?

To my mind—even apart from the sufficiently appalling factor of being systematically trained for wholesale killing and subjected to the risk of being killed in brutal war—there are few if any more evil and perilous situations to put young men into than the armed forces. I should feel much deeper grief over possibly having had some part in persuading a youth to go into the armed forces than I would over having taken some responsibility in bringing a young man to go to prison for conscience's sake. Are the qualms people feel about youthful COs going to prison in certain instances perhaps because taking the non-registrant position is something very unusual and regarded with social disapproval, whereas becoming a soldier is extremely common and meets with the highest social approval? It may be, therefore, that there are some ministers and other older people who should examine themselves as to whether they feel that they themselves might find life in the community or in the church very uncomfortable if they were suspected of having influenced a youth to take a radical anti-draft stand, whereas all men will speak well of them—or at least not too ill—if they have helped, or at least not hindered, young Christians in adjusting themselves to the idea of going into the army. Is it just possible that we older people are sometimes concerned with sparing ourselves when we think we are solely concerned about sparing teen-agers?

To return to the 18-year-old. There are young men who on physical and psychological grounds are exempted from army service. There may well be COs who should on similar grounds be exempted from any kind of service. If such a physically or mentally ill CO is refused exemption, he should perhaps be discouraged from undergoing the risks of prison experience if there is an alternative for him. This still leaves us with the problem of the majority of pacifist and non-pacifist youth who are not ill.

When we find ourselves concerned about what the teen-age religious CO who goes to prison must undergo, and inclined to think that there is an absolutely conclusive case for providing alternative service and urging most such COs to avail themselves of it, we first might take a look at two other categories of youth who are subject to the draft. One consists of those actually drafted into the armed services; the other of the so-called non-religious COs.

The great mass of teen-agers are going to be put through rigorous military training with all the hardships, the toughening and the temptations which this entails. They have to be ready to undergo battle experience. Many of them will actually experience

modern war in combat. Is what the CO undergoes in prison vastly more terrible than this? Is it as terrible? It may be said that the soldier has social approbation, whereas the pacifist, especially the "absolutist," meets social disapprobation and even ostracism. This is indeed a sore trial and many cannot endure it. Frankly, I am still left with more grief and pity in my heart for the teen-age soldier than for the teen-age "absolutist" CO. I am still left with a question of whether we have a right to take any time and energy away from the struggle to lift the curse of conscription from the mass of youth and put it into an effort to secure alternative conscript service for COs.

There are, as we know, teen-age "absolutists" who feel the same way and who have demonstrated that they can endure whatever they may be called upon to endure. Nor is their lot without its compensations. They, also, "have their reward."

Religious COs who accept the IV-E classification and older pacifists who advocate this course also have to consider the non-religious CO. Under United States law, it is the so-called religious CO who is eligible for this classification; the so-called non-religious CO, though he may by unanimous consent be equally sincere, is not. The latter has no choice except the army or jail. The fact that he is only 18 years old does not alter that. Nothing in this entire field of pacifist policy and behavior is harder for me to understand than how religious COs and many of the leaders of the peace churches and of the Fellowship of Reconciliation can acquiesce in this situation and accept what must be regarded as an advantage, a preferred position. The white CO who accepted conscript alternative service when the Negro CO was automatically forced to choose the army or prison would be in an invidious position. So would the Gentile when his Jewish comrade was thus discriminated against. But in my mind the case is far more deplorable when it is the religious and the supposedly non-religious man who are involved. The white man or the Gentile might actually believe in discrimination or not regard it too seriously when the discrimination is in his favor. But for the religious man it surely should be a central and indispensable part of his faith that discrimination—most of all where two men acting in obedience to conscience are involved—is unthinkable and that, if there is discrimination, he cannot be the beneficiary of it.

At any rate, the argument that there must be alternative service because *immature* 18-year-olds must by no means be subjected to prison experience seems to me to become completely impotent in

the mouths of those religious pacifists who acquiesce in the arrangement and enable it to work—unless indeed they mean to contend that the average religious CO has less stamina than the non-religious CO, and therefore the former should be given gentler treatment.

Advocacy of alternative service for the teen-age CO is based on considerations relating to the future of the pacifist movement, as well as to the effect on the COs themselves. It is argued that if the only choice young pacifists have is the army or jail, there will be very few pacifists. This argument was not first advanced, however, when the draft age was lowered. It was often heard during World War II, when most COs were older and more seasoned. It has always impressed me as a dubious argument and I wonder where it leads us. What, for example, is the relationship of this argument to the one which is also advanced—sometimes by the same person—that the IV-E position is very meaningful and perhaps to be preferred to the more "absolutist" one, because it is the IV-E man who gives a glorious demonstration of the spirit of selfless service which is the essence of pacifism at its best? These two concepts cannot very well be harnessed together as a team. We can hardly contend in one breath that we want alternative service because most young pacifists are not ready to follow a stronger and more sacrificial course *and* that we want it because it is the strongest and most meaningful course pacifists can follow. It seems to me we have to decide whether our problem is to find shelter for COs or whether it is to find freedom and the opportunity for self-expression and service, even though the price be high.

To consider the matter for a moment from the tactical viewpoint, it seems quite certain that the number of 18-year-olds who take either the IV-E or the non-registrant position (perhaps even the I-A-O position might be included) will, at least at the outset, be small. The draft now gets the young man at the very age when it is most difficult for him to stand out in any way from the mass of his fellows. Even if he is intellectually fairly well convinced of the pacifist position, he is not mature enough emotionally to take it. It is a fair guess that accessions to the pacifist movement, should military service or training become universal, will come mainly from young people who have gone through the experience of life in the armed forces. In other words, the additional number of pacifists recruited because alternative service is provided may turn out to be very small. If so, the quantitative advantage to be derived from the adoption of a less uncompromising pacifism is illusory.

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There is one more factor—we live in an age when the role of minorities is an increasingly difficult one. The pressures and actual persecution to which they are subjected are severe. The trend is still particularly obscured in the United States, but if we pause to reflect that not a single bomb has as yet fallen on this country, we will realize that this country is not an exception to the trend toward greater conformity and regimentation. As *The New York Times* editorialized some time ago in commenting on some features of the McCarran Act, if we are resorting to such repressive measures already, what will we do when a real crisis comes? In other words, while we spend a good deal of time arguing that COs should have some choice other than the army or jail, we probably are moving into a time when that will be the only choice that members of minorities, including pacifists, will have. It would seem then that our thought and energy should be devoted to two issues: whether and how this trend toward totalitarianism can be halted; and how we may prepare and discipline ourselves to meet the tests which our fellow-pacifists in some other lands already have faced.

This leads to the third and last of the issues we are trying to explore: the true nature of conscription, of modern war, and of the conscripting, war-making State—and the attitude which pacifists consequently should take toward them.

Participation in alternative service is quite often defended on the ground that our opposition is to war rather than conscription. Except in the matter of war, we are as ready to serve the nation as anybody. Therefore, as long as we are not drafted for combat or forced against our will into the armed forces, we are ready to render whatever service of a civilian character may be imposed upon us.

Is this a sound position? Let me emphasize that it is conscription for war under the conditions of the second half of the twentieth century that we are talking about. The question as to whether sometime and under some circumstances we might accept conscription for some conceivable purpose not related to war is not here at stake. It is academic and irrelevant. The question with which we are dealing is that of conscripting youth in and for modern war.

As pacifists, we are opposed to all war. Even if recruitment were entirely on a voluntary basis, we would be opposed. It seems to me that from this we might infer that we should be, *a fortiori*, opposed to military conscription; for in addition to war itself, in conscription we have coercion by government, coercion which places young boys in a military regime where they are deprived

of freedom of choice in virtually all essential matters. They may not have the slightest interest in the war, yet they are made to kill by order. This, surely, is a fundamental violation of the human spirit which must cause the pacifist to shudder.

The reply sometimes is made that pacifists are *not* being conscripted for military purposes and therefore—presumably—*they* are not faced with the issue of the nature of military conscription. I shall contend later that it is not really possible to separate conscription and war, as I think this argument attempts. Here I wish to suggest that, even if the question is the conscription of non-pacifist youth, it is a fundamental mistake for pacifists ever to relent in their opposition to this evil, ever to devote their energies primarily to securing special provisions for COs within a draft law, or to lapse into feeling that conscription has become somehow more palatable if such provisions are made by the State. It is not our own children, if we are pacifist parents, or our fellow pacifist Christians, if we are churchmen, about whom we should be most deeply concerned. That is a narrow and perhaps self-centered attitude. Also, pacifist youths have some inner resources for meeting the issue. The terrible thing which we should never lose sight of, to which we should never reconcile our spirits, is that the great mass of 18-year-olds are drafted for war. They are given no choice. Few are at the stage of development where they are capable of making a fully rational and responsible choice. Thus the fathers immolate the sons, the older generation immolates the younger, on the altar of Moloch. What God, centuries ago, forbade Abraham to do even to his own son—"Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him"—this we do by decree to the entire youth of a nation.

We need to ask ourselves whether such conscription is in any sense a lesser evil. We have all sensed the danger of arguing against conscription *on the ground* that the nation could raise all the troops it needed by voluntary enlistment. Nevertheless, there is a point to an impassioned argument which George Bernanos makes in his book *Tradition of Freedom*. He states that the man created by Western or Christian civilization "disappeared in the day conscription became law . . . the principle is a totalitarian principle if ever there was one—so much so that you could deduce the whole system from it, as you can deduce the whole of geometry from the propositions of Euclid."

To the question as to whether France, his fatherland, should



not be defended if in peril, he has France answer: "I very much doubt whether my salvation requires such monstrous behavior" as defense by modern war methods. If men wanted to die on behalf of the fatherland, moreover, that would be one thing, but "making a clean sweep, with one scoop of the hand, of an entire male population" is another matter altogether. "You tell me," says France, "that, in saving me, they save themselves. Yes, if they can remain free; no, if they allow you to destroy, by this unheard-of measure, the national covenant. For as soon as you have, by simple decree, created millions of French soldiers, it will be held as proven that you have sovereign rights over the persons and the goods of every Frenchman, that there are no rights higher than yours and where, then, will your usurpations stop? Won't you presently presume to decide what is just and what is unjust, what is Evil and what is Good?"

It is fairly certainly an oversimplification to suggest, as Bernanos does here, that the entire totalitarian mechanized "system" under which men live today or into which they are increasingly drawn, even in countries where a semblance of freedom and spontaneity remains, can be traced to its source in the military conscription which was instituted in the eighteenth century by the French during their revolutionary wars. But what cannot be successfully denied, it seems to me, is that totalitarianism, depersonalization, conscription, war, and the conscripting, war-making power-state are inextricably linked. They constitute a whole, a "system." It is a disease, a creeping paralysis, which affects all nations, on both sides of the global conflict. Revolution and counter-revolution, "peoples' democracies" and "Western democracies," the "peace-loving" nations—on both sides of the war—are cast in this mold of conformity, mechanization and violence. This is the Beast which, in the language of the Apocalypse, is seeking to usurp the place of the Lamb.

We know that "war will stop at nothing," and we are clear in our recognition that, as pacifists, we can have nothing to do with it. But I do not think that it is possible to distinguish between war and conscription, to say that the former is and the latter is not an instrument or mark of the Beast.

Non-conformity, Holy Disobedience, becomes a virtue, indeed a necessary and indispensable measure of spiritual self-preservation, in a day when the impulse to conform, to acquiesce, to go along, is used as an instrument to subject men to totalitarian rule and involve them in permanent war. To create the impression of at least

outward unanimity, the impression that there is no "real" opposition, is something for which all dictators and military leaders strive. The more it seems that there is no opposition, the less worthwhile it seems to an ever larger number of people to cherish even the thought of opposition. Surely, in such a situation, it is important not to place the pinch of incense before Caesar's image, not to make the gesture of conformity which is required, let us say, by registering under a military conscription law. When the object is so plainly to create a situation where the individual no longer has a choice except total conformity, the concentration camp or death; when reliable people tell us seriously that experiments are being conducted with drugs that will paralyze the wills of opponents within a nation or in an enemy country, it is surely neither right nor wise to wait until the "system" has driven us into a corner where we cannot retain a vestige of self-respect unless we say No. It does not seem wise or right to wait until this evil catches up with us, but rather to go out to meet it—to resist—before it has gone any further.

As Bernanos reminds us, "things are moving fast, dear reader, they are moving very fast." He recalls that he "lived at a time when passport formalities seemed to have vanished forever." A man could "travel around the world with nothing in his wallet but his visiting card." He recalls that "twenty years ago, Frenchmen of the middle class refused to have their fingerprints taken; fingerprints were the concern of convicts." But the word "criminal" has "swollen to such prodigious proportions that it now includes every citizen who dislikes the regime, the system, the party, or the man who represents them. . . . The moment, perhaps, is not far off when it will seem as natural for us to leave the front-door key in the lock at night so the police may enter, at any hour of the day or night, as it does to open our pocket-books to every official demand. And when the State decides that it would be a practical measure to put some outward sign on us, why should we hesitate to have ourselves branded on the cheek or on the buttock, with a hot iron, like cattle? The purges of 'wrong-thinkers,' so dear to the totalitarian regimes, would thus become infinitely easier."

To me it seems that submitting to conscription even for civilian service is permitting oneself thus to be branded by the State. It makes the work of the State in preparing for war and in securing the desired impression of unanimity much easier. It seems, therefore, that pacifists should refuse to be thus branded.

In the introductory chapter to Kay Boyle's volume of short

stories about occupied Germany, *The Smoking Mountain*, there is an episode which indicates to me the need for Resistance and for not waiting until it is indeed too late. She tells about a woman, professor of philology in a Hessian University, who said of the German experience with Nazism: "It was a gradual process." When the first *Jews Not Wanted* signs went up, "there was never any protest made about them, and, after a few months, not only we, but even the Jews who lived in that town, walked past without noticing any more that they were there. Does it seem impossible to you that this should happen to civilized people anywhere?"

The philology professor went on to say that, after a while, she put up a picture of Hitler in her class room. After twice refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Hitler, she was persuaded by her students to take it. "They agreed that in taking this oath, which so many anti-Nazis had taken before me, I was committing myself to nothing, and that I could exert more influence as a professor than as an outcast in the town."

She concluded by saying that she now had a picture of a Jew, Spinoza, where Hitler's picture used to hang, and added: "Perhaps you will think I did this ten years too late, and perhaps you are right in thinking this. Perhaps there was something else we could all of us have done, but we never seemed to find a way to do it; either as individuals or as a group, we never seemed to find a way." A decision by the pacifist movement in this country to break completely with conscription, to give up the ideas that we can "exert more influence" if we conform in some measure, if we do not resist to the uttermost—this might awaken our countrymen to a realization of the precipice on the edge of which we stand. It might be the making of our movement.

Thus to embrace Holy Disobedience is not to substitute resistance for reconciliation. It is to practice both reconciliation and resistance. In so far as we help to build up or to smooth the way for American militarism and the regimentation which accompanies it, we certainly are not practicing reconciliation toward the millions of people in the Communist bloc countries against whom American war preparations, including conscription, are directed. Nor are we practicing reconciliation toward the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa whom we condemn to poverty and drive into the arms of Communism by our addiction to military "defense." Nor are we practicing love toward our own fellow-citizens, including the multitude of youths in the armed services, if, against our deep-

est insight, we help to fasten the chains of conscription and war upon them.

Our works of mercy, healing and reconstruction will have a deeper and more genuinely reconciling effect when they are not entangled with conscript service for "the health, safety and interest" of the United States or any other war-making State. It is highly doubtful whether Christian mission boards can permit any of their projects in the Orient to be staffed by men supposed to be working for "the health, safety and interest" of the United States. The Gospel of reconciliation will be preached with a new freedom and power when the preachers have broken decisively with American militarism. It surely cannot be preached at all in Communist lands by those who have not made that break. When we have gotten off the back of what someone has called the "wild elephant" of militarism and conscription on to the solid ground of freedom, and only then, we will be able to live and work constructively. Like Abraham, we shall have to depart from the City-which-is in order that we may help to build the City-which-is-to-be, whose true builder and maker is God.

It is possible, perhaps even likely, that if we set ourselves apart as those who will have no dealings whatever with conscription, who will not place the pinch of incense before Caesar's image, our fellow-citizens will stone us, as Stephen was stoned when he reminded his people that it was they who had "received the law as it was ordained by angels, and kept it not." So may we be stoned for reminding our people of a tradition of freedom and peace which was also, in a real sense, "ordained by angels" and which we no longer keep. But, it will thus become possible for them, as for Paul, even amidst the search for new victims to persecute, suddenly to see the face of Christ and the vision of a new Jerusalem.

Someone may reflect at this point that I have counseled against people leaving the normal path of life too readily and that I am now counseling a policy which is certain to create disturbance in individual lives, in families and communities. That is so. But to depart from the common way in response to a conscription law, in an attempt to adapt oneself to an abnormal state of society, is one thing; to leave father, mother, wife, child, yea and one's own life also, at the behest of Christ or conscience is quite another. Our generation will not return to a condition under which every man may sit under his own vine and fig tree, with none to make him afraid, unless there are those who are willing to pay the high cost

of redemption and deliverance from regimentation, terror and war. Finally, it is of crucial importance that we should understand that for the individual to pit himself in Holy Disobedience against the war-making and conscripting State, wherever it or he be located, is not an act of despair or defeatism. Rather, I think we may say that precisely this individual refusal to "go along" is now the beginning and the core of any realistic and practical movement against war and for a more peaceful and brotherly world. For it becomes daily clearer that political and military leaders pay virtually no attention to protests against current foreign policy and pleas for peace since they know quite well that, when it comes to a showdown, all but a handful of the millions of protesters will "go along" with the war to which the policy leads. All but a handful will submit to conscription. Few of the protesters will so much as risk their jobs in the cause of "peace." The failure of the policymakers to change their course does not, save perhaps in very rare instances, mean that they are evil men who want war. They feel, as indeed they so often declare in crucial moments, that the issues are so complicated, the forces arrayed against them so strong, that they "have no choice" but to add another score of billions to the military budget, and so on and on. Why should they think there is any reality, hope or salvation in "peace advocates" who, when the moment of decision comes, also act on the assumption that they "have no choice" but to conform?

Precisely on that day when the individual appears to be utterly hopeless, to "have no choice," when the aim of the "system" is to convince him that he is helpless as an individual and that the only way to meet regimentation is by regimentation, there is absolutely no hope save in going back to the beginning. The human being, the child of God, must assert his humanity and his sonship again. He must exercise the choice which no longer is accorded him by society, which, "naked, weaponless, armourless, without shield or spear, but only with naked hands and open eyes," he must create again. He must understand that this naked human being is the one *real* thing in the face of the machines and the mechanized institutions of our age. He, by the grace of God, is the seed of all the human life there will be on earth, though he may have to die to make that harvest possible. As *Life* stated, in its unexpectedly profound and stirring editorial of August 20, 1945, its first issue after the atom bombing of Hiroshima: "Our sole safeguard against the

very real danger of a reversion to barbarism is the kind of morality which compels the individual conscience, be the group right or wrong. The individual conscience against the atomic bomb? Yes. There is no other way."

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ORIGINAL CHILD BOMB

Thomas Merton, *The Collected Poems*. Copyright © 1963, 1968 by the Abbey of Gethsemani, Inc.

ORIGINAL CHILD BOMB  
(1962)

Points for meditation  
to be scratched on  
the walls of a cave

DOCUMENT 23

Points for meditation to be scratched on the walls of a cave

1: In the year 1945 an Original Child was born. The name Original Child was given to it by the Japanese people, who recognized that it was the first of its kind.

2: On April 12th, 1945, Mr. Harry Truman became the President of the United States, which was then fighting the second world war. Mr. Truman was a vice president who became president by accident when his predecessor died of a cerebral hemorrhage. He did not know as much about the war as the president before him did. He knew a lot less about the war than many people did.

About one hour after Mr. Truman became president, his aides told him about a new bomb which was being developed by atomic scientists. They called it the "atomic bomb." They said scientists had been working on it for six years and that it had so far cost two billion dollars. They added that its power was equal to that of twenty thousand tons of TNT. A single bomb could destroy a city. One of those present added, in a reverent tone, that the new explosive might eventually destroy the whole world.

But Admiral Leahy told the President the bomb would never work.

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3: President Truman formed a committee of men to tell him if this bomb would work, and if so, what he should do with it. Some members of this committee felt that the bomb would jeopardize the future of civilization. They were against its use. Others wanted it to be used in demonstration on a forest of cryptomeria trees, but not against a civil or military target. Many atomic scientists warned that the use of atomic power in war would be difficult and even impossible to control. The danger would be very great. Finally, there were others who believed that if the bomb were used just once or twice, on one or two Japanese cities, there would be no more war. They believed the new bomb would produce eternal peace.

4: In June 1945 the Japanese government was taking steps to negotiate for peace. On one hand the Japanese ambassador tried to interest the Russian government in acting as a go-between with the United States. On the other hand, an unofficial approach was made secretly through Mr. Allen Dulles in Switzerland. The Russians said they were not interested and that they would not negotiate. Nothing was done about the other proposal which was not official. The Japanese High Command was not in favor of asking for peace, but wanted to continue the war, even if the Japanese mainland were invaded. The generals believed that the war should continue until everybody was dead. The Japanese generals were professional soldiers.

5: In the same month of June, the President's committee decided that the new bomb should be dropped on a Japanese city. This would be a demonstration of the bomb on a civil and military target. As "demonstration" it would be a kind of a "show." "Civilians" all over the world love a good "show." The "destructive" aspect of the bomb would be "military."

would arouse the attention of the Japanese military class and give them food for thought.

10: Admiral Leahy renewed his declaration that the bomb would not explode.

11: On the 4th of July, when the United States in displays of fireworks celebrates its independence from British rule, the British and Americans agreed together that the bomb ought to be used against Japan.

12: On July 7th the Emperor of Japan pleaded with the Soviet Government to act as mediator for peace between Japan and the Allies. Molotov said the question would be "studied." In order to facilitate this "study" Soviet troops in Siberia prepared to attack the Japanese. The Allies had, in any case, been urging Russia to join the war against Japan. However, now that the atomic bomb was nearly ready, some thought it would be better if the Russians took a rest.

13: The time was coming for the new bomb to be tested, in the New Mexico desert. A name was chosen to designate this secret operation. It was called "Trinity."

14: At 5:30 A.M. on July 16th, 1945 a plutonium bomb was successfully exploded in the desert at Almagordo, New Mexico. It was suspended from a hundred foot steel tower which evaporated. There was a fireball a mile wide. The great flash could be seen for a radius of 250 miles. A blind woman miles

6: The same committee also asked if America's friendly ally, the Soviet Union, should be informed of the atomic bomb. Someone suggested that this information would make the Soviet Union even more friendly than it was already. But all finally agreed that the Soviet Union was now friendly enough.

7: There was discussion about which city should be selected as the first target. Some wanted it to be Kyoto, an ancient capital of Japan and a center of the Buddhist religion. Others said no, this would cause bitterness. As a result of a chance conversation, Mr. Stimson, the Secretary of War, had recently read up on the history and beauties of Kyoto. He insisted that this city should be left untouched. Some wanted Tokyo to be the first target, but others argued that Tokyo had already been practically destroyed by fire raids and could no longer be considered a "target." So it was decided Hiroshima was the most opportune target, as it had not yet been bombed at all. Lucky Hiroshima! What others had experienced over a period of four years would happen to Hiroshima in a single day! Much time would be saved, and "time is money!"

8: When they bombed Hiroshima they would put the following out of business: The Ube Nitrogen Fertilizer Company; the Ube Soda Company; the Nippon Motor Oil Company; the Sumitoma Chemical Company; the Sumitoma Aluminum Company; and most of the inhabitants.

9: At this time some atomic scientists protested again, warning that the use of the bomb in war would tend to make the United States unpopular. But the President's committee was by now fully convinced that the bomb had to be used. Its use

away said she perceived light. There was a cloud of smoke 40,000 feet high. It was shaped like a toadstool.

15: Many who saw the experiment expressed their satisfaction in religious terms. A semi-official report even quoted a religious book—The New Testament, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief." There was an atmosphere of devotion. It was a great act of faith. They believed the explosion was exceptionally powerful.

16: Admiral Leahy, still a "doubting Thomas," said that the bomb would not explode when dropped from a plane over a city. Others may have had "faith," but he had his own variety of "hope."

17: On July 21st a full written report of the explosion reached President Truman at Potsdam. The report was documented by pictures. President Truman read the report and looked at the pictures before starting out for the conference. When he left his mood was jaunty and his step was light.

18: That afternoon Mr. Stimson called on Mr. Churchill, and laid before him a sheet of paper bearing a code message about the successful test. The message read "Babies satisfactorily born." Mr. Churchill was quick to realize that there was more in this than met the eye. Mr. Stimson satisfied his legitimate curiosity.

19: On this same day sixty atomic scientists who knew of the test signed a petition that the bomb should not be used against

Japan without a convincing warning and an opportunity to surrender.

At this time the U.S.S. Indianapolis, which had left San Francisco on the 18th, was sailing toward the Island of Tinian, with some U 235 in a lead bucket. The fissionable material was about the size of a softball, but there was enough for one atomic bomb. Instructions were that if the ship sank, the Uranium was to be saved first, before any life. The mechanism of the bomb was on board the U.S.S. Indianapolis, but it was not yet assembled.

20: On July 26th the Potsdam declaration was issued. An ultimatum was given to Japan: "Surrender unconditionally or be destroyed." Nothing was said about the new bomb. But pamphlets dropped all over Japan threatened "an enormous air bombardment" if the army would not surrender. On July 26th the U.S.S. Indianapolis arrived at Tinian and the bomb was delivered.

21: On July 28th, since the Japanese High Command wished to continue the war, the ultimatum was rejected. A censored version of the ultimatum appeared in the Japanese press with the comment that it was "an attempt to drive a wedge between the military and the Japanese people." But the Emperor continued to hope that the Russians, after "studying" his proposal, would help to negotiate a peace. On July 30th Mr. Stimson revised a draft of the announcement that was to be made after the bomb was dropped on the Japanese target. The statement was much better than the original draft.

22: On August 1st the bomb was assembled in an airconditioned hut on Tinian. Those who handled the bomb referred

Gay. That evening few were able to sleep. They were as excited as little boys on Christmas Eve.

27: At 1:37 A.M. August 6th the weather scout plane took off. It was named the Straight Flush, in reference to the mechanical action of a water closet. There was a picture of one, to make this evident.

28: At the last minute before taking off Col. Tibbetts changed the secret radio call sign from "Visitor" to "Dimples." The Bombing Mission would be a kind of flying smile.

29: At 2:45 A.M. Enola Gay got off the ground with difficulty. Over Iwo Jima she met her escort, two more B-29s, one of which was called the Great Artiste. Together they proceeded to Japan.

30: At 6:40 they climbed to 31,000 feet, the bombing altitude. The sky was clear. It was a perfect morning.

31: At 3:09 they reached Hiroshima and started the bomb run. The city was full of sun. The fliers could see the green grass in the gardens. No fighters rose up to meet them. There was no flak. No one in the city bothered to take cover.

32: The bomb exploded within 100 feet of the aiming point. The fireball was 18,000 feet across. The temperature at the center of the fireball was 100,000,000 degrees. The people who

to it as "Little Boy." Their care for the Original Child was devoted and tender.

23: On August 2nd President Truman was the guest of His Majesty King George VI on board the H.M.S. Renown in Plymouth Harbor. The atomic bomb was praised. Admiral Leahy, who was present, declared that the bomb would not work. His Majesty George VI offered a small wager to the contrary.

24: On August 2nd a special message from the Japanese Foreign Minister was sent to the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow. "It is requested that further efforts be exerted . . . Since the loss of one day may result in a thousand years of regret, it is requested that you immediately have a talk with Molotov." But Molotov did not return from Potsdam until the day the bomb fell.

25: On August 4th the bombing crew on Tinian watched a movie of "Trinity" (the Almagordo Test). August 5th was a Sunday but there was little time for formal worship. They said a quick prayer that the war might end "very soon." On that day, Col. Tibbetts, who was in command of the B-29 that was to drop the bomb, felt that his bomber ought to have a name. He baptized it Enola Gay, after his mother in Iowa. Col. Tibbetts was a well balanced man, and not sentimental. He did not have a nervous breakdown after the bombing, like some of the other members of the crew.

26: On Sunday afternoon "Little Boy" was brought out in procession and devoutly tucked away in the womb of Enola

were near the center became nothing. The whole city was blown to bits and the ruins all caught fire instantly everywhere, burning briskly. 70,000 people were killed right away or died within a few hours. Those who did not die at once suffered great pain. Few of them were soldiers.

33: The men in the plane perceived that the raid had been successful, but they thought of the people in the city and they were not perfectly happy. Some felt they had done wrong. But in any case they had obeyed orders. "It was war."

34: Over the radio went the code message that the bomb had been successful: "Visible effects greater than Trinity . . . Proceeding to Papacy." Papacy was the code name for Tinian.

35: It took a little while for the rest of Japan to find out what had happened to Hiroshima. Papers were forbidden to publish any news of the new bomb. A four line item said that Hiroshima had been hit by incendiary bombs and added: "It seems that some damage was caused to the city and its vicinity."

36: Then the military governor of the Prefecture of Hiroshima issued a proclamation full of martial spirit. To all the people without hands, without feet, with their faces falling off, with their intestines hanging out, with their whole bodies full of radiation, he declared: "We must not rest a single day in our war effort . . . We must bear in mind that the annihilation of the stubborn enemy is our road to revenge." He was a professional soldier.

37: On August 8th Molotov finally summoned the Japanese Ambassador. At last neutral Russia would give an answer to the Emperor's inquiry. Molotov said coldly that the Soviet Union was declaring war on Japan.

38: On August 9th another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, though Hiroshima was still burning. On August 11th the Emperor overruled his high command and accepted the peace terms dictated at Potsdam. Yet for three days discussion continued, until on August 14th the surrender was made public and final.

39: Even then the Soviet troops thought they ought to fight in Manchuria "just a little longer." They felt that even though they could not, at this time, be of help in Japan, it would be worth while if they displayed their good will in Manchuria, or even in Korea.

40: As to the Original Child that was now born, President Truman summed up the philosophy of the situation in a few words. "We found the bomb" he said "and we used it."

41: Since that summer many other bombs have been "found." What is going to happen? At the time of writing, after a season of brisk speculation, men seem to be fatigued by the whole question.

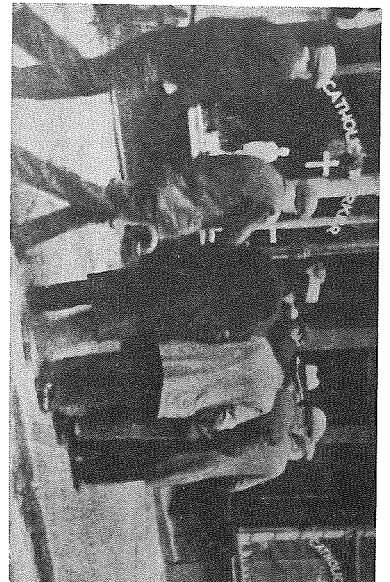


Thomas Merton (1915-1968)

Peter Maurin (1877-1949)  
auf der MaryFarm, Easton,  
Pennsylvania, 1938



Dorothy Day (1897-1980)



The Catholic Worker

X. Die Bewegung der "Catholic Worker" und der spirituelle Pazifismus Thomas Mertons

CHRISTIAN BARTOLF

1. Der "Catholic Worker"

Der "Catholic Worker" wurde in New Yorks Lower East Side gegründet, um christlichen Pazifismus zu unterstützen und die direkte Verteidigung jener, die an sozialer Ungerechtigkeit leiden, und widmete sich "personalistisch" sozialer Aktion.

In ihren Gästehäusern, Suppenküchen, Höfen und direkten Aktionen hat die Bewegung der "Catholic Worker" jene radikale Gewaltfreiheit artikuliert und demonstriert, die im ursprünglichen Christentum eingeschrieben ist. Die politische und ökonomische Theorie der "Worker" kam von Peter Maurin, einem eingewanderten französischen Bauern und Sozialphilosophen, aber es war die Einsicht und praktische Erfahrung von Dorothy Day, einer Journalistin und katholischen Konvertitin, die dabei half, um Maurins Ideen herum eine Bewegung aufzubauen.

Inmitten der Depressionsphase betonte Maurin nachdrücklich die Notwendigkeit, dem Arbeiter Eigentum an Produktionsmitteln zu geben, landwirtschaftliche Gemeinschaften zu gründen, Einrichtungen gegenseitiger Hilfe und freiwilliger Armut, so daß Menschen von ihrer Abhängigkeit gegenüber dem Staat loskommen. Seine Vision einer "personalistischen Revolution", in kurzen, einfachen Essays vergegenwärtigt, verlangte nach einer Synthese von "Kult, Kultur und Kultivierung". Er ermutigte Menschen, Verantwortung zu übernehmen, um die neue Sozialordnung selbst hervorzubringen, indem sie sich in städtischen Gemeinschaften sammelten, um den Erwerbslosen mit Nahrung und Wohnung zu dienen, indem sie Landgemeinschaften errichteten, um eine Rückkehr aufs Land für jene zu ermöglichen, die aus der städtischen kapitalistischen Ökonomie ausgesondert wurden, und indem sie sich in Zusammenkünften am runden Tisch engagierten, um zu klären, wie die Personen die Revolution in ihren alltäglichen Situationen vorleben könnten. Maurin drückte sich so aus: "Lenin sagte: 'Es kann keine Revolution ohne eine

Revolutionstheorie geben', so versuche ich, die Theorie einer grünen Revolution zu geben."

Peter Maurin (1) wurde 1877 geboren, als eines von 23 Kindern, und wuchs in St. Julien, Frankreich, im Gemeinschaftsleben auf. Nach 5 Jahren mit christlichen Brüdern in Paris schloß er sich einer katholischen Bewegung für soziale Aktion an, "Sillon" genannt, die junge Katholiken in einem Netzwerk von Gastzentren organisierten, in Arbeiterstudienvereinen und Selbsthilfegruppen. Er war für sieben Jahre Arbeiter in Kanada, dann unterrichtete er Französisch in Chicago und Woodstock, bevor er nach New York City zog.

Maurin war ein kleiner und stämmiger Mann, der es liebte, mit den Menschen zu sprechen und sie oft auf Straßen und in Gassen aufsuchte. Er war ein großer Flugblattverteiler, ein Redner auf der Seifenkiste am Union Square in New York, ein Sprecher in College-Hörsälen vor einem breiten Auditorium. Er genoß es, im Land herumzuwandern, an Schulen, in Seminaren zu sprechen, oder einfach nur zu reisen, an Bushaltestellen oder in Schlafsälen für 'Penner' zu übernachten, wechselte selten seine Kleider und bedrängte stets den einzelnen, die körperlichen und spirituellen Werke der Gnade zu verrichten. Er lebte in freiwilliger Einfachheit, glaubte, daß es viel Geld auf der Welt gäbe, aber daß, was nötig wäre, Menschen seien, die in den richtigen Ideen aufgingen. Als er auf einer "Catholic Worker"- Farm 1949 starb, wurde er in einem gespendeten Anzug in einem gestifteten Grab in Brooklyn beigesetzt.

Maurins Ideen zu Geld und Zinsen lassen sich auf biblische Lehren und die Tradition der christlichen Kirche zurückverfolgen. "Die Propheten Israels", schrieb er, "und die Kirchenväter verboten es, Geld auf Zinsen zu verleihen. Geldleihe auf Zinsen wird von den Propheten Israels und den Vätern der Kirche Wucher genannt." In einem anderen "leichten Essay" schrieb er: "Geld ist qua Definition ein Tauschmittel und nicht ein Mittel, um Geld zu machen." Er spielte oft auf die Tatsache an, daß die Kirche formal niemals ihren jahrhundertealten Bann betreffs Zinsnahme oder Wucher aufhob.



Maurin konzentrierte sich auf die Kollision der Lehren Jesu mit dem Kapitalismus, eine Kollision, die sich im Gebrauch niederschlägt, dem Mehrwertgeld und -besitz unterworfen sind. In der Sprache des Kapitalisten, verdeutlicht in der puritanischen Ethik, soll Mehrwertgeld zum Profit investiert werden. In der Gesellschaft, die Maurin konzipierte, würden Menschen ihr Mehrwertgeld jenen in Not zukommen lassen. "Den Armen gegebenes Geld", sagte er, "ist funktionierendes Geld, Geld, das seine Funktion erfüllt. Für Investitionen gebrauchtes Geld ist feilgebotenes Geld, Geld, das seine Funktion nicht erfüllt." Anstelle einer Kapitalbildung für den Profit sollten Mehrwertfonds und -quellen kleinen Industrien zukommen, die nach dem Bedarf der Menschen produzieren. Das Recht des Produzenten auf menschliche Arbeit sollte beachtet werden im Kontrast zur Konzentration der modernen Gesellschaft auf den Konsumenten.

Er erinnerte Menschen, die Zinsen für selbstverständlich hielten, daran, daß sie lediglich an einem gewissen Punkt der Geschichte legalisiert worden sind, von dem Punkt an, an dem der Beginn kapitalistischer Unternehmungen sich ereignete. "Als Calvin Geldleihe auf Zinsen rechtfertigte", schrieb er, "machte er das Bankkonto zum Wertmaßstab. Weil Johannes Calvin Geldleihe auf Zinsen rechtfertigte, hat der Staat Geldleihe auf Zinsen legalisiert." Maurin behauptete stets, daß er weit radikaler war als Marx, weil Marx nicht in Tiefe die antihumanen Gesichtspunkte der Arbeit unter dem Industriesystem analysierte. Maurin faßte seine Revolutionsidee in prägnante Grundsätze: "Die Zukunft wird nur anders sein, wenn die Gegenwart anders ist." Und: "Sei die Person, die du willst, daß der andere sie sei." Er suchte stets Übereinstimmungen, auch mit sozialen Ideen, die seiner eigenen diametral entgegengesetzt zu sein schienen, und sprach den "Wobblies" (IWW) (2) ihr Ziel nach, "die neue Gesellschaft in der Schale der alten aufzubauen". Dies, so spürte er, könnte nicht mit Gewalt, sondern durchs beispielsetzende Vorbild bewirkt werden, und dadurch, daß er dem menschlichen Ver-

stand zu "gedanklicher Klärung" verhalf. Er wollte eine Gesellschaft aufzubauen helfen, "in der es für die Menschen leichter wäre, gut zu sein."

Diese Ideen waren es, welche Peter Maurin zu Dorothy Day (3) brachten, einer Frau mit eingehenden Kenntnissen der amerikanischen Sozialordnung und der radikalen Linken. Sie war 35 Jahre alt, als sie sich begegneten, nach langjährigen Erfahrungen mit radikaler Politik und nach zahlreichen Berichten über soziale Bedingungen für die sozialistische Zeitung "Call" in New York, die "New Masses" und nach ihrer Konversion zum Katholizismus für ein von Laien herausgegebenes katholisches Magazin: "Commonweal". Sie wollte etwas mehr tun, außer einfach über soziale Bedingungen zu berichten. "Ich wollte sie verändern, nicht nur über sie berichten", schrieb sie, "aber ich hatte den Glauben an eine Revolution verloren. Ich wollte meinen Feind lieben, ob Kapitalist oder Kommunist." Sie begegnete Peter Maurin zuerst 1932, und sie tauschten Ideen über mehrere Monate hinweg aus, bevor sie entschieden, eine monatliche Zeitung herauszugeben, Dorothy Day schrieb später:

"I had been a Catholic only about four years, and Peter, having suggested that I get out a paper to reach the man in the street, started right in on my education ; he was a born teacher, and any park bench, coffee shop counter, bus or lodging house was a place to teach. He believed in starting on a program at once, without waiting to acquire classroom or office or meeting hall. To reach the man in the street, you went to the street. Peter was literal." (4)

Die erste Ausgabe von "The Catholic Worker" wurde für einen Penny pro Ausgabe verkauft auf der May Day-Feier auf dem Union Square 1933 in New York City. Die erste Ausgabe behandelte die Ausbeutung schwarzer Arbeiter durch das Kriegsministerium als billige Arbeitskräfte beim Schutzdambau im Süden. Sie enthielt auch Artikel über Frauen und Kinder in Industrien und über die Zunahme der Erwerbslosigkeit. Folgende Ausgaben trugen Neuigkeiten über Streiks und Arbeitsbedingungen durch das ganze Land und Nachrichten und Analysen von Entwicklungen im Ausland.

Der Bewegung der "Catholic Worker" gehörten Menschen an - Arbeiter, Studenten und Arme, die freiwillig kamen - die spürten, daß sie nicht über Themen schreiben könnten, ohne ein eigenes Anliegen oder ohne am Anliegen anderer teilzuhaben. 1935 demonstrierten sie vor dem deutschen Konsulat, um gegen die Behandlung der europäischen Juden zu protestieren. Die katholischen Arbeiter handelten als ein bewegliches Streik Helferteam während der Organisierungstage der CIO. Sie gingen nach Arkansas, um die Farmpächtergewerkschaft zu unterstützen, und halfen bei der Bildung einer Seefahrergewerkschaft auf nationaler Ebene 1936. Die Position der Herausgeber des "Catholic Worker" war durchgehend pazifistisch während Klassenkrieg, Rassenkrieg, des Äthiopischen Krieges der Italiener, des Spanischen Bürgerkriegs, des gesamten Zweiten Weltkriegs, des Koreakrieges und des Krieges in Indochina.

Das Blatt druckte zahllose Artikel, welche die katholische These vom "gerechten Krieg" herausforderten, und unterstützte die Position, daß Katholiken Kriegsdienstverweigerer sein können und sollten (5). Pazifismus war in den frühen 30ern populär und das Blatt hatte bald eine Auflage von über 110.000 ; über 30 Gästehäuser wurden eingerichtet von enthusiastischen Anhängern, und neun Farmgemeinschaften folgten. Während der Depression bediente das "Catholic Worker"- Haus (sage und schreibe:) 3.000 Menschen pro Tag mit Mahlzeiten.

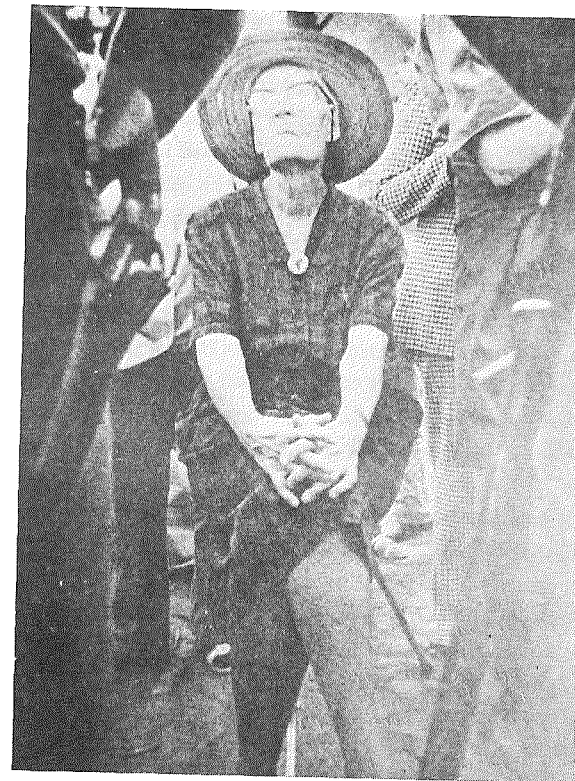
1935 organisierten Mitglieder einen Zweig der englischen PAX- Bewegung, um die katholischen Lehren zur Moralität des Krieges zu studieren. Nach der Einführung der Registrierungspflicht wurde dies die "Vereinigung der katholischen Kriegsdienstverweigerer" (6). Nach dem Kampf für das Recht von Katholiken auf Kriegsdienstverweigerung unterstützte der "Worker" mehrere CPS- Lager für eine gewisse Zeit während des Krieges für die Glücklichen, die die Anerkennung als Kriegsdienstverweigerer von den Wehrämtern erhalten hatten. Als die meisten männlichen Mitglieder im Gefängnis oder in den Camps waren, waren

jedoch viele der Gästehäuser gezwungen, zu schließen. Nach dem Krieg schrieb Robert Ludlow (7), Herausgeber des Blattes, deutlich und häufig über die Notwendigkeit einer gewaltfreien Revolution, und der "Worker" wurde das Zentrum für jene einzigartige Mischung von christlichem Anarchismus. Während der frühen 50er Jahre führte Ammon Hennacy (8) den "Worker" in eine neue Phase des Aktivismus und knüpfte Verbindungen zur wachsenden Friedensbewegung, besonders der "War Resisters League". Es war Hennacys Idee, während der Zivilschutzübungen (in New York) die Beteiligung zu verweigern. Der "Worker" wurde in den 60er Jahren vor allem auch sehr stark von dem Mönch, Schriftsteller und Dichter Thomas Merton beeinflusst, dessen theologische Schriften eine neue Friedenstheologie zu entwickeln halfen, indem sie den pazifistischen Standpunkt des Katholiken klärten und gewaltfreien Widerstand unterstützten. Aktive Geistliche wie Daniel und Philip Berrigan und der sozialistische Schriftsteller Michael Harrington nahmen ebenfalls an den Bemühungen des "Catholic Worker" Anteil.

Während des Kalten Krieges leisteten katholische Arbeiter gegen den möglichen Einsatz und Test von Atombomben Widerstand und verurteilten den wachsenden Militarismus der Vereinigten Staaten. In den späten 50ern und frühen 60ern waren sie aktive Teilnehmer in verschiedenen Projekten für gewaltfreie Aktionen und gründeten die katholische Friedensstiftung und die zweite amerikanische PAX- Vereinigung, die sich später mit Pax Christi verband, jener internationalen Friedensbewegung, die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Europa gegründet worden war. Als aktive Unterstützerin von PAX sprach Dorothy Day auf den Jahrestreffen der Organisation, die auf der "Catholic Worker"- Farm in Tivoli, New York, abgehalten wurden - Thema: die Anwendung der Gewaltfreiheit des Evangeliums auf den modernen Krieg und das moderne Leben.

Mitte der 60er Jahre waren die "Catholic Worker" an der Front des Anti-Vietnam-Krieg- Protestes zu finden, wo sie im Verein mit anderen gewaltfreien Gruppen arbeiteten. Im August 1963 rief der "Worker" zu dem auf, was wohl die erste US- Demonstration gegen den Krieg in Vietnam genannt werden kann, eine 'picket'- Demonstration außerhalb der Residenz des südvietnamesischen Beobachters bei den Vereinten Nationen. 1967 schon waren die meisten der jungen Männer des "Worker" entweder im Gefängnis oder auf dem Weg ins Gefängnis, weil sie gegen den Krieg protestierten. In den 70er Jahren führen die "Worker" fort, Nicht-Kooperation zu unterstützen im Bereich der Wehrerfassung und bei der Kriegssteuerzahlung (in demonstrativen, organisierten Kampagnen der Nicht-Zusammenarbeit mit den staatlichen Behörden) - und unterstützten aktiv die "United Farm Workers Union" (Landarbeitergewerkschaft der mexikanisch-amerikanischen Wanderarbeiter oder "Chicanos") in Kalifornien unter Führung von Cesar Chavez (9).

Die Bewegung der "Catholic Worker" hatte großen Einfluß auf die Entwicklung aktiver Gewaltfreiheit in den USA. Einige der 47 Gemeinschaften, die mit ihm verbunden sind, sind nicht mehr als Ladenwohnungen. Einige andere sind -wie das Haus in Los Angeles, welches ein ausführliches Programm durchführt und eine monatliche Zeitung herausgibt ("The Catholic Agitator")- mehr als nur Zweigstellen. Im ganzen Land führen alle ihre tägliche Arbeit im direkten Dienst am Armen fort und leisten damit aktiv Zeugenschaft für die Idee freiwilliger Armut, persönlichen Einsatzes in direkter Aktion und gelebter Gemeinschaft.



Dorothy Day vom Catholic Worker, bevor sie im Alter von 75 Jahren beim Streik der Landarbeiter verhaftet wird - Lamont/Kalifornien August 1973

## 2. Dorothy Day (1897-1980)

Dorothy Day übte einen Einfluß auf ihre Zeit aus, dem nur wenige Frauen in der amerikanischen Geschichte gleichkamen. Über 50 Jahre lang artikulierte sie die Notwendigkeit und Elemente aktiver Gewaltfreiheit und gab den Kämpfen ihrer Zeit für Frieden, Gerechtigkeit und Menschenrechte persönliches Führungsprofil. Ihr Leben hindurch, durch Schriften und ihre Arbeit beim "Catholic Worker", wandte sie die Lehre Jesu auf moderne Bedingungen an und verkündete aktiv eine Friedens-theologie. Diese stand in direktem Kontrast zur sogenannten Theorie des gerechten Krieges, welche das christliche Denken seit dem 5. Jahrhundert beherrschte. Geboren in Brooklyn, zog Dorothy Day mit ihrer Familie nach Kalifornien, als sie sechs Jahre alt war, und dann nach Chicago, nachdem das Erdbeben von San Francisco das Verlagsgebäude zerstört hatte, in dem ihr Vater gearbeitet. Sie bekam ein Stipendium der Universität von Illinois, und ihre Erfahrungen als eine bedürftige Studentin sowie ihre umfangreichen Lesearbeiten führten sie zu einer sozialistischen Gruppierung nach Urbana. Als sie zwei Jahre lang das College besucht hatte, zog ihre Familie zurück nach New York, und Dorothy fand anstelle eines Schulabschlusses eine Stelle bei der New Yorker Tageszeitung der Sozialisten, "Call", und schrieb später zudem für "New Masses". Ihre Freunde waren politische Aktivisten und Schriftsteller, so daß sie sich inmitten einer Welt von Radikalen wiederfand, in der Gespräche und Debatten über Sozialisten, doktrinäre Marxisten, Anarchisten und "Wobblies" an der Tagesordnung waren. Während der Kampagnen der "Woman Suffrage" 1917 schloß sie sich einer Demonstrationkette an und damit einer Gruppe, welche die Rechte kurz zuvor inhaftierter und als politische Gefangene behandelter Frauen hochhielt, wurde sie ebenfalls verhaftet und begann einen zehntägigen Hungerstreik im Gefängnis. 1928, nach Jahren freien Schriftstellerinnendaseins, einer gewöhnlichen Ehe und der Geburt einer Tochter entschied sie sich,

zu einer Katholikin zu konvertieren. Die Schwierigkeiten ihrer Entscheidung, körperliche Liebe aufzugeben für die Liebe zu Gott, schildert sie ausführlich in ihrem Buch "The Long Loneliness" (Die lange Einsamkeit), einer Autobiographie (10).

1933, zusammen mit Peter Maurin, rief Dorothy Day die Bewegung der "Catholic Worker" ins Leben, welche religiöse, radikale und anarchistische Anliegen in Verbindung brachte und die Bedeutung direkter, wechselseitiger Hilfeleistung als einen Weg zu gesellschaftlicher Umgestaltung deutlich betonte.

Die katholischen Arbeiter nahmen den christlichen Auftrag beim Wort und damit wörtlich, die Hungrigen zu nähren, die Nackten zu kleiden und den Heimatlosen Schutz zu geben, und wandten somit Christi Botschaft während einer Zeit ökonomischer Depression und sich ungehindert entfaltender Kriegswirtschaft konkret an - zu einer Zeit, wo der Glauben an den Kapitalismus ins Wanken geriet und der Zusammenhang von expansionistischer Profitwirtschaft und Kriegsfrage immer deutlicher zutage trat.

Dorothy Day gab die Zeitung "The Catholic Worker" heraus und half dabei mit, Häuser der Gastfreundschaft für die Armen zu errichten sowie eine Reihe von Landkommunen. Sie schrieb über die Morallosigkeit von Krieg und Wehrpflicht und erhob in Kreisen amerikanischer Katholiken führend die Stimme für einen militanten Pazifismus.

Als die Wehrpflicht 1941 in den USA eingeführt wurde, fuhr Dorothy Day nach Washington, um vor einem Kongreßausschuß über das Recht auf Kriegsdienstverweigerung zu sprechen (11). Der "Catholic Worker" druckte während der gesamten Dauer des Zweiten Weltkrieges Artikel zu solchen Themen ab wie "Die unmoralische Wehrpflicht" (12), "Katholiken können Kriegsdienstverweigerer sein", "Die Waffen des Geistes" und "Das Evangelium des Friedens".

Sie schrieb bewegende Gedanken zu den Ereignissen und sozialen Bedingungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in ihren Kolumnen, Büchern und Artikeln nieder und sprach vor einem breiten Publikum über die Prinzipien der "Catholic Worker"



und die Notwendigkeit einer dezentralisierten und gewaltfreien Gesellschaftsordnung mit gerechter Verteilung der Güter.

Ihre Philosophie von Dienst und freiwilliger Armut und ihre davon genährte Vision einer gesunden Gesellschaft auf dem Weg zur Gewaltfreiheit inspirierte zahllose Tausende und verhalf Mitgliedern der katholischen Gemeinde innerhalb und außerhalb der USA zu einem veränderten Bewußtsein.

Dorothy Day wurde während der 50er Jahre verhaftet, als sie sich, wie viele Freunde, während der Zivilschutzübungen geweigert hatte, den Schutzraum in New York City aufzusuchen, und opponierte entschieden gegen den Handel und die Versuche mit Atombomben. Während des Vietnam-Krieges verhalf ihre Einflußnahme zu einer Katalyse von Widerstandsaktionen und zu einem Anwachsen der radikalen katholischen Linken. Sie opponierte öffentlich gegen den Krieg, ermutigte und unterstützte die Nichtzusammenarbeit mit Wehrrfassungs- und Kriegssteuerzahlungsbehörden und sprach im November 1965 auf dem Union Square bei jener öffentlichen Wehrpaßverbrennung, wo zwei der fünf Akteure katholische Arbeiter waren. Dorothy Day unterstützte ebenfalls den gewaltfreien Kampf der Landarbeiter von den ersten Tagen des Streiks in Delano an und verbrachte im Sommer 1973, im Alter von 75 Jahren, 12 Tage in einem kalifornischen Gefängnis, weil sie mit Cesar Chavez und der Gewerkschaftsvereinigung der Landarbeiter demonstriert hatte. 1975 schrieb sie:

"The peace movement knows that there is something fundamentally evil about this society. Kent State and the killing of students. All the years of killing in Vietnam. All the murderous weapons being sold throughout the world. All the endured violence of Civil Rights' struggles and freedom rides and sit-ins. Through all this one comes to know the seriousness of the situation and to realize it's not going to be changed just by demonstrations. It's a question of risking one's life. It's a question of living one's life in drastically different ways." (13)

May, 1982

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THE CATHOLIC WORKER

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# CATHOLIC THE WORKER

## The Day I Met Peter Maurin

By STANLEY VISHNEWSKI

The door opened. An old man came in. He wore a shabby, ill-fitting suit and heavy hob-nailed shoes. His pockets bulged with newspapers and pamphlets. I remember how the hob-nails in his shoes clattered against the wooden floor, as he went past us without speaking. I had the impression that he did not see us.

"That's Peter Maurin," Mary Sheehan said. "He writes the Easy Essays for the paper. He lives up in Harlem."

I looked at the doorway through which the man had gone. I had thought that he was some "tramp" who had come looking for something to eat.

Mary Sheehan must have sensed what he looks," she said. "He always has his nose stuck in a book. But what a brain he has. He knows everything about history. He could make a lot of money as a teacher."

The envelopes were all addressed. I got up to leave. "Where are you going?" Mary Sheehan asked.

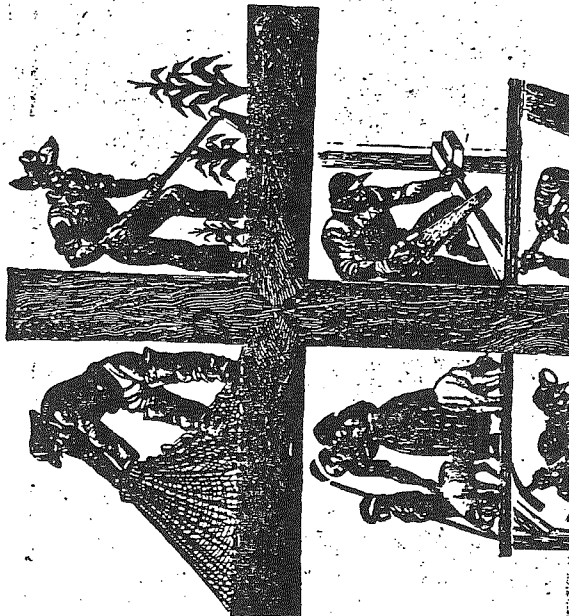
"Home," I said. She looked surprised. "Don't you want to eat with us? It is almost five o'clock."

## We Cannot Keep Silent

By DOROTHY DAY

(Reprinted from the July-August, 1957 issue of THE CATHOLIC WORKER.)

There is an article in Peace News (England) by Count Michael de La Bédoyère, about the hydrogen bomb. He wishes that England would not use it, would give up the use of nuclear weapons. But he does not wish England to be protected by America. He wishes people would explore the possibilities of non-violent resistance, but someone from Poland said that this would work only when the adversary had a moral sense which was stupid. . . . The Count's conclusion is that she has to be prepared and fight rather than let civilization be destroyed. But the 2,000 civilians who recently signed a protest against the tests of nuclear weapons believe that atomic warfare will destroy civilization. There is no question of saying "I believe" in one keep small wars localized, especially when we are sending jet bombers and nuclear weapons around the world to our air bases and to South Korea. While disarmament talks go on, we continue to arm, we continue defense spending. Friday night on the radio, Victor Riesel



"But . . ." I stammered. "Oh, don't be bashful," Mary said. "Margaret expects you to stay for supper. There's no sense going now. We will be eating in a few minutes."

I sat down. Out in the kitchen I could hear plates being set down on the round table. Then there was silence. I looked at Mary. She smiled back. Margaret came to the doorway. "It is ready."

I stepped aside to let Mary go ahead of me and then followed her into the kitchen. Peter Maurin was already sitting at the table. He was reading a pamphlet. Mary sat down next to him. "Sit here," Margaret told me. "I'll put the food out." I noticed that there was an extra plate at the table. Margaret must have read my thoughts. "That's the Christ plate. We always set an extra plate for anyone who comes."

I had not yet been introduced to Peter but he did not wait for an introduction. At that moment his face became alive and animated. He pointed his finger at me and said, "In the first centuries of Christianity the poor were fed, clothed and sheltered at a personal sacrifice and the Pagans said about the Christians: 'See how they love each other.'"

"Today," he continued, "the poor are fed, clothed, and sheltered by the politicians at the expense of the taxpayers. And because the poor are no longer fed, clothed, and sheltered at a personal sacrifice but at the expense of the taxpayers, Pagans say about the Christians: 'See how they pass the buck.'"

Peter spoke in a rhythmic sing-song. At that time I did not realize that he was reciting one of his own Easy Essays, but I had the feeling that he was quoting from something that had already been written. When he finished, he stared at me as if waiting for me to comment on what he had just said.

Margaret saved me from my embarrassment by asking Peter to say Grace. I bowed my head until it almost touched the plate. The meal consisted of meat-balls, mashed potatoes, string beans, mushrooms, gravy, coffee, bread, butter and slabs of apple pie.

"Someone gave us the food," Margaret  
(Continued on page 6)



## Aims and Purposes

The aim of the Catholic Worker movement is to realize in the individual and in society the expressed and implied teachings of Christ. We see the Sermon on the Mount and the call to solidarity with the poor at the heart of these teachings. Therefore, we must look at the world to see whether we already have a social order that reflects the justice and charity of Christ.

*When we examine the society in which we live, we find that it is not in accord with justice and charity.*

—The maldistribution of wealth is widespread: the fact that there are hungry and homeless people in the midst of plenty is unjust. Furthermore, we are struck by the spiritual destitution of our consumer society. Rich and poor suffer increasingly from isolation, madness, and growing individual violence, side by side with a governmental emphasis on the implements of war instead of human well-being.

—The rapid rise of technology, without a fitting development of morality, emphasizes progress based on profit rather than human needs. The triumvirate of military, business and scientific priorities overwhelms the political process. "Democracy" is reduced to a choice between "brand names" in products and politicians. Bureaucratic structures make accountability, and therefore political change, close to impossible. As a result, there is no forum in which to express, effectively, different views of the events shaping our lives. The individual suffers as much from these transformations as does the whole social order.

—On a scale unknown to previous generations, the poor throughout the world are systematically robbed of the goods necessary to life. Though we realize the United States is not the sole perpetrator of such immoral conduct, we are North Americans and must first acknowledge our own country's culpability. We deplore U.S. imperialism in its various expressions, Multinational corporations, economic "aid," military intervention, etc., have led to the disintegration of communities and the destruction of indigenous cultures—blatant violations of justice and charity.

—The proliferation of nuclear power and weapons stands as a clear sign of the direction of our age. Both are a denial of the very right of people to life and, implicitly, a denial of God. There is a direct economic and moral connection between the arms race and destitution. In the words of Vatican II, "The arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which injures the poor to an intolerable degree."

*To achieve a just society we advocate a complete rejection of the present system*

(Continued on page 7)

the blind labor reporter, said that representatives of unions were in London to beg consideration for the plight of their membership if disarmament really went through. From 10 to 15 million men would be unemployed! So it is recognized that it is defense spending that keeps our prosperity going. We live on the threat of war. It is a hopeful fact that the newspapers give more and more attention to the dangers of atomic war, the words of the scientists as well as the moral leaders of the world.

There is the usual complaint of some of the older readers who also drop in to call, that the paper is not what it used to be. Too much stuff about war and preparation for war, and the duty of building resistance. But I repeat, in Peter Maurin's day, the problem was unemployment. It was the time of the depression. We still need to build up the vision of a new social order wherein justice dwells, and try to work for it here and now. We still need to perform the works of mercy because, in spite of full employment, there is still sin, sickness and death, and the hunger and homelessness and destitution that go with so much sickness, and our industrial system.

But the work of nonviolent resistance to our militarist state must go on. Some readers, and old friends too, ask us why we do not protest Russian tests as well as English and American. We can only say that we have — over and over. In the two talks I gave on May Day before left wing groups, I stressed the numbers of unannounced nuclear tests made in Russia. Why don't we picket the Russian Embassy, another one wants to know. For one thing, we have only one chronic picketer, Ammon Hennacy, and for another, we believe in taking the beam out of our own eye, we believe in loving our enemy, and not contributing to the sum total of hatred and fear of him already in the world.

Today is the feast of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the apostles to the Slavs, and in Jubilee magazine it is stressed how they were persecuted by their own, by the Roman Catholics, and how Roman  
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## We Cannot...

(Continued from page 5)

Catholic bishops of Germany contributed to bringing about the schism between west and east.

The Gospel for this feast gives the directives of Jesus Christ:

"At that time, the Lord appointed also another 72, and sent them two and two before His face into every city and place whither He Himself was not to come. And He said to them, the harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that He send laborers into His harvest. Go, behold I send you as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes, and salute no man by the way. Into whatsoever house you enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him. But if not, it shall return to you."

The Bible reading of the day in the Roman breviary is about David and Goliath and also contains a lesson for us all. David could not walk in the armor Saul sought to clothe him in, but went out with a staff and stone. And the staff prefigured the Cross and the stone, Christ according to St. Augustine.

St. Cyril and Methodius went to conquer a barbarous people and won them to Christianity. It was the so-called Christians who martyred these saints. . . (There is) the commentary of St. Chrysostom on this passage of the Gospel: "Behold, I send you as lambs among wolves."

A Sister who was in prison for several years under the Chinese said that they came to her then and said, "Now you are like us, you are even poorer than we. Your Lord told you to go with neither purse nor scrip and you come with your high standards of living, the rich among the poor, with schools and hospitals and missions. The communists come with neither scrip nor staff and

same time we did, allowed himself to be arrested, and sentenced, just so that he could protest the foolishness of these games last year. He paid his \$25 fine and left the court, always careful not to associate himself with us pacifists and crackpots.

The main reason we make our protest, those of us from the Catholic Worker is to do penance publicly for our sin as Americans for having been the first to make and use the atom bomb. As the priest editor of the Boston Pilot said, "This is an unconfessed sin, and as such not forgiven." We publicly confess our share in the guilt of our country, and we are willing to give up our freedom by this act of civil disobedience: it is not an easy thing to do, physically speaking.

As I woke up this morning I thought of that hard, narrow, iron bed which was suspended from the wall, in the tiny cell at the Woman's House of Detention. I thought of the crowded conditions, how Deane's bed was moved into my single cell to make room for another prisoner. I thought of the grey ugliness of the surroundings that the girls tried to alleviate in little ways as they served out their long sentences, by scrubbing, draping, decorating in whatever way they could through the long months. The sooty feet of recreation space on the roof, the spacious floors for medicinal services, and the scanty space for recreation and occupational therapy. The work is all done by the inmates and there is not enough of that to go around. There are long periods to lie in your bunk and contemplate the four narrow walls, the tiny sink, the toilet in the corner which is also a chair with a meal table in front which comes down from the wall — your dining cubicle in case you are confined to your cell. You find nothing there you want to satisfy but the most elementary instinct of mind or body or soul. And yet the strange and tragic thing is that so many women have found temporary content and safety there from their drab and sin-filled lives while their health was built up and with it, the

## Meeting Peter Maurin

(Continued from page 5)

said, "We have to finish everything up or else it will spoil!"

Peter refrained from talking during the meal. Mary and Margaret did most of the talking. I just listened. During the course of the meal Margaret told Peter that I was a Lithuanian.

Peter put his fork down and looked at me through a pair of glasses which were perched precariously on the edge of his nose. "So you are a Lithuanian," he said. "The Third Order of St. Francis was strong for many years in Lithuania."

I was impressed by Peter's remarks. He was the first person I had met, away from the Lithuanian community, who knew anything about my own culture. Most people didn't even know where Lithuania was on the map.

"My people come from the country," I said. "They were Lithuanian peasants."

"I am a French peasant," Peter said.



"I was born on a farm in the Southern part of France. My family owned the farm for 1,500 years, since the time of St. Augustine. We had seven cows, some sheep and a mare. We used oxen to plow the fields. We raised most of the food we ate. My father worked the land until he was ninety years old."

Peter had moved his chair in order to be closer to me. Margaret and Mary cleared the table and began to wash the dishes. Peter talked as though addressing an audience. He raised his voice slightly. He mentioned names of saints I had never heard of before.

Peter said "In the Catholic Worker we must try to have the voluntary poverty of St. Francis, the charity of St. Vincent de Paul, the intellectual approach of St. Dominic, the easy conversations about things that matter of St. Philip Neri, the manual labor of St. Benedict."

As Peter talked he rocked back and forth in his chair. Every once in a while, to emphasize a point, he would lean over and tap me on the knee. The wrinkles on his face seemed to move up and down as he kept talking.

When he had concluded a statement he would stop talking and lean forward with his finger pointed at me. I, of course, said nothing. I didn't know what to say. It was a new experience, for me, to have an adult treat me as an intellectual equal.

Later, I learned more about Peter's methods of conducting discussions. He had expected me to make some comment on what he was saying. He had wanted me to state what was on my mind. Once I had commented on what he had just said he would then have proceeded to carry on the conversation from there.

Peter would never dominate a conversation. He believed that a person had

people how to help themselves."

Of course we know that the communists also come with arms, with the use of force, with the threat of liquidation to all who do not conform. It is that very use of force that is the heart of the problem today. The means become the end. We cannot force people to be good, to be just, to share with their brothers and sisters. But Peter Maurin said we must make the kind of society in which it is easier to be good. We must make it, and we can only begin with the works of mercy, with sharing what we have, with voluntary poverty.

We must do more. We cannot keep silent in the face of the bomb tests, we cannot ignore what we have done in the past to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Each year on that anniversary, beginning August 6, Ammon Hennacy fasts for as many days as there are years since the bomb was dropped. . . .

In addition to this demonstration of dissent, there will be our third annual protest during the civil defense drill in which the public is supposed to participate by taking shelter. . . . If we again refuse to take shelter, but go out into the streets, in our refusal to play war games as Ammon Hennacy puts it, we are liable again to a jail sentence. The first year we were only in prison a day or two days awaiting bail — the second year we were sentenced to five days, and it is hard to tell what will happen this year. We may be ignored as crackpots, but we have to reconcile ourselves to being a "spectacle to the world, to angels and to men," — to being fools for Christ.

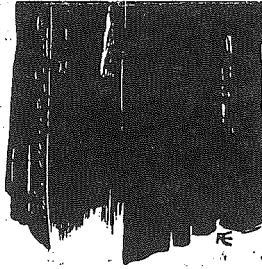
It is not because we can say with St. Peter that we are obeying God rather than man, that we do this. There is nothing in this command of the civil defense authorities in itself that is against the law of God. But it is generally acknowledged that there is no defense. So it is a farce to pretend there is. There is no defense but decentralization, a return of those in the city to the land, or to the small town. One young physicist instructor from Purdue demonstrated at the

life they knew.

We know what we are in for, the risk we run in openly setting ourselves against this most powerful country in the world. It is a tiny Christian gesture, the gesture of a David against a Goliath in an infinitesimal way.

We do not wish to be defiant. We do not wish to antagonize. We love our country and are only saddened to see its great virtues matched by equally great faults. We are a part of it, we are responsible too.

We do not wish to be defiant. We atone in some way, with this small gesture, for what we did in Hiroshima, and what we are still doing by the manufacture and testing of such weapons.



Fritz Eichenberg

## EASY ESSAYS

By PETER MAURIN (1877-1949)

### THE CATHOLIC WORKER

The Catholic Worker stands for co-operativism against capitalism. The Catholic Worker stands for personalism against Socialism. The Catholic Worker stands for leadership against dictatorship. The Catholic Worker stands for agrarianism against industrialism. The Catholic Worker stands for decentralism against totalitarianism.

### THE CASE FOR UTOPIA

The world would be better off if people tried to become better. And people would become better if they stopped trying to become better off. For when everybody tries to become better off, nobody is better off. But when everybody tries to become better, everybody is better off. Everybody would be rich

if nobody tried to become richer. And nobody would be poor if everybody tried to be the poorest. And everybody would be what he ought to be if everybody tried to be what he wants the other person to be. Christianity has nothing to do with either modern capitalism, or modern Communism, for Christianity has a capitalism of its own and a communism of its own. Modern capitalism is based on property without responsibility, while Christian capitalism is based on property with responsibility. Modern Communism is based on poverty through force while Christian communism is based on poverty through choice. For a Christian, voluntary poverty is the ideal as exemplified by St. Francis of Assisi, while private property is not an absolute right, but a gift which as such can not be wasted, but must be administered for the benefit of God's children.

being interrupted. He would never answer a question directly. "I am not a question box," he would say, "I am a chatter box."

I finally asked the question that was on my mind. "What is the purpose of the Catholic Worker?"

To this day I do not know what color his eyes were but I know that he looked at me more intently than anybody had ever looked at me before. Peter leaped up from his chair. He looked down at me.

"The purpose of the Catholic Worker," he said, "is to create a society where it will be easier for men to be good. A society where each person will consider himself to be his brother's keeper. A society where each one will try to serve and to be the least. God wants us to be our brother's keeper. He wants us to feed the hungry at a personal sacrifice. He wants us to clothe the naked at a personal sacrifice. He wants us to shelter the homeless. To serve man for God's sake, that is what God wants us to do."

I was fascinated by Peter's flow of language and his learning. I was impressed by what he was saying. I had never met a man who talked as he did. I glanced around the room. Mary was playing with the cat who was named Social Justice. Margaret was holding her baby. I looked at the window and realized it was getting dark. But Peter was just warming up to his subject. I could sense that he was interested in me.

"We need enthusiasm," Peter said. "Nothing can be accomplished in the work of social reconstruction without enthusiasm."

I was happy to hear Peter say this. I realized that the only talent I had to offer was enthusiasm, enthusiasm and still more enthusiasm!

(This excerpt from Stanley's book WINGS OF THE DAWN, was first printed in 1976. The book, on the early years of the Catholic Worker, will now be published. (Thank you for your patience!) Stanley Vishnewski was with the Catholic Worker from 1931 until his death in November, 1979. Eds. Note.)

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Thomas Merton (1915-1968)

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3. Thomas Merton (1915-1968) - ein Trappistenmönch auf der Suche nach Frieden und Einsamkeit

Thomas Merton (14) wurde am 31. Januar 1915 als Sohn eines neuseeländischen Malers und einer amerikanischen Quäkerin walisischer Abstammung geboren, die an Krebs starb, als Thomas sechs Jahre alt war. Merton wurde zwar in einem kleinen Dorf der französischen Pyrenäen geboren, wuchs aber im ländlichen Long Island, in New York State und - nach dem Tod seiner Mutter - auf den Bermudas auf. Von 1925 bis 1929 kehrten sein Vater und er nach Frankreich zurück, um danach nach England zu ziehen, wo sein Vater 1931 an einem Gehirntumor starb. Nach Einführungen in die Literatur und einem Sommer in Italien begann Merton 1933 mit einem erhaltenen Stipendium in Cambridge moderne Sprachen zu studieren. Trotz einer aussichtsreichen Karriere kehrte er Dezember 1934 zu den Eltern seiner Mutter nach New York zurück und begann dort, an der Columbia - Universität Sozialwissenschaften zu studieren und später wieder Literatur. Mit 23 und 24 Jahren schloß er seine Studien an der Universität ab mit einer Arbeit über William Blake und konvertierte 1938 zum Katholizismus. Er schrieb damals schon Gedichte, Novellen, Buchrezensionen und ein erst posthum veröffentlichtes, fiktives Tagebuch: "The Journal of My Escape from the Nazis" oder: "My Argument with the Gestapo: A Macaronic Journal". Vor die Wahl gestellt, nach Abschluß seiner Studien eine Laufbahn als Lehrer einzuschlagen oder das Arbeitsleben eines Franziskaners zu wählen, zog er es - seiner eigenen Entwicklung zugute - vor, sich dem von den Zisterziensern gebildeten Trappistenorden anzuschließen, einer auf Kontemplation in Einsamkeit und Schweigen ausgerichteten Gemeinschaft. Trotz seiner wachsenden Sympathie für den "Catholic Worker" und das praktische Engagement für Dorothy Day und Ammon Hennacy versuchte er, nach Kräften, die Macht einer mystischen Spiritualität aufzuspüren als Vorausbedingung einer wirklichen Revolution des Herzens.

So zog er sich nach einer halbjährigen Lehrtätigkeit am St. Bonaventura- College in Olean (New York State) als franziskanischer Novize in das Trappistenkloster von Gethsemani (15) in Kentucky zurück, das er bis zu seinem Lebensende als Ausgangsort ansah für Handarbeit und Gottesdienst, für eine lebhaft Korrespondenz und das Verfassen seiner Essays zu Fragen von Krieg und Frieden, gesellschaftlicher Ungerechtigkeit, Christentum und Zen-Buddhismus. Schon 1933 hatte er in Italien ein Trappistenkloster besucht und, noch in völliger Unkenntnis der strengen Exerzitien, die im Gethsemani-Kloster bis auf das 17. Jahrhundert zurückverwiesen, bereits den Entschluß gefaßt, sich dem mönchischen Leben zu widmen. Als Merton 1948 ordiniert wurde, erschien seine inspirierende Autobiografie "The Seven Storey Mountain" (Der Berg der sieben Stufen) (16), die Geschichte seiner Jugend und Konversion vom Studenten zum Katholiken, vom Katholiken zum Trappistenmönch, und ein Jahr später bereits "Seeds of Contemplation" (17):

"A man cannot be a perfect Christian - that is, a saint - unless he is also a communist. This means that he must either absolutely give up all right to possess anything at all, or else only use what he himself needs, or the goods, that belong to him, and administer the rest for other men and for the poor: and in his determination of what he needs he must be governed to a great extent by the gravity of the needs of others. ...

If Christians had lived up to the Church's teachings about property and poverty there would never have been any occasion for the spurious communism of the Marxists and all the rest - whose communism starts out by denying other men the right to own property." (18)

Thomas Merton hatte schon einige poetische Sammlungen auf der Grundlage der Psalmen und mystische Betrachtungen, wie "Keiner ist eine Insel" (19), verfaßt und sparte nicht mit Äußerungen zu politischen und sozialen Fragen, so daß er 1961 sagen konnte:

"Es ist möglich zu bezweifeln, ob ich ein Mönch geworden bin (ein Zweifel, mit dem ich leben muß), aber es ist nicht möglich zu bezweifeln, daß ich ein Schriftsteller bin, daß ich als solcher geboren bin und wahrscheinlich sterben werde." (20)

13 Jahre zuvor schrieb Merton bereits über seine zweifache Existenz als Mönch und Schreiber:



"... Aber da blieb noch dieser Schatten, dieser Doppelgänger, dieser Schriftsteller, der mir ins Kloster gefolgt war. Er ist mir immer noch auf der Spur. Zuweilen reitet er auf meinen Schultern wie ein Gespenst. Ich kann ihn nicht los werden. Er trägt immer noch den Namen Thomas Merton.

Ist es der Name eines Feindes ?

Er sollte tot sein.

Doch steht er da und begegnet mir am Torweg all meiner Gebete und folgt mir in die Kirche. Er kniet neben mir hinter der Säule, dieser Judas, und flüstert mir immer wieder ins Ohr.

Er ist ein Geschäftsmann. Er steckt voller Einfälle.

Er brütet Ideen und neue Pläne aus. In der Stille schafft er Bücher, welche die Süßigkeit des unendlich schöpferischen Dunkels der Beschaulichkeit enthalten sollen.

Und das Schlimmste ist, daß meine Vorgesetzten auf seiner Seite stehen. Sie wollen ihn nicht hinauswerfen. Ich kann ihn nicht los werden.

Am Ende wird er mich vielleicht töten, mir mein Blut aussaugen. Niemand scheint zu begreifen, daß einer von uns sterben muß. Bisweilen fühle ich mich zu Tode erschrocken, da es aussieht, als bliebe nichts mehr von meinem Beruf - dem beschaulichen Mönchsberuf - als ein Häuflein Asche. Und alle antworteten mir ruhig: "Das Schreiben ist Ihr Beruf." ... (21)

Trotz aller Duldung untersagte ihm die Ordensleitung 1962, sich über ein Jahr lang zu Fragen von Krieg und Frieden öffentlich zu äußern - Merton umging dieses Verbot durch die Verwendung von Pseudonymen, hielt sich aber formal an die Ordensschriften. Bevor 1962 sein Anti-Gedicht "Original Child Bomb" erschien, hatten seine nicht nur in katholischen Kreisen einflußreichen Schriften nicht nur eine Nähe zu libertären Traditionen ( wie zu Proudhon und Josiah Warren) und existentialistischer Philosophie ( vor allem Camus) aufgewiesen, sondern auch zu der weniger theologischen eher mystischen Tradition eines Meister Eckhart oder Blaise Pascal. Mertons Sichtweisen, theologische wie politische, waren eschatologisch geprägt. Vor allem sein Essay über den "Christen angesichts der Weltkrise" (genauer: ... in der Weltkrise stehend) (22) - eine Auslegung der päpstlichen Enzyklika "Pacem in Terris" anlässlich des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils 1962/63 - weist jedoch auf die Aufgaben, vor allem säkularen Handlungskonsequenzen hin, für Christen im Atomzeitalter trotz oder gerade wegen der eschatologi-

schen Perspektive: "the Dance of Death" ...

"The monk is essentially someone who takes up a critical attitude toward the world and its structures ..."

("Mönche sind grundsätzlich Menschen, die eine kritische Haltung gegenüber der Welt und ihren Strukturen einnehmen ...") (23),

schrieb Merton in seiner letzten Rede in Bangkok wenige Stunden vor seinem Tod durch einen Unfall am 10. Dezember 1968. Unter dem Titel "Marxismus und Perspektiven des Mönchtums" führte Merton vor einer Versammlung Geistlicher aus:

"Der Mönch ist ein Mensch, der volle Verwirklichung erreicht hat oder dabei ist, sie zu erreichen oder sie zu erreichen versucht. Er lebt inmitten der Gesellschaft als jemand, der die Verwirklichung erreicht hat - er weiß Bescheid. Nicht, als ob er außergewöhnliche oder nur für Eingeweihte bestimmte Informationen bekommen hätte. Aber er hat die Grundlagen seiner eigenen Existenz in einer Weise erfahren, daß er das Geheimnis der Befreiung jetzt kennt und irgendwie an andere weitergeben könnte." (24)

Schon seine Begegnung mit dem präfaschistischen Deutschland 1932 schuf die Grundlage für seine Abneigung gegen totale Herrschaft und totalen Krieg und für seine Sympathie mit Bürgerrechts- und Befreiungsbewegungen der 50er und 60er Jahre. Cleaver schätzte Mertons Slum-Porträts (25) und Martin Luther King die Bezugnahme Mertons auf Gandhi und die Herausgabe von dessen Schriften über Gewaltfreiheit (26). Merton selbst blieb jedoch der augustiniischen Vorstellung eines möglichen "gerechten Krieges" und seinem Orden gegenüber - wie bei anderen dem 'Arbeitgeber' - gehorsam, jedoch radikal in der Ablehnung des modernen Krieges. Auch waren seine präzisen Ermutigungen zu Aktionen zivilen Ungehorsams daraufhin orientiert, deutliche und klare, unmißverständliche Stellungnahmen nicht zu verwischen. (So verurteilte Merton die fanalartigen Selbstverbrennungskaktionen während des Vietnam-Krieges, während er Ende 1964 eingeladenen Brüdern wie den Berrigans in Klausur in Gethsemani zu ihren späteren Aktionen Inspirationen gab.) (27)

In "Chant to Be Used in Processions Around A Site with Furnaces", einem seiner schonungslos direkten Gedichte über den Schrecken der "Bestie", entwickelte Merton sein

Thema (inspiriert durch ein Studium des Lebens von Adolf Eichmann), indem er den Kommandeur eines Todeslagers zu Wort kommen läßt, der beteuert, daß er die ganze Zeit über allein höheren Befehlen gefolgt sei, wenn es darum ging, Menschen in Gaskammern zu pferchen, was er dann mit Effizienz, gebotener Eile und sogar mit einem Anflug von Humor unternommen zu haben behauptet, sogar davon prahlt und moralische Zweifel an seinem Tun mit den Worten auszuräumen versucht:

"You smile at my career but you would do as I did if you knew yourself and dared

In my day we worked hard we saw what we did our self-sacrifice was conscientious and complete our work was faultless and detailed

Do not think yourself better because you burn up friends and enemies with long-range missiles without ever seeing what you have done."

Merton sah den Vietnam-Krieg als ein Beispiel des amerikanischen Nationalismus und unterstützte den vietnamesischen Mönch Thich Nhat Hanh bei seiner Friedensmission in die USA. (29)

In einem Vorwort zur vietnamesischen Ausgabe eines seiner Bücher ("No Man Is An Island") schrieb Merton:

"The war in Vietnam is a bell tolling for the whole world, warning the whole world that war may spread everywhere, and violent death may sweep over the entire earth." (30)

So ist es kein Wunder, daß Mertons Suche nach einer Alternativen ihn zu Gandhis Schriften zur Gewaltfreiheit und einer intensiven Befassung mit Zen-Buddhismus brachte:

- Gandhis Satyagraha- Konzept betrachtete Merton als eine 'Frucht innerer, bereits erlangter Einigkeit' : 'Ganzheit und Weisheit, Integrität und spirituelle Konsistenz'(31). Indianische Freunde brachten Merton während seiner Studententage auf die Wurzeln frühchristlichen Denkens über Schriften, auf deren Grundlage seine Konversion sich vollzog. Doch während Gandhi den Osten über den Westen entdeckt hatte, so erschien Merton auf seinem umgekehrten Weg eine Bereicherung christlicher Tradition durch kontemplative Erfahrung notwendig, um mönchisches Leben zu regenerieren und zum Ort urkommunistischer "caritas"

wachsen zu lassen.

"Ich glaube, daß unsere Erneuerung in genau dieser Vertiefung des Verstehens besteht und im Begreifen dessen, was ganz wirklich ist. Und ich glaube, in der Öffnung zum Buddhismus, zum Hinduismus und zu diesen großartigen asiatischen Traditionen liegt für uns eine wunderbare Chance, mehr über die Möglichkeiten unserer eigenen Traditionen zu lernen. Denn die asiatischen Traditionen sind -vom natürlichen Standpunkt aus gesehen- in diese Einsichten weit tiefer eingedrungen als wir. Die Verbindung von natürlichen Techniken, der Gnade und all der anderen Dinge, die sich in Asien zeigen, mit der christlichen Freiheit des Evangeliums sollte uns schließlich alle zu jener vollen und transzendenten Freiheit bringen, die jenseits bloßer kultureller Unterschiede und bloßer Äußerlichkeiten liegt." (32)

Thomas Mertons kulturkritische Arbeit liegt nicht nur in einer Wiedererinnerung an die schöpferische Kraft freiwilligen Leidens, die er in Gandhis Satyagraha- Lehre wiederentdeckte und in den tabuisierten indianischen Traditionen des eigenen Landes, sondern im Appell an die regenerative Wirkung deutlicher, von der Krankheit politischen Jargons flexibel abweichender Sprache - frei von einem hermetischen Machtkonzept, einer in sich selbst geschlossenen Zweckmäßigkeit - um damit den Dialog und die Verständigung wieder zu ermöglichen. Diese Sprache in der Krise ist jedoch schon, wie Merton in seiner Kritik von Vorstellungen "schwarzer Macht" (Black Power) vortrug, "a new language that mocks the ponderous and self-important utterances of the Establishment ... This new language, racy, insolent, direct, profane, iconoclastic and earthy, may have its own magic incantation and myth. It may be involved in its own elaborate set of illusions. But at least it represents a healthier and more concrete style of thought. It does not reduce everything to abstractions, and though it is fully as intransigent as the language of the Establishment, it still seems to be more in contact with relevant experience: the hard realities of poverty, brutality, vice and resistance." (33)

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Anmerkungen

- 1) Der Beitrag über Peter Maurin basiert im wesentlichen auf: - Cooney/Michalowski: The Power of the People, Active Nonviolence in the US, Culver City 1977, S. 85-87  
Der Beitrag über Dorothy Day basiert im wesentlichen auf: - ebd., S. 127  
-  
vgl. Sheehan, Arthur: Peter Maurin, Gay Believer, Garden City/New York 1959
- 2) Die "Industrial Workers of the World" (IWW), kurz: Wobblies, führten das Kampfmittel des Generalstreiks vonseiten der organisierten Arbeiterschaft als eine massive, kollektive Form "passiven Widerstandes" ein, wobei deren aktiver Charakter am deutlichsten zutage tritt. Die IWW wurden wegen ihrer Kriegsgegnerschaft als Organisation bei Kriegseintritt der USA 1917 zerschlagen... (s. Cooney/Michalowski, a.a.O., S. 54)
- 3) vgl. die Autobiographie von Dorothy Day: Day, Dorothy: The Long Loneliness, Garden City/New York 1959
- 4) Cooney/Michalowski, a.a.O., S. 86
- 5) vgl. "The Catholic Worker", November 1944 und (überarbeitet) April 1948: "The Immorality of Conscriptio" von Father John J. Hugo - und:  
"The Catholic Worker", September 1941, S. 2:  
"The Association of Catholic CO's" - und grundsätzlich:  
"The Catholic Worker", Mai 1936, repr.: Mai 1983, S. 3  
"Pacifism" - sowie:  
O'Toole, George Barry: War and Conscriptio at the Bar of Christian Morals, New York 1941
- 6) s. Anmerkung 5
- 7) vgl. "The Catholic Worker", Mai 1949, S. 3: Robert Ludlow "Satyagraha (A Christian Way)" - und:  
"The Catholic Worker", Februar 1950, S. 5: Robert Ludlow: "Gandhi Revolution"
- 8) vgl. "The Catholic Worker", Juli/August 1953, S. 2, 6 - Ammon Hennacy: "A Declaration of Conscience" - und:  
Hennacy, Ammon: The One Man Revolution, Salt Lake City 1970 ;  
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- 9) vgl. Dunne, John Gregory: Delano: The Story of the California Grape Strike, New York 1967 - und:  
Levy, Jacques: Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa, New York 1975 ;

- Day, Mark: Forty Acres: Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers, New York 1971 ;  
Matthiessen, Peter: Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution, New York 1970  
(s. Cooney/Michalowski, a.a.O., S. 176-181-!-und S. 223)
- 10) Weitere Bände von Dorothy Day:  
- Loaves and fishes, New York 1972  
- On Pilgrimage: The Sixties, New York 1972  
- Meditations, Paramus/New Jersey 1975  
Anläßliches ihres Todes gab der "Catholic Worker" eine Sonderausgabe über Dorothy Day mit zahlreichen Widmungen und Beiträgen im Dezember 1980 heraus.
  - 11) vgl. "The Catholic Worker", Januar 1943, S. 1, 4: Dorothy Day: "If Conscriptio comes for Women"
  - 12) vgl. "The Catholic Worker", November 1944, S. 3-10 und April 1948 - "The Immorality of Conscriptio" - und:  
Father John J. Hugo: Weapons of the Spirit, New York 1943
  - 13) s. Cooney/Michalowski, a.a.O., S. 127
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- 14) Der Beitrag über Thomas Merton hat viel zu verdanken:  
Woodcock, George: Thomas Merton. Monk and Poet. A Critical Study, New York 1978 - und:  
Rice, Edward (Hrsg.): The Man in the Sycamore Tree, Garden City/New York 1970
  - 15) Die Trappisten, ein Ableger des deutschen katholischen Ordens der Zisterzienser, hatten schon Gandhi während seiner Zeit in Südafrika in ihrem disziplinierten, bescheidenen Leben auf handwerklicher Basis beeindruckt - dazu vgl.:  
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  - 16) Merton, Thomas: The Seven Storey Mountain, New York 1948
  - 17) Merton, Thomas: New Seeds of Contemplation. New York 1962 (als Fortführung der Gedanken von):  
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  - 18) s. Woodcock, George, a.a.O., S. 96
  - 19) Merton, Thomas: Keiner ist eine Insel. Ein Buch der Betrachtung, Einsiedeln-Zürich-Köln 1956
  - 20) s. Woodcock, George, a.a.O., S. 39 (aus dem Vorwort von: McDonnell, Thomas P.: A Thomas Merton Reader, New York 1962, revised edition 1975)
  - 21) Merton, Thomas: Der Berg der sieben Stufen, Einsiedeln-Zürich-Köln 1950, 1957, S. 434 f.
  - 22) Merton, Thomas: The Christian in World Crisis: Reflections on the Moral Climate of the 1960's, aus: The Nonviolent Alternative (revised edition of "Thomas Merton on Peace"), New York 1980, S. 20-62

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- 24) Merton, Thomas: Wie der Mond stirbt, a.a.O., S. 213
- 25) s. Rice, Edward, a.a.O., S. 97/98
- 26) s. Merton, Thomas (Hrsg.): Gandhi on Non-violence, New York 1965
- 27) s. Merton, Thomas: "Retreat, November 1964: Spiritual Roots of Protest, aus: The Nonviolent Alternative, a.a.O., S. 259 f.
- 28) Merton, Thomas: "Chant to be Used in Processions around a Site with Furnaces", in: Selected Poems of Thomas Merton, New York 1959,, 1967, S. 118-121
- 29) Merton, Thomas: "Nhat Hanh is My Brother", in: The Non-violent Alternative, a.a.O., S. 263 f.
- 30) Merton, Thomas: "Preface to Vietnamese Translation of "No Man Is An Island", aus: The Nonviolent Alternative, a.a.O., S. 64
- 31) Merton, Thomas: "A Tribute to Gandhi", aus: The Nonviolent Alternative, a.a.O., S. 180 - und die bemerkenswerte Rezension von Bill Barrett im "Catholic Worker", September 1980, S. 2,5
- 32) Merton, Thomas: Wie der Mond stirbt, a.a.O., S. 224
- 33) Merton, Thomas: "War and the Crisis of Language", in: The Nonviolent Alternative, a.a.O., S. 247



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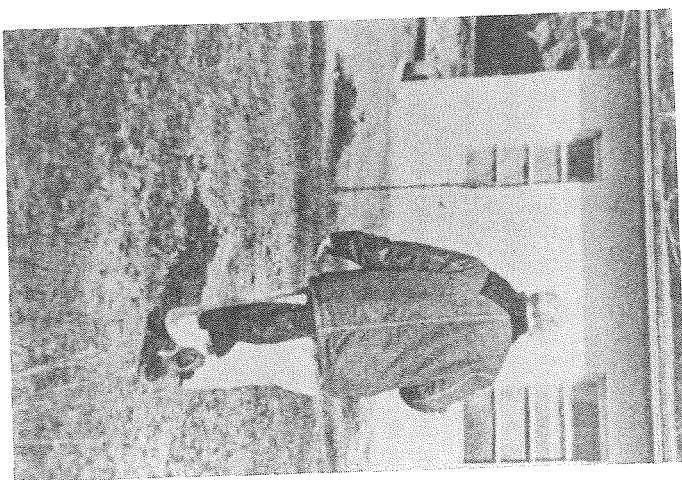
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### A LETTER TO PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA CONCERNING GIANTS

At a moment when all the discordant voices of modern society attempt to exorcize the vertigo of man with scientific clichés or prophetic curses I come to share with you reflections that are neither tragic nor, I hope, fatuous. They are simply the thoughts of one civilized man to another, dictated by a spirit of sobriety and concern, and with no pretensions to exorcize anything. The vertigo of the twentieth century needs no permission of yours or mine to continue. The tornado has not consulted any of us, and will not do so. This does not mean that we are helpless. It only means that our salvation lies in understanding our exact position, not in flattering ourselves that we have brought the whirlwind into being by ourselves, or that we can calm it with a wave of the hand.

It is certainly true that the storm of history has arisen out of our own hearts. It has sprung unbidden out of the emptiness of technological man. It is the genie he has summoned out of the depths of his own confusion, this complacent sorcerer's apprentice who spends billions on weapons of destruction and space rockets when he cannot provide decent meals, shelter and clothing for two thirds of the human race. Is it improper to doubt the intelligence and sincerity of modern man? I know it is not accepted as a sign of progressive thinking to question the enlightenment of the twentieth century barbarian. But I no longer have any desire to be considered enlightened by the stand-

ards of the stool pigeons and torturers whose most signal claim to success is that they have built so many extermination camps and operated them to the limit of their capacity.

These glorious characters, revelling in paroxysms of collective paranoia, have now aligned themselves in enormous power blocs of which the most striking feature is that they resemble one another like a pair of twins. I had not clearly understood from Ezekiel that Gog and Magog were to fight one another, although I knew that they were to be overcome. I knew that their ponderous brutality would exhaust itself on the mountains of Israel and provide a feast for the birds of the air. But I had not expected we would all be so intimately involved in their downfall. The truth is that there is a little of Gog and Magog even in the best of us.

We must be wary of ourselves when the worst that is in man becomes objectified in society, approved, acclaimed and deified, when hatred becomes patriotism and murder a holy duty, when spying and delation are called love of truth and the stool pigeon is a public benefactor, when the gnawing and prurient resentments of frustrated bureaucrats become the conscience of the people and the gangster is enthroned in power, then we must fear the voice of our own heart, even when it denounces them. For are we not all tainted with the same poison?

That is why we must not be deceived by the giants, and by their thunderous denunciations of one another, their preparations for mutual destruction. The fact

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that they are powerful does not mean that they are sane, and the fact that they speak with intense conviction does not mean that they speak the truth. Nor is their size any proof that they possess a metaphysical solidity. Are they not perhaps spectres without essence, emanations from the terrified and puny hearts of politicians, policemen and millionaires?

We live in an age of bad dreams, in which the scientist and engineer possess the power to give external form to the phantasms of man's unconscious. The bright weapons that sing in the atmosphere, ready to pulverize the cities of the world, are the dreams of giants without a center. Their mathematical evolutions are hieratic rites devised by Shamans without belief. One is permitted to wish their dreams had been less sordid!

But perhaps they are also the emanations of our own subliminal self!

2

I have learned that an age in which politicians talk about peace is an age in which everybody expects war: the great men of the earth would not talk of peace so much if they did not secretly believe it possible, with *one more war*, to annihilate their enemies forever. Always, "after just one more war" it will dawn, the new era of love: but first everybody who is hated must be eliminated. For hate, you see, is the mother of their kind of love.

Unfortunately the love that is to be born out of hate will never be born. Hatred is sterile; it breeds

color of your eyes, the kink in your hair, the degree to which you are sunburned, or the social status of your grandfather. Life and death today depend on everything except what you *are*. This is called humanism.

Condemnation or rehabilitation have no connection with what you happen to have done. There is no longer any question of ethical standards. We may have been liberated from idealistic objectivity about "right and wrong." This timely liberation from ethical norms and laws enables us to deal with an ever increasing population of undesirables in much more efficient fashion. Attach to each one an arbitrary label, which requires no action on his part and no effort of thought on the part of the accuser. This enables society to get rid of "criminals" without the latter putting anyone to any kind of inconvenience by committing an actual crime. A much more humane and efficient way of dealing with crime! You benevolently shoot a man for all the crimes he *might* commit before he has a chance to commit them.

3

I write to you today from Magog's country. The fact that Magog is to me more sympathetic than Gog does not, I think, affect my objectivity. Nor does it imply a choice of category, a self-classification. Magog and I seldom agree, which is one reason why I write this letter. I must however admit I feel indebted to Magog for allowing me to exist, which Gog perhaps might not. Perhaps it is not to my credit that I half-trust the strain of idealism in Magog, accepting it un-

nothing but the image of its own empty fury, its own nothingness. Love cannot come of emptiness. It is full of reality. Hatred destroys the real being of man in fighting the fiction which it calls "the enemy." For man is concrete and alive, but "the enemy" is a subjective abstraction. A society that kills real men in order to deliver itself from the phantasm of a paranoid delusion is already possessed by the demon of destructiveness because it has made itself incapable of love. It refuses, *a priori*, to love. It is dedicated not to concrete relations of man with man, but only to abstractions about politics, economics, psychology, and even, sometimes, religion.

Gog is a lover of power, Magog is absorbed in the cult of money: their idols differ, and indeed their faces seem to be dead set against one another, but their madness is the same: they are the two faces of Janus looking inward, and dividing with critical fury the polluted sanctuary of dehumanized man.

Only names matter, to Gog and Magog, only labels, only numbers, symbols, slogans. For the sake of a name, a classification, you can be marched away with your pants off to be shot against a wall. For the sake of a name, a word, you can be gassed in a shower-bath and fed to the furnace to be turned into fertilizer. For the sake of a word or even a number they will tan your skin and make it into lampshades. If you want to get a job, make a living, have a home to live in, eat in restaurants and ride in vehicles with other human beings, you have to have a right classification: depending perhaps on the shape of your nose, the

critically as a sign that, for all his blatant, materialistic gigantism, he is still human. Certainly he tolerates in his clients elements of human poignancy, together with an off-beat frivolity which Gog could never comprehend. (Yet Gog, in the right mood, weeps copiously into his vodka.) Magog, on the whole, is not demanding. A little lip service has been enough at least up to the present. He does not require the exorbitant public confessions which are a prelude to disappearance in the realm of Gog. The pressure of Magog is more subtle, more gently persuasive, but no less universal. Yet disagreement is still tolerated.

Magog is in confusion, an easier prey than Gog to panic and discouragement. He is less crafty as a politician, and he is handicapped by a vague and uncomplicated system of beliefs which everyone can understand. Hence the whole world can easily see discrepancies between his ideals and actualities. Magog is more often embarrassed than Gog who entertains no objective ideals but only pays homage to a dialectical process by which anything, however disconcerting, can quickly be justified.

Gog, I believe, is fondly hoping that Magog will be driven to despair and ruin himself in some way before it becomes necessary to destroy him. But in any case he is giving Magog every opportunity to discredit himself in the eyes of the rest of the world, so that if he cannot be persuaded to put his own head in the gas oven, his destruction can be made to appear as no crime but as a benefit conferred on the whole human race.

But let me turn from Gog and Magog to the rest of men. And by "the rest of men" I mean those who have not yet committed themselves to the cause of one or the other of the champions. There are many, even within the power groups, who hate wars and hate the slogans, the systems and the official pronouncements of groups under whose dominance they live. But they seem to be able to do nothing about it. Their instinct to protest is restrained by the awareness that whatever they may say, however true, against one implacable power can be turned to good use by another that is even more inhuman. Even in protest one must be discreet, not only for the sake of saving one's skin, but above all for the sake of protecting the virginity of one's own protest against the salacious advances of the publicist, the agitator, or the political police.

4

Let me abandon my facetiousness, and consider the question of the world's future, if it has one. Gog and Magog are persuaded that it has: Gog thinks that the self-destruction of Magog will usher in the golden age of peace and love. Magog thinks that if he and Gog can somehow shoot the rapids of a cold war waged with the chemically pure threat of nuclear weapons they will both emerge into a future of happiness, the nature and the possibility of which still remain to be explained.

I for my part believe in the very serious possibility that Gog and Magog may wake up one morning to find that they have burned and blasted each other off

appreciation for or understanding for their human reality.

Characteristic of these races is a totally different outlook on life, a spiritual outlook which is not abstract but concrete, not pragmatic but hieratic, intuitive and affective rather than rationalistic and aggressive. The deepest springs of vitality in these races have been sealed up by the Conqueror and Colonizer, where they have not actually been poisoned by him. But if this stone is removed from the spring perhaps its waters will purify themselves by new life and regain their creative, fructifying power. Neither Gog nor Magog can accomplish this for them.

Let me be quite succinct: the greatest sin of the European-Russian-American complex which we call "the West" (and this sin has spread its own way to China), is not only greed and cruelty, not only moral dishonesty and infidelity to truth, but above all *its unmitigated arrogance towards the rest of the human race*. Western civilization is now in full decline into barbarism (a barbarism that springs *from within itself*) because it has been guilty of a twofold disloyalty: to God and to Man. To a Christian who believes in the mystery of the Incarnation, and who by that belief means something more than a pious theory without real humanistic implications, this is not two disloyalties but one. Since the Word was made Flesh, God is in man. God is in *all men*. All men are to be seen and treated as Christ. Failure to do this, the Lord tells us, involves condemnation for disloyalty to the most fundamental of revealed truths. "I was thirsty and you

the map during the night, and nothing will remain but the spasmodic exercise of automatic weapons still in the throes of what has casually been termed overkill. The superogatory retaliation may quite conceivably affect all the neutrals who have managed to escape the main event, but it is still possible that the southern hemisphere may make a dazed and painful comeback, and discover itself alone in a smaller, emptier, better-radiated but still habitable world.

In this new situation it is conceivable that Indonesia, Latin America, Southern Africa and Australia may find themselves heirs to the opportunities and objectives which Gog and Magog shrugged off with such careless abandon.

The largest, richest and best developed single land-mass south of the Equator is South America. The vast majority of its population is Indian, or of mixed Indian blood. The white minority in South Africa would quite probably disappear. A relic of European stock might survive in Australia and New Zealand. Let us also hopefully assume the partial survival of India and of some Moslem populations in central and northern Africa.

If this should happen it will be an event fraught with a rather extraordinary spiritual significance. It will mean that the more cerebral and mechanistic cultures, those which have tended to live more and more by abstractions and to isolate themselves more and more from the natural world by rationalization, will be succeeded by the sections of the human race which they oppressed and exploited without the slightest

gave me not to drink. I was hungry and you gave me not to eat . . ." (Matthew 25:42). This could be extended in every possible sense: and is meant to be so extended, all over the entire area of human needs, not only for bread, for work, for liberty, for health, but also for truth, for belief, for love, for acceptance, for fellowship and understanding.

One of the great tragedies of the Christian West is the fact that for all the good will of the missionaries and colonizers (they certainly meant well, and behaved humanly, according to their lights which were somewhat brighter than ours), they could not recognize that *the races they conquered were essentially equal to themselves and in some ways superior*.

It was certainly right that Christian Europe should bring Christ to the Indians of Mexico and the Andes, as well as to the Hindus and the Chinese: but where they failed was in their inability to *encounter Christ* already potentially present in the Indians, the Hindus and the Chinese.

Christians have too often forgotten the fact that Christianity found its way into Greek and Roman civilization partly by its spontaneous and creative adaptation of the pre-Christian natural values it found in that civilization. The martyrs rejected all the grossness, the cynicism and falsity of the cult of the state-gods which was simply a cult of secular power, but Clement of Alexandria, Justin and Origen believed that Herakleitos and Socrates had been precursors of Christ. They thought that while God had manifested himself to the Jews through the Law and the Prophets

he had also spoken to the Gentiles through their philosophers. Christianity made its way in the world of the first century not by imposing Jewish cultural and social standards on the rest of the world, but by abandoning them, getting free of them so as to be "all things to all men." This was the great drama and the supreme lesson of the Apostolic Age. By the end of the Middle Ages that lesson had been *forgotten*. The preachers of the Gospel to newly discovered continents became preachers and disseminators of European culture and power. They did not enter into dialogue with ancient civilizations: they imposed upon them their own monologue and in preaching Christ they also preached themselves. The very ardor of their self-sacrifice and of their humility enabled them to do this with a clean conscience. But they had omitted to listen to the voice of Christ in the unfamiliar accents of the Indian, as Clement had listened for it in the Pre-Socratics. And now, today, we have a Christianity of Magog.

It is a Christianity of money, of action, of passive crowds, an electronic Christianity of loudspeakers and parades. Magog is himself without belief, cynically tolerant of the athletic yet sentimental Christ devised by some of his clients, because this Christ is profitable to Magog. He is a progressive Christ who does not protest against Pharisees or money changers in the temple. He protests only against Gog.

It is my belief that we should not be too sure of having found Christ in ourselves until we have found

say? By and large their witness was merely suppressed. No one considered that the children of the Sun might, after all, hold in their hearts a spiritual secret. On the contrary, abstract discussions were engaged in to determine whether, in terms of academic philosophy, the Indian was to be considered a rational animal. One shudders at the voice of cerebral Western arrogance even then eviscerated by the rationalism that is ours to-day, judging the living spiritual mystery of primitive man and condemning it to exclusion from the category on which love, friendship, respect, and communion were made to depend.

God speaks, and God is to be heard, not only on Sinai, not only in my own heart, but in the *voice of the stranger*. That is why the peoples of the Orient, and all primitive peoples in general, make so much of the mystery of hospitality.

God must be allowed the right to speak unpredictably. The Holy Spirit, the very voice of Divine Liberty, must always be like the wind in "blowing where he pleases" (John 3:8). In the mystery of the Old Testament there was already a tension between the Law and the Prophets. In the New Testament the Spirit himself is Law, and he is everywhere. He certainly inspires and protects the visible Church, but if we cannot see him unexpectedly in the stranger and the alien, we will not understand him even in the Church. We must find him in our enemy, or we may lose him even in our friend. We must find him in the pagan or we will lose him in our own selves, substituting for his living presence an empty abstraction. How can we

him also in the part of humanity that is most remote from our own.

Christ is found not in loud and pompous declarations but in humble and fraternal dialogue. He is found less in a truth that is imposed than in a truth that is shared.

5

If I insist on giving you my truth, and never stop to receive your truth in return, then there can be no truth between us. Christ is present "where two or three are gathered in my name." But to be gathered in the name of Christ is to be gathered in the name of the Word made flesh, of God made man. It is therefore to be gathered in the faith that God has become man and can be seen in man, that he can speak in man and that he can enlighten and inspire love in and through any man I meet. It is true that the visible Church alone has the official mission to sanctify and teach all nations, but no man knows that the stranger he meets coming out of the forest in a new country is not already an invisible member of Christ and perhaps one who has some providential or prophetic message to utter.

Whatever India may have had to say to the West she was forced to remain silent. Whatever China had to say, though some of the first missionaries heard it and understood it, the message was generally ignored as irrelevant. Did anyone pay attention to the voices of the Maya and the Inca, who had deep things to

reveal to others what we cannot discover in them ourselves? We must, then, see the truth in the stranger, and the truth we see must be a newly living truth, not just a projection of a dead conventional idea of our own—a projection of our own self upon the stranger.

The desecration, de-sacralization of the modern world is manifest above all by the fact that the stranger is of no account. As soon as he is "displaced" he is completely unacceptable. He fits into no familiar category, he is unexplained and therefore a threat to complacency. Everything not easy to account for must be wiped out, and mystery must be wiped out with it. An alien presence interferes with the superficial and faked clarity of our own rationalizations.

6

There is more than one way of morally liquidating the "stranger" and the "alien." It is sufficient to destroy, in some way, that in him which is different and disconcerting. By pressure, persuasion, or force one can impose on him one's own ideas and attitudes towards life. One can indoctrinate him, brainwash him. He is no longer different. He has been reduced to conformity with one's own outlook. Gog, who does nothing if not thoroughly, believes in the thorough liquidation of differences, and the reduction of everyone else to a carbon copy of himself. Magog is somewhat more quixotic: the stranger becomes part of his own screen of fantasies, part of the collective dream life which is manufactured for him on Madison Avenue and in



Hollywood. For all practical purposes, the stranger no longer exists. He is not even seen. He is replaced by a fantastic image. What is seen and approved, in a vague, superficial way, is the stereotype that has been created by the travel agency.

This accounts for the spurious cosmopolitanism of the naive tourist and travelling business man, who wanders everywhere with his camera, his exposure-meter, his spectacles, his sun glasses, his binoculars, and though gazing around him in all directions never sees what is there. He is not capable of doing so. He is too docile to his instructors, to those who have told him everything beforehand. He believes the advertisements of the travel agent at whose suggestion he bought the ticket that landed him wherever he may be. He has been told what he was going to see, and he thinks he is seeing it. Or, failing that, he at least wonders why he is not seeing what he has been led to expect. Under no circumstances does it occur to him to become interested in what is actually there. Still less to enter into a fully human rapport with the human beings who are before him. He has not, of course, questioned their status as rational animals, as the scholastically trained colonists of an earlier age might have done. It just does not occur to him that they might have a life, a spirit, a thought, a culture of their own which has its own peculiar individual character.

He does not know why he is travelling in the first place: indeed he is travelling at somebody else's suggestion. Even at home he is alien from himself. He is doubly alienated when he is out of his own atmos-

phere. He cannot possibly realize that the stranger has something very valuable, something irreplaceable to give him: something that can never be bought with money, never estimated by publicists, never exploited by political agitators: the spiritual understanding of a friend who belongs to a different culture. The tourist lacks nothing except brothers. For him these do not exist.

The tourist never meets anyone, never encounters anyone, never finds the brother in the stranger. This is his tragedy, and it has been the tragedy of Gog and Magog, especially of Magog, in every part of the world.

If only North Americans had realized, after a hundred and fifty years, that Latin Americans really existed. That they were really people. That they spoke a different language. That they had a culture. That they had more than something to sell! Money has totally corrupted the brotherhood that should have united all the peoples of America. It has destroyed the sense of relationship, the spiritual community that had already begun to flourish in the years of Bolivar. But no! Most North Americans still don't know, and don't care, that Brazil speaks a language other than Spanish, that all Latin Americans do not live for the siesta, that all do not spend their days and nights playing the guitar and making love. They have never awakened to the fact that Latin America is by and large culturally superior to the United States, not only on the level of the wealthy minority which has absorbed more of the sophistication of

Europe, but also among the desperately poor indigent cultures, some of which are rooted in a past that has never yet been surpassed on this continent.

So the tourist drinks tequila, and thinks it is no good, and waits for the fiesta he has been told to wait for. How should he realize that the Indian who walks down the street with half a house on his head and a hole in his pants, is Christ? All the tourist thinks is that it is odd for so many Indians to be called Jesus.

7

So much for the modern scene: I am no prophet, no one is, for now we have learned to get along without prophets. But I would say that if Gog and Magog are to destroy one another, which they seem quite anxious to do, it would be a great pity if the survivors in the "Third World" attempted to reproduce their collective alienation, horror and insanity, and thus build up another corrupt world to be destroyed by another war. To the whole third world I would say there is one lesson to be learned from the present situation, one lesson of the greatest urgency: be unlike the giants, Gog and Magog. Mark what they do, and act differently. Mark their official pronouncements, their ideologies, and without any difficulty you will find them hollow. Mark their behavior: their bluster, their violence, their blandishments, their hypocrisy: by their fruits you shall know them. In all their boastfulness they have become the victims of their own terror, which is nothing but the emptiness of their own

hearts. They claim to be humanists, they claim to know and love man. They have come to liberate man, they say. But they do not know what man is. They are themselves less human than their fathers were, less articulate, less sensitive, less profound, less capable of genuine concern. They are turning into giant insects. Their societies are becoming anthills, without purpose, without meaning, without spirit and joy.

What is wrong with their humanism? It is a humanism of termites, because without God man becomes an insect, a worm in the wood, and even if he can fly, so what? There are flying ants. Even if man flies all over the universe, he is still nothing but a flying ant until he recovers a human center and a human spirit in the depth of his own being.

Karl Marx? Yes, he was a humanist, with a humanist's concerns. He understood the roots of alienation and his understanding even had something spiritual about it. Marx unconsciously built his system on a basically religious pattern, on the Messianism of the Old Testament, and in his own myth Marx was Moses. He understood something of the meaning of liberation, because, he had in his bones the typology of Exodus. To say that he built a "scientific" thought on a foundation of religious symbolism is not to say that he was wrong, but to justify what was basically right about his analysis. Marx did not think only with the top of his head, or reason on the surface of his intelligence. He did not simply verbalize or dogmatize as his followers have done. He was still human. And they?

Ultimately there is no humanism without God. Marx thought that humanism had to be atheistic, and this was because he did not understand God any better than the self-complacent formalists whom he criticized. He thought, as they did, that God was an idea, an abstract essence, forming part of an intellectual superstructure built to justify economic alienation. There is in God nothing abstract. He is not a static entity, an object of thought, a pure essence. The dynamism Marx looked for in history was something that the Bible itself would lead us in some sense to understand and to expect. And liberation from religious alienation was the central theme of the New Testament. But the theme has not been understood. It has too often been forgotten. Yet it is the very heart of the mystery of the Cross.

8

It is not with resignation that I wait for whatever may come, but with an acceptance and an understanding which cannot be confirmed within the limits of pragmatic realism. However meaningless Gog and Magog may be in themselves, the cataclysm they will undoubtedly let loose is full of meaning, full of light. Out of their negation and terror comes certitude and peace for anyone who can fight his way free of their confusion. The worst they can do is bring death upon us and death is of little consequence. Destruction of the body cannot touch the deepest center of life.

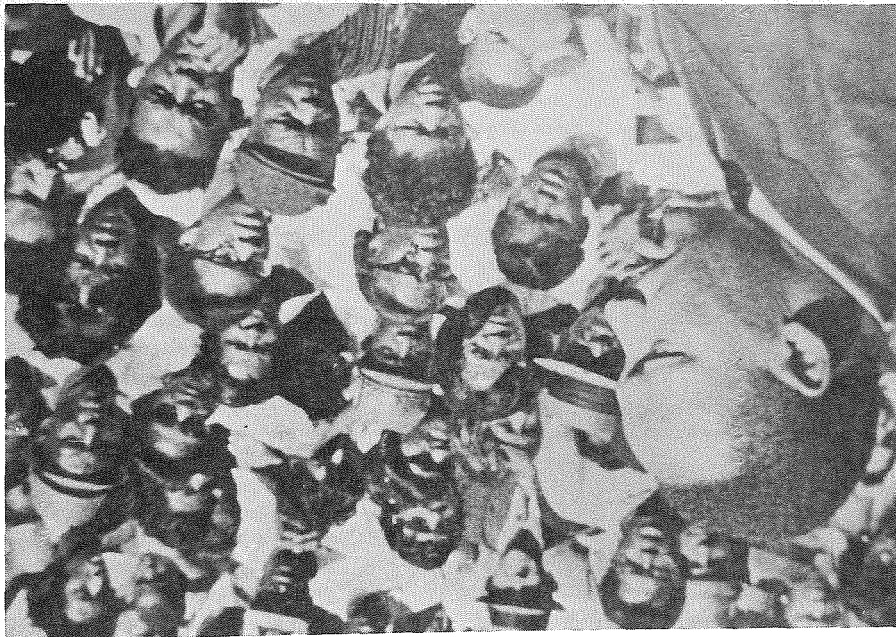
When will the bombs fall? Who shall say? Perhaps

Gog and Magog have yet to perfect their policies and their weapons. Perhaps they want to do a neat and masterly job, dropping "clean" bombs, without fallout. It sounds clinical to the point of humanitarian kindness. It is all a lovely, humane piece of surgery. Prompt, efficacious, sterile, pure. That of course was the ideal of the Nazis who conducted the extermination camps twenty years ago: but of course they had not progressed as far as we have. They devoted themselves dutifully to a disgusting job which could never be performed under perfect clinical conditions. Yet they did their best. Gog and Magog will develop the whole thing to its ultimate refinement. I hear they are working on a bomb that will destroy nothing but life. Men, animals, birds, perhaps also vegetation. But it will leave buildings, factories, railways, natural resources. Only one further step, and the weapon will be one of absolute perfection. It should destroy books, works of art, musical instruments, toys, tools and gardens, but not destroy flags, weapons, gallows, electric chairs, gas chambers, instruments of torture or plenty of strait jackets in case someone should accidentally survive. Then the era of love can finally begin. Atheistic humanism can take over.

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(1929-1968)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.



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went to Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, we had decided to take action on the matter of integrated public accommodations. We went knowing that the Civil Rights Commission had written powerful documents calling for change, calling for the very rights we were demanding. But nobody did anything about the Commission's report. Nothing was done until we acted on these very issues, and demonstrated before the court of world opinion the urgent need for change. It was the same story with voting rights. The Civil Rights Commission, three years before we went to Selma, had recommended the changes we started marching for, but nothing was done until, in 1965, we created a crisis the nation couldn't ignore. Without violence, we totally disrupted the system, the life style of Birmingham, and then of Selma, with their unjust and unconstitutional laws. Our Birmingham struggle came to its dramatic climax when some 3,500 demonstrators virtually filled every jail in that city and surrounding communities, and some 4,000 more continued to march and demonstrate nonviolently. The city knew then in terms that were crystal-clear that Birmingham could no longer continue to function until the demands of the Negro community were met. The same kind of dramatic crisis was created in Selma two years later. The result on the national scene was the Civil Rights Bill and the Voting Rights Act, as President and Congress responded to the drama and the creative tension generated by the carefully planned demonstrations.

Of course, by now it is obvious that new laws are not enough. The emergency we now face is economic, and it is a desperate and worsening situation. For the 35 million poor people in America—not even to mention, just yet, the poor in the other nations—there is a kind of strangulation in the air. In our society it is murder, psychologically, to deprive a man of a job or an income. You are in substance saying to that man that he has no right to exist. You are in a real way depriving him of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, denying in his case the very creed of his society. Now, millions of people are being strangled that way. The problem is international in scope. And it is getting worse, as the gap between the poor and the "affluent society" increases.

The question that now divides the people who want radically to change that situation is: can a program of nonviolence—even if it envisions massive civil disobedience—realistically expect to deal with such an enormous, entrenched evil?

First of all, will nonviolence work, psychologically, after the summer of 1967? Many people feel that nonviolence as a strategy for social change was cremated in the flames of the urban riots of the last two years. They tell us that Negroes have only now begun to find their true manhood in violence; that the riots prove not only that Negroes hate whites, but that, compulsively, they must destroy them.

This blood-lust interpretation ignores one of the most

## NONVIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE



Mrs. Rosa Parks werden die Fingerabdrücke abgenommen, nachdem sie sich geweigert hat, ihren Sitz für einen weißen Fahrgast freizuhalten. - Montgomery, Alabama, Februar 1956

THERE is nothing wrong with a traffic law which says you have to stop for a red light. But when a fire is raging, the fire truck goes right through that red light, and normal traffic had better get out of its way. Or, when a man is bleeding to death, the ambulance goes through those red lights at top speed.

There is a fire raging now for the Negroes and the poor of this society. They are living in tragic conditions because of the terrible economic injustices that keep them locked in as an "underclass," as the sociologists are now calling it. Disinherited people all over the world are bleeding to death from deep social and economic wounds. They need brigades of ambulance drivers who will have to ignore the red lights of the present system until the emergency is solved.

Massive civil disobedience is a strategy for social change which is at least as forceful as an ambulance with its siren on full. In the past ten years, nonviolent civil disobedience has made a great deal of history, especially in the Southern United States. When we and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

written off for the future as a force in Negro life. Many people believe that the urban Negro is too angry and too sophisticated to be nonviolent. Those same people dismiss the nonviolent marches in the South and try to describe them as processions of pious, elderly ladies. The fact is that in all the marches we have organized some men of very violent tendencies have been involved. It was routine for us to collect hundreds of knives from our own ranks before the demonstrations, in case of momentary weakness. And in Chicago last year we saw some of the most violent individuals accepting nonviolent discipline. Day after day during those Chicago marches I walked in our lines and I never saw anyone retaliate with violence. There were lots of provocations, not only the screaming white hoodlums lining the sidewalks, but also groups of Negro militants talking about guerrilla warfare. We had some gang leaders and members marching with us. I remember walking with the Blackstone Rangers while bottles were flying from the sidelines, and I saw their noses being broken and blood flowing from their wounds; and I saw them continue and not retaliate, not one of them, with violence. I am convinced that even very violent temperaments can be channeled through nonviolent discipline, if the movement is moving, if they can act constructively and express through an effective channel their very legitimate anger.

But even if nonviolence can be valid, psychologi-

cally, for the protesters who want change, is it going to be effective, strategically, against a government and a status quo that have so far resisted this summer's demands on the grounds that "we must not reward the rioters"? Far from rewarding the rioters, far from even giving a hearing to their just and urgent demands, the administration has ignored its responsibility for the causes of the riots, and instead has used the negative aspects of them to justify continued inaction on the underlying issues. The administration's only concrete response was to initiate a study and call for a day of prayer. As a minister, I take prayer too seriously to use it as an excuse for avoiding work and responsibility. When a government commands more wealth and power than has ever been known in the history of the world, and offers no more than this, it is worse than blind, it is provocative. It is paradoxical but fair to say that Negro terrorism is incited less on ghetto street corners than in the halls of Congress.

I intended to show that nonviolence will be effective, but not until it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct-action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale.

The dispossessed of this nation—the poor, both white and Negro—live in a cruelly unjust society. They must organize a revolution against that injustice, not against the lives of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which

striking features of the city riots. Violent they certainly were. But the violence, to a startling degree, was focused against property rather than against people. There were very few cases of injury to persons, and the vast majority of the rioters were not involved at all in attacking people. The much publicized "death toll" that marked the riots, and the many injuries, were overwhelmingly inflicted on the rioters by the military. It is clear that the riots were exacerbated by police action that was designed to injure or even to kill people. As for the snipers, no account of the riots claims that more than one or two dozen people were involved in sniping. From the facts, an unmistakable pattern emerges: a handful of Negroes used gunfire substantially to intimidate, not to kill; and all of the other participants had a different target—property.

I am aware that there are many who wince at a distinction between property and persons—who hold both sacrosanct. My views are not so rigid. A life is sacred. Property is intended to serve life, and no matter how much we surround it with rights and respect, it has no personal being. It is part of the earth man walks on; it is not man.

The focus on property in the 1967 riots is not accidental. It has a message; it is saying something.

If hostility to whites were ever going to dominate a Negro's attitude and reach murderous proportions, surely it would be during a riot. But this rare opportunity for bloodletting was sublimated into arson, or

turned into a kind of stormy carnival of free-merchandise distribution. Why did the rioters avoid personal attacks? The explanation cannot be fear of retribution, because the physical risks incurred in the attacks on property were no less than for personal assaults. The military forces were treating acts of petty larceny as equal to murder. Far more rioters took chances with their own lives, in their attacks on property, than threatened the life of anyone else. Why were they so violent with property then? Because property represents the white power structure, which they were attacking and trying to destroy. A curious proof of the symbolic aspect of the looting for some who took part in it is the fact that, after the riots, police received hundreds of calls from Negroes trying to return merchandise they had taken. Those people wanted the experience of taking, of redressing the power imbalance that property represents. Possession, afterward, was secondary.

A deeper level of hostility came out in arson, which was far more dangerous than the looting. But it, too, was a demonstration and a warning. It was directed against symbols of exploitation, and it was designed to express the depth of anger in the community.

What does this restraint in the summer riots mean for our future strategy?

If one can find a core of nonviolence toward persons, even during the riots when emotions were exploding, it means that nonviolence should not be



the society is refusing to take means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to lift the load of poverty.

The only real revolutionary, people say, is a man who has nothing to lose. There are millions of poor people in this country who have very little, or even nothing, to lose. If they can be helped to take action together, they will do so with a freedom and a power that will be a new and unsettling force in our complacent national life. Beginning in the New Year, we will be recruiting three thousand of the poorest citizens from ten different urban and rural areas to initiate and lead a sustained, massive, direct-action movement in Washington. Those who choose to join this initial three thousand, this nonviolent army, this "freedom church" of the poor, will work with us for three months to develop nonviolent action skills. Then we will move on Washington, determined to stay there until the legislative and executive branches of the government take serious and adequate action on jobs and income. A delegation of poor people can walk into a high official's office with a carefully, collectively prepared list of demands. (If you're poor, if you're unemployed anyway, you can choose to stay in Washington as long as the struggle needs you.) And if that official says, "But Congress would have to approve this," or, "But the President would have to be consulted on that," you can say, "All right, we'll wait." And you can settle down in his office for as long a stay as neces-

sary. If you are, let's say, from rural Mississippi, and have never had medical attention, and your children are undernourished and unhealthy, you can take those little children into the Washington hospitals and stay with them there until the medical workers cope with their needs, and in showing it your children you will have shown this country a sight that will make it stop in its busy tracks and think hard about what it has done. The many people who will come and join this three thousand, from all groups in the country's life, will play a supportive role, deciding to be poor for a time along with the dispossessed who are asking for their right to jobs or income—jobs, income, the demolition of slums, and the rebuilding by the people who live there of new communities in their place; in fact, a new economic deal for the poor.

Why camp in Washington to demand these things? Because only the federal Congress and administration can decide to use the billions of dollars we need for a real war on poverty. We need, not a new law, but a massive, new national program. This Congress has done nothing to help such measures, and plenty to hinder them. Why should Congress care about our dying cities? It is still dominated by senior representatives of the rural South, who still unite in an obstructive coalition with unprogressive Northerners to prevent public funds from going where they are socially needed. We broke that coalition in 1963 and 1964, when the Civil Rights and Voting Rights laws

were passed. We need to break it again by the size and force of our movement, and the best place to do that is before the eyes and inside the buildings of these same Congressmen. The people of this country, if not the Congressmen, are ready for a serious economic attack on slums and unemployment, as two recent polls by Lou Harris have revealed. So we have to make Congress ready to act on the plight of the poor. We will prod and sensitize the legislators, the administrators, and all the wielders of power until they have faced this utterly imperative need.

I have said that the problem, the crisis we face, is international in scope. In fact, it is inseparable from an international emergency which involves the poor, the dispossessed, and the exploited of the whole world.

Can a nonviolent, direct-action movement find application on the international level, to confront economic and political problems? I believe it can. It is clear to me that the next stage of the movement is to become international. National movements within the developed countries—forces that focus on London, or Paris, or Washington, or Ottawa—must help to make it politically feasible for their governments to undertake the kind of massive aid that the developing countries need if they are to break the chains of poverty. We in the West must bear in mind that the poor countries are poor primarily because we have exploited them through political or economic colonialism. Americans in particular must help their nation repent of her modern economic imperialism.

But movements in our countries alone will not be enough. In Latin America, for example, national reform movements have almost despaired of nonviolent methods; many young men, even many priests, have joined guerrilla movements in the hills. So many of Latin America's problems have roots in the United States of America that we need to form a solid, united movement, nonviolently conceived and carried through, so that pressure can be brought to bear on the capital and government power structures concerned, from both sides of the problem at once. I think that may be the only hope for a nonviolent solution in Latin America today; and one of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces, operating outside governmental frameworks.

Even entrenched problems like the South African Government and its racial policies could be tackled on this level. If just two countries, Britain and the United States, could be persuaded to end all economic interaction with the South African regime, they could bring that government to its knees in a relatively short time. Theoretically, the British and American governments could make that kind of decision; almost every corporation in both countries has economic ties with its government which it could not afford to do without. In practice, such a decision would represent such a major reordering of priorities that we should not expect that any movement could bring it about in one year or two. Indeed, although it is obvious that non-

THE TRUMPET OF CONSCIENCE  
 violent movements for social change must internationalize, because of the interlocking nature of the problems they all face, and because otherwise those problems will breed war, we have hardly begun to build the skills and the strategy, or even the commitment, to planitize our movement for social justice.  
 In a world facing the revolt of ragged and hungry masses of God's children; in a world torn between the tensions of East and West, white and colored, individualists and collectivists; in a world whose cultural and spiritual power lags so far behind her technological capabilities that we live each day on the verge of nuclear co-annihilation; in this world, nonviolence is no longer an option for intellectual analysis, it is an imperative for action.

XI. Die Bürgerrechtsbewegung und Martin Luther King jr. -

"Gandhi in Amerika"

KATJA BÄCKER

"Admittedly, nonviolence in the truest sense is not a strategy that one uses simply because it is expedient at the moment ; nonviolence is ultimately a way of life that men live by because of the cheer morality of its claim. But even granting this, the willingness to use nonviolence as a technique is a step forward. For he who goes this far is more likely to adopt nonviolence later as a way of life." (1)

Martin Luther King jr.

1. Die Geschichte der Schwarzen in Amerika und die Wurzeln der Bürgerrechtsbewegung

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." (2)

Wer kennt ihn nicht, diesen zentralen Satz in der Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Er wurde zum Sinnbild eines Traumes für Millionen von Menschen: für jene, die ihn 1776 schrieben und für jene, die seinem Ruf folgten und in die Neue Welt zogen, um dort Glück und Freiheit für sich in Anspruch zu nehmen. 1868 und 1870 jeweils um die Zusatzartikel 14 und 15 in der Verfassung erweitert, welche den Bürgern der USA die Freiheit der Person, des Eigentums und der Gerichtsbarkeit bzw. das Wahlrecht unabhängig von Religions- und Rassenzugehörigkeit zusicherten, wurde der hier niedergelegte Begriff von Demokratie und von unveräußerlichen persönlichen Rechten zum Vorbild für das Verfassungsrecht vieler anderer Staaten, so einwandfrei schien er zu sein. So heißt es unter anderem:... "Kein Staat darf irgend jemandem ohne ordentliches Gerichtsverfahren nach Recht und Gesetz Leben, Freiheit oder Eigentum nehmen oder irgend jemandem innerhalb seines Hoheitsbereiches den gleichen Schutz durch das Gesetz versagen." (3)

Und in Artikel 15 lesen wir: "Das Wahlrecht der Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten darf von den Vereinigten Staaten oder einem Einzelstaat nicht auf Grund der Rassenzugehörigkeit, der Hautfarbe oder des vormaligen Dienstbarkeitsverhältnisses versagt oder beschränkt werden." (4)

In der Praxis aber wurden die Verfassung und ihre Zusätze nur für die weißen Bürger der USA dem Wortlaut gemäß ausgelegt, der größten amerikanischen Minderheit jedoch, den Schwarzen, wurden die verbrieften Rechte vorenthalten. Um 1776, als die Unabhängigkeitserklärung verfaßt wurde, gab es in den USA ca. 600.000 schwarze Sklaven, die vorwiegend auf den Plantagen arbeiteten und z.T. wie Tiere gehalten wurden. Man betrachtete sie nicht als Menschen, geschweige denn: als Bürger der USA, sondern als Eigentum, ungefähr so, wie man einen Pflug, einen Muli, einen Ochsen als Eigentum betrachtete. An dieser Einstellung änderte Lincolns Emanzipationsproklamation von 1863 nichts. Auch nach dem Bürgerkrieg wurden die Schwarzen nicht als Menschen betrachtet, mochten sie auch nach dem Gesetz frei sein. Stattdessen legalisierte der Oberste Gerichtshof 1896 die Rassentrennung: Rechtlich sollten die Schwarzen als Bürger der USA zwar gleichgestellt sein, aber man wollte die Rassen im öffentlichen Leben soweit trennen als irgend möglich. Ab 1890 traten z.B. die "Jim Crow"- Gesetze in Kraft, die die Segregation (Rassentrennung oder "Apartheid") in allen öffentlichen Einrichtungen festschrieben und den Schwarzen de facto das Wahlrecht entzogen.

Dazu kamen drückende Armut, eine Arbeitslosenquote, die immer um einige Prozent über der der Weißen lag, eine festgeschriebene schlechtere Ausbildung für die schwarzen Kinder und Diskriminierung in allen Bereichen des täglichen Lebens. Der Schwarze wurde als Mensch zweiter Klasse behandelt, man nahm ihm jegliche Möglichkeit, sich zu profilieren oder gar ein Selbstwertgefühl zu entwickeln. 1903 schrieb W.E.B. DuBois:

"Es ist ein eigenartiges Empfinden: dieses doppelte Bewußtsein, dieses Gefühl, sich immer selbst zu sehen, die eigene Seele zu messen mit der Elle einer Welt, die mit amüsiertes Verachtung und Mitleid dreinschaut. Immer bleibt diese Zweifelt -ein Amerikaner, ein Neger, zwei Seelen, zwei Gedanken, zwei Verlangen, die sich nicht miteinander in Einklang bringen lassen ..." (5)

Erst ab 1918 gab es erste Rassenunruhen zwischen Schwarz und Weiß, als der 1865 während des Bürgerkrieges gegründete KuKlux-Klan Terroraktionen gegen die Schwarzen durchführte. In den schwarzen Kirchen bildeten sich ab 1919 erste Kommissionen, die sich mit dem Verhältnis der Rassen untereinander beschäftigten, - bis 1945 gab es sogar schon mehrere Statements der "Congregational Church/ Northern (American) Baptist Church" gegen die Rassentrennung. 1946 folgten neben einer Resolution des "Federal Council of Churches" gegen die segregierte Kirche bereits erste "social action"- Gruppen, die mit Sit-ins und "Kneel-in"-Aktionen den dornigen Weg gegen die Segregation zu gehen versuchten. Die schwarze Kirche war für jene Schwarzen, die gegen den Rassismus vorgingen, der Dreh- und Angelpunkt ihrer Hoffnungen. Die Kirche bildete das innere Zentrum der "black community", weit mehr als nur ein Ort zur Befriedigung religiöser Bedürfnisse. Sie gab immer wieder neue Hoffnung, aus ihrer Mitte heraus wuchsen die Führungskräfte, welche mit ihrem Auftreten nach außen das Anliegen der Schwarzen an die Öffentlichkeit trugen und nach innen hin die Gemeinschaft zusammenschweißten und jedem einzelnen das Gefühl gaben, an einer großen Aufgabe mitzuwirken. Hier wurde das Evangelium in einem sehr lebendigen Sinne ausgelegt. Man vertröstete sich nicht gegenseitig auf eine bessere Welt, in der man eines schönen Tages leben würde: Nein, Jesus' Wirken sollte hier und jetzt umgesetzt werden ! Und wie hatte Jesus seine Gegner bekämpft: durch Gewaltfreiheit.

Nicht bei jedem einzelnen mag dieser Gedankengang zu konkretem Handeln geführt haben, aber durch die konkrete Bibelauslegung, durch die Gemeinschaft, durch die gegenseitige tägliche Hilfe bildete sich in den schwarzen Kirchen eine neues schwarzes Selbstwertgefühl. Dort entstand die Kraft, die den eigenen kleinen Rahmen sprengte und die neben verschiedenen Bürgerrechtsgruppen schließlich einen Mann wie Martin Luther King jr. hervorbrachte. King blieb es dann dank seiner Persönlichkeit vorbehalten, das vorhandene Potential zu sammeln und an die Öffentlichkeit zu führen.

Schon in den Jahren vor Martin Luther Kings Wirken gab es unter den Schwarzen Vordenker und Selbsthilfeorganisationen zur Linderung der größten Notstände.

Zwei der ersten, die sich mit den Rassenproblemen auseinandersetzten, waren W.E.B. DuBois (1868-1963) und Booker T. Washington (1856-1915). Ohne die Segregation selbst anzugehen, setzte sich Washington speziell für eine Verbesserung der Ausbildung der schwarzen Kinder ein. So schrieb er 1895 in Atlanta: "In allen Dingen von sozialem Belang können wir und die Weißen so getrennt sein wie die Finger einer Hand und dennoch als eine Hand in allen jenen Dingen wirken, die wesentlich für den gemeinsamen Fortschritt sind." (6) Um seine Ansichten in die Praxis umzusetzen, gründete er Schulen für schwarze Kinder, die einen höheren Ausbildungsstandard garantieren sollten als die herkömmlichen segregierten Schulen.

W.E.B. DuBois, Gründer der NAACP, gilt heute als einer der ersten Vorkämpfer für die politisch-rechtliche Gleichstellung der Schwarzen. Wegen seines Kampfes für die Menschenwürde mußte er schließlich das Land verlassen und starb in Accra im Exil.

Bereits 1910 gründeten sich auch zwei Organisationen, die sich für die Belange der Schwarzen einsetzten: NAACP und "Urban League".

Die NAACP ("National Association for the Advancement of Colored People") bemühte sich hauptsächlich um Hilfe in rechtlichen Fragen. Es wurden Musterprozesse geführt, man betrieb "lobbying" für die Verbesserung von Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung. Die "Urban League" dagegen war ein Zusammenschluß von Philanthropen und Sozialarbeitern und arbeitete hauptsächlich karitativ. Da die meisten Schwarzen ohnehin in den Elendsquartieren der großen Städte lebten, arbeitete die "Urban League" auch verstärkt dort. Man versuchte, den Schwarzen einen möglichen Süd-Nord-Übergang zu erleichtern und leistete wirtschaftliche Hilfe auf allen Gebieten.

Für diese Zeit (ab 1916) erwähnenswert ist auch die Bewegung "Back to Africa" des Jamaikaners Marcus Garvey, der, aus seinem Heimatland ausgewiesen, nun hauptsächlich in New York arbeitete. Garvey gelang es mit seinem Charisma, eine Massenbewegung auszulösen, als er sich dafür einsetzte, alle Schwarzen nach Afrika zurückzuführen. Dieses sollte auf einer eigenen schwarzen Schifffahrtslinie, der "Black Star Line", geschehen, die er ins Leben rief. Leider aber besaß die "Black Star Line" nie mehr als zwei Schiffe, und auch der Plan, Millionen Menschen wieder nach Afrika zu bringen, erwies sich bald darauf als illusorisch. Garvey ging nach London ins Exil.

Dennoch begann es besonders ab 1920 in New York zu gären. Besonders in der "Harlem Renaissance" manifestierte sich ein neues Selbstwertgefühl der Schwarzen. Vorbei war die Zeit von "Uncle Tom's Cabin". Eine neue Zeit suchte und fand neue Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten.

1941 drohte Philip Randolph, ein schwarzer Gewerkschaftler, erstmals mit einem Marsch der Massen auf Washington, um sich für die ökonomische Gleichstellung der Rassen sowie für die Gleichstellung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt stark zu machen. Randolph kämpfte u.a. erfolgreich gegen die Segregation in der US-Armee des Zweiten Weltkrieges, er setzte sich ein für verstärkten Widerstand von Kolonialvölkern in Afrika und Asien gegen ihre Herrenländer. Randolph bezeichnete weiße Rassisten als US-Feinde in der Auseinandersetzung der USA mit Faschismus und Kommunismus.

1942 gründete sich erstmals eine demonstrativ pazifistische Gruppierung: CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), die mit sit-ins, stand-ins und freedom-rides (Freiheitsfahrten) gegen den täglichen Rassismus zu Felde zog. Sie hatte es allerdings mit "Urban League" und NAACP gemeinsam, daß ihr die Massengrundbasis fehlte: Alle jetzt bestehenden Gruppen waren in ihrer Form eher konservativ und systemkonform, die Verhandlungstaktik war nicht parteigebunden. Erst CORE erreichte eine leichte Radikalisierung. Öffentlicher Druck sollte allerdings später durch die 1957 ins Leben gerufene SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) entstehen, welche nach dem



Bus- Boykott von Montgomery die Führung und Organisation der nun beginnenden Massenbewegung in die Hand nahm und durch gezielte Anwendung von pazifistischen Demonstrationsmethoden gepaart mit einhergehendem wirtschaftlichen Druck Erfolge erzielen konnte. Dieser Organisation sollte auch Martin Luther King jr. angehören.

## 2. Kings Weg zu Gandhi

Martin Luther King jr., am 15.1.1929 in eine Pfarrersfamilie in Atlanta/Georgia hineingeboren, lernte den täglichen Rassismus des Südens früh kennen. Er schreibt:

"...When you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored" ; when your first name becomes "nigger", your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John", and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs." ; when you are hurried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments ; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodyness' - then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait."

(7)

DuBois nannte es "Zweiheit", King nennt es "nobodyness". Noch als King 1963 diese Worte schreibt, ist der Neger in der Meinung der amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit ein Nichts, ein Niemand. Der Neger hat für die Weißen kein Gesicht, keinen Namen, er ist im öffentlichen Leben so gut wie unsichtbar. Man hat ihm nie die Möglichkeit gegeben, sich zu profilieren, und diese Saat hat gut angeschlagen. Woher soll der Schwarze Bildung, Stil, Schliff haben, wenn man ihm nicht einmal die Würde zugesteht, ein Mensch zu sein ?

Die Schwarzen als ethnische Gruppe müssen diese Last wie einen Alptraum auf sich gefühlt haben. Für die anderen einfach nicht zu existieren, trotz der körperlichen Anwesenheit im Gewissen der anderen einfach ausgelöscht zu sein, dieses Wissen ließ sie schwanken zwischen dumpfer Betäubung, Wut und Ohnmacht. Wo, und vor allem wie, gibt es eine Möglichkeit, diese Mauer des Rassismus zu durchbrechen ?

Auch King beschäftigte dieses Problem der Schwarzen, besser: "the White problem"... Seit 1944 studiert er am Morehouse College in Atlanta Theologie. Mit 17 Jahren hält er eine erste Probe seiner Redebegehung in der väterlichen Kirche, augenscheinlich ein Erfolg. King wechselt zum Crozer Theological Seminary, später zur Boston University, um Material für eine Doktorarbeit zu sammeln. Noch während seiner Zeit in Boston heiratet er Coretta Scott, die am Konservatorium in Boston Gesang studiert.

King setzt sich während des Studiums konsequent mit religionsphilosophischem und politischem Gedankengut auseinander. ohne sich jedoch an der bereits bestehenden Bürgerrechtsbewegung zu beteiligen. Vielleicht spürt er, daß er sich erst eine feste gedankliche Grundlage schaffen muß, bevor er sich dem Sturm draußen aussetzen kann. Neben Henry David Thoreaus Essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (Dok. 7) führt ihn vor allem der "Social Gospel"- Gedanke Rauschenbusch'scher Prägung weiter:

"The gospel at its best deals with the whole man, not only his soul but also his body, not only his spiritual well-being but also his material well-being. A religion that professes a concern for the souls of men and is not equally concerned about the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that cripple them, is a spiritually moribund religion." (8)

Religion kann nach dieser Auslegung kein Selbstzweck sein. Für King bedeutet sie, einen ganz persönlichen Weg zu finden, um für mehr Menschenwürde und für eine konkrete Verbesserung der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Situation der Schwarzen einzutreten. Er, der er dank der väterlichen Erziehung glaubt, die Gott-Mensch- Beziehung sei etwas geradezu personales (Gott als Gegenüber), fühlt sich gerufen. Aber wie kann es ihm möglich sein, diesem Ruf gerecht zu werden und trotzdem dem täglichen Strudel von Gewalt und Gegengewalt aus dem Wege zu gehen ? Wie kann er der für ihn bestimmenden Hauptforderung des Christentums, der Nächstenliebe, gerecht werden ? King besucht einen Vortrag des Schwarzen Dr. Mordechai Johnson, der sich mit dem Leben und Wirken Gandhis auseinandergesetzt hat. Im Gegensatz zum religiös begründeten Pazifismus von A.J. Muste sieht er hier eine Möglichkeit, pazifistische Prinzipien kon-

struktiv in die Wirklichkeit zu übertragen. Der Graben zwischen Theorie und Praxis scheint sich zu füllen qua "soul force" :

"The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force; satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant for me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi, my scepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. At this time, however, I acquired only an intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position, and I had no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation." (9)

### 3. Das Wirken Kings und seine Einstellung zur Gewaltfreiheit

King findet in Gandhis Salzmarsch das praktische Beispiel für all' das, wonach er so lange gesucht hat. Er besorgt sich sämtliches Material über Gandhi, dessen er habhaft werden kann und informiert sich so gründlich wie möglich. Kings Gefühl, gerufen zu sein, läßt ihn nach seinen Studien in den Süden zurückkehren, obwohl ihm im Norden weit lukrativere Berufsangebote offenstehen. Stattdessen nimmt er 1954 die Pfarrerstelle an der Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery/Alabama an.

Es übersteigt sicherlich die Möglichkeiten dieses Papiers, alle Stationen aus Kings weiterem Leben sowie der Bürgerrechtsbewegung minutiös nachzuzeichnen (10). So bleibt nur der Versuch, einige Grundsätze aufzuzeigen, die King bei seinen verschiedenen Kampagnen einzuhalten versucht hat. So versuchte er beispielsweise, alle sozialen Gruppen in den Ortschaften, in denen er sich für Veränderungen einsetzte, mit in seine Arbeit einzubinden. Es wurde Demokratie von unten durchgeführt ("grass roots"), indem man so viel wie irgend möglich Kontakt hielt zueinander und sich zu regelmäßigen "Meetings" traf, bei denen Strategien und Pläne besprochen wurden, bei denen sich die Beteiligten aber auch durch Gebet, Reden, Gesang und Gespräch gegenseitig wieder aufzubauen versuchten. Nebenbei mußten Kautionen organisiert werden für jene, die bei den Demonstrationen inhaftiert wurden. Für King war es auch eine ganz grundlegende Forderung,

daß sämtliche Demonstrationen gewaltfrei ablaufen mußten. Er versuchte, bei jedem einzelnen durch seine Reden Gedanken auszulösen, die es ihm plausibel machen sollten, gewaltfrei zu arbeiten. Er verwies immer wieder auf das Wort Jesus' "Liebe Deine Feinde...", das er wörtlich angewandt sehen wollte als Nächsten- wie Fernstenliebe, als Freundschaftsbund in erster Linie mit sich'selbst!.. King verfolgte das Bibelwort bis zurück zum griechischen 'agape', welches eine ganz andere Bedeutung hat als die, welche wir gemeinhin unter Liebe verstehen (im einseitig verstandenen erotischen Sinne):

"The ... word is agape, understanding and creative, redemptive goodwill for all men. An overflowing love which seeks nothing in return, agape is the love of God operating in the human heart. At this level we love men not because we like them, nor because their ways appeal to us, nor even because they possess some type of divine spark ; we love every man because God loves him. At this level, we love the person who does an evil deed, although we hate the deed that he does." (11)

King hielt es für grundlegend, vergeben zu lernen. Er war der Ansicht, daß Haß und Gewalt sich multiplizieren und jeweils gegenseitig zwischen allen Beteiligten zurückschlagen. Außerdem vertraute er auf die Kraft der Konversion. Er glaubte, indem man friedlich demonstrierte (und gleichzeitig durch Warenboykotts Teile der Wirtschaft in dem "bestreikten" Gebiet lahmlegte), könne man Menschen für sich einnehmen, die sich im Angesicht gewalttätiger Demonstrationen sicherlich hinter den eigenen Vorurteilen verschanzen würden. Er vertrat die Meinung, daß Gewalt neben der Persönlichkeit des Gegners auch die eigene Persönlichkeit verdirbt und verletzt. Wenn Gott diesen Menschen, der gerade seine Hunde freiläßt, den Knüppel schwingt oder den Wasserwerfer richtet, liebt, so mußte es den Demonstranten auch möglich sein, es mußte möglich sein um der Situation nach dem Streit willen, in der man ja wieder miteinander zusammenleben wollte.

"We shall meet your physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will, and we shall continue to love you. We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws, because non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. Throw us in jail, and we still love you.

Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our community at the midnight hour and beat us and leave us half dead, and we shall still love you. But be ye assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer. One day we shall win freedom, but not only for ourselves. We shall so appeal to your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process, and our victory will be a double victory." (12)

King spricht in diesem kurzen Abschnitt den Begriff des Leidens an. Unverdientes Leiden, unverdientes Erleiden von Gewalt war für ihn gleich einer Katharsis, erlösend für alle Beteiligten, wenn es ihnen zur Einsicht gereichte. Er mußte von allen Demonstrationsteilnehmern ein hohes Maß an Leidensfähigkeit erwarten. Polizeigewalt, Hunde und Wasserwerfer mußten durchgestanden werden, gegen Kings Haus wurden Bombenanschläge verübt, lange Tage und Nächte mußten im Gefängnis ausgehalten werden, ungerechte Strafen einer weißen Justiz mußten ertragen, falsche Kauttionen bezahlt, Beleidigungen und Demütigungen verkraftet, Mitstreiter wie Medgar Evers, die Sozialarbeiter Goodman, Schwerner und Chaney, Emmett Till und viele andere zu Grabe getragen werden, wenn ihre verstümmelten Leichname dieses noch zuließen, nicht selten auch Kinder.

Oft wußte auch King kaum mehr, wie er seine Gefolgsleute noch beruhigen sollte, wenn es Terroranschläge gab, angesichts derer der Verstand versagte. Wie sollte er Eltern den Tod ihrer kleinen Kinder erklären, wie dem Tod einen Sinn geben, den sie bei einem Bombenattentat gefunden hatten ?

#### 4. Kings Weg von der Bürgerrechtsbewegung zur Vietnamkriegs-Gegnerschaft

Anfang 1957 gründete sich die SCLC, bestehend aus 60 Teilnehmern aus 10 Südstaaten. Die Ziele der Bürgerrechtsbewegung waren zu dieser Zeit wie folgt (übersetzt aus: The SCLC-Story)

- " - die vollen Bürgerrechte und die völlige Integration des Negers in das Leben der USA zu erreichen ;
- gewaltlose, direkte Aktionen zu initiieren, um die Barrieren der Rassentrennung und Diskriminierung wegzuräumen ;
- die schöpferische Idee und die Methoden der Gewaltlosigkeit durch lokale und regionale "Workshops" auszubreiten ;
- das Wahlrecht und seine ungehinderte Ausübung sicherzustellen ;
- den kulturellen Abstand durch ein Bürgerausbildungsprogramm zu verringern."

1969 nannte ein Mitteilungsblatt der Organisation folgende Arbeitsbereiche und Programme (übersetzt aus: Soul Force, 4.4.1969 - beide Übersetzungen stammen von Heinrich Grosse):

- "1. Direkte Aktion ; 2. Arbeit unter Jugendlichen und Studenten ;
- 3. "Operation Breadbasket", ein Programm zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der "black community" ; 4. Wählerregistrierung, politische Bildung ; 5. Bürgererziehung ; 6. Schulung von Pastoren für Führungsaufgaben ; 7. Wohnungsprojekte."

Die Aktivität der SCLC zielte nach Kings Ermordung primär auf die Brechung der sozio-ökonomischen Strukturen und auf verstärkten Einfluß der Unterprivilegierten in der Kommunalpolitik (Ralph Abernathys Motto 1969: "The New Thrust" - Der neue Vorstoß) (12a). Doch zuvor konnten in verschiedenen Kampagnen, unter anderem Montgomery 1955 und Birmingham 1963, entscheidende Erfolge im Kampf gegen das Problem nordamerikanischer "Apartheid" erzielt werden. Um eine Bürgerrechtsgesetzgebung schneller durch den Kongreß zu bringen, organisierte King für den 28. August 1963 einen Massen-"Marsch auf Washington" ! Über 250.000 Menschen zogen zum Capitol, um ihrem Wunsch nach mehr Freiheit Gestalt zu geben. King hielt seine berühmt gewordene Rede "I Have A Dream" (13). Der Marsch blieb nicht ohne Eindruck für den Kongreß, kurz nach der Ermordung John Fitzgerald Kennedys wurde das Gesetz verabschiedet. 1964 dann erhielt Martin Luther King jr. den Friedensnobelpreis in Oslo verliehen, für den er sich eher als eine Art Verwalter im Namen der Bürgerrechtsbewegung sah.

Nun hatte King bereits sein Engagement auf eine nationale Ebene erhoben und verknüpfte sie mit gesamtgesellschaftlichen Fragen, deren enger Zusammenhang zum "White problem" oft verleugnet wurden ("peace and civil rights ... mix"). So äußerte sich King schon seit 1965 offen gegen den Einsatz US-amerikanischer Truppen in Vietnam. King spürte, daß er nicht in der Bürgerrechtsbewegung Gewaltfreiheit fördern konnte, um nun zu schweigen. Schon 1963 schrieb er:

"In our days of space vehicles and guided ballistic missiles, the choice is either nonviolence or nonexistence." (14)

Hatte anfangs möglicherweise die Tatsache seinen Unmut erregt, daß in Vietnam Schwarze in unnatürlich höheren Prozentzahlen starben als Weiße, und daß Schwarze und Weiße dort gemeinsam für angebliche Freiheiten kämpften, während sie im eigenen Land nicht einmal gemeinsam die Schulbank drücken würden, so spürte er doch bald, daß hier noch viel mehr im argen lag. King wußte, daß die Regierung in Washington nie das Geld für ein Programm gegen die Armut im eigenen Land geben würde, solange sie es in die Rüstung mit Waffen und die Kriegsführung in Vietnam steckte...

Bald jedoch erweiterte er seinen Horizont in einem Maße, daß ihm Weggefährten aus der Bürgerrechtsbewegung die weitere Gefolgschaft verweigerten. King rechtfertigte sich:

"To me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I am speaking against the war. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation, and for those it calls enemy, for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers." (15)

"I cannot forget that the Nobel Prize for Peace was also a commission - a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for the 'brotherhood of man'." (16)

In "Conscience and the Vietnam War" aus "The Trumpet of Conscience" besaß King die 'Frechheit', sich in die Lage eines vietnamesischen Reisbauern hineinzusetzen, der nach seiner Ansicht sicher genauso um sein tägliches Brot sorgte wie der Arme in den USA. King zog seine Folgerungen und nannte diesen Krieg in Vietnam mehrfach ein Verbrechen, ein Verbrechen gegen die Armen. Er unterstellte den Vereinigten Staaten, mehr Kriegsverbrechen begangen zu haben "als jede andere Nation der Welt" (17).

Worte wie diese mußten den FBI hellhörig machen. Und während King von einem Demonstrationsschauplatz zum nächsten reiste und nebenbei die "Operation Brotkorb" schürte, um den Armen in der eigenen Bevölkerung zu helfen, legte der FBI immer wieder Fallstricke, verleumdete nach Kräften, hörte King ab und setzte fingierte Tonbänder über ihn in die Welt. Kurz vor seinem Tod konnte King noch beginnen, einen zweiten Marsch auf Washington vorzubereiten, den er jedoch selbst nicht mehr anführen konnte. Es sollte dies ein Marsch aller

Minderheiten der USA werden, ein Marsch der Armen, für bessere Wohnbedingungen, für eine bessere Ausbildung. Man wollte Geld fordern für ein nationales Hilfsprogramm für alle Armen Amerikas.

King konnte dieses Projekt nicht mehr vollenden. Er war durch seine Art, überall die Krankheiten der Nation aufzudecken und zu bekämpfen, zu einem Risiko für die Macht-habenden geworden. Mochte man ihn als Bürgerrechtsführer noch toleriert haben, nun, wo er sich gegen den Krieg und für die Armen aussprach, war er 'untragbar' geworden.

Martin Luther King soll vor dem Attentat von Memphis noch gewarnt worden sein. Seine letzten Ansprachen sind von Todesahnungen gezeichnet. Am 4.4.1968 wurde er in Memphis von James Earl Ray erschossen. Die Hintermänner für diesen Anschlag sind vermutlich in den amerikanischen Geheimdiensten zu suchen.

Die Bürgerrechtsbewegung konnte nach Kings Tod nur mehr geschwächt weitermachen. Kings Charisma, seine einende Persönlichkeit, die so manchen Graben überschritten hatte, fehlte nun. Der Marsch auf Washington fand wohl statt, ohne aber dem Eindruck, den der erste hinterlassen hatte, auch nur im entferntesten nahezukommen.

1969 begann man damit, Pfarrer im Rahmen des MLTP ("Minister's Leadership Training Program") zu "community organizers" auszubilden. Man wollte eine Sensibilisierung für die Probleme der Ghettos erreichen. Geübt werden sollten Kraftfeldanalysen, Problemlösungsmethoden und deren Anwendung unter spezifischen Bedingungen zur Bewältigung sozio-ökonomischer Probleme im kommunalen und regionalen Bereich. Nach dem Modell der "grass roots"-Bewegung sollte eine Basisbildung in den Ghettos erfolgen, Organisationen sollten nach den Bedürfnissen der Ghetto-bewohner gebildet werden. Einige neue Perspektiven ergaben sich aus der Zusammenarbeit der Bürgerrechtsbewegung mit den Gewerkschaften, durchschlagende Erfolge wie zu Kings Lebzeiten konnten allerdings weder von Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young oder Jesse Jackson und der "Rainbow Coalition" sowie der Kampagne für "Jobs and Peace" in den 18 Jahren von 1968 bis 1986 errungen werden.





Zu Dokument 26 - Martin Luther King jr. - Nonviolence and Social Change (siehe S. 500-507)

Im Jahre 1967 wurde Martin Luther King jr. gebeten, für die Massey Lectures der "Canadian Broadcasting Corporation" einige Reden zusammenzustellen, welche dann im November und Dezember 1967 gesendet wurden.

Im Mai 1968, kurz nach seinem Tod, stellte Coretta Scott King diese Reden für ein Buch, "The Trumpet of Conscience", 1968 in New York bei Harper & Row erschienen, zusammen. King hatte in den Rundfunkreden noch einmal Gelegenheit, die verschiedenen Aspekte anzusprechen, um die seine Gedanken und seine Arbeit kreisten.

Da sind zunächst das Verhältnis der Rassen untereinander (Chapter 1 - "Impasse in Race Relations"), dann seine Befürchtungen bezüglich des Krieges (Chapter 2 - "Conscience and the Vietnam War"), zwei Beiträge über die Möglichkeiten und die Pflicht der heutigen Jugend, die Weltsituation gewaltlos zu verändern (Chapter 3 and 4 - "Youth and Social Action", "Nonviolence and Social Change") und schließlich einige Gedanken anlässlich des christlichen Weihnachtsfestes (Chapter 5 - "A Christmas Sermon on Peace"). King stellt hier dar, inwieweit seine Hoffnungen bezüglich des Traumes, von dem er im August 1963 in Washington sprach, oft durch die Wirklichkeit, durch Terror, Aufruhr und Gewalt der Behörden, zu einem Alptraum pervertiert wurden. Dennoch gibt er die Hoffnung nicht auf, daß eines Tages diese Probleme überwunden werden können. King appelliert an seine Zuhörer, den Mut nicht aufzugeben und den Weg zum Frieden nicht zu verlassen.

Aus diesem Buch soll hier das Kapitel 4, "Nonviolence and Social Change", wiedergegeben werden, welches sich insbesondere mit den Möglichkeiten gewaltloser Veränderungen befaßt. "Trumpet of Conscience" wird heute, da es nach Kings Tod erschien und einen breiten Überblick über seine Gedanken bietet, als Teil eines Testaments gesehen, welches uns der Bürgerrechtler hinterließ, damit wir seine begonnene Arbeit weiterführen.

Zu Dokument 27 - Martin Luther King jr. - Beyond Vietnam (S.528-540)

Im Jahre 1965 fand sich eine Gruppe von Geistlichen, Katholiken, Protestanten und jüdischen Rabbinern zusammen, um gemeinsam gegen die amerikanische Beteiligung in Vietnam zu protestieren. Die Gruppe trat auf unter dem Namen "Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam" (später: "Clergy and Laity Concerned").

Am 4. April 1967, genau ein Jahr vor seiner Ermordung, wurde Martin Luther King jr. zum Vizepräsidenten dieser Organisation CALCAV berufen. Aus Anlaß dieser Ernennung hielt er in der Riverside Baptist Church in New York die hier wiedergegebene Rede "Beyond Vietnam".

Es handelt sich um seine erste größere Rede zum Thema Vietnam-Krieg, die gleichzeitig Verbindungen zur Situation der Armen im eigenen Land herstellt.

Die Gruppe "Clergy and Laity Concerned" widmete die Wiederveröffentlichung von Kings Rede im April 1982

"... to the continuing struggle against the national malady of racism and to the growing movement against militarism in the world."

Zu Dokument 28 - Martin Luther King jr. - The World House (S.541-542)

Im Jahre 1967 erschien in New York bei Harper & Row das letzte Buch aus Martin Luther Kings eigener Feder. Alle späteren Veröffentlichungen waren nur noch verschiedene zusammengestellte Reden bzw. Vorträge.

King nannte sein Buch "Where Do We Go From Here - Chaos or Community" und widmete es allen engagierten Mitgliedern der Bürgerrechtsbewegung, egal ob schwarz oder weiß. In sechs Kapiteln setzte sich King mit den Problemen auseinander, die er im Laufe seiner Arbeit vorgefunden hatte. Er zog einen Bogen, angefangen mit der Wählerregistrierungskampagne Selma 1965 über den weißen Rassismus, das Dilemma des schwarzen Amerika bis hin zu Problemen, die über die Bürgerrechtsbewegung als solche hinausreichen.

Im Kapitel 5 ("Where Do We Go From Here") setzte er sich noch einmal gezielt mit der ökonomischen Diskriminierung der Armen Amerikas auseinander, er sprach im besonderen die "Operation Brotkorb" an, den Feldzug der Armen, an dem er arbeitete, und verwies auf die Möglichkeit des Errichtens eigener Organisationen zur Linderung der größten Probleme in den Ghettos. Diese stellte er im Anhang des Buches noch einmal gesondert dar. Es ging ihm in der Hauptsache um die Verbesserung der schulischen Ausbildung für die Kinder, um eine Besetzung der Stellen ohne Diskriminierung, um eine gerechtere Rechtsprechung und um "fair housing", eine Verbesserung der Wohnungssituation der Armen.

Auch das hier abgedruckte Kapitel 6 "The World House" reicht über die alltäglichen Probleme, die Kings Arbeit bestimmten, weit hinaus. Kings Bild von einem gemeinsam ererbten Haus, in dem man zusammen leben muß, weist auf das hin, was er in bezug auf unsere Welt auszudrücken versuchte:

Alle Menschen, egal wo sie sich befinden oder was immer sie tun, stehen zueinander in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis.

Es gibt keine Möglichkeit, der daraus resultierenden Verantwortung für den Mitmenschen zu entgehen.

Es nützt nichts, sich einzureden, daß man in seinem eigenen Umfeld ja alles in Ordnung gebracht habe, wenn draußen Menschen hungern, Menschen zu Tode geprügelt, gefoltert und verstümmelt werden ; wenn Kinder unter Mißhandlungen schreien und Alte in Verwahranstalten abgeschoben werden ; wenn Tausende zu Unrecht ihre Tage im Gefängnis verbringen ; wenn Soldaten sich erschlagen, ohne einsehen zu können wofür ; wenn Menschen nicht bestimmen können, was sie mit ihrem Leben anfangen wollen ; wenn man ihnen die Arbeit und so die Möglichkeit nimmt, ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Die Verantwortung bleibt, auch wenn man die Augen schließt. King fordert auf, die Probleme anzugreifen, solange noch Zeit dazu bleibt. Er schreibt:

"Es gibt ein unsichtbares Buch des Lebens, das unsere Wachsamkeit oder Nachlässigkeit getreulich verzeichnet. (...) Wir haben heute die Wahl: Gewaltlose Koexistenz oder gewaltsame Vernichtung aller. Dies kann sehr wohl die letzte Chance der Menschheit sein, zwischen dem Chaos und der Gemeinschaft zu wählen." (18)

Martin Luther King jr. und andere Bürgerrechtler knien nieder, um zu beten, auf ihrem Weg ins Gefängnis, während sie der Massenverhaftung Folge leisten - Selma, Alabama, 1. Februar 1965



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- 9) ebd., S. 151
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- 12) ebd., S. 54,55
- 12a) Grosse, Heinrich: Die Macht der Armen, a.a.O., S. 65
- 13) "I Have A Dream", Rede Martin Luther Kings am 28.8.1963 vor 250.000 Menschen beim Marsch auf Washington, nachzulesen in: Flip Schulke: Martin Luther King jr., a.a.O., S. 218
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- 15) King, Martin Luther, jr.: The Trumpet of Conscience, New York 1967, S. 25
- 16) ebd., S. 25
- 17) King, Martin Luther, jr.: Freiheit - Von der Praxis des gewaltlosen Widerstandes, Wuppertal 1982, S. 126
- 18) King, Martin Luther, jr.: Wohin führt unser Weg - Chaos oder Gemeinschaft?, Wien und Düsseldorf 1968, S. 236



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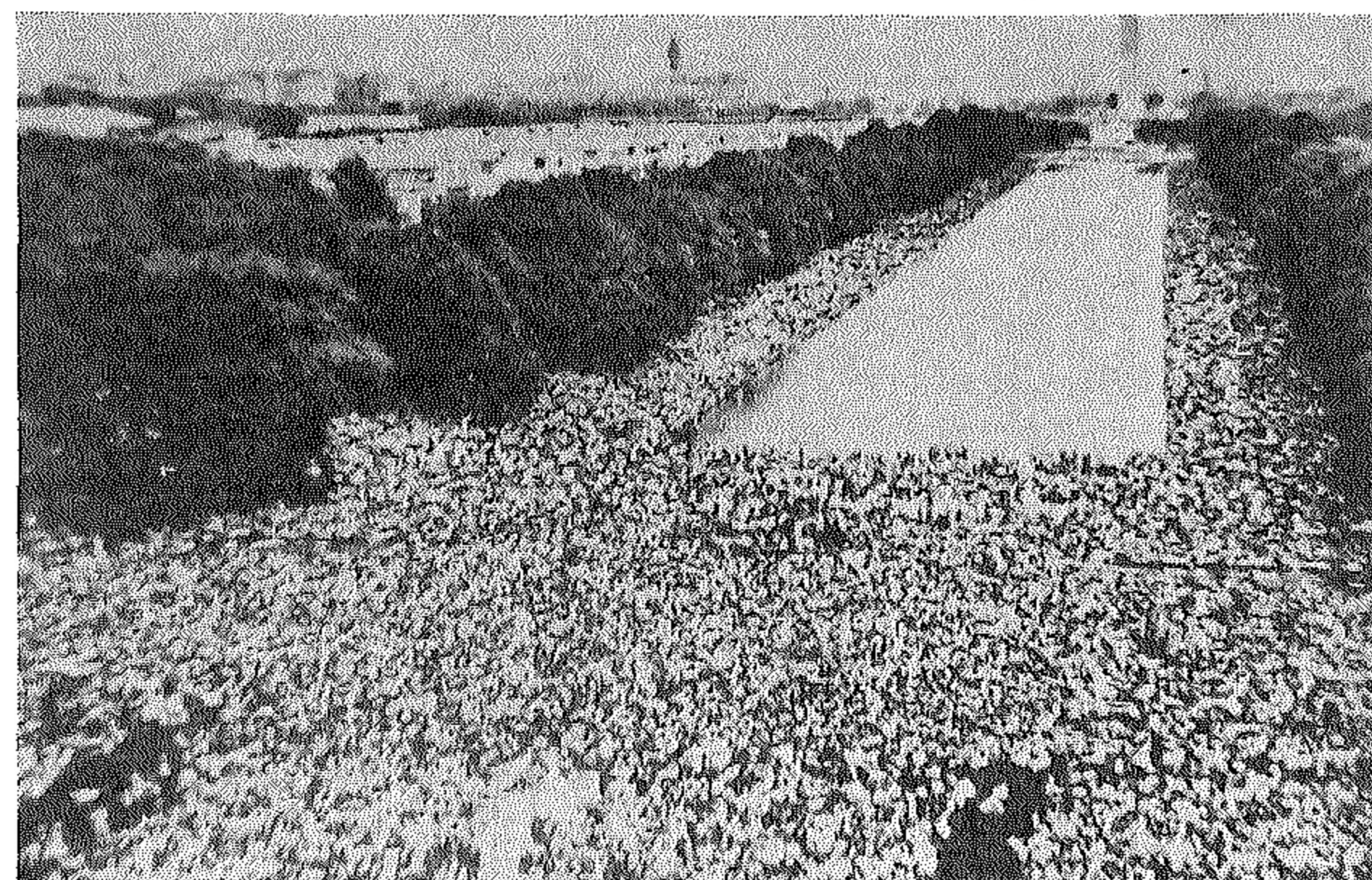
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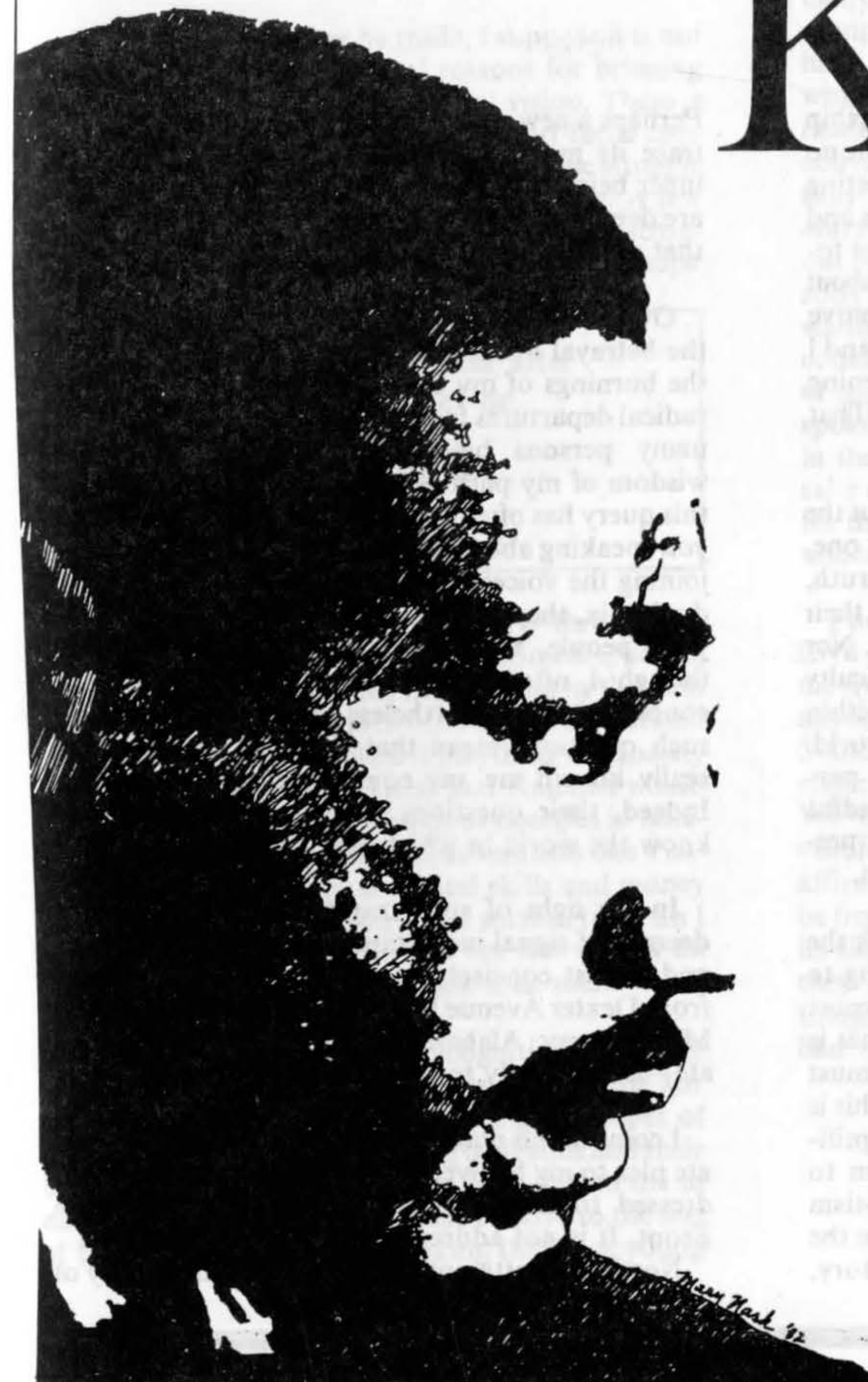
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DOKUMENT 27

# MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.



## BEYOND VIETNAM

A PROPHECY FOR THE '80'S

ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN  
VINCENT HARDING  
ANNE BRADEN  
C.T. VIVIAN

CLERGY AND LAITY CONCERNED



## Beyond Vietnam: Dr. Martin Luther King's Prophecy for the 80's

**I** come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this meeting because I am in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together: Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. The recent statement of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty; but we must move on.

Some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history.

Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace its movements well and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance, for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns this query has often loomed large and loud: Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King? Why are you joining the voices of dissent? Peace and civil rights don't mix, they say. Aren't you hurting the cause of your people, they ask? And when I hear them, though I often understand the sources of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live.

In the light of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church—the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate—leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation. This speech is not addressed to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. It is not addressed to China or to Russia. Nor is it an attempt to overlook the ambiguity of

the total situation and the need for a collective solution to the tragedy of Vietnam. Neither is it an attempt to make North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front paragons of virtue, nor to overlook the role they can play in a successful resolution of the problem. While they both may have justifiable reason to be suspicious of the good faith of the United States, life and history give eloquent testimony to the fact that conflicts are never resolved without trustful give and take on both sides.

Tonight, however, I wish not to speak with Hanoi and the NLF, but rather to my fellow Americans who, with me, bear the greatest responsibility in ending a conflict that has exacted a heavy price on both continents.

Since I am a preacher by trade, I suppose it is not surprising that I have several reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope

**A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.**

for the poor—both black and white—through the Poverty Program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the build-up in Vietnam and I watched the program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demoniacal destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

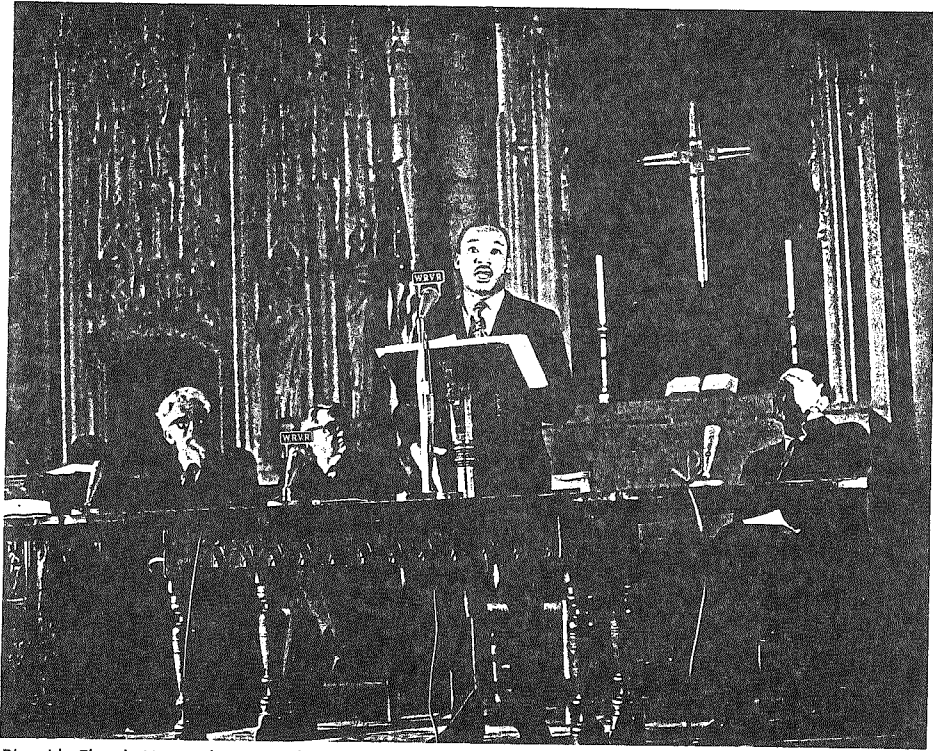
Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young

men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the north over the last three years—especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected and angry young men I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through non-violent action. But they asked—and rightly so—what about Vietnam? They asked if our nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a Civil Rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. In 1957 when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself unless the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:

O, yes,  
I say it plain,  
America never was America to me,  
And yet I swear this oath—  
America will be!



Riverside Church, New York City, April 4, 1967 (photo by John Goodwin)

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

As if the weight of such a commitment to the life and health of America were not enough, another burden of responsibility was placed upon me in 1964; and I cannot forget that the Nobel Prize for Peace was also a commission—a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for "the brotherhood of man." This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ. To

me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I am speaking against the war. Could it be that they do not know the good news was meant for all men—for communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black and for white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the One who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? What then can I say to the Vietcong or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this One? Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?

Finally, as I try to delineate for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of sonship and brotherhood,

and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.

**T**his I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation's self-defined goals and positions. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for victims of our nation and for those it calls enemy, for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers.

**I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government.**

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them too because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1945 after a combined French and Japanese occupation, and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its re-conquest of her former colony.

Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not "ready" for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination, and a government that had been established not by China (for whom the Vietnamese have no

great love) but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to re-colonize Vietnam.

Before the end of the war we were meeting 80% of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of the reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at re-colonization.

After the French were defeated it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva agreements. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators—our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly routed out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords and refused even to discuss re-unification with the North. The peasants watched as all this was presided over by U.S. influence and then by increasing numbers of U.S. troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictatorships seemed to offer no real change—especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received regular promises of peace and democracy—and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us—not their fellow Vietnamese—the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move or be destroyed by our bombs. So they go—primarily women and children and the aged.

They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the

bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals, with at least 20 casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe? Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only non-communist revolutionary political force—the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men. What liberators!

Now there is little left to build on—save bitterness. Soon the only solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call fortified hamlets. The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these? Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These too are our brothers.

Perhaps the more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front—that strangely anonymous group we call VC or Communists? What must they think of us in America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the south? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of "aggression from the North" as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the

murderous reign of Diem, and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? Surely we must understand their feelings even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts.

**H**ow do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than 25 per cent communist and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will have no part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them—the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political

**The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism.**

goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again and then shore it up with the power of new violence?

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and non-violence when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.



CALC Demonstration, Washington D.C., February 6, 1968 (photo by John Goodwin)

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a second struggle against French domination at tremendous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the 13th and 17th parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954 they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which would have surely brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again.

When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered. Also it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreements concerning foreign troops, and they remind us that they did not begin to send in any large number of supplies or men until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how we claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard

the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North. Perhaps only his sense of humor and irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of *his* aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor weak nation more than 8,000 miles away from its shores.

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless on Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called enemy, I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy and the secure while we create a hell for the poor.

**S**omehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as an American to the leaders of my own nation. The



great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours.

This is the message of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam. Recently one of them wrote these words: "Each day the war goes on, the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism."

If we continue there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. It will become clear that our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony and men will not refrain from thinking that our maximum hope is to goad China into a war so that we may bomb her nuclear installations. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horribly clumsy and deadly game we have decided to play.

The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people.

In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war. I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do immediately to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

1. End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.
2. Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.
3. Take immediate steps to prevent other battle-grounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military build-up in Thailand and our interference in Laos.
4. Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and in any future Vietnam government.

5. Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

Part of our ongoing commitment might well express itself in an offer to grant asylum to any Vietnamese who fears for his life under a new regime which included the Liberation Front. Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country if necessary.

Meanwhile we in the churches and synagogues have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative means of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this

**I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented" society to a "person-oriented" society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.**

is the path now being chosen by more than seventy students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. Moreover I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

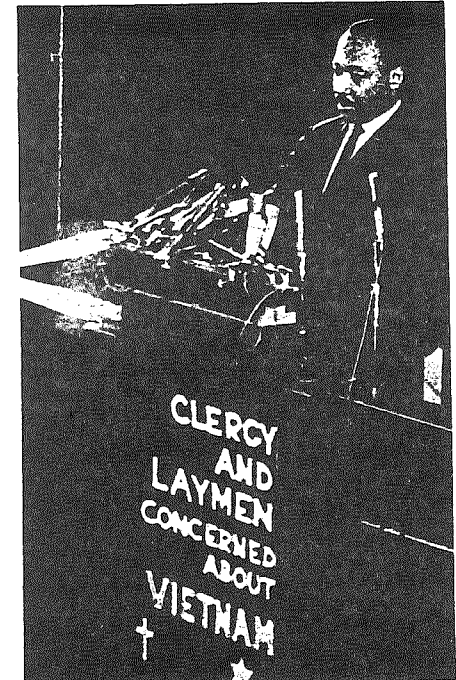
There is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing. The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing Clergy and Laymen Concerned committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. Such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as children of the living God.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past 10 years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which now has justified the presence of U.S. military "advisors" in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Colombia and why American napalm and green beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru. It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

**Our nation has taken the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment.**

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken—the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right



New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C., February 6, 1968 (photo by John Goodwin)

side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented" society to a "person-oriented" society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

True revolution of value will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside; but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on Life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it is not haphazard and superficial. It comes to see that an edifice which



produces beggars needs re-structuring. A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums

**True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.**

of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say: "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just. A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war: "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from re-ordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against Communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. Let us not join those who shout war and through their misguided passions urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not call everyone a Communist or an appeaser who advocates the

seating of Red China in the United Nations and who recognizes that hate and hysteria are not the final answers to the problem of these turbulent days. We must not engage in a negative anti-Communism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against Communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity and injustice which are the fertile soil in which the seed of Communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in



War Tax Demonstration, April 15, 1970, (1199 News photo)

darkness have seen a great light." We in the West must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that, because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of Communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Therefore, Communism is a judg-

ment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status-quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a world-wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men. This oft misunderstood and misinterpreted concept, so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force, has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental and weak response. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu - Moslem - Christian - Jewish - Buddhist belief about ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John:

Let us love one another; for love is God and everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day. We can no longer afford to worship the God of Hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate. As Arnold Toynbee says: "Love is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning

choice of death and evil. Therefore the first hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word."

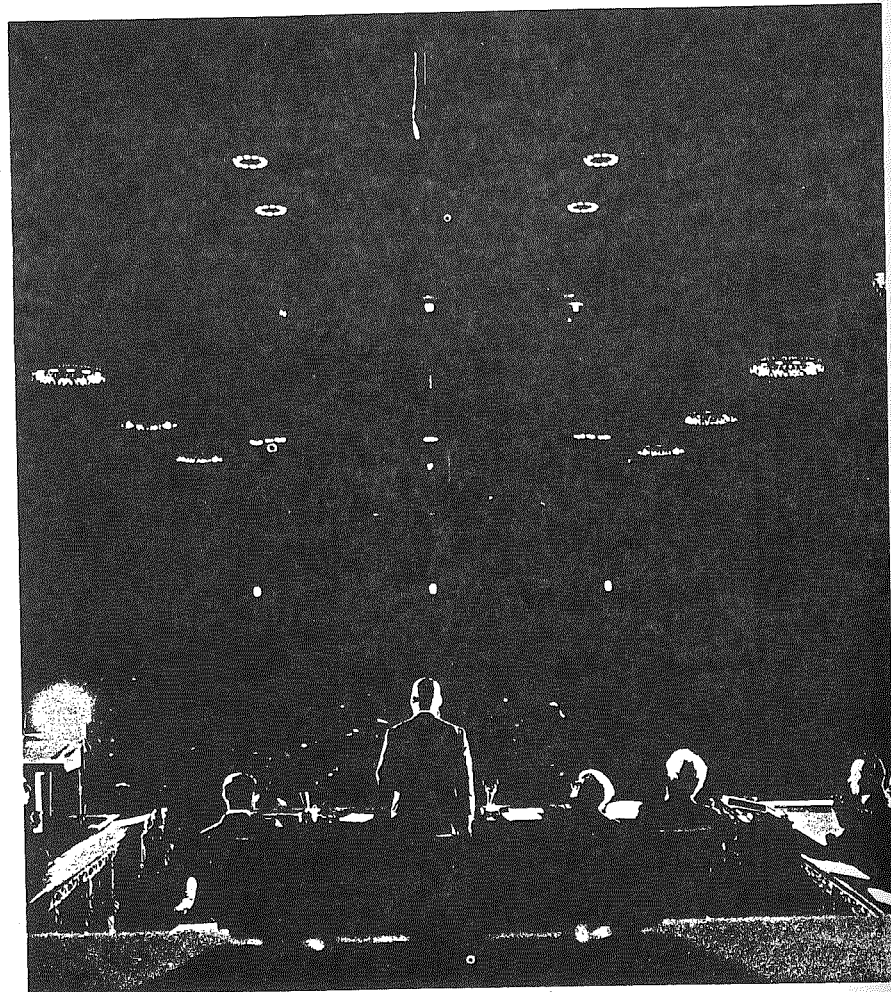
We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us

**We still have a choice today: non-violent co-existence or violent co-annihilation.**

standing bare, naked and dejected with a lost opportunity. The "tide in the affairs of men" does not remain at the flood; it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residue of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words: "Too late." There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. "The moving finger writes, and having written moves on..." We still have a choice today: non-violent co-existence or violent co-annihilation.

We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world—a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act we shall surely be dragged down the long dark and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us re-dedicate ourselves to the long and bitter—but beautiful—struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the children of God, and our brothers and sisters wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message, of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise we *must* choose in this crucial moment of human history.



Riverside Church, New York City, April 4, 1967 (photo by John Goodwin)

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing Clergy and Laymen Concerned committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. Such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as children of the living God.

*Martin Luther King  
April 4, 1967*

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# Where Do We Go from Here:

## *Chaos or Community?*

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### *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?*

largely as a result of the modern scientific and technological revolutions. The world of today is vastly different from the world of just one hundred years ago. A century ago Thomas Edison had not yet invented the incandescent lamp to bring light to many dark places of the earth. The Wright brothers had not yet invented that fascinating mechanical bird that would spread its gigantic wings across the skies and soon dwarf distance and place time in the service of man. Einstein had not yet challenged an axiom and the theory of relativity had not yet been posited.

Human beings, searching a century ago as now for better understanding, had no television, no radios, no telephones and no motion pictures through which to communicate. Medical science had not yet discovered the wonder drugs to end many dread plagues and diseases. One hundred years ago military men had not yet developed the terrifying weapons of warfare that we know today—not the bomber, an airborne fortress raining down death; nor napalm, that burner of all things and flesh in its path. A century ago there were no skyscraping buildings to kiss the stars and no gargantuan bridges to span the waters. Science had not yet peered into the unfathomable ranges of interstellar space, nor had it penetrated oceanic depths. All these new inventions, these new ideas, these sometimes fascinating and sometimes frightening developments, came later. Most of them have come within the past sixty years, sometimes with agonizing slowness, more characteristically with bewildering speed, but always with enormous significance for our future.

The years ahead will see a continuation of the same dramatic developments. Physical science will carve new highways through the stratosphere. In a few years astronauts and cosmonauts will probably walk comfortably across the uncertain pathways of the moon. In two or three years it will be possible, because of the new supersonic jets, to fly from New

## Chapter VI

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### THE WORLD HOUSE

Some years ago a famous novelist died. Among his papers was found a list of suggested plots for future stories, the most prominently underscored being this one: "A widely separated family inherits a house in which they have to live together." This is the great new problem of mankind. We have inherited a large house, a great "world house" in which we have to live together—black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Moslem and Hindu—a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interest, who, because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace.

However deeply American Negroes are caught in the struggle to be at last at home in our homeland of the United States, we cannot ignore the larger world house in which we are also dwellers. Equality with whites will not solve the problems of either whites or Negroes if it means equality in a world society stricken by poverty and in a universe doomed to extinction by war.

All inhabitants of the globe are now neighbors. This world-wide neighborhood has been brought into being

### THE WORLD HOUSE

York to London in two and one-half hours. In the years ahead medical science will greatly prolong the lives of men by finding a cure for cancer and deadly heart ailments. Automation and cybernation will make it possible for working people to have undreamed-of amounts of leisure time. All this is a dazzling picture of the furniture, the workshop, the spacious rooms, the new decorations and the architectural pattern of the large world house in which we are living.

Along with the scientific and technological revolution, we have also witnessed a world-wide freedom revolution over the last few decades. The present upsurge of the Negro people of the United States grows out of a deep and passionate determination to make freedom and equality a reality "here" and "now." In one sense the civil rights movement in the United States is a special American phenomenon which must be understood in the light of American history and dealt with in terms of the American situation. But on another and more important level, what is happening in the United States today is a significant part of a world development.

We live in a day, said the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, "when civilization is shifting its basic outlook; a major turning point in history where the pre-suppositions on which society is structured are being analyzed, sharply challenged, and profoundly changed." What we are seeing now is a freedom explosion, the realization of "an idea whose time has come," to use Victor Hugo's phrase. The deep rumbling of discontent that we hear today is the thunder of disinherited masses, rising from dungeons of oppression to the bright hills of freedom. In one majestic chorus the rising masses are singing, in the words of our freedom song, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn us around." All over the world like a fever, freedom is spreading in the widest liberation movement in history. The great masses of people are determined to end the exploitation of their races and lands. They are awake and mov-



ing toward their goal like a tidal wave. You can hear them rumbling in every village street, on the docks, in the houses, among the students, in the churches and at political meetings. For several centuries the direction of history flowed from the nations and societies of Western Europe out into the rest of the world in "conquests" of various sorts. That period, the era of colonialism, is at an end. East is moving West. The earth is being redistributed. Yes, we are "shifting our basic outlooks."

These developments should not surprise any student of history. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself. The Bible tells the thrilling story of how Moses stood in Pharaoh's court centuries ago and cried, "Let my people go." This was an opening chapter in a continuing story. The present struggle in the United States is a later chapter in the same story. Something within has reminded the Negro of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the spirit of the times, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers in Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice.

Nothing could be more tragic than for men to live in these revolutionary times and fail to achieve the new attitudes and the new mental outlooks that the new situation demands. In Washington Irving's familiar story of Rip Van Winkle, the one thing that we usually remember is that Rip slept twenty years. There is another important point, however, that is almost always overlooked. It was the sign on the inn in the little town on the Hudson from which Rip departed and scaled the mountain for his long sleep. When he went up, the sign had a picture of King George III of England.

"Improved means to an unimproved end." This is the serious predicament, the deep and haunting problem, confronting modern man. Enlarged material powers spell enlarged peril if there is not proportionate growth of the soul. When the external of man's nature subjugates the internal, dark storm clouds begin to form.

Western civilization is particularly vulnerable at this moment, for our material abundance has brought us neither peace of mind nor serenity of spirit. An Asian writer has portrayed our dilemma in candid terms:

You call your thousand material devices "labor-saving machinery," yet you are forever "busy." With the multiplying of your machinery you grow increasingly fatigued, anxious, nervous, dissatisfied. Whatever you have, you want more; and wherever you are you want to go somewhere else . . . your devices are neither time-saving nor soul-saving machinery. They are so many sharp spurs which urge you on to invent more machinery and to do more business.<sup>1</sup>

This tells us something about our civilization that cannot be cast aside as a prejudiced charge by an Eastern thinker who is jealous of Western prosperity. We cannot escape the indictment.

This does not mean that we must turn back the clock of scientific progress. No one can overlook the wonders that science has wrought for our lives. The automobile will not abdicate in favor of the horse and buggy, or the train in favor of the stagecoach, or the tractor in favor of the hand plow, or the scientific method in favor of ignorance and superstition. But our moral and spiritual "lag" must be redeemed. When scientific power outruns moral power, we end up with guided missiles and misguided men. When we foolishly minimize the internal of our lives and maximize the external, we sign the warrant for our own day of doom.

When he came down, twenty years later, the sign had a picture of George Washington. As he looked at the picture of the first President of the United States, Rip was confused, flustered and lost. He knew not who Washington was. The most striking thing about this story is not that Rip slept twenty years, but that he slept through a revolution that would alter the course of human history.

One of the great liabilities of history is that all too many people fail to remain awake through great periods of social change. Every society has its protectors of the status quo and its fraternities of the indifferent who are notorious for sleeping through revolutions. But today our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the challenge of change. The large house in which we live demands that we transform this world-wide neighborhood into a world-wide brotherhood. Together we must learn to live as brothers or together we will be forced to perish as fools.

We must work passionately and indefatigably to bridge the gulf between our scientific progress and our moral progress. One of the great problems of mankind is that we suffer from a poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we have become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually.

Every man lives in two realms, the internal and the external. The internal is that realm of spiritual ends expressed in art, literature, morals and religion. The external is that complex of devices, techniques, mechanisms and instrumentalities by means of which we live. Our problem today is that we have allowed the internal to become lost in the external. We have allowed the means by which we live to outdistance the ends for which we live. So much of modern life can be summarized in that suggestive phrase of Thoreau:

Our hope for creative living in this world house that we have inherited lies in our ability to re-establish the moral ends of our lives in personal character and social justice. Without this spiritual and moral reawakening we shall destroy ourselves in the misuse of our own instruments.

II

Among the moral imperatives of our time, we are challenged to work all over the world with unshakable determination to wipe out the last vestiges of racism. As early as 1906 W. E. B. Du Bois prophesied that "the problem of the twentieth century will be the problem of the color line." Now as we stand two-thirds into this exciting period of history we know full well that racism is still that hound of hell which dogs the tracks of our civilization.

Racism is no mere American phenomenon. Its vicious grasp knows no geographical boundaries. In fact, racism and its perennial ally—economic exploitation—provide the key to understanding most of the international complications of this generation.

The classic example of organized and institutionalized racism is the Union of South Africa. Its national policy and practice are the incarnation of the doctrine of white supremacy in the midst of a population which is overwhelmingly black. But the tragedy of South Africa is not simply in its own policy; it is the fact that the racist government of South Africa is virtually made possible by the economic policies of the United States and Great Britain, two countries which profess to be the moral bastions of our Western world.

In country after country we see white men building empires on the sweat and suffering of colored people. Portugal continues its practices of slave labor and subjugation in Angola; the Ian Smith government in Rhodesia continues



to enjoy the support of British-based industry and private capital, despite the stated opposition of British Government policy. Even in the case of the little country of South West Africa we find the powerful nations of the world incapable of taking a moral position against South Africa, though the smaller country is under the trusteeship of the United Nations. Its policies are controlled by South Africa and its manpower is lured into the mines under slave-labor conditions.

During the Kennedy administration there was some awareness of the problems that breed in the racist and exploitative conditions throughout the colored world, and a temporary concern emerged to free the United States from its complicity, though the effort was only on a diplomatic level. Through our Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, there emerged the beginnings of an intelligent approach to the colored peoples of the world. However, there remained little or no attempt to deal with the economic aspects of racist exploitation. We have been notoriously silent about the more than \$700 million of American capital which props up the system of *apartheid*, not to mention the billions of dollars in trade and the military alliances which are maintained under the pretext of fighting Communism in Africa.

Nothing provides the Communists with a better climate for expansion and infiltration than the continued alliance of our nation with racism and exploitation throughout the world. And if we are not diligent in our determination to root out the last vestiges of racism in our dealings with the rest of the world, we may soon see the sins of our fathers visited upon ours and succeeding generations. For the conditions which are so classically represented in Africa are present also in Asia and in our own back yard in Latin America.

Everywhere in Latin America one finds a tremendous re-

sentment of the United States, and that resentment is always strongest among the poorer and darker peoples of the continent. The life and destiny of Latin America are in the hands of United States corporations. The decisions affecting the lives of South Americans are ostensibly made by their governments, but there are almost no legitimate democracies alive in the whole continent. The other governments are dominated by huge and exploitative cartels that rob Latin America of her resources while turning over a small rebate to a few members of a corrupt aristocracy, which in turn invests not in its own country for its own people's welfare but in the banks of Switzerland and the playgrounds of the world.

Here we see racism in its more sophisticated form: neo-colonialism. The Bible and the annals of history are replete with tragic stories of one brother robbing another of his birthright and thereby insuring generations of strife and enmity. We can hardly escape such a judgment in Latin America, any more than we have been able to escape the harvest of hate sown in Vietnam by a century of French exploitation.

There is the convenient temptation to attribute the current turmoil and bitterness throughout the world to the presence of a Communist conspiracy to undermine Europe and America, but the potential explosiveness of our world situation is much more attributable to disillusionment with the promises of Christianity and technology.

The revolutionary leaders of Africa, Asia and Latin America have virtually all received their education in the capitals of the West. Their earliest training often occurred in Christian missionary schools. Here their sense of dignity was established and they learned that all men were sons of God. In recent years their countries have been invaded by automobiles, Coca-Cola and Hollywood, so that even remote

villages have become aware of the wonders and blessings available to God's white children.

Once the aspirations and appetites of the world have been whetted by the marvels of Western technology and the self-image of a people awakened by religion, one cannot hope to keep people locked out of the earthly kingdom of wealth, health and happiness. Either they share in the blessings of the world or they organize to break down and overthrow those structures or governments which stand in the way of their goals.

Former generations could not conceive of such luxury, but their children now take this vision and demand that it become a reality. And when they look around and see that the only people who do not share in the abundance of Western technology are colored people, it is an almost inescapable conclusion that their condition and their exploitation are somehow related to their color and the racism of the white Western world.

This is a treacherous foundation for a world house. Racism can well be that corrosive evil that will bring down the curtain on Western civilization. Arnold Toynbee has said that some twenty-six civilizations have risen upon the face of the earth. Almost all of them have descended into the junk heaps of destruction. The decline and fall of these civilizations, according to Toynbee, was not caused by external invasions but by internal decay. They failed to respond creatively to the challenges impinging upon them. If Western civilization does not now respond constructively to the challenge to banish racism, some future historian will have to say that a great civilization died because it lacked the soul and commitment to make justice a reality for all men.

Another grave problem that must be solved if we are to live creatively in our world house is that of poverty on an in-

ternational scale. Like a monstrous octopus, it stretches its choking, prehensile tentacles into lands and villages all over the world. Two-thirds of the peoples of the world go to bed hungry at night. They are undernourished, ill-housed and shabbily clad. Many of them have no houses or beds to sleep in. Their only beds are the sidewalks of the cities and the dusty roads of the villages. Most of these poverty-stricken children of God have never seen a physician or a dentist.

There is nothing new about poverty. What is new, however, is that we now have the resources to get rid of it. Not too many years ago, Dr. Kirtley Mather, a Harvard geologist, wrote a book entitled *Enough and to Spare*.<sup>3</sup> He set forth the basic theme that famine is wholly unnecessary in the modern world. Today, therefore, the question on the agenda must read: Why should there be hunger and privation in any land, in any city, at any table, when man has the resources and the scientific know-how to provide all mankind with the basic necessities of life? Even deserts can be irrigated and topsoil can be replaced. We cannot complain of a lack of land, for there are 25 million square miles of tillable land on earth, of which we are using less than seven million. We have amazing knowledge of vitamins, nutrition, the chemistry of food and the versatility of atoms. There is no deficit in human resources; the deficit is in human will.

This does not mean that we can overlook the enormous acceleration in the rate of growth of the world's population. The population explosion is very real, and it must be faced squarely if we are to avoid, in centuries ahead, a "standing room only" situation on these earthly shores. Most of the large undeveloped nations in the world today are confronted with the problem of excess population in relation to resources. But even this problem will be greatly diminished by wiping out poverty. When people see more opportunities for better education and greater economic security, they begin to con-

sider whether a smaller family might not be better for themselves and for their children. In other words, I doubt that there can be a stabilization of the population without a prior stabilization of economic resources.

The time has come for an all-out world war against poverty. The rich nations must use their vast resources of wealth to develop the underdeveloped, school the unschooled and feed the unfed. The well-off and the secure have too often become indifferent and oblivious to the poverty and deprivation in their midst. The poor in our countries have been shut out of our minds, and driven from the mainstream of our societies, because we have allowed them to become invisible. Ultimately a great nation is a compassionate nation. No individual or nation can be great if it does not have a concern for "the least of these."

The first step in the world-wide war against poverty is passionate commitment. All the wealthy nations—America, Britain, Russia, Canada, Australia, and those of Western Europe—must see it as a moral obligation to provide capital and technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas. These rich nations have only scratched the surface in their commitment. There is need now for a general strategy of support. Sketchy aid here and there will not suffice, nor will it sustain economic growth. There must be a sustained effort extending through many years. The wealthy nations of the world must promptly initiate a massive, sustained Marshall Plan for Asia, Africa and South America. If they would allocate just 2 percent of their gross national product annually for a period of ten or twenty years for the development of the underdeveloped nations, mankind would go a long way toward conquering the ancient enemy, poverty.

The aid program that I am suggesting must not be used by the wealthy nations as a surreptitious means to control the poor nations. Such an approach would lead to a new form of paternalism and a neo-colonialism which no self-

respecting nation could accept. Ultimately, foreign aid programs must be motivated by a compassionate and committed effort to wipe poverty, ignorance and disease from the face of the earth. Money devoid of genuine empathy is like salt devoid of savor, good for nothing except to be trodden under foot of men.

The West must enter into the program with humility and penitence and a sober realization that everything will not always "go our way." It cannot be forgotten that the Western powers were but yesterday the colonial masters. The house of the West is far from in order, and its hands are far from clean.

We must have patience. We must be willing to understand why many of the young nations will have to pass through the same extremism, revolution and aggression that formed our own history. Every new government confronts overwhelming problems. During the days when they were struggling to remove the yoke of colonialism, there was a kind of pre-existent unity of purpose that kept things moving in one solid direction. But as soon as independence emerges, all the grim problems of life confront them with stark realism: the lack of capital, the strangulating poverty, the uncontrollable birth rates and, above all, the high aspirational level of their own people. The postcolonial period is more difficult and precarious than the colonial struggle itself.

The West must also understand that its economic growth took place under rather propitious circumstances. Most of the Western nations were relatively underpopulated when they surged forward economically, and they were greatly endowed with the iron ore and coal that were needed for launching industry. Most of the young governments of the world today have come into being without these advantages, and, above all, they confront staggering problems of over-population. There is no possible way for them to make it without aid and assistance.

A genuine program on the part of the wealthy nations to make prosperity a reality for the poor nations will in the final analysis enlarge the prosperity of all. One of the best proofs that reality hinges on moral foundations is the fact that when men and governments work devotedly for the good of others, they achieve their own enrichment in the process.

From time immemorial men have lived by the principle that "self-preservation is the first law of life." But this is a false assumption. I would say that other-preservation is the first law of life. It is the first law of life precisely because we cannot preserve self without being concerned about preserving other selves. The universe is so structured that things go awry if men are not diligent in their cultivation of the other-regarding dimension. "I" cannot reach fulfillment without "thou." The self cannot be self without other selves. Self-concern without other-concern is like a tributary that has no outward flow to the ocean. Stagnant, still and stale, it lacks both life and freshness. Nothing would be more disastrous and out of harmony with our self-interest than for the developed nations to travel a dead-end road of inordinate selfishness. We are in the fortunate position of having our deepest sense of morality coalesce with our self-interest.

But the real reason that we must use our resources to outlaw poverty goes beyond material concerns to the quality of our mind and spirit. Deeply woven into the fiber of our religious tradition is the conviction that men are made in the image of God, and that they are souls of infinite metaphysical value. If we accept this as a profound moral fact, we cannot be content to see men hungry, to see men victimized with ill-health, when we have the means to help them. In the final analysis, the rich must not ignore the poor because both rich and poor are tied together. They entered the same mysterious gateway of human birth, into the same adventure of mortal life.

All men are interdependent. Every nation is an heir of a vast treasury of ideas and labor to which both the living and the dead of all nations have contributed. Whether we realize it or not, each of us lives eternally "in the red." We are everlasting debtors to known and unknown men and women. When we arise in the morning, we go into the bathroom where we reach for a sponge which is provided for us by a Pacific islander. We reach for soap that is created for us by a European. Then at the table we drink coffee which is provided for us by a South American, or tea by a Chinese or cocoa by a West African. Before we leave for our jobs we are already beholden to more than half of the world.

In a real sense, all life is interrelated. The agony of the poor impoverishes the rich; the betterment of the poor enriches the rich. We are inevitably our brother's keeper because we are our brother's brother. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.

A final problem that mankind must solve in order to survive in the world house that we have inherited is finding an alternative to war and human destruction. Recent events have vividly reminded us that nations are not reducing but rather increasing their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction. The best brains in the highly developed nations of the world are devoted to military technology. The proliferation of nuclear weapons has not been halted, in spite of the limited-test-ban treaty.

In this day of man's highest technical achievement, in this day of dazzling discovery, of novel opportunities, loftier dignities and fuller freedoms for all, there is no excuse for the kind of blind craving for power and resources that provoked the wars of previous generations. There is no need to fight for food and land. Science has provided us with adequate means of survival and transportation, which make it possible to enjoy the fullness of this great earth. The question now is,

do we have the morality and courage required to live together as brothers and not be afraid?

One of the most persistent ambiguities we face is that everybody talks about peace as a goal, but among the wielders of power peace is practically nobody's business. Many men cry "Peace! Peace!" but they refuse to do the things that make for peace.

The large power blocs talk passionately of pursuing peace while expanding defense budgets that already bulge, enlarging already awesome armies and devising ever more devastating weapons. Call the roll of those who sing the glad tidings of peace and one's ears will be surprised by the responding sounds. The heads of all the nations issue clarion calls for peace, yet they come to the peace table accompanied by bands of brigands each bearing unsheathed swords.

The stages of history are replete with the chants and choruses of the conquerors of old who came killing in pursuit of peace. Alexander, Genghis Khan, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne and Napoleon were akin in seeking a peaceful world order, a world fashioned after their selfish conceptions of an ideal existence. Each sought a world at peace which would personify his egotistic dreams. Even within the life span of most of us, another megalomaniac strode across the world stage. He sent his blitzkrieg-bent legions blazing across Europe, bringing havoc and holocaust in his wake. There is grave irony in the fact that Hitler could come forth, following nakedly aggressive expansionist theories, and do it all in the name of peace.

So when in this day I see the leaders of nations again talking peace while preparing for war, I take fearful pause. When I see our country today intervening in what is basically a civil war, mutilating hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese children with napalm, burning villages and rice fields at random, painting the valleys of that small Asian country red with

human blood, leaving broken bodies in countless ditches and sending home half-men, mutilated mentally and physically; when I see the unwillingness of our government to create the atmosphere for a negotiated settlement of this awful conflict by halting bombings in the North and agreeing unequivocally to talk with the Vietcong—and all this in the name of pursuing the goal of peace—I tremble for our world. I do so not only from dire recall of the nightmares wreaked in the wars of yesterday, but also from dreadful realization of today's possible nuclear destructiveness and tomorrow's even more calamitous prospects.

Before it is too late, we must narrow the gaping chasm between our proclamations of peace and our lowly deeds which precipitate and perpetuate war. We are called upon to look up from the quagmire of military programs and defense commitments and read the warnings on history's signposts.

One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal that we seek but a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. How much longer must we play at deadly war games before we heed the plaintive pleas of the unnumbered dead and maimed of past wars?

President John F. Kennedy said on one occasion, "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind." Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the destructive power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve any good at all. If we assume that life is worth living and that man has a right to survive, then we must find an alternative to war. In a day when vehicles hurtle through outer space and guided ballistic missiles carve highways of death through the strato-

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sphere, no nation can claim victory in war. A so-called limited war will leave little more than a calamitous legacy of human suffering, political turmoil and spiritual disillusionment. A world war will leave only smoldering ashes as mute testimony of a human race whose folly led inexorably to ultimate death. If modern man continues to flirt unhesitatingly with war, he will transform his earthly habitat into an inferno such as even the mind of Dante could not imagine.

Therefore I suggest that the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence become immediately a subject for study and for serious experimentation in every field of human conflict, by no means excluding the relations between nations. It is, after all, nation-states which make war, which have produced the weapons that threaten the survival of mankind and which are both genocidal and suicidal in character.

We have ancient habits to deal with, vast structures of power, indescribably complicated problems to solve. But unless we abdicate our humanity altogether and succumb to fear and impotence in the presence of the weapons we have ourselves created, it is as possible and as urgent to put an end to war and violence between nations as it is to put an end to poverty and racial injustice.

The United Nations is a gesture in the direction of nonviolence on a world scale. There, at least, states that oppose one another have sought to do so with words instead of with weapons. But true nonviolence is more than the absence of violence. It is the persistent and determined application of peaceable power to offenses against the community—in this case the world community. As the United Nations moves ahead with the giant tasks confronting it, I would hope that it would earnestly examine the uses of nonviolent direct action.

I do not minimize the complexity of the problems that need to be faced in achieving disarmament and peace. But

I am convinced that we shall not have the will, the courage and the insight to deal with such matters unless in this field we are prepared to undergo a mental and spiritual re-evaluation, a change of focus which will enable us to see that the things that seem most real and powerful are indeed now unreal and have come under sentence of death. We need to make a supreme effort to generate the readiness, indeed the eagerness, to enter into the new world which is now possible, "the city which hath foundation, whose Building and Maker is God."

It is not enough to say, "We must not wage war." It is necessary to love peace and sacrifice for it. We must concentrate not merely on the eradication of war but on the affirmation of peace. A fascinating story about Ulysses and the Sirens is preserved for us in Greek literature. The Sirens had the ability to sing so sweetly that sailors could not resist steering toward their island. Many ships were lured upon the rocks, and men forgot home, duty and honor as they flung themselves into the sea to be embraced by arms that drew them down to death. Ulysses, determined not to succumb to the Sirens, first decided to tie himself tightly to the mast of his boat and his crew stuffed their ears with wax. But finally he and his crew learned a better way to save themselves: They took on board the beautiful singer Orpheus, whose melodies were sweeter than the music of the Sirens. When Orpheus sang, who would bother to listen to the Sirens?

So we must see that peace represents a sweeter music, a cosmic melody that is far superior to the discords of war. Somehow we must transform the dynamics of the world power struggle from the nuclear arms race, which no one can win, to a creative contest to harness man's genius for the purpose of making peace and prosperity a reality for all the nations of the world. In short, we must shift the arms race into a "peace race." If we have the will and determination

to mount such a peace offensive, we will unlock hitherto tightly sealed doors of hope and bring new light into the dark chambers of pessimism.

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The stability of the large world house which is ours will involve a revolution of values to accompany the scientific and freedom revolutions engulfing the earth. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing"-oriented society to a "person"-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered. A civilization can flounder as readily in the face of moral and spiritual bankruptcy as it can through financial bankruptcy.

This revolution of values must go beyond traditional capitalism and Communism. We must honestly admit that capitalism has often left a gulf between superfluous wealth and abject poverty, has created conditions permitting necessities to be taken from the many to give luxuries to the few, and has encourage smallhearted men to become cold and conscienceless so that, like Dives before Lazarus, they are unmoved by suffering, poverty-stricken humanity. The profit motive, when it is the sole basis of an economic system, encourages a cutthroat competition and selfish ambition that inspire men to be more I-centered than thou-centered. Equally, Communism reduces men to a cog in the wheel of the state. The Communist may object, saying that in Marxian theory the state is an "interim reality" that will "wither away" when the classless society emerges. True—in theory; but it is also true that, while the state lasts, it is an end in itself. Man is a means to that end. He has no inalienable rights. His only rights are derived from, and conferred by,

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a coin to a beggar; it understands that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look at thousands of working people displaced from their jobs with reduced incomes as a result of automation while the profits of the employers remain intact, and say: "This is not just." It will look across the oceans and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say: "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just. A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war: "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing to prevent us from paying adequate wages to schoolteachers, social workers and other servants of the public to insure that we have the best available personnel in these positions which are charged with the responsibility of guiding our future generations. There is nothing but a lack of social vision to prevent us from paying an adequate wage

the state. Under such a system the fountain of freedom runs dry. Restricted are man's liberties of press and assembly, his freedom to vote and his freedom to listen and to read.

Truth is found neither in traditional capitalism nor in classical Communism. Each represents a partial truth. Capitalism fails to see the truth in collectivism. Communism fails to see the truth in individualism. Capitalism fails to realize that life is social. Communism fails to realize that life is personal. The good and just society is neither the thesis of capitalism nor the antithesis of Communism, but a socially conscious democracy which reconciles the truths of individualism and collectivism.

We have seen some moves in this direction. The Soviet Union has gradually moved away from its rigid Communism and begun to concern itself with consumer products, art and a general increase in benefits to the individual citizen. At the same time, through constant social reforms, we have seen many modifications in laissez-faire capitalism. The problems we now face must take us beyond slogans for their solution. In the final analysis, the right-wing slogans on "government control" and "creeping socialism" are as meaningless and adolescent as the Chinese Red Guard slogans against "bourgeois revisionism." An intelligent approach to the problems of poverty and racism will cause us to see that the words of the Psalmist—"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof—" are still a judgment upon our use and abuse of the wealth and resources with which we have been endowed.

A true revolution of value will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. We are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside; but that will be only an initial act. One day the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be beaten and robbed as they make their journey through life. True compassion is more than flinging

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to every American citizen whether he be a hospital worker, laundry worker, maid or day laborer. There is nothing except shortsightedness to prevent us from guaranteeing an annual minimum—and *livable*—income for every American family. There is nothing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from reordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from remolding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against Communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. Let us not join those who shout war and who through their misguided passions urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not call everyone a Communist or an appeaser who advocates the seating of Red China in the United Nations, or who recognizes that hate and hysteria are not the final answers to the problems of these turbulent days. We must not engage in a negative anti-Communism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against Communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with affirmative action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity and injustice which are the fertile soil in which the seed of Communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the earth are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light." We in the West



must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that, because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of Communism and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch antirevolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Communism is a judgment on our failure to make democracy real and to follow through on the revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal opposition to poverty, racism and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a world-wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men. This often misunderstood and misinterpreted concept has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love, I am speaking of that force which all the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Moslem-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the First Epistle of Saint John:

Let us love one another: for love is of God: and every one that loveth is born of God, and

knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. . . . If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day. We can no longer afford to worship the God of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals who pursued this self-defeating path of hate. As Arnold Toynbee once said in a speech: "Love is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning choice of death and evil. Therefore the first hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word."

We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked and dejected with a lost opportunity. The "tide in the affairs of men" does not remain at the flood; it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words: "Too late." There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. "The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on. . . ." We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent coannihilation. This may well be mankind's last chance to choose between chaos and community.

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**On**  
**Revolution**  
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*The future—by whom will it be built? By all those whom the struggle has marked—so the question of how it marks them is not irrelevant.*

*"What we want to do is to go forward all the time... in the company of all men."  
"But can we escape becoming dizzy?"*

[Frantz Fanon in  
The Wretched of the Earth]



Diana Davies

**BARBARA DEMING**

(1917-1984)

"Do you want to remain pure? Is that it?" a black man asked me, during an argument about nonviolence. It is not possible to act at all and to remain pure; and that is not what I want, when I commit myself to the nonviolent discipline. There are people who are struggling to change conditions that they find intolerable, trying to find new lives; in the words of Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*, they want "to set afoot a new man." That is what I want too; and I have no wish to be assigned, as it were, separate quarters from those who are struggling in a way different from mine—segregated from my companions rather as, several years ago in Birmingham at the end of a demonstration, I found myself segregated in the very much cleaner and airier white section of the jail. I stand with all who say of present conditions that they do not allow men to be fully human and so they must be changed—all who not only say this but are ready to act.

At a recent conference about the directions the American Left should take, a socialist challenged me: "Can you call degrading the violence used by the oppressed to throw off oppression?" When one is confronted with what Russell Johnson calls accurately "the violence of the status quo"—conditions which are damaging, even murderous, to very many who must live within them—it is degrading for all to allow such conditions to persist. And if the individuals who can find the courage to bring about change see

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no way in which it can be done without employing violence on their own part—a very much lesser violence, they feel, than the violence to which they will put an end—I do not feel that I can judge them. The judgments I make are not judgments upon men but upon the means open to us—upon the promise these means of action hold or withhold. The living question is: What are the best means for changing our lives—for really changing them?

The very men who speak of the necessity of violence, if change is to be accomplished, are the first, often, to acknowledge the toll it exacts among those who use it—as well as those it is used against. Frantz Fanon has a chapter in *The Wretched of the Earth* entitled "Colonial War and Mental Disorders" and in it he writes, "We are forever pursued by our actions." After describing, among other painful disorders, those suffered by an Algerian terrorist—who made friends among the French after the war and then wondered with anguish whether any of the men he had killed had been men like these—he comments, "It was what might be called an attack of vertigo." Then he asks a poignant question: "But can we escape becoming dizzy? And who can affirm that vertigo does not haunt the whole of existence?"

"Vertigo"—here is a word, I think, much more relevant to the subject of revolutionary action than the word "purity." No, it is not that I want to remain pure; it is that I want to escape becoming dizzy. And here is exactly the argument of my essay: we can escape it. Not absolutely, of course; but we can escape vertigo in the drastic sense. It is my stubborn faith that if, as revolutionaries, we will wage battle without violence, we can remain very much more in control—of our own selves, of the responses to us which our adversaries make, of the battle as it proceeds and of the future we hope will issue from it.

The future—by whom will it be built? By all those whom the struggle has touched and

marked. And so the question of how it marks them is not irrelevant. The future will be built even, in part, by those who have fought on the losing side. If it is a colonial struggle, of course, a good many of the adversaries can be expected to leave at the end of a successful revolution; but if it is a civil struggle, those who have been defeated, too, will at least help to make the new society what it is. How will the struggle have touched them? How will it have touched the victors?

Carl Oglesby, in *Containment and Change*, quotes a Brazilian guerrilla: "We are in dead earnest. At stake is the humanity of man." Then he asks, "How can ordinary men be at once warm enough to want what revolutionaries say they want (humanity), cold enough to do without remorse what they are capable of doing (cutting throats), and poised enough in the turbulence of their lives to keep the aspiration and the act both integrated and distinct? How is it that one of these passions does not invade and devour the other? Yes—the question is one of equilibrium. How does one manage to keep it?"

Oglesby would seem to answer that, generally speaking, one cannot expect the rebel to have the poise he describes. "He is an irresponsible man whose irresponsibility has been decreed by others. . . . He has no real views about the future. . . is not by type a Lenin, a Mao, a Castro. . . . His motivating vision of change is at root a vision of something absent—not of something that will be there. . . a missing landlord, a missing mine owner, a missing sheriff. . . ." Ultimately, says Oglesby, he must become responsible. But how? It is in the midst of the struggle that he must at least begin to be, isn't it? And so the very means by which we struggle, and their tendency either to give us poise or to leave us dizzy, is surely, again, relevant.

I think of the words with which Fanon opens the final chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth*: "Come then, comrades; it would be as well to decide at once to change our ways." I quote

Fanon often—because he is eloquent, but also because he is quoted repeatedly these days by those who plead the need for violence. It is my conviction that he can be quoted as well to plead for nonviolence. It is true that he declares: "From birth it is clear . . . that this narrow world, strewn with prohibitions, can only be called in question by absolute violence." But I ask all those who are readers of Fanon to make an experiment: Every time you find the word "violence" in his pages, substitute for it the phrase "radical and uncompromising action." I contend that with the exception of a very few passages this substitution can be made, and that the action he calls for could just as well be nonviolent action.

He writes, for example: "Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives the key to them. Without that struggle, without that knowledge of the practices of action, there's nothing but a fancy-dress parade. . . a few reforms at the top. . . and down there at the bottom an undivided mass. . . endlessly marking time." "Knowledge of the practice of action"—that is what Fanon sees to be absolutely necessary, to develop in the masses of people an understanding of social truths, accomplish that "work of clarification," "demystification," "enlightening of consciousness" which is the recurring and the deepest theme of his book. This action could be nonviolent action; it could very much better be nonviolent action—if only that action is bold enough.

Here is Fanon as he argues the necessity for "mere rebellion"—which Ogleby has described—to become true revolution: "Racialism and hatred and resentment—'a legitimate desire for revenge'—cannot sustain a war of liberation. Those lightning flashes of consciousness which fling the body into stormy paths or which throw it into an almost pathological trance where the face of the other beckons me on to giddiness, where

my blood calls for the blood of the other. . . that intense emotion of the first few hours falls to pieces if it is left to feed on its own substance. . . . You'll never overthrow the terrible enemy machine, and you won't change human beings if you forget to raise the standard of consciousness of the rank-and-file."

### *The Spirit of Invention*

The task involves the enlightening of consciousness. But violence "beckons me on to giddiness." I repeat Fanon's words: "It would be as well to decide at once to change our ways." Another man with whom I was arguing the other day declared to me, "You can't turn the clock back now to nonviolence!" Turn the clock back? The clock has been turned to violence all down through history. Resort to violence hardly marks a move forward. It is nonviolence which is in the process of invention, if only people would not stop short in that experiment. Fanon again: "If we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries." It is for that spirit of invention that I plead. And again I would like to ask something of all readers of Fanon. Turn to that last chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth* and read it again. Is he not groping here visibly for a way that departs from violence?

He writes, "We today can do everything, so long as we do not imitate Europe." And earlier in the book he has reported, "The argument the native chooses has been furnished by the settler. . . . The native now affirms that the colonialist understands nothing but force." He writes, "We must leave our dreams. . . ." And earlier he has written, "The native is an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the prosecutor. He writes, "Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them, at the corner of every one of their own streets, in all the corners

of the globe. . . . Europe has. . . set her face against all solicitude and all tenderness. . . . So, my brother, how is it that we do not understand that we have better things to do than to follow that same Europe. . . . When I search for Man in the technique and the style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders. . . . Let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth. All the elements of a solution. . . have, at different times, existed in European thought. But the action of European men has not carried out the mission which fell to them. We must try to set afoot a new man." And he writes, "It is simply a very concrete question of not dragging men toward mutilation. . . . The pretext of catching up must not be used to push man around, to tear him away from himself or from his privacy, to break and kill him. No, we do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want to do is to go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men."

But how in the company of all men if we are willing to kill? In the passages I have quoted does Fanon not warn us again and again against murder, warn us that murder cannot possibly bring to birth the new man—that it was precisely Europe's propensity for murder that kept her from carrying out the mission we now inherit? What really but radical nonviolence is he here straining to be able to imagine? We must "vomit up" the values of Europe, he has written. Is it not above all the value that Europe and America have put upon violence that we must vomit up? He writes, "It is simply a very concrete question of not dragging men toward mutilation." Yes, very concrete, I urge, because it comes down to the means by which we struggle, comes down to a choice of which "practice of action" we are going to study.

At this point suddenly I can hear in my head many voices interrupting me. They all say: "Who among us likes violence? But nonviolence has been tried." It has not been tried. We have hardly begun to try it. The people who dismiss it now as irrelevant do not understand what it could be. And, again, they especially do not understand the very much greater control over events that they could find if they would put this "practice of action," rather than violence, to a real test.

What most people are saying just now of course is that nonviolence gives us no control at all over events. "After years of this," says Stokely Carmichael, "we are at almost the same point." Floyd McKissick expresses the same disillusion: all the nonviolent campaigns have accomplished essentially nothing for black people. They have served to integrate a token few into American society. Even those few cannot be said to have been absorbed into the mainstream; they still are not allowed to forget the color of their skins. And the great majority of black people are actually worse off than before. He declares, with reason, "We are concerned about the aspirations of the 90% down there"—those of whom Fanon spoke, the many "endlessly marking time."

### *Psychological Forces*

I won't try to pretend that progress has been made that has not been made. Though I would add to the picture these two men and others paint that there is one sense in which things hardly can be said to be at the same point still. If one speaks of psychological forces that will make a difference—the determination of black people not to accept their situation any longer, the determination of some white people not to accept it either, and a consciousness on the part of other white people that changes are bound to come now, doubts about their ability to prevent them—ir these terms all has been in constant motion. And these terms—Fanon for one would stress—are hardly unimportant. Literally, yes, one can speak

of gains that seem to mock those who have nearly exhausted themselves in the struggle for them. But I think one has to ask certain questions. Have gains been slight because nonviolent tactics were the wrong tactics to employ—or did many of those leading the battle underestimate the difficulties of the terrain before them? Did they lack at the start a sufficiently radical vision? Can those who have now turned from reliance upon nonviolence say surely that resort to violence over those same years would have brought greater gains?

There are those who are implying this now. One observer who implies it strongly is Andrew Kopkind, writing in *The New York Review of Books* in August about the uprisings in the ghettos. He writes, "Martin Luther King and the 'leaders' who appealed for nonviolence, CORE, the black politicians, the old SNCC are all beside the point. Where the point is in the streets. . . . The insurrections of July have done what everyone in America for thirty years has thought impossible: mass action has convulsed the society and brought smooth government to a halt." He itemizes with awe: they caused tanks to rumble through the heart of the nation's biggest cities, brought out soldiers by the thousands, destroyed billions of dollars worth of property. This violence (or as Dave Dellinger better names it, this counterviolence of the victimized) certainly called out the troops. One thing violence can be counted on to do is bring the antagonist forth in battle dress. The question that hasn't been answered yet is: did this gain the rebels an advantage? It gained them many casualties. The powers-that-be paid their price, too, as Kopkind points out. But it is one thing to be able to state the price the antagonist paid, another to be able to count your own real gains. Kopkind gives us the heady sense of an encounter really joined at last, of battle lines drawn. But in the days of Birmingham, too, people had the excited sense of an engagement entered. Kopkind himself grants, "it is at once

obvious that the period of greatest danger is just beginning."

### *The Ghetto Challenge*

I have slighted, however, one point that he is making, and a very central point: "Poor blacks," he writes, "have stolen the center stage from the liberal elites. . . their actions indict the very legitimacy of [the] government." Yes, this is a fact not to overlook: the people of the ghettos have thrown down a challenge to government that is radical. But Kopkind is writing about two things: the offering of radical challenge and resort to violence. And he writes clearly as though he assumes that such a challenge can only be offered violently. It is with this assumption that I argue.

It is an assumption many share. Carl Oglesby seems to share it. In *Containment and Change* he criticizes "the politics of the appeal to higher power. . . the same thing as prayer. . . a main assumption of which is that [the higher power] is not bad, only misinformed." He appears to see all nonviolent action as covered by this definition. "This way of thinking brought the peasants and priests to their massacre at Kremlin Square in 1905. . . . It rationalized the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The Freedom Rides, the nonviolent sit-ins, and the various Deep South marches were rooted in the same belief: that there was indeed a higher power which was responsive and decent. . . . The Vietnam war demonstrations are no different. . . . The main idea has always been to persuade higher authority. . . to do something. Far from calling higher authority into question, these demonstrations actually dramatize and even exaggerate its power."

He goes on then to describe how the "whimsical" hopes that are entertained about the powerful evaporate: "sometimes mass-based secular prayer has resulted in change. But more often it has only shown the victim-petitioner that the problem is graver and change harder to get than [he] had imagined. . . . It turns out that the

powerful know perfectly well who their victims are. . . and that they have no intention of changing anything. This recognition is momentous, no doubt the spiritual low point of the emergent revolutionary's education. He finds that the enemy is not a few men but a whole system whose agents saturate the society. . . . He is diverted by a most realistic despair. But this despair contains within itself the omen of that final reconstitution of the spirit which will prepare [him]. . . for the shift to insurgency, rebellion, revolution. . . . At the heart of his despair lies the new certainty that there will be no change which he does not produce by himself."

With this description I do not argue at all. It is a very accurate description of the education those protesting in this country have been receiving. May more and more read the lesson. I argue with the contention that nonviolent action can only be prayerful action—must by its nature remain naive. Too often in the past it has confined itself to petition, but there is no need for it to do so—especially now that so many have learned "change [is] harder to get than they had imagined." There have always been those in the nonviolent movement who called for radical moves. As Kopkind writes, "all that has come until now is prologue." But this does not mean that our alternatives have suddenly been reduced. The pressure that nonviolent moves could put upon those who are opposing change, the power that could be exerted this way, has yet to be tested.

### *Power and Nonviolence*

I have introduced the word "power" deliberately. When the slogan "Black Power" was first taken up, the statements immediately issued, both for and against it, all seemed to imply that "power" was a word inconsistent with a faith in nonviolence. This was of course the position taken by Stokely Carmichael: "We had to work for power because this country does not function

by morality, love and nonviolence, but by power. For too many years, black Americans marched and had their heads broken and got shot. They were saying to the country, 'Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys and we are only going to do what we are supposed to do. Why. . . don't you give us what we ask?' . . . We demonstrated from a position of weakness. We can not be expected any longer to march and have our heads broken in order to say to whites: come on, you're nice guys. For you are not nice guys. We have found you out."

Carmichael gives us: the humble appeal to conscience on the one hand, the resort to power on the other. If the choice were really this, anyone who wanted change would certainly have to abandon nonviolent action. For as Bradford Lytle comments in a paper on Black Power, no, most people are not nice guys. "It isn't necessary to be hit over the head to learn this. . . . Some Christians call the un-niceness of people 'original sin.' It's Freud's 'ego.' Naturalist Konrad Lorenz studies it as aggressiveness and argues convincingly that it's instinctive with men. Whatever the un-niceness may be, it is part of all of us, and our job is to minimize it."

The trouble is that advocates of nonviolence themselves often write in terms that seem to corroborate the picture Carmichael paints. When they actually engage in direct action, they pay great attention to other-than-moral pressures that can be and have to be placed on those with whom they are struggling. But on paper they tend again and again to stress only the appeal that can be made to conscience. Bradford, in his paper on Black Power, notes: "Carmichael's vision isn't limited to Negroes. Machiavelli had it. . . 'A man who wishes to make a profession of goodness in everything must necessarily come to grief among so many who are not good. Therefore if is necessary. . . to learn how not to be good.'" Then he pleads that to put one's faith in coercive power is tragic, and his argument is:



‘throughout history, those who have most deeply touched the hearts of hardened men have been the ones who chose not to defend themselves with violence.’ He, too, seems here to pose a narrow choice: resort to power (learning how not to be good) or appeal to conscience (learning, Carmichael would put it, to do only what we are supposed to do).

*The Choice is Wider*

But the choice is very much wider than this (as Bradford of course knows); the distinctions that seem to have been set up here are unreal. To resort to power one need not be violent,<sup>1</sup> and to speak to conscience one need not be meek. The most effective action both resorts to power and engages conscience. Nonviolent action does not have to beg others to “be nice.” It can in effect force them to consult their consciences—or to pretend to have them. Nor does it have to petition those in power to do something about a situation. It can face the authorities with a new fact and say: accept this new situation which we have created.

If people doubt that there is power in non-violence, I am afraid that it is due in part to the fact that those of us who believe in it have yet to find for ourselves an adequate vocabulary. The leaflets we pass out tend to speak too easily about love and truth—and suggest that we hope to move men solely by being loving and truthful. The words do describe our method in a kind of shorthand. But who can read the shorthand? It is easy enough to recommend “love.” How many, even among those who like to use the word, can literally feel love for a harsh opponent—not merely pretending to while concealing from themselves their own deepest feelings? What is possible is to act toward another human being on the assumption that all men’s lives are of value, that there is something about any man to be loved, whether one can feel love for him or not.<sup>2</sup> It happens that, if one does act on this

assumption, it gives one much greater poise in the situation. It is easy enough to speak about truth; but we had better spell out how, in battle, we rely upon the truth. It is not simply that we pay our antagonist the human courtesy of not lying to him. We insist upon telling him truths he doesn’t want to hear—telling what seems to us the truth about the injustice he commits. Words are not enough here. Gandhi’s term for non-violent action was “satyagraha”—which can be translated as “clinging to the truth.” What is needed is this—to cling to the truth as one sees it. And one has to cling with one’s entire weight. One doesn’t simply say, “I have a right to sit here,” but acts out that truth—and sits here. One doesn’t just say, “I don’t believe in this way,” but refuses to put on a uniform. One doesn’t just say, “The use of napalm is atrocious,” but refuses to pay for it by refusing to pay one’s taxes. And so on and so on. One brings what economic weight one has to bear, what political, social, psychological, what physical weight. There is a good deal more involved here than a moral appeal. It should be acknowledged both by those who argue against nonviolence and those who argue for it that we, too, rely upon force.

*Stopping Short*

If greater gains have not been won by non-violent action it is because most of those trying it have, quite as Oglesby charges, expected too much from “the powerful”; and so, I would add, they have stopped short of really exercising their peculiar powers—those powers one discovers when one refuses any longer simply to do another’s will. They have stopped far too short not only of widespread nonviolent disruption but of that form of noncooperation which is assertive, constructive—that confronts those who are “running everything” with independent activity, particularly independent economic activity. There is leverage for change here that has scarcely begun to be applied.

To refuse one’s cooperation is to exert force. One can, in fact, exert so very much force in this way that many people will always be quick to call noncooperators violent. How, then, does one distinguish nonviolent from violent action? It is not that it abstains from force, to rely simply upon moral pressure. It resorts even to what can only be called physical force—when, for example, we sit down and refuse to move, and we force others to cope somehow with all these bodies. The distinction to make is simply that those committed to a nonviolent discipline refuse to injure the antagonist. Of course if nonviolent action is as bold as it must be in any real battle for change, some at least of those resisting the change are bound to feel that injury has been done them. For they feel it as injury to be shaken out of the accustomed pattern of their lives. The distinction remains a real one. Perhaps there is another way it could be put. The man who acts violently forces another to do his will—in Fanon’s words, he tears the other away from himself, pushes him around, often willing to break him, kill him. The man who acts nonviolently insists upon acting out his own will, refuses to act out another’s—but in this way, only, exerts force upon the other, not tearing him away from himself but tearing from him only that which is not properly his own, the strength which has been loaned to him by all those who have been giving him obedience.

*Nonviolent Obstruction*

But the distinction I have just made is a little too neat. In almost any serious nonviolent struggle, one has to resort to obstructive action. When we block access to buildings, block traffic, block shipments, it can be charged that we go a little further than refusing obedience and impose upon the freedom of action of others. There is some justice to the charge. I nevertheless think it appropriate to speak of nonviolent obstruction, but I would revert to my original description as the definitive one: the person committed to non-violent action refuses to injure the antagonist. It

is quite possible to frustrate another’s action without doing him injury.<sup>3</sup> And some freedoms are basic freedoms, some are not. To impose upon another man’s freedom to kill, or his freedom to help to kill, to recruit to kill, is not to violate his person in a fundamental way.<sup>4</sup>

But I can imagine the impatience of some of my readers with these various scruples. What, they might say, has this to do with fighting battles— battles which are in dead earnest? How can we hope to put any real pressure upon an adversary for whom we show such concern?

We can put more pressure on the antagonist for whom we show human concern.

*A Creative Combination*

This is the heart of my argument: We can put more pressure on the antagonist for whom we show human concern. It is precisely solicitude for his person in combination with a stubborn interference with his actions that can give us a very special degree of control (precisely in our acting both with love, if you will—in the sense that we respect his human rights—and truthfulness, in the sense that we act out fully our objections to his violating our rights). We put upon him two pressures—the pressure of our defiance of him and the pressure of our respect for his life—and it happens that in combination these two pressures are uniquely effective.

One effect gained is to “raise the level of consciousness” for those engaged in the struggle—those on both sides. Because the human rights of the adversary are respected, though his actions, his official policies are not, the focus of attention becomes those actions, those policies, and their true nature. The issue cannot be avoided. The antagonist cannot take the interference with his actions personally, because his person is not threatened, and he is forced to begin to acknowledge the reality of the grievance against him. And those in rebellion—committed to the discipline of respect for all men’s lives, and enabled

by this discipline to avoid that "trance" Fanon describes, "where the face of the other beckons me on to giddiness," are enabled to see more and more clearly that (as Oglesby says) "the enemy is not a few men but a whole system," and to study that system.

*The Two Hands*

The more the real issues are dramatized, and the struggle raised above the personal, the more control those in nonviolent rebellion begin to gain over their adversary. For they are able at one and the same time to disrupt everything for him, making it impossible for him to operate within the system as usual, and to temper his response to this, making it impossible for him simply to strike back without thought and with all his strength. They have as it were two hands upon him—the one calming him, making him ask questions, as the other makes him move.

In any violent struggle one can expect the violence to escalate. It does so automatically, neither side being really able to regulate the process at will. The classic acknowledgment of this fact was made by President Kennedy when he saluted Premier Khrushchev for withdrawing nuclear missiles from Cuba. "I welcome this message," he said, because "developments were approaching a point where events could have become unmanageable." In nonviolent struggle, the violence used against one may mount for a while (indeed, if one is bold in one's rebellion, it is bound to do so), but the escalation is no longer automatic; with the refusal of one side to retaliate, the mainspring of the automation has been snapped and one can count on reaching a point where de-escalation begins. One can count, that is, in the long-run, on receiving far fewer casualties.

*If one adopts the discipline of nonviolence, in the long-run one will receive fewer casualties.*

*The Number of Casualties*

Nothing is more certain than this and yet, curiously, nothing is less obvious. A very common view is that nonviolent struggle is suicidal. This is for example, Andrew Kopkind's view: "Turn-the-other-cheek was always a personal standard, not a general rule: people can commit suicide but peoples cannot. Morality, like politics, starts at the barrel of a gun." (A surprising sentence, but by morality he means, no doubt, the assertion of one's rights.) The contention that nonviolent struggle is suicidal hardly stands up under examination. Which rebels suffered more casualties—those who, under Gandhi, managed to throw the British out of India or the so-called Mau Mau who struggled by violence to throw the British out of Kenya? The British were certainly not "nice guys" in their response to the Gandhians. They, and the Indian troops who obeyed their orders, beat thousands of unarmed people, shot and killed hundreds. In the Amritsar Massacre, for example, they fired into an unarmed crowd that killed 379 people, wounding many more. There was a limit, nevertheless, to the violence they could justify to themselves—or felt they could justify to the world. Watching any non-violent struggle, it is always startling to learn how long it can take the antagonist to set such limits; but he finally does feel constrained to set them—especially if his actions are well-publicized. In Kenya, where the British could cite as provocation the violence used against them, they hardly felt constrained to set any limits at all on their actions, and they adopted tactics very similar to those the Americans are using today against the Vietnamese. In that struggle for independence, many thousands of Africans fighting in the forest and many thousands of their supporters and sympathizers on the reserves were killed. Many were also tortured.<sup>5</sup>

One can, as I say, be certain if one adopts the discipline of nonviolence that in the long-run one will receive fewer casualties. And yet very few

people are able to see that this is so. It is worth examining the reasons why the obvious remains unacknowledged. Several things, I think, blind people to the plain truth.

First, something seems wrong to most people engaged in struggle when they see more people hurt on their own side than on the other side. They are used to reading this as an indication of defeat, and a complete mental readjustment is required of them. Within the new terms of struggle, victory has nothing to do with their being able to give more punishment than they take (quite the reverse); victory has nothing to do with their being able to punish the other at all; it has to do simply with being able, finally, to make the other move. Again, the real issue is depth in focus. Vengeance is not the point; change is. But the trouble is that in most men's minds the thought of victory and the thought of punishing the enemy coincide. If they are suffering casualties and the enemy is not, they fail to recognize that they are suffering fewer casualties than they would be if they turned to violence.

*Nonviolent Battle*

Actually, something seems wrong to many people, I think, when—in nonviolent struggle—they receive any casualties at all. They feel that if they are not hurting anybody, then they shouldn't get hurt themselves. (They shouldn't. But is not only in nonviolent battle that the innocent suffer.) It is an intriguing psychological fact that when the ghetto uprising provoked the government into bringing out troops and tanks—and killing many black people, most of them onlookers—observers like Kopkind decided that the action had been remarkably effective, citing as proof precisely the violence of the government's response. But when James Meredith was shot, just for example, any number of observers editorialized: "See, nonviolence doesn't work." Those who have this reaction overlook the fact that nonviolent battle is still battle, and in battle of

whatever kind, people do get hurt. If personal safety had been Meredith's main concern, he could, as the saying goes, have stayed at home.

Battle of any kind provokes a violent response—because those who have power are not going to give it up voluntarily. But there is simply no question that—in any long-run—violent battle provokes a more violent response and brings greater casualties. Men tend not to think in long-run terms, of course; they tend to think in terms of isolated moments. There will always be such moments that one can cite, in which a particular man might have been safer if he had been armed. If Meredith had been carrying a loaded pistol, he might well have shot his assailant before the man shot him. (He might also well have been ambushed by still more men.) Whatever one can say about overall statistics, some men will always feel safer when armed—each able to imagine himself the one among many who would always shoot first.

To recognize that men have greater, not less control in the situation when they have committed themselves to nonviolence requires a drastic readjustment of vision. And this means taking both a long-range view of the field and a very much cooler, more objective one. Non-violence can inhibit the ability of the antagonist to hit back. (If the genius of guerrilla warfare is to make it impossible for the other side really to exploit its superior brute force, nonviolence can be said to carry this even further.)

And there is another sense in which it gives one greater leverage—enabling one both to put pressure upon the antagonist and to modulate his response to that pressure. In violent battle the effort is to demoralize the enemy, to so frighten him that he will surrender. The risk is that desperation and resentment will make him go on resisting when it is no longer even in his own interest. He has been driven beyond reason. In nonviolent struggle the effort is of quite a different nature. One doesn't try to frighten the other.

One tries to undo him—tries, in the current idiom, to “blow his mind”—only in the sense that one tries to shake him out of former attitudes and force him to appraise the situation now in a way that takes into consideration your needs as well as his. One is able to do this—able in a real sense to change his mind (rather than to drive him out of it)—precisely because one reassures him about his personal safety all the time that one keeps disrupting the order of things that he has known to date. When—under your constant pressure—it becomes to his own interest to adapt himself to change, he is able to do so. Fear for himself does not prevent him. In this sense a liberation movement that is nonviolent sets the oppressor free as well as the oppressed.

*The Genius of Nonviolence*

The most common charge leveled against nonviolence is that it counts upon touching the heart of an adversary—who is more than likely to be stony of heart. His heart, his conscience need not be touched. His mind has been. The point is that you prevent him from reacting out of fear—in mindless reflex action. You also prevent him from being able to justify to others certain kinds of actions that he would like to take against you—and may for a while attempt to take. Here one can speak of still another sense in which nonviolence gives one greater control. If the antagonist is unjustifiably harsh in his countermeasures, and continues to be, one will slowly win away from him allies and supporters—some of them having consciences more active than his perhaps; or perhaps all of them simply caring about presenting a certain image, caring for one reason or another about public relations. An adversary might seem to be immovable. One could nevertheless move him finally by taking away from him the props of his power—those men upon whose support he depends. The special genius of nonviolence is that it can draw to our side not only natural allies—who are enabled gradually to

recognize that they are allies because in confrontation with us their minds are not blurred by fear but challenged (and they begin to refuse orders, as several soldiers did in October at the Pentagon). Even beyond this, it can move to act on our behalf elements in society who have no such natural inclination. When the Quebec to Guantanamo walkers were fasting in jail in Albany, Georgia, the men who finally put most pressure upon the authorities to release them and let them walk through town were clergymen not at all sympathetic either to the walkers as individuals or to the message on their signs and leaflets. Non-violent tactics can move into action on our behalf men not naturally inclined to act for us; whereas violent tactics draw into actions that do harm us men for whom it is not at all natural to act against us. A painful example of this was Martin Luther King’s act of declaring that the authorities were right in calling out troops to deal with the ghetto uprisings. John Gerassi provided another example in a talk I heard him give about revolutionary prospect in Latin America. He told how a plan on the part of a rebel group to gain support among the people by assassinating policemen backfired—because every slain policeman in that society of very large families had so many relatives, all unable to see the death as a political act that might help them, able to see it only as a personal loss. Violence makes men “dizzy;” it disturbs the vision, makes them see only their own immediate losses and fear of losses. Any widespread resort to violence in this country by those seeking change could produce such vertigo among the population at large that the authorities would be sure to be given more and more liberty to take repressive measures—in the name of “Order.”

*Knowing the Enemy*

Some readers might comment that such a development would be educational, for the underlying nature of the society would then stand re-

vealed; and it is necessary to know the enemy. But it is necessary, too, to know that one has a certain power to affect those who stand against us. It would be easy enough to know the worst about them—by acting in a way that allowed them to behave toward us in the worst way that they could. It is more practical, even if it is more difficult, to act in a way that prevents this. If it is important not to be naive about their capacity for doing us harm, it is just as important not to be blind to our own capacity for moderating their action. In histories of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, there are many accounts of generosity shown by the rebels toward enemy troops—resulting in widespread recruitment from among those troops. It proved very practical to act on the assumption that not all among them need be labeled permanently “enemy.” Those engaged in nonviolent battle simply act on this assumption in the boldest degree. They declare, in the words of the Vietnamese Buddhist Thich Nhat Hanh—words that are startling and sound at first naive: “No men are our enemies.” By this we do not mean that we think no men will try to destroy us; or that we overlook the fact that men from certain sections of the society are above all likely to try it. We mean, first, of course, that we are committed to try not to destroy them; but we mean furthermore that there is a working chance—if we do refuse to threaten them personally as we struggle with them—that in certain instances at least some of them may be willing to accommodate themselves to the pressure we put on them to change, and so both they and we may be liberated from the state of enmity. We mean that we refuse to cut ourselves off from them in any ultimate human sense—counting it as both decent and practical to do so.

*Kindness and Revolution*

I have been reading William Hinton’s *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village*, and I have been struck by how many times in the course of his story he reports a

decision taken by the revolutionary leaders that greater humanity shown this group or that group will advance the revolution. There is, for example, a decision at one point to be more lenient toward counterrevolutionary suspects among Catholic peasants. “They could never be won if they were isolated and discriminated against. They had to be drawn into full participation.” In one dramatic instance it is decided that the attack on middle peasants has been overdone—that the land of many of these families has been wrongly expropriated, and that they must be reclassified as friends rather than enemies of the revolution. “We must make clear to them that they have their . . . rights.” Because of this decision, too, things improved, the revolution gained momentum. The decisions which he reports are for the most part taken “to enlarge the united front of the people and to isolate as popular enemies only those diehard elements who could not possibly be mobilized to support a ‘land-to-the-tiller’ policy.” One of the leaders explains, “In proposing any basic social change . . . revolutionaries had to decide who should be brought together and who isolated, who should be called a friend and who an enemy.” Experience seemed always to be showing that the more people who were called friend, the better things went. I noted that as time went on leniency began to be advised even toward the gentry and the landlords; it was decided that here, too, the attacks had been at first overdone. “Families cannot be driven from house and home forever.” As one leader put it: “We have to show everyone a way out.”

This is of course just what nonviolence teaches—not to be naive about the fact that some men more than others will see it as in their interest to try to destroy us, and will often persist and persist in trying to; but to recognize that they never can see it in their interest finally to accommodate themselves to the changes we are forcing unless we give them the liberty to do so. And they will only believe that we offer this liberty, only be

able to imagine new lives for themselves, if we have refused to threaten them with any personal injury.<sup>6</sup>

*If we insist on treating them not as parts of a machine but as men, we gain a much greater control.*

### *Man versus Function*

I have had conversations with a Marxist who argues that it is absurd to claim we can avoid personal injury to others in any serious social struggle, for "men are reduced to functional elements;" to threaten to deprive a man of his accustomed position in society is to threaten his very person. It will certainly be felt in many instances as just such a threat. But no man is ever reduced quite in his entire being to a functional element in society. And precisely because the rebel who is nonviolent distinguishes, as he struggles with another, between the man himself to whom he offers a certain basic respect (simply as another man) and the role that man has been playing, which he refuses to respect, it becomes more possible for the other, too, to begin to make the distinction. It may indeed at first be literally impossible for him to see himself, if he tries to imagine himself functioning in any way but the way that he has been. But the fact that others seem to be able to makes it easier—especially if so much pressure is put on him that it becomes impossible for him to see himself functioning comfortably any longer in the old way. It is necessary to remember—as Oglesby says—that "the enemy is not a few men but a whole system," to remember that when the men with whom we struggle confront us it is as functional elements in this system that they do so, behaving in a certain sense automatically. It is necessary to know this well. But it is precisely if we refuse to treat them as nothing more than this—if we insist on treating them not as parts of a machine but as men, capable of thought and of change—that we gain a very much greater control in the situation.

It is practical, in short, always to be talking with the enemy.

Oglesby describes the rebel as one who is quite unwilling to talk. "The rebel is an incorrigible absolutist who has replaced. . . all 'solutions' with the single irreducible demand that. . . those who now have all power shall no longer have any, and that those who now have none—the people, the victimized—shall have all. . . 'What do you want?' asks the worried, perhaps intimidated master. 'What can I give you?' . . . But the rebel answers, 'I cannot be purchased.' The answer is meant mainly to break off the conference." One reason the rebel wants to break it off, Oglesby explains, is that he has as yet no really clear vision of "the revolutionized, good society," and would be embarrassed to have to confess this. He is not yet a responsible man. Then Oglesby adds: Ultimately he must become so. I am not quite sure how—as Oglesby sees it—he is to become responsible. My own suggestion is, of course, that nonviolent battle in itself teaches one to be.

It is a more difficult way. It does, for example, complicate the process of defining for ourselves and others who can be expected to act as our allies and who can be expected to resist us as harshly as they dare when, of the latter, we have always to be making two points at the same time; (1) here are men toward whom we have to be on our guard and (2) here are men for whom we have to show human concern. It can be done, though, and in very few words. I remember James Bevel addressing a church audience in Birmingham: "We love our white brothers"—pause—"but we don't trust them."

### *The Feel of an Action*

The trouble is that people tend to feel that they are taking bolder action when they disdain all conversations with the adversary. We had experience of this often on the Quebec to Guantanamo walk while we were in the South. There were any

number of times when, at the edge of a town, we would find ourselves confronted by police who would inform us that we weren't going to be allowed to walk through. We had a constitutional right to walk through, and a few people in the group were always in favor of simply saying, "Try to stop us!" or saying nothing at all—and marching forward. What we actually did, always, was to stop the walk for an hour or two, drive into town and discuss the matter with the chief of police. We would talk very quietly and always show him courtesy, and respect for his proper authority (for example, where traffic control was concerned), but in the course of the talk we would let it become clear to him that he would save himself a lot of trouble by letting us walk through; we knew what our rights were and had been to jail before for them and weren't afraid of going again. Time and again, after a certain amount of bluster on the chief's part, we would be allowed to walk. A few people in the group were always dissatisfied with this way. For it felt like deferring to the authorities. If we had simply marched forward, of course, feeling very bold, we would not have made our way through the town—we would have made our way right into jail, the authorities doing with us what they liked. The action that felt less bold won us our way.

All this is relevant, I think, to discussions going on now in the Movement about how to pass from protest to resistance, from merely "symbolic" actions to "practical" ones. To define clearly which actions are symbolic—and which more than that—one has to look twice. A bold foray that is absolutely certain to be stopped is, surely, symbolic action. For example, those who rushed up the steps into the Pentagon on October 21st—to be thrown back at once by the troops, and quite predictably—were surely engaged in symbolic action; whereas those who tried to communicate with the troops confronting them, and were able to cause at least two defections from those troops, were surely engaging in action that

was more than symbolic. The whole subject is infinitely complex. I am hardly saying that bold forays are never in order, but I am saying that dialogue with the other side is deeply practical.

*If nonviolent action is boldly taken, it does allow men to speak out their deepest feelings.*

### *How Many Will Answer?*

Again I can imagine certain readers interrupting—to remark that I am overlooking, in this essay, one fundamental point. It is all very well to talk of the advantages of nonviolence, they might say, but how many are going to answer the call to such battle? A certain form of struggle can hardly be called practical if one cannot recruit very many men to try it; and to get most men to fight, one has to offer certain things which nonviolent struggle does not offer. I have heard people state, for example, that men from the ghettos would never turn to nonviolence because it does not allow them to speak out the full measure of their hatred for the white man. I have heard others say that few people would turn to it because it does not offer them the chance to feel, for once, like men. How a certain action makes one feel is not irrelevant.

But if nonviolent action is boldly taken it does allow men to speak out their deepest feelings; and if it is boldly taken, it does allow them to feel that they are standing up to others like men. It may not permit them to act out their hatred for others by taking revenge; but it allows—it requires—them to act out all the truth they feel about what the other has done, is doing to them, and to act out their determination to change this state of things. In this very process, one's hatred of the other can be forgotten, because it is beside the point; the point is to change one's life. The point is not to give some vent to the emotions that have been destroying one; the point is so to act that one can master them now.

What is it to assert one's manhood—one's human rights? Let me quote Fanon again. He



writes in *Black Skin, White Masks*: "I have only one solution: to rise above this absurd drama that others have staged round me." "I have one right alone: that of demanding human behavior from the other." This is, to me, a very accurate description of nonviolent struggle. He writes, "I will impose my whole weight as a man on [the other's] life and show him that I am not that. . . [which] he persists in imagining." "What is needed is to hold oneself, like a sliver, to the heart of the world, to interrupt if necessary the rhythm of the world, to upset, if necessary, the chain of command, but . . . to stand up to the world." "Man is human only to the extent to which he tries to impose his existence on another man in order to be recognized by him." He immediately adds, "If I close the circuit, if I prevent the accomplishment of movement in two directions, I keep the other within himself." He writes, "I do battle for the creation of a human world—that is, a world of reciprocal recognition." The battle for this world, I would plead, is one that can only be waged nonviolently.

It is true enough, however, that one of the chief difficulties those who believe in nonviolence must face is how to recruit others to trust themselves to this way. My own conviction is that one can recruit to this form of battle only by setting the very boldest kind of example. Those of us who believe in nonviolent action should listen closely to the words of those who mock it. For in the portrait the latter draw of it is a caricature, and reveals their own ignorance of what such action can be, it reveals, too, a great deal about our own failure to carry experiments with it far enough. We had better look hard at what it is men seek when they turn away from us.

The cry for Black Power, for example, was taken up with swiftness. Why? Because too many—though certainly not all—of the nonviolent actions taken to that date had been, as charged, essentially acts of petition; and the necessity of self-assertion was felt very deeply. The gestures

of the slave had clearly once and for all to be put from them by black people. And the nonviolent actions in which they had taken part had too often seemed but to repeat those ancient gestures of submission—quite as Carmichael put it: Look, master, we are only going to do what we are supposed to do; we may be on the streets, but see, we're still your good niggers; won't you help us? In this context, the assertion of love for the other seemed too much an echo of the old defensive hypocrisy toward the master: Look, we are your loving servants—who love you, respect you, more than we love, respect our own lives. Only nonviolent actions daring enough to quite shatter that pattern could possibly release either side from the bondage of the old relation.

**Bold Action or None**

It is not only black people in our society who are suffering now from the sense that their lives are out of their control, and who are going to be satisfied only to take actions that give them some sense of beginning to assert such control. At this point in our history, nonviolent action had better be taken boldly or one need hardly bother to take it at all, for one will be taking it alone.

Those who believe in nonviolence face a sharp challenge. They must decide whether or not we really are engaged in a struggle that is "in dead earnest." If we are, certain consequences follow. One of them is that we must act boldly; another is that we can expect to be hurt. Those who commit themselves to violent struggle take this for granted—which gives them a certain advantage. In the very act of entering battle, they prepare themselves for this—knowing it, very simply, to be the nature of battle. We had better learn, too, to accept that it is. They can claim one other advantage: they are less apt to lose recruits. Fanon writes in *The Wretched of the Earth*, "You could be sure of a new recruit when he could no longer go back into the colonial system—because he had assumed 'the responsibility for violence'

and committed some act that made him a hunted man." It is easier to retreat from nonviolent battle. We face the challenge of persisting in spite of this.

**The Need to be Aggressive**

Yes, the challenge to those who believe in nonviolent struggle is to learn to be aggressive enough. Nonviolence has for too long been connected in men's minds with the notion of passivity. "Aggressive" is an ambiguous word, of course, and my statement needs qualifying. In this connection I recommend to all the book *On Aggression* by the Austrian naturalist, Konrad Lorenz. I have quoted Bradford Lyttle's reference to it: "Lorenz studies [the un-niceness of people] as aggressiveness and argues convincingly that it's instinctive with men." Actually, though Lorenz does argue that aggressiveness is instinctive—in men as in animals—he challenges the view that there is anything basically "un-nice" about that instinct. The correct translation of his original title, *Das Sogennante Bese*, would be *The So-Called Evil Instinct*. He argues that this instinct plays a very positive, life-promoting role among animals. Just to give one example: the instinct of each member of a species to fight for its own bit of territory "gives an ideal solution to the problem of the distribution of animals"—so that they don't all crowd into one place and eat up all the food available there and then starve. "The environment is divided between the members of the species in such a way that, within the potentialities offered, everyone can exist." "What a peaceful issue of the evil principle." Aggressiveness may "function in the wrong way" sometimes, by accident, he writes, and cause destruction, but "we have never found that the aim of aggression was the extermination of fellow members of the species." He writes of another, a very special instinct that has been developed in the process of evolution "to oppose aggression. . . and inhibit those of its actions that [could be] injurious to

the survival of the species." He describes various ritualized "appeasing" gestures that are made by the weaker animal of the species at a certain point in any conflict, and describes how the stronger animal is then automatically restrained from taking advantage of the other and inflicting real injury upon him. He points out the "strangely moving paradox that the most blood-thirsty predators, particularly the Wolf. . . are among the animals with the most reliable killing inhibitions" (toward their own species, that is). For this "build-in safety device" was developed specifically in those creatures who were born heavily armed. And he points out the special dilemma of Man. He is born "harmless," and so "no selection pressure arose in the prehistory of mankind to breed inhibitory mechanisms preventing the killing of his fellows"—and then he invented artificial weapons! Fortunately, Lorenz comments, "inventions and responsibility are both the achievements of the same specifically human faculty of asking questions." Clearly the questions he has asked have, to date, resulted in a more rapid development of invention than of self-discipline, but Lorenz remains optimistic about Man, and sees him as still capable of evolving. "I assert," he writes, "that the long-sought missing link between animals and the really humane being is ourselves"—a hypothesis that I find persuasive.

**A Balance of Instincts**

What has very clearly worked, in the evolution of animals, to preserve and advance the life of each species, has been a particular balance of two instincts. The one, as it were, asserts the individual's right to exist. This is the so-called evil instinct. Lorenz names it "aggression." But just as I would substitute another word for Fanon's "violence," I would substitute another word here—and rename "aggression" "self assertion." The second instinct restrains the first when it endangers another's right to exist. In human terms, the first amounts to respecting

one's own person, the second to respecting the person of the other. Lorenz points out, by the way, that the only animals capable of love are those that are "aggressive." One can, it seems, only love another "as one loves oneself."

This life-serving balance—this equilibrium between self-assertion and respect for others—has evolved among animals on the physiological plane. In human beings it can be gained only on the plane of consciousness. And the plea this essay makes is precisely that we make the disciplined effort to gain it—all those of us who hope really to change men's lives, who, in Fanon's words, "want humanity to advance a step further," want to "set afoot a new man." My plea is that the key to a revolution that would "go forward all the time. . . in the company of Man, in the company of all men," lies in discovering within ourselves this poise. But it calls equally for the strengthening of two impulses—calls both for assertion (for speaking, for acting out "aggressively" the truth, as we see it, of what our rights are) and for restraint toward others (for the acting out of love for them, which is to say of respect for their human rights). May those who say that they believe in nonviolence learn to challenge more boldly those institutions of violence that constrict and cripple our humanity. And may those who have questioned nonviolence come to see that one's rights to life and happiness can only be claimed as inalienable if one grants, in action, that they belong to all men.

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Although those in the Movement who issued critical statements against use of the slogan "Black Power" seemed almost always to imply that "power" was an improper word, I couldn't help noticing that just that word had a way of slipping into their own publicity releases—an SCLC release, for example, repudiating the slogan but speaking the next moment of the "political power" they sought through pushing voter registration.
- <sup>2</sup> Sometimes, if one disciplines oneself to act upon this assumption, the feeling itself of love for one's enemy enters one, taking one by surprise—a kind of grace. Some readers may ask: why should one want to feel love for one's enemy? But I note that Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* writes, "I the man of color, want only this: That it be possible for me to discover and to love man, wherever he may be."
- <sup>3</sup> It is possible, but not always simple. When we stage an act of massive obstruction in a city, for example, there is always the risk that we will prevent some emergency call from being answered—prevent a doctor's car from getting through, perhaps. One has obviously to anticipate such situations and be ready to improvise answers to the human problems raised.
- <sup>4</sup> I am uneasy, however, at the way Carl Davidson of SDS words his defense of obstruction. He writes in *New Left Notes* of November 13, 1967: "The institutions our resistance has desanctified and delegitimized, as a result of our action against their oppression of others, have lost all authority and hence all respect. As such they have only raw coercive power. Since they are without legitimacy in our eyes, they are without rights. Insofar as individuals, such as recruiters, continue to remain in association with those institutions, they run the risk of being given the same treatment. . . . We can assert the Nuremberg decisions and other past criteria of war crimes as the criteria by which we, in conscience, decide whether or not an institution and individuals associated with that institution have lost their legitimacy and their rights." Can one give individuals the same treatment that one gives institutions—and deny them all respect? If he means that we need not grant individuals the right to oppress others, I am in agreement. But if he means that when we can identify an individual as an oppressor, then we need not treat him as though he had any human rights—he alarms me. This formulation would seem to me to lead into grim territory.
- <sup>5</sup> See *Mau Mau from Within* by Barnett and Njama.
- <sup>6</sup> There is a cliché often applied to the enemy: "All he can understand is force." But men "understand" brute force in the most narrow sense only. They understand that they are being hurt, or may be hurt by it—and so that they had better either surrender or manage to hurt the other side even more. Brute force cannot make the other understand that in a new world he could find a new life for himself.
- <sup>7</sup> I wrote earlier that one could substitute the phrase "radical uncompromising action" for the word violence in Fanon's text with the exception of a very few passages. This is one of those passages.

XII. "Macht und Sinnlichkeit" - der Beitrag der feministischen Bewegung zu einem Netzwerk gewaltfreier Aktionsgruppen  
VIBEKE FINK

"We have been victims for too long !" - Sie wollen nicht länger Opfer sein, die Frauen der "zweiten Generation", der neuen Frauenbewegung, die in den sechziger Jahren begonnen wurde.

Vertrauten ihre Vorgängerinnen noch auf die Einsicht der Menschen, versuchte Jane Addams noch Wilson zur "Mediation" zu bewegen, als Frau und potentielle Mutter, so weisen diese Frauen die "imaginierte Weiblichkeit" (1) von sich, verweigern sich, den ihnen von Männern aufoktroyierten Rollenbildern, um mit einem weiterentwickelten Selbstbewusstsein eine grundsätzliche Umorientierung der Werte in dieser, ihrer Gesellschaft zu fordern.

"We have come (here) to mourn and defy the Pentagon because it is the workplace of the imperial power which threatens us all" (2) -

Mit diesen Worten kamen am 15. November 1980 mehr als 3.000 Frauen nach Washington, D.C., um auf ihre Art Widerstand zu leisten gegen eine Institution, die sie nur allzu deutlich als Kopf eines militärisch-industriellen Komplexes identifizieren, um Widerstand zu leisten gegen Machtzwänge und Gewalt, denen sie als Frauen in der patriarchalischen Gesellschaft tagtäglich ausgesetzt sind. Sie kamen, weil sie nicht länger das andere, das schwache weibliche Geschlecht darstellen wollen in einer Gesellschaft, deren Werte schwach als weiblich, stark als männlich definieren, in der nicht der produzierende, sondern der erobernde Mann der Held ist, in der "you sissy" für "Du Schwächling" als eine der bösesten Beschimpfungen gilt (3).

Angeführt von den überlebensgroßen, grotesken Puppen des "Bread and Puppet Theater" näherten sich an diesem Tag Frauengruppen zeitweilig laut singend und klagend von mehreren Seiten dem Pentagon, umspannten es mit einem Netz bunter Wollfäden, einige besetzten zwei der Haupteingänge, schmierten Blut an die Pfeiler und ließen sich verhaften (4).

Am Abend saßen 65 Frauen in Untersuchungshaft, alle wurden des Hausfriedensbruchs und der Beschädigung von Staatseigentum beschuldigt und zum Teil noch in derselben Nacht, in Schnellverfahren, zu 10 bis 15 Tagen Gefängnis verurteilt. Nest King war eine der Frauen, die sich verhaften ließen - in ihrer Erklärung aus dem Gefängnis verdeutlicht sie den Sinn, den diese Aktion für sie und viele andere Frauen hatte: "Wir kamen zum Pentagon, weil diese Aktion unseren Widerstand gegen Machtzwänge verkörpert... In einer Gesellschaft mit wachsender Autorität und steigendem Militarismus ist der alltägliche Druck ein feministisches Anliegen. In Untersuchungshaft sprachen wir stundenlang über Gewaltfreiheit und Frauenbewegung, über Formen des passiven Widerstandes ... Wir möchten darüber eine breite Diskussion in unserer Bewegung führen. Viele von uns sind sich noch nicht über die Möglichkeiten im klaren, aber wir glauben, daß es unheimlich wichtig ist, direkten Widerstand zu leisten. Wir glauben ebenso, daß Frauen, wenn sie zusammen handeln, besser hinterfragen können, was falsch ist... Ziviler Ungehorsam mag uns helfen, unsere Erde zu retten und den Weg in eine feministische Zukunft zu bereiten. Darum sind wir hier." (5)

Frauen, die die Erde retten wollen, Frauen für die Zukunft, Mütter, die den Frieden bewahren, das wollten schon ihre Vorgängerinnen zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts - was soll sich nun geändert haben in dieser neuen Frauenbewegung? Grundlegendes hat sich geändert - im Bewußtsein dieser Frauen. Sie bewegen sich mit einem Selbstwertgefühl, das sie wohl zum Teil ihren Vorkämpferinnen verdanken; zu einem weit größeren Maß ist es jedoch aus der eigenen Aktivität entstanden, aus dem Widerstand gegen die alltägliche Gewalt in einer patriarchalischen Gesellschaft, eine Gewalt, die Frauen am eigenen Körper tagtäglich, und nicht nur in der extremsten Form der Vergewaltigung, erfahren (6). Gegen dieses und in diesem System ein Netzwerk der Selbsthilfe aufzubauen, angefangen mit Frauenhäusern, Beratungsstellen, der lesbischen Bewegung, dem Kampf gegen den Abtreibungsparagraphen 218

und für den eigenen Körper bis hin zum Entstehen einer Frauen-"sub"-kultur - so haben sich diese Frauen ein Selbstbewußtsein erarbeitet, das ihnen die Kraft gibt, neue Wege zu suchen, um "Macht (power) kreativ zu verwenden" (7), um auf friedlichem Wege die Revolution vorwegzunehmen. Sie glauben dabei aber auch, erkannt zu haben: den Gegner jeglicher friedlichen, revoltierenden Gegenbewegung - Träger von Macht, Autorität, Garant von Hierarchien -: "The enemy is patriarchy" - diese Überzeugung unterscheidet die heutige Frauenbewegung von ihrer Vorgängerin, die auch gerne als "bürgerliche Frauenbewegung" bezeichnet wird.

Wie schon 120 Jahre zuvor kämpften die Frauen in den sechziger Jahren vor dem Hintergrund der Bürgerrechtsbewegung für die Rechte einer Minderheit, deren Situation auch auf sie zutraf. "Black Power" und "Women's Power" verband nicht nur die gemeinsame geballte Faust als Symbol der Bewegung, doch wie schon die Grimké-Schwestern zuvor mußten auch diesmal die Frauen feststellen, daß sie zwar als Mitstreiterinnen gebraucht wurden und als Flugblätter verfassende, -tippende und verteilende Hilfen von den Männern der sozialen Bewegung gerne vereinnahmt wurden, doch letztendlich wieder in die traditionelle bürgerliche Frauenrolle zurückgedrängt wurden, und das auch von ihren "linken Genossen" (die offensichtlich von der russischen Revolution 1917 wenig gelernt hatten und immer noch auf die Emanzipation der Menschen und Frauen durch Abschaffung des Kapitalismus hofften bzw. hoffen: Die Unterdrückung der Frauen war und blieb für sie ein "Nebenwiderspruch" !) (8). Und so zerbrach 1967 der "Jeanette Rankin-Marsch" gegen den Vietnam-Krieg (9), der gemeinhin als erstes Zeichen einer überregionalen nordamerikanischen Frauenbewegung genannt wird, in zwei Teile. Die Frauen waren als Ehefrauen, Mütter und Witwen gekommen, um gegen den Krieg zu protestieren - sie teilten sich noch während des Marsches in eine traditionell-liberale und eine radikal-politische Gruppe.

Und auch die "Frauenbewegung" bestand und besteht aus vielen einzelnen Gruppen und Gruppierungen mit z.T. sehr unterschiedlichem politischen Anspruch ; und doch findet sich bei fast (10) allen als verbindendes Element die Bemühung um einen gewaltfreien Weg der Veränderung, der Veränderung ihres eigenen Bewußtseins und damit ihrer Gesellschaft hin zu den von vielen als einzig menschlich akzeptierten Werten "community" und "caring" (Gemeinschaft und Fürsorge).

"Das Private ist das Politische", war ein Kampftruf der sechziger Jahre, der darauf verweisen sollte, daß der eigentliche Kampf im intimsten Bereich gegen Väter, Brüder und Freunde stattfinden würde, doch über das naiv-euphorische Stadium einer bloßen Umkehrung zu: "Frauen an die Macht" scheint die Frauen-Friedensbewegung hinausgewachsen zu sein.

Zwar sehen sie Krieg als besonders destruktive Form der Gewalt in einer Männergesellschaft, in der es gilt, die Schwäche zu überwinden, als "Mortifikationsprozeß, als eine Überwindung des Weiblichen in sich selbst" (11) und Militarismus als eine besondere Variante des männlichen Chauvinismus, doch sind sich Frauen sehr wohl bewußt, daß nicht das Frausein alleine genügt, um gegen Kriege und Gewalt zu kämpfen, sondern daß sie über fundamentales Hintergrundwissen verfügen können müssen, über Wissen um alternative Verteidigungskonzepte, politische und soziale Strukturen, über die Mechanismen, die Politik, Gewalt und Krieg bestimmen (12). Ein langer Weg, der nicht nur hinter den Frauen liegt und der sich noch unüberschaubar weit vor ihnen ausdehnt. Wahrscheinlich gewinnen deshalb die Orientierungspunkte gerade in der amerikanischen Frauenbewegung so stark an Bedeutung. Seien es die unzähligen, spontan wirkenden, aber doch so sorgfältig geplanten Aktionen von der "Women's Pentagon Action", die auch 1985 wieder stattfanden, oder die Demonstrationen der seit zwanzig Jahren existierenden Gruppe "Women's Strike for Peace" oder auch entscheidende, richtungsweisende Texte wie die von Barbara Deming.

So banal es klingen mag, es soll noch einmal gesagt werden - In unserer großindustriellen, hochtechnisierten Gesellschaft herrscht Macht nicht mehr durch direkte Gewalt, wird so bald

auch keine Revolution der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse stattfinden, die durch Vergesellschaftung des Eigentums an Produktionsmitteln dem Kapitalismus oder seinem großen Bruder, dem Patriarchat, durch Auswechslung der Machteliten ein Ende setzen kann.

Vielleicht ist die "Graswurzelrevolution" ein Weg zu einer friedlichen, gewaltfreien Gesellschaft, die wirklich allen "unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" zugesteht.

Barbara Deming hat sich als Frau sehr eindeutig entschieden - gegen Heterosexualität in einer patriarchalischen Gesellschaft: "for imperialist actions do seem to me, more and more clearly, to be patriarchal acts, acts of rape", wie sie 1976 schrieb:

"I now put my hopes for real social change above all else in the feminist movement and also my hopes for the further invention of nonviolence. I think the root of violence in our society is the attempt by men to claim women and children as their property." (13)

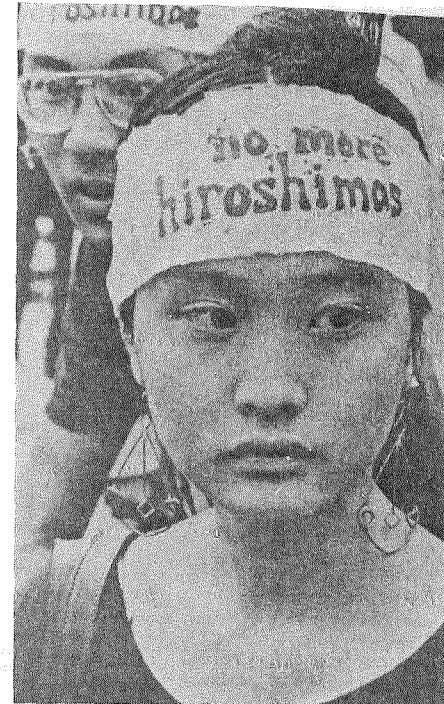
Heute wird gerne und oft die Geschichte von Lysistrata zitiert (aufgezeichnet und überliefert von Aristophanes, 411 vor unserer Zeitrechnung). Lysistrata soll die Beendigung des Zweiten Peloponnesischen Krieges herbeigeführt haben, indem sie Athens und Spartas Frauen zu einer solidarischen Aktion bewegte: die Frauen verweigerten ihren Männern die Sexualität. Eine Geschichte.



Anmerkungen

- 1) vgl. dazu: Bovenschen, Sylvia: Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit. Exemplarische Untersuchungen zur kulturgeschichtlichen und literarischen Präsentationsform des Weiblichen. Frankfurt am Main 1979
- 2) "Unity Statement of the Women's Pentagon Action" - aus: "Reweaving the Web of Life: FEMINISM AND NONVIOLENCE", ed. by Pam McAllister, Philadelphia 1982
- 3) vgl. dazu: Schenk, Herrad: Die feministische Herausforderung - 150 Jahre Frauenbewegung, München 1983
- 4) siehe dazu und auch im folgenden: "Women's Pentagon Action" + - Mit Wollfäden gegen das Pentagon, aus:
- 5) Bartels, Till: Abrüstung von unten - Die amerikanische Friedensbewegung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1983
- 6) vgl. dazu: Brownmiller, Susan: Gegen unseren Willen. Vergewaltigung und Männerherrschaft. Frankfurt am Main 1978
- 7) Deming, Barbara: New Men New Women : Some Notes on Non-Violence (in: We Cannot Live Without Our Lives, New York 1974)
- 8) vgl. dazu: Millett, Kate: Sexual Politics, Garden City/ New York 1970 -  
Kate Millett ist praktisch die erste Frau, die "wissenschaftlich" die soziale Gruppe der Frauen als Klasse postulierte. Zum heutigen Stand der Diskussion bietet einen guten Überblick:  
Powers, Marilyn: Unity and Division Among Women: Feminist Theories of Gender and Class in Capitalist Society, aus: Economic Forum, Vol. XV, Sommer 1984 ( vgl. besonders die Verweise auf Engels und Marcuse, dessen Beitrag allerdings nicht weiterhalf)
- 9) Jeanette Rankin war die erste Frau im amerikanischen Senat und stimmte als solche gegen den Eintritt der USA in den Zweiten Weltkrieg.
- 10) Eine Ausnahme: Die Gründerin einer Gesellschaft zur Vernichtung der Männer (S.C.U.M. - "Society for Cutting Up Men"), Valerie Solannas, bekannt vor allem durch ihr Attentat auf Andy Warhol, forderte die gewaltsame Vernichtung der Männer. Frauen sollten die vollständig automatisierte Gesellschaft aufbauen, das Geldsystem abschaffen und so durch männerlose Fortpflanzung und ökonomische Unabhängigkeit die Voraussetzung für die Gesellschaftsveränderung schaffen - eine Warnutopie, die jahrhundertlangem Weiberhaß hilflos seine Umkehrung entgegenzusetzen versucht. (s. auch: Menschik, Jutta: Feminismus. Geschichte, Theorie, Praxis. Köln 1977, S. 52 ff.)
- 11) nach: Schenk, Herrad: Frauen kommen ohne waffen, München 1983
- 12) ebd., und Boulding, Elise: Perspectives of Women Researchers on Disarmament, National Security and World Order, aus: Women's Studies Int. Quest, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 27-40 (1981)

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Barbara Deming: Two Essays

On Anger

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New Men

New Women

Some Thoughts on Nonviolence

New Society Publishers

On Anger

*A talk written for delivery at the War Resisters' League national conference in Athens, Georgia, September 4-6, 1971. (Read by a friend, because I was in an automobile accident on the way there.) Published in Liberation, November 1971.*

I have been asked to talk about the relation between war resistance and resistance to injustice.

There are many points to be made that I need hardly belabor. I don't have to argue with any of you at this conference that if we resist war we must look to the causes of war; try to end *them*. And that one finds the causes of war in any society that encourages not fellowship but domination of one person by another. *We must resist whatever gives encouragement to the will to dominate.*

I don't think any of you would object to my stating the relationship between the two struggles in another way (repeating it, for it has been often said): Bullets and bombs are not the only means by which people are killed. If a society denies to certain of its members food or medical attention, or a political voice, the sense of their own worth, the freedom to exercise their talents—this, too, is waging war of a kind.

No, I can't imagine a very lively debate here about whether or not the two struggles are one struggle. I can remember well enough when this question *was* debated among us, but it isn't any longer.

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Now, I think, another question troubles our minds and divides us among ourselves: What should our relation be to the very many people we find struggling alongside us against social injustice and against a particular war—comrades who are not committed, as we are, to nonviolence. That's what I am going to try to talk about.

I think it relevant to go back for a moment and talk about the time when we *were* still arguing over whether or not the two struggles were one.

I remember the first Peacemaker conference I ever attended—in 1960. (This was my introduction to the non-violent movement in this country.) At the time, you'll remember, there were very few activists in the field, but almost all of them professed a faith in nonviolence. The Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth attended the conference and talked about his experience of the nonviolent discipline, struggling in Birmingham for integration. And the question as to whether or not pacifists should take part in civil-rights actions began to be discussed. Many pacifists who were present said that we shouldn't. Because there were so few of us and disarmament was such a pressing priority, they were afraid that we would dissipate our energies. I remember one man making the point: "If we all blow up, it's not going to matter whether we blow up integrated or segregated." That fight was for later. Many disagreed, of course.

I remember, too, all the discussion we had before setting out on the first peace walk through the South—the Nashville to Washington Walk, in 1962. A walk, again, speaking to disarmament. We had endless discussions about whether or not to talk about race relations, too, as we went. One black man, Bob Gore, was walking with us, so the subject was sure to come up. Should we pursue it, or should we try to get the talk quickly back to disarmament? Almost everyone who advised us—including James Farmer, then head of CORE—advised us not to try to mix the two issues. It was hard enough

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challenge at Shuttlesworth—who had been risking his life daily, remaining nonviolent under the most extreme provocation: "The key to whether you have really adopted nonviolence or not is: How many of your men refuse to go into the army?" But it *wasn't* obvious to a lot of pacifists that *they* were inconsistent in their nonviolence if they didn't act against racism. I remember an editorial of Dellinger's in *Liberation*, entitled "Are Pacifists Willing to Be Negroes?"

Well the problem back then seems simple to us now—the problem of how we were going to relate to others who professed the same nonviolent faith. The question now seems much more complex: How are we going to relate to those who don't profess that faith?

But I submit that the answer is basically the same. We are in one struggle. There is a sense, even, in which we can say that we *do* share the same faith. When we define the kind of world that we want to bring into being, our vision and theirs too is of a world in which no person exploits another, abuses, dominates another—in short, a nonviolent world. We differ about how to bring this world into being; and that's a very real difference. But we *are* in the same struggle and we need each other. We need to take strength from each other, and we need to learn from each other.

I think it very important that we not be too sure that they have all the learning to do, and we all the teaching. It seems obvious to us right now that the methods they are sometimes willing to use are inconsistent with the vision we both hold of a new world. It is just possible—as we pursue that vision—that *we* are in some way inconsistent, too. For we have been in the past.

The question I want to try to discuss is: What kind of thinking on our part is likely to result in our learning the most that we can from them and their learning the most that they can from us?

I'm going to talk particularly about our relation to anger,

to talk about either; it would be harder if we linked them. And we wouldn't be helping black people by associating ourselves with their struggle—we would just be dumping on them the added burden of that association.

Most of us who were actually on the walk felt very uncomfortable about the advice given us and felt in our bones that the two issues had to be joined. And what happened is that in the course of the walk itself, we just naturally, inevitably, did join forces with the civil-rights people.

But no—it wasn't inevitable, and we almost spoiled it. The very first day, walking out of Nashville, we walked right past a Simple Simon's where several black students were sitting in. Walked dutifully past—feeling that it was wrong to do. It felt wrong enough so that we talked about it at Scarritt College there—and learned that the students felt it made no sense either. A dialogue between us had begun. And blacks began walking with us for certain stretches, near their home towns—turning it by that act into a walk for integration as well as disarmament. We began to stay at black churches. And our causes were joined. Our encounters with each other added strength and insight. I think we learned more from them than they from us; but it worked both ways.

As I look back now at the discussions before the walk started, I find them a little hard to believe. And I imagine that some of you must, too. Here we were, two groups, pitifully small in numbers, both committed to nonviolence, and we were wondering whether we should link forces. It hardly seems real. But I think it is very important to look back and remind ourselves that it was real indeed. The obvious did not seem obvious to us at the time. So it may not now.

What did seem obvious to a lot of pacifists then was that a black man who professed belief in nonviolence was inconsistent in his thought, was fooling himself that he was nonviolent unless he came out against war. I remember at that 1960 Peacemaker conference one young pacifist flinging that

because I think that lies at the heart of the question. A lot of people next to whom we find ourselves struggling are very angry people. Black people are angry. Welfare mothers are angry. Women are furious, as one of the buttons claims. Gay people—in spite of that name—are angry. Veterans, GI's, prisoners are angry. How do we relate to their anger? And how do we relate to anger when we feel it in ourselves? Because that has a lot to do with how we relate to them.

I started thinking about this most especially after a recent experience I had with a friend, a sister—a young woman who has been very deeply touched and changed by the women's liberation movement. When I first met her she was much involved in the antiwar movement and committed to nonviolence. Now she has concentrated above all on resistance to her own oppression and that of her sisters; and she was no longer sure that she was committed to nonviolence. Though in the past she had remained nonviolent in the most extreme situations—taken jailings, taken beatings, she told me that she could now all too easily imagine killing a man.

We had a long talk. I spoke of what seems to me the deep, deep need for the women's movement to be a non-violent movement—if we want to make the changes that we need swiftly and surely as we can, and if we want to see the fewest possible people hurt in the struggle. For I can more and more see this struggle becoming a very bloody one.

I spoke of the need I see for us to reassure men continually as we take from them the privileges they have had so long, take from them the luxury of not having to be weaned from their mothers' care, because they can count on wives, mistresses to play mother to them still; spoke of the need to convince them that this loss will not be as grievous as they fear, that the pleasures of relating to others as equals may really prove greater than the pleasure of relating to others as merely shadows of themselves, second selves. I spoke of the inevitability of panic on most men's part; they are so used to

the present state of things. And so, the need to reassure them at the same time that we stubbornly refuse them the old relationships.

Well, it was a long talk. I wasn't at all sure how persuasive I was being. And, as it happened, some time later a mutual friend reported to me that my sister felt estranged from me. And here is how she summed it up. *She didn't feel that I sufficiently respected her anger.*

This took me by surprise. For I feel that I do indeed respect it. I have often enough felt very deep anger myself, about the roles in which women and men are cast.

I told myself, at first, that someone who was giving up a faith in nonviolence must feel, in spite of herself, jealous of the person who still holds it. And I think there is some truth in this. But I began to think, too, that I shouldn't be sure that this was the whole answer. I had better question my relation to her anger more deeply—meaning, really, my relation to my kindred anger.

Perhaps I had withheld from her a full description of that anger, because it was painful to me to describe it and to look at it. I think that I could not kill anyone. But when I study myself I have to acknowledge that in many moments of anger I have, in effect, wished a man dead—wished him not there for me to cope with. So I should have acknowledged precisely this to her, during our talk.

I think of a chapter in Erik Erikson's book, *Gandhi's Truth*, in which he writes a letter to Gandhi as though he were still alive, and offers certain criticisms of him—in the light of insights introduced by psychoanalysis. He writes, of certain things Gandhi wrote, "I seemed to sense the presence of . . . something unclean, when all the words spelled out an unreal purity."

He charges Gandhi with seeming to be unaware of—or wanting to wish or pray away—a coexistence of love and hate, an ambivalence, which, he says "must become conscious in

those who work for peace." He found this especially when Gandhi wrote of very close relationships.

He says, "If, in order to fathom the truth, we must hold on to the potential of love in all hate, so must we become aware of the hate which is in all love." He submits that only if we accept the presence of ambivalence in the most loving encounters does truth become just what Gandhi means by it—that which supports evolving human nature in the midst of antagonisms, because these antagonisms call for conscious insight rather than for moralistic repression. (Erikson says that of course Gandhi could not possibly have known of the power of ambivalence. But contemporary Gandhians do know of it, or should.)

I think that this is a chapter all pacifists should read and muse about. Because I believe that the response he describes is a response to us experienced by many of our comrades. They sense in us an unreal purity. It is a response that puts a fatal distance between us, and makes them feel that they have nothing to learn from us. They feel—too often—that they can't learn from us and can't count on us, because *we don't really know ourselves*, don't dare know ourselves.

There is a terrible irony here. Because we want above all to be able to persuade people that truth is a powerful weapon—the most powerful weapon if, to use Gandhi's phrase, one *clings* to the truth—not only speaks it out, that is, but acts it out, and stubbornly. (The truth, above all, that every human being deserves respect. We assert the respect due ourselves, when it is denied, through noncooperation; we assert the respect due all others, through our refusal to be violent.) But how can we communicate the power there is in acting out truth, if we give the impression of not daring to be truthful to ourselves—about our own deep feelings; not daring to respect them?

Let me quote from a letter from quite another sister, in response to a pacifist mailing. She ascribes to middle-class

hangups what she, too, clearly feels to be unreal purity on our part: "It's a rotten shame that middle-class people get so uptight, uneasy about so-called violence. Y'all, in fact, seem not to understand that often the most healthy, beautiful thing to happen is for people to have a knockdown, dragout fight. It's just another form of communication for ghetto folk. . . . All I hear is peace, peace, love, love, Barbara, that is not what I want. I want friction, confusion, confrontation—violent or not, it doesn't matter. People grow when they are agitated, put up against the wall, at war. All the peace talk is merely a cover-up for weakness, or unwillingness to wage total struggle. . . . This I have learned from experience."

Well, it's easy enough to point out that she fails to make certain distinctions. She's right that for people to grow there has to be confrontation, agitation—disturbance of the peace, the charge often is. Whether it's violent or nonviolent, it's almost always called violent. But no, she doesn't distinguish clearly between the so-called violence of many such confrontations (including, I for one would grant her, certain knockdown fights) and the very real violence of those that actually harm or kill. If someone ends up dead, then the confrontation hasn't been just a form of communication, and certainly can't be said to have been healthy for that person.

So it may seem easy to put the letter from us. But I think that we shouldn't. I think we should pay close attention to the evidence in this letter and other statements like it that many people feel that we fear so-called violence quite as much as violence itself. That we fear any stark confrontation or communication; fear telling-it-like-it-is. And fear the emotions roused in us at such moments—don't want to have to look at them.

I recall a letter from still another sister. I had written her about feeling a lot of anger in myself and written that I had found that anger exhausting. She wrote back: "Good healthy anger at the appropriate target is . . . just as pure and justi-

fied as feelings of love, joy, etc. . . . Your reason for not accepting it may be similar to what mine was; being brain-washed all my life into thinking that such emotions were wrong." (This is another sister, by the way, who is turning from nonviolence.)

There is the word "healthy" again. Many radicals feel that we are not quite healthy. They feel that there is health in anger. In the women's movement, a song has been written that sums up their positive feelings about it: "Our anger is changing our faces, Our anger is changing our lives."

They see anger as a necessary emotion if there is to be change.

I think there is some truth in this. I think there is clearly a kind of anger that is healthy. It is the concentration of one's whole being in the determination: this must change.

This kind of anger is not in itself violent—even when it raises its voice (which it sometimes does); and brings about agitation, confrontation (which it always does). It contains both respect for oneself and respect for the other. To oneself it says: "I must change—for I have been playing the part of the slave." To the other it says: "You must change—for you have been playing the part of the tyrant." It contains the conviction that change is possible—for both sides; and it is capable of transmitting this conviction to others, touching them with the energy of it—even one's antagonist. This is the anger the sister who wrote me that first letter speaks of: It communicates.

I think, by the way, that it is accurate to say that A. J. Muste was often in states of anger. And they were healthy states indeed—did change faces, change lives. I can remember a number of meetings about one project or another, in which everything had started to fall apart, because of differences about tactics, because of differences about whether or not the action was feasible at all. And A. J. would begin to



describe the existing situation the project was a response to—all that was outrageous about it, demanding our resistance. And our differences would begin to seem unimportant, we would be energized anew, unified by his anger. I think one has to call it that.

It strikes me, though, that when I talked about A. J. at a memorial service after his death, I talked about just such moments and it never occurred to me to use that word.

Why do we who believe in nonviolence shy away from the word?

Well, because there is another kind of anger, very familiar to us, that is not healthy, that is an *affliction*, which, by the way, is the first synonym for anger that is given in the big Webster's International Dictionary.

This anger asserts to another not: "you must change and you can change"—but: "your very existence is a threat to my very existence." It speaks not hope but fear. The fear is: you can't change—and I can't change if you are still there. It asserts not: change! but: drop dead!

The one anger is healthy, concentrates all one's energies; the other leaves one trembling, because it is murderous. Because we dream of a new society in which murder has no place; and it disturbs that dream.

Our task, of course, is to transmute the anger that is affliction into the anger that is determination to bring about change. I think, in fact, that one could give that as a definition of revolution.

It is crucial to the task to distinguish between the two kinds of anger. And I think it is very much our task. But I think we are not as capable as we should be of teaching the distinction. To become more capable, I think that we have to face the anger that afflicts us more honestly than we sometimes have. One cannot transmute anger that one represses, but only anger that one faces honestly in its raw state. And it

is awkward to try to teach others to do what we haven't done ourselves.

It is particularly hard on us as pacifists, of course, to face our own anger. It is particularly painful for us—hard on our pride, too—to have to discover in ourselves murderers.

I remember suddenly the beautiful frankness of Thomas: "Lord, I believe! Help thou my unbelief!" We have to be as frank: Lord, I love my neighbor. Help me to stop wishing him dead!

I should remark, parenthetically, that there are, of course, radicals who would assert that it is quite possible to kill without hating—kill simply out of that determination to bring about change I have called healthy, kill with a sense of tragic necessity. I think that we should acknowledge that it is possible to kill in this spirit—as Che Guevara surely did, as many North Vietnamese surely do. I don't have to argue here, of course, that if one kills—even in this spirit—one blurs in spite of oneself the vision of a society in which all have the right to life.

But I was talking about the difficulty, for us, of confronting the anger that is affliction. Clearly the anger that is most frightening, because least in our control, almost impossible to try to look at without its rising up to overwhelm us, at least for a time, is anger about our own particular personal oppression.

I think again of the sister who was nonviolent under great provocation while resisting war—but now is resisting her own oppression as a woman and is not sure that she can be nonviolent.

It is not, I know, that she did not feel the war as an oppression of her own being—the war against the Vietnamese and also the possibility of nuclear war; the one a threat to our moral well-being, the other a threat to our very right to be. But to one who is a woman—or black, or chicano, or gay—there is of course an oppression that is more personal than

this. It calls into question one's right to be oneself, fully oneself. It touches one's pride in the deepest sense.

Now anger at this has to exist—for it is pride in one's own fundamental worth, is the affirmation of it. But when this anger—this pride—is under the duress of oppression, and when it feels alone, helpless to work the change its nature demands, it can exist only in hiding. And there it becomes *less than itself*.

It does sometimes find ways of keeping itself in relative health. In *To Be a Slave* Julius Lester describes how slaves on plantations would meet in secret in the woods and there hold meetings, dances—in which they could be themselves. He quotes from a song from the time: "Got one mind for the boss to see, Got another mind for what I know is me." In secret, they would be themselves—keep those selves precariously intact.

Black people have done better in this regard perhaps than women—for they did *jointly* acknowledge their oppression, which was more obvious, and jointly acknowledge that they had other selves than the selves presented to the master. Women have had, for the most part, to try to keep alive their pride in isolation from one another. And they have all too often hidden their anger even from themselves. Black people have done this, too, of course. But women have done it more.

A friend of mine had an eloquent dream about this. She is divorced from the man she lived with for many years. She dreamed that she was living with him again and in the dream he had killed a young girl—by accident—and was asking her to help him conceal the fact; and she was doing so. Before she woke from the dream, she asked herself: Why am I living like this? Why am I helping to conceal this murder? I asked her: "Who do you think the young girl in the dream is?"—making my own guess. And she answered, as I would have, that the young girl was her Self.

A dream that speaks a classic truth. For when we are

oppressed but see no way out of that oppression, we often actually conspire to suppress the truth about the damage being done to us—and our anger about it.

Just because our anger is in great part hidden—from others and even from ourselves—and when it is finally allowed to emerge into the open—this pride—it is shaking, unsure of itself, and so quick to be violent. For now it believes and yet it doesn't quite dare to believe that it can claim its rights at last.

I think of the severely suppressed anger of the Chinese peasants William Hinton writes of in *Fanshen* when, during the revolution, the property they had always been denied began at last to be divided among them; and they were encouraged, after a lifetime of oppression by the landlords, to speak out what they felt to be due to them from those men—speak out their anger. As they began to speak it, it would overwhelm them and they would often beat the landlords to death on the spot—in a passion, a passion, in part, of uncertainty that their new rights were really theirs.

It is, of course, precisely when some real hope is born at last, when a movement for change begins to gain momentum, that anger pushes up—and has to be contended with.

I have experienced this in the context of the women's movement in a way that took me very much by surprise—because I thought my own anger as a woman was quite known to me. I thought I had noted the situation women are born to, disapproved it, and found my own way to face it. I had, for example, long ago made an instinctive decision not to marry. Given the obvious power relationship between the two sexes, I was afraid that my life would never be my own if I lived with a man—as his would be his own. I recall James Bevel at Birmingham talking about the relation of blacks in that movement to whites: "We love our white brothers; but we don't trust them." I didn't dare trust even a man who

loved me to let me be myself—not merely his second self. Was afraid that I wouldn't be able to live in comradeship with a man—as a woman can live with a woman.

And so, as I say, I thought I knew my anger. I didn't think of it as suppressed anger—as it had to be in the cases of women who led married lives. And yet—as the women's movement began to gain some momentum, I found that expressions of the male will to dominate began to rouse in me anger in a new degree—anger rising from my toes with a force that startled me at first. Even when the man would be a very young man and obviously under great pressure to act as he thought a man must—and I would know this and with part of myself forgive him. Part of me couldn't forgive him. It was very painful for me to look at this new anger; and it is only gradually that I am learning to transmute it—into determination. For a while I felt helpless in its grip.

Now one way, of course, that we avoid looking at the anger that most afflicts us, one way we find of affirming our pride *without* facing its anger (which we sense can overwhelm us) is by resisting the oppression of that pride, as it were by analogy.

I remember some years ago being asked why I walked through the South; and I questioned myself and decided that perhaps the deepest explanation was my relation to a black woman who worked for my family for many years, and my growing painful awareness that she led too little of her own life, too much simply of ours. I think my love for her certainly had something to do with my walking through the South, but I think now that the more fundamental explanation is that I was protesting that there is any such classification as second-class citizen—and protesting it in my own name.

I am sure this is true for many of you who are white and who joined the struggle against racism. You didn't do it out

of altruism; you did it because you knew in your souls something of what it is to be a nigger. If you were gay, and known to be, you even knew what it was to receive the hate stare.

And as pacifists it was much easier for you to control the anger that was in you, to transmute it, to be nonviolent, in *this* struggle—where you could deal with that anger by analogy.

Some of us are perhaps tempted to continue to deal with it always by analogy; and I guess one of the main recommendations I would make at this conference is that we all resist that temptation.

I am not suggesting that we abandon any of the struggles that we have been taking part in. I am suggesting that if we will take upon ourselves the further struggle of confronting our own most particular, own personal oppression, we will find ourselves better able to wage those struggles too—because in more conscious solidarity. Confronting our oppression, I mean, in the company of others—for what seems deeply personal is in truth deeply political.

I find myself very much in agreement with Shulamith Firestone when she writes, in *The Dialectic of Sex*, that the sexual class system is the model for all other systems of oppression, and that until we resist *this*, until we eliminate *this*, we will never succeed in truly eliminating any of the others.

For those of us who are women—or gay—it is probably clear enough what anger I mean should be faced. Though it is often hard enough to admit to, even so. But I would very much include, among those who have a personal anger to confront, the men among you. For if women are oppressed by men, and cannot fully be themselves, men in succumbing to all the pressures put upon them from an early age to dominate, lose the chance to be freely themselves, too—to follow all kinds of contrary impulses. And I cannot believe that there is not in men a deep, buried anger about *this*.

I had written this in my notes for this talk, and I opened

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the latest *Win* and there were two articles about just this, written by men. Apparently there are now men's liberation groups springing up. I had been going to suggest that, as WRL has played an important role in counseling men who are unwilling to commit aggression in wars, it might consider playing a comparable role in counseling men who would like to know how to resist committing aggression at home—against women. I do still recommend this.

I could entitle this talk, perhaps: "Are Pacifists Willing to Be Angry?"

I suggest that if we are willing to confront our own most seemingly personal angers, in their raw state, and take upon ourselves the task of translating this raw anger into the disciplined anger of the search for change, we will find ourselves in a position to speak much more persuasively to comrades about the need to root out from all anger the spirit of murder.

## *New Men, New Women: Some Notes on Nonviolence*

*Written at the request of the editors of Win for a special issue of the magazine that was published May 1, 1971, and distributed during the Mayday actions in Washington, D.C. Win retitled the essay "Pacifism."*

What is it that those who advocate nonviolent revolution believe most essentially? They believe, in the first place, what most Americans supposedly believe—solemnly recite in school, from the Declaration of Independence: that all of us are born with certain inalienable rights. (The text reads "all men," but let us assume that this was meant to stand for both men and women. Or was it—even rhetorically? It was, of course, not meant at that time to apply to black people.) Inalienable rights. Rights, that is, not to be taken from us under any circumstances. Among these rights the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness.

It is not hard to find agreement among those who want radical change—whether they advocate violent or nonviolent revolution—that the society we live in now grants us only in rhetoric those rights it calls inalienable. Not hard to find agreement, either, that the new society we want is one that grants them in fact—one in which no living person is treated as simply a thing to be used, or to be disposed of.

Radicals from different traditions speak different lan-

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guages in describing this hoped-for society—those in one tradition referring to a "beloved community" in which we love others as we love ourselves, those in another referring to societies that are communal and in which no person exploits another. But the visions held by the various speakers always finally coincide: in this future we will act out a basic respect, each for all others. There is this coincidence, too: the need is seen for new men, new women to be born (or born again) if we are to bring such a future into being: men, women, who really hold this basic respect for one another, and don't have to be forced to act out the pretense of it.

But how are these new human beings to evolve? How is the new community to be prepared for? Here is the disagreement.

The advocate of nonviolence believes—and finds an irresistible logic in believing—that the only way to bring such a future into full being is to begin right now as best we can—though this will be at first imperfectly, since we are caught still in the habits of the past—begin nevertheless to act out that respect for one another, right now.

Those who believe in the necessity of violent revolution agree to this extent: they agree that we must begin now to act out this respect among our comrades. But they feel that we cannot afford to act it out toward our adversaries. We believe that we cannot afford not to. Here is the heart of the disagreement.

A remark of Che Guevara is often quoted: "Let me say, at the risk of seeming ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love." Even those revolutionaries who speak of the necessity of violence acknowledge again and again that the release of feelings of love for one another (which includes, of course, love, true respect, for ourselves) gives the movement for change its deepest energy. Some even believe in extending that love, whenever possible, to those adversaries who are merely the instruments of others—the

real enemies. The Vietnamese, for example, stress again and again that they make a careful distinction between the American government and the American people—toward whom they feel no enmity. And those of us who have visited North Vietnam learned that this is far from being mere rhetoric on their part. Susan Sontag in *Trip to Hanoi* tells of visiting the grave of a pilot of an F105 brought down by a farmer's rifle—"not a simple grave but an elevated mound decorated with chunks of the plane's engine and a crumpled piece of wing . . . and with flowers, and topped by a wooden marker on which was written the pilot's name and the date of his death"—a grave still being looked after. It was explained to her "that the pilot had been buried, and in a coffin of good wood, so that his family in America could come after the war and take his body home." When I visited North Vietnam myself (with three other Movement women) we were allowed to visit two captured pilots. Before we met them, one of the Vietnamese women who had been acting as guide to us told us carefully that there were certain questions we must not ask these two men. Security regulations of some sort, I guessed. But here is what she went on to say: We must not ask them how they could have dropped the bombs that caused the devastation, the terrible casualties we had been seeing. "You mustn't forget," she told us, "that these men are in prison, and far from their homes, and to ask questions of that sort would be too cruel."

In the speech he made at his court martial in Bolivia, Regis Debray spoke at length about "the respect for human beings" Che Guevara always showed even in the midst of battle. He reported, for example, how Che gave instructions that "whatever the cost, the enemy wounded must be treated, even when they were in a hopeless condition. . . . If necessary, the [medical] supplies on hand should all be used up." And Debray muses upon the tragedy of having to shoot those soldiers in the first place—as they were actually "the first vic-

tims of the exploitation and repression they defended, not realizing, in the majority of cases, what they represented." He says, "Naturally, the tragedy is that we do not kill objects, numbers, abstract or interchangeable instruments, but, precisely, on both sides, irreplaceable individuals, essentially innocent, unique for those who have loved, bred, esteemed them. This is the tragedy of history, of any history, of any revolution. It is not individuals that are placed face to face in these battles, but class interests and ideas; but those who fall in them, those who die, are persons, are men. We cannot avoid this contradiction, escape from this pain."

The faith of those who advocate nonviolence is that we can and must escape from precisely this contradiction—and write new history. If, as Debray says, it is actually interests and ideas and not individuals that are placed face to face in battles, then we should be able to wage those battles not upon the bodies of men but in their minds. Not *against* their bodies, it would be more accurate to say; for it is true that to engage men's minds one has most often to engage their bodies also, drawing them into various actions. But we believe that one does not have to injure or destroy even the people who are usually termed "the real enemy"—those who hold, and abuse, real power; though we do think it very necessary to know who they are. We refuse to call even those people "enemy" in the sense of: those to be destroyed. We go beyond the distinction made by guerrilla fighters—the distinction between the government and the people—and adopt the Christian distinction between the sinner and the sin—seek to destroy not the abusers of power but the sources of that power, which are certainly not their particular bodies. We say with the Vietnamese Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh: "Men are not our enemies; if we kill men, with whom shall we live?" Not taking that question literally: where will we find enough people with whom to live? Taking it to mean: if we kill men, with whom shall we be able to live out a faith

that all men are born with the right not to have life taken from them? If we kill, we kill this very faith within ourselves—and with it our ability to bring into full being the new society. It will always—in its fullness—recede from us.

In the black struggle, the theme-song was for a while: "We shall overcome *some day!*" Then, out of deep-felt need, people began to cry: "Freedom NOW!" Not that they had any naive idea that freedom could be won in a moment. But they had not only to cry out that it was due now—even if granted right now would be murderously late; they had also to cry out that—whatever attitude those in power might continue to hold toward them—they themselves, within their own souls, were assuming right now the status of free men and women. That couldn't wait. Because it takes free men and women to win freedom.

I think suddenly of George Jackson in Soledad prison. In his *Prison Letters*, he makes it terribly clear that he will not be paroled, because he refuses to make the gestures of submission prison officials exact from black people as the price of parole. "No one walks into the board room with his head up. This just isn't done!" His parents urge him to play the "good boy." And there is a certain logic in what they urge. But there is a deeper logic in the way he chooses: "Although I would not like to leave my bones here on the hill—if it is a choice between that and surrendering the things that . . . allow me to hold my head erect . . . then the hill can have my bones." He knows very well that he cannot gain anything worth the name of freedom by acting the slave.

Nor can the brotherhood of man be born by murdering man—this is our faith. The free man must be born before freedom can be won, and the brotherly man must be born before full brotherhood can be won. It will come into being only if we build it out of our very muscle and bone—by trying to act it out. And this cannot be put off.

(Again the word "man" is supposed here to stand for the

## ESSAYS

word "woman," and the word "brotherhood" to include both sexes—though the word "woman" would certainly not be allowed to stand also for the word "man," or "sisterhood" for "brotherhood." I tried to think of a phrase to use instead of this, but couldn't.)<sup>1</sup>

Those who do not have a faith in nonviolence might object: You are ignoring the realities of power. You cannot in any meaningful way act out the brotherhood of all people while power is still in the hands of the exploiters. It is these men who are directing the dramas of daily life at this point, and your first concern must be to take that power out of their hands. By committing yourselves to nonviolence you leave yourselves helpless; by insisting upon loving your enemies, you forget to love, to respect yourselves.

But we do not forget this. The injunction that we should love our neighbors as we love ourselves means to us equally that we should love ourselves as we love our neighbors. We believe, in fact, that the one act of respect has little force unless matched by the other—in balance with it. We do not ignore the realities of power. The acting out of that dual respect I would name as precisely the source of our power, which is distinctive. It gives us, as I have written elsewhere, two hands upon the oppressor—one hand taking from him what is not his due, the other slowly calming him, as we do this.

We act out respect for ourselves by refusing to cooperate with those who oppress or exploit us. And as their power never resides in their single selves, always depends upon the

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this essay I have read the phrase I would now substitute for "the brotherhood of man." Mary Daly has been bold enough to invent it: "the sisterhood of man." She writes in *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*, "What 'sisterhood of man' does is give generic weight to 'sisterhood' which the term has never before been called upon to bear. At the same time it emasculates the pseudo-generic 'man.' The expression, then, raises the problem of a sexually oppressive world and it signals other possibilities."

## New Men, New Women

cooperation of others—by refusing that cooperation (if there are enough of us), refusing our labor, our wits, our money, our blood upon their battlefields, our deference, we take their power from them. The strike, in a great variety of forms—this is all that is needed to depose them (if, again, there are enough of us, enough of us who recognize that this is so). The strike, and what Danilo Dolci has named the reverse strike: carrying out by ourselves the work we think should be done, setting up by ourselves the services we think should exist, doing this in our own way, and doing it of course whether or not we are given "permission." These acts and sometimes the related acts of nonviolent disruption and sabotage (nonviolent because care is taken never to injure any person, or to injure the kind of property that has deep life-meaning for people)—this is all that is needed.

This and the fortitude to endure—in a certain spirit, which I will describe—the retaliation sure to come down upon us for a time. I said earlier that a world of brotherhood could be brought into being only if we built it out of our very muscle and bone. I should have added: and our blood.

Those who believe in the necessity of violence would interject here that we fail, in the end, to act out a respect for ourselves if we fail at this point to resort to violence for self-defense; and that we also lose all control of the situation. We believe that we gain very much more control, and precisely because we do refuse to act out a contradiction—refuse to deny to the people with whom we contend those very rights (to life, liberty, happiness) we claim we are struggling to affirm as the rights due all people, at all times. For it is not possible to affirm our own rights as inalienable simply by acting out: they are *mine*. We can affirm this only by acting out: they are *ours*—yours, and therefore mine; mine, and therefore yours—with a stress upon "yours," so that the minds of our antagonists and of their allies will attend; it being upon the field of their minds that we wage the real struggle.



We act out one truth they are quite ready to accept: the truth that *they* have certain fundamental human rights (try to act this out, let it show in our very bearing toward them, in every encounter that we have)—at the same time that we act out stubbornly our refusal to cooperate when they claim selfish privileges as though *these* were rights. They are accustomed to adversaries who seek to take from them everything. We seem to be taking from them with one hand, giving to them with another. This seeming paradox troubles their minds—throws them into a state of questioning, and therefore hesitation. Here is no actual paradox, of course. We are simply trying to act out—trying, in Gandhi's phrase, to cling to—the truth that not they alone but all people have rights; and the possibility of living together in a way that makes these rights secure, for all. Our struggle with them is to trouble their minds into recognizing just this possibility.

I have to emphasize that this can hardly be a matter of confronting them with words—a matter of argument. They have to be *forced* to look at things in a new way. Our language, that is, must be the language of action. For as Regis Debray implies when he says that it is really interests and ideas that are placed face to face in battle, the ideas that people hold are almost always a result of their interests, and so it is only in the act of disturbing those life interests that one can disturb those ideas. This is what we attempt. Here is the progression: By our noncooperation we make it difficult, or at least uncomfortable, to pursue such interests any longer. As we do this to them, their minds prepare to leap to a familiar conclusion: we must want to destroy *them*, if we want to destroy their privileges. For they are used to thinking in terms of: my life or your life; if you have, I have not. But here we confront them, startle them, with evidence that we do *not* want to destroy them; we hold them in human regard. (And their underlings, and their agents, and present sympathizers—the officials who arrest or harass or assault us, the

officials who try us and who jail us, and all the many people looking on. Each action taken that disturbs—or often, of course, only seems to disturb—the interests of those who observe it, gives us the opportunity to engage the minds of all these people.) So just as their minds prepare to take a familiar leap, our actions make it difficult to take it. We undo their minds. And it is at this point that they become vulnerable to receiving a new idea: the idea of equity in the situation, the idea that it is possible to live with respect for one another, the idea of brotherhood. No, not really a new idea. A very familiar one; supposedly cherished by all of us; perhaps actually cherished, in the depths of our psyches. It is simply that for most of us it has always been unreal and despaired of. To make the idea real—that is our struggle.

To say that at a certain point our adversaries become vulnerable to this idea is, of course, far from saying that they begin to live by it. But the mere fact that it now troubles their minds gives us the control that we need in the situation, gives us the defense we need. People who attack others need rationalizations for doing so. We undermine those rationalizations. It is not simply that we refuse to threaten our opponents with personal injury. If we were passive in our attitude, this would not help us; for the powerful easily rationalize assaults upon the weak—telling themselves simply that these are lesser beings. The point is that we stand up to them with a pride more than singular, a pride that we affirm belongs to all people, belongs to none securely unless it belongs to all, belongs to them, if they will assume it; but if they are willing to injure us, they injure this pride in themselves—for it is pride in humankind.

Of course those who have most to lose in the singular—those who hold power over others—are the last to be restrained by this intuition. But there are many among the less powerful, upon whose allegiance they depend, who will feel increasing conflict about assisting them in our repression.

Our actions provoke more and more thought on their part, and the actions of those in power appear to them not only less and less justified, but also less and less in *their* interest. They begin to withdraw their approval and their cooperation. As a result, the amount of violence that can be mounted against us diminishes. The assaults upon us—instead of escalating, as in conventional battle—gradually de-escalate.

Much too gradually. They will continue long after one would like to think that they would have to end. For there is a lag between the time people begin to feel that they are doing the wrong thing and the time they actually manage to stop doing it. But, as we gain allies and our adversaries lose them, the violence does finally subside. Here is one reason that nonviolent struggle, so often termed impractical, is in fact the most practical mode of struggle. We suffer far fewer casualties.

It does not feel that way. All the casualties are on our side and so, however many or however few we suffer, it feels always like an inordinate number. It can easily feel to us as though we must be losing—for in conventional battle, of course, progress tends to be measured precisely in terms of how much injury we are managing to inflict. For a long while we have no way at all by which to measure our gains. They are taking place invisibly, and we must proceed on faith—carefully putting from us all the usual expectations. As we struggle to introduce into the minds of our adversaries a new human perspective, we have to keep struggling also to open our own minds to it—a perspective in which we never advance through injury to others.

"What we want to do is to go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men," wrote the revolutionary, Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth*—in spite of himself, for he wrote too of the necessity to kill those in this company who oppose us. But in the imaginations even of men like Fanon who see violence as a

necessary agent of change, the vision persists and persists: a way of advancing into more complete humanity that includes by its very nature—includes necessarily—all of us.

This way is surely nonviolent struggle. It is the only way that does not cast anyone out of "the company of all men." And it is the most practical way to take such a new step not only because there will be fewer casualties, but because this mode of struggle contains within it the greatest possibilities for turning minds around, for changing all who are involved in it in ways that prepare us for the new society; or, more precisely, ways that prepare that new society *in* us. In *all* of us. Even those with whom we struggle and whose power to oppress we take away. They too—though in altered status—will be part of what is new. As Ericka Huggins writes from jail, urging her supporters to try to educate a wider and wider circle of people, "all of us is the America that will be." She perhaps does not mean to include in this "all of us" those who are presently exploiters, but of course they too will be America, unless we are willing to murder them all.

# FEMINISM

By Donna Warnock

**T**he power of Patriarchy is such that to see it requires a special kind of vision, a consciousness of the most "ordinary" experience. To understand it requires "thinking across boundaries," as Mary Daly says. To overcome it demands the reinvention of revolution. This consciousness, this vision, this experience, this understanding, this revolutionary politic is feminism.

From the feminist viewpoint, violence and misogyny (woman hating) are interrelated components of Patriarchy, indeed, together they form the root of its power. The mentality that builds nuclear weapons is the same one that rapes women and destroys the natural environment. For those who still think this is merely metaphor, I offer this albeit brief sketch of Patriarchy.

The terms "Patriarchy" and "patrilineage" are commonly confused and used interchangeably, though they have different meanings. Patrilineage is the policy of tracing descent through the fathers. Patriarchy refers to an entire network of social institutions which benefit men, among which stands patrilineage. Patriarchy is a society which worships the masculine identity,<sup>1</sup> granting power and privilege to those who reflect and respect the socially-determined masculine sex role.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hence, the male-identified "feminist" whose only understanding of power emanates from the male stereotype.

<sup>2</sup> While it is possible for men to reject Patriarchal philosophy, to challenge Patriarchal behavior, and to refuse male privileges, so few actually do that it is easy for feminists to talk as though referring to all men, the implication being that something is biologically wrong with the male sex. This can create such defensiveness that the point is missed. All too often this point of process is used to dismiss the substantive

There is no phrase more accurate in describing Patriarchy than the cliché, "It's a man's world." The word "Patriarchy" is derived from the Latin "pater," meaning, "to own." That's it in a nutshell. Under Patriarchy, men are entitled to everything. It follows that Patriarchy is inherently violent because it thrives on captured prey.

No matter what his social position, a man can be "king" in his home. It is enlightening to learn that the word "family" is derived from "famel," meaning "slave." If he's got a family, every man can own one or more slaves. Until not too long ago fathers could legally sell or even kill their offspring.

To this day, women are viewed in marriage as their husbands' property, with few rights of their own. Love and affection are *not* requirements of marriage. Rape in marriage, however, is essentially legal, since sex is a requirement. Freedom of domicile is denied married women in all but a few states, and the courts have held that husbands are legally entitled to domestic services without pay. Consequently, the United Nations has declared marriage a "slavery-like

point being raised and launch an attack on feminists. At these junctures I believe the defensiveness should be analyzed, rather than delving into the nearly inevitable diatribes about how many exceptions there are among "progressive" men. Just as it is difficult for whites to reject all the privileges associated with race, it is difficult for men to change their behavior patterns and ways of thinking (all too often the former is done without the latter—it's something important to look at). For these and other reasons there is great debate in the women's movement about whether any man can be called "feminist." I am among those who reject the use of the term for men, while applauding those who are changing their ways and working for gender justice.

practice." Whereas some feminists would reform marriage, radicals want it abolished. Marriage is the basis for patrilineage, it consolidates the inheritance rights of the fathers and provides the backbone for the nuclear family, both of which demand that paternity be established. Because this is most easily done when women are restricted to one male partner each, transgressions risk severe punishment. In some cultures even the wife who was raped would be forced to pay—sometimes with her life.

Patriarchy benefits from the nuclear family in a number of ways. It divides society into small, easily-controlled and relatively powerless units which provide a ready vehicle for the perpetuation of hierarchy and domination.

Under Patriarchy every woman's identity is linked to that of a man through the institutions of monogamy, marriage and heterosexuality. Until recently, a woman's title necessarily indicated her marital status. If unwed, a woman is ridiculed as an "old maid," "spinster," or worst of all, "lesbian." And pity the poor widow! Again language is our teacher: the word widow is from the Sanskrit; it means "empty." Similarly, if a woman bears no children, she is considered "barren." Families are what give meaning to a woman's life, according to Patriarchal dictate.

## The Philosophy of Male Domination

The word "man" is derived from the Indo-European base "to think," and is akin to the Latin, "mens," meaning "mind." "Woman," on the other hand, means "womb of man;" and "female," "the one who suckles." Make no mistake that the incorporation of the male in these words was ever meant to imply that women could have wombs, suckle and think. No, according to Patriarchy, intellect is the domain of men, and men alone; women are mothers, mere matter, as the Latin root "mater" indicates.

As the self-proclaimed "thinker," the underpinning of man's philosophy and science has been the absolute separation of mind (spirit) and matter (body). The former has been identified as male, and deemed superior; the latter called female,

<sup>3</sup> In India, the rite of suttee, of widow burning, was openly practiced until banned in 1823. Still the practice continues as "suicide." For further reading, see Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*.

and inferior. On the one side is posited rationality, objectivity, aggression, order, dominance; on the other is intuition (irrationality), emotionalism, passivity, chaos, submission. This artificially-determined male/female polarity exists throughout the Patriarchal value system, and is the paradigm for domination in society.

With such values, man has come to deify "rational" thought: each component of a problem to be solved is analyzed independently, mechanistically, isolated from its environment. Environmental and human consequences are overlooked. Emotion is absent. Feminists Nina Swaim and Susan Koedt explain:

*"When the intellect and the dominating, controlling, aggressive tendencies within each individual are defined as the most valuable parts of their being, and those same attributes are emphasized in the political and economic arena, the result is a society characterized by violence, exploitation, a reverence for the scientific as absolute, and a systematic 'rape' of nature for man's enjoyment. This result is patriarchy.*

*"When the patriarchal paradigm becomes operational on the economic and political level, and the exploitation of nature for the sake of technological advancement and profit becomes the modus operandi of society, we find ourselves in the interlocking horror story of the nuclear mentality. This mentality is a belief system, an ideology, that would foster the use of destructive technology in order to sustain the expansion and domination which characterizes capitalist patriarchy."*

Mechanistic thinking was originally a way for men to conquer the mysteries of nature. But to conquer nature, they had to conquer women, for pre-Patriarchal cultures believed that, because women alone brought forth life, we held the secrets of nature and, therefore, the keys to wisdom. Such notions impeded the progress of the developing Patriarchy, whose religion imposed the Divine Doctrine that *man* had dominion over creation. There was tremendous opposition to this idea; it was seen as unnatural. So, between the 14th and 17th centuries, the Church attacked women with brute force: estimates are that somewhere between one and 9 million women were burned as witches during the Inquisition.<sup>4</sup> Two villages were left with only

<sup>4</sup> Nina Swaim and Susan Koedt, *Handbook for Women on the Nuclear Mentality*.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the 25 million people who died from the bubonic plague could be added to the tally of victims of the Inquisition as well. Cats, associated with witches, were killed by the Inquisitors, causing the

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one woman in each. Witchburning has a contemporary parallel in the sterilization of Native American women in this country. The National Center for Health Statistics reports that some 25% of all Native American women have been sterilized—many of them involuntarily. There is one tribe in Oklahoma in which all of the full-blooded women have been sterilized. The implications of sterilizing Native American women should be seen in full: it is anti-woman. It is racism and genocide. It represents an attempt, like the witchhunts, to kill a culture which challenges the anti-nature bias of Christian theology.

Women's Place Under Patriarchy

Witchburning was predicated upon the charge of female immorality. "All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable," wrote Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger in the Malleus Maleficarum, the Catholic Church's official guidebook on witches. Later, however, Patriarchy came to adopt another idea of female nature, that is the romanticized view of women as the bastions of virtue. (Both notions of women remained in existence, however, enabling men to carry on with their double standard on sexuality.) Romanticism rewarded women for Patriarchally-approved behavior. While seemingly putting women on a pedestal, romanticism actually put women in their Patriarchal place. It eased the task of the Patriarchs in perpetuating the nuclear family.

The designated role of women under Patriarchy has additional economic benefits to those in power. "The servant role of women is critical for the expansion of consumption in the modern economy," explains economist John Kenneth Galbraith. The housewife market, with its endless array of energy-intensive appliances and "labor-saving" devices is Big Business. Seventy-five percent of corporate advertising is aimed at women. (But despite so-called "labor-saving" devices, the woman at home with one child spends, on the average, more than eighty hours a week on household chores, according to the U.S. Women's Bureau.)

Through exploiting women as workers as well as in our consumer role, corporations secure even greater profits. We

rodent population (carriers of the plague) to soar.

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The objectification of women has become the main theme of popular culture.

women are the "surplus" labor force, the expendable ones. Fully-employed women make only sixty percent of our male counterparts, and minority women's income is only fifty percent that of white men. The fifteen million women who head families do it with less than half the income of male household heads. It is no wonder, then, that women comprise two-thirds of the 25 million people living below poverty. Households headed by women increased fifty percent in the 1970s, and almost one-third of them are below poverty level (compared to 12% of the population as a whole). Fifty-one percent of the Black female-headed households are below the poverty level. Mothers' economic problems are compounded by lack of childcare facilities and fathers who refuse to bear their share of responsibilities.

Though our economic status would indicate that women have little, if any, money to spare, women are an important market. Advertising, aimed at destroying women's self-image, has deceived many into thinking that "The Good Life" is a product of American industry. Women have been robbed of individuality and told that we are defined by our possessions. We are scripted as sex objects. The psychological damage—all too often leading to alcoholism, drug addiction, mental problems and suicide—has been severe.

This objectification of women has become the main theme of popular culture. Magazines, television, movies and music all perpetuate it. It is, of course, most blatant in contemporary pornography.

The War Against Women

"Pornography," writes Adrienne Rich, "is relentless in its message, which is the message of the master to the slave: This is what you are; this is what I can do to you."

Violence against women has proliferated in pornography. Magazines as common as Playboy, Penthouse, Oui and Hustler feature pain-filled scenes; women handcuffed, gagged, whipped, beaten, hanging from chains, sucking guns, fin-

\* One and a half million children under 16 are also used annually in commercial sex, including prostitution and pornography, according to the Los Angeles Times. Feminists attribute the increase in child pornography to men's desire for dominance over the young as a replacement for the growing resistance of assertive women.

gernails pierced. Porn shops sell the really hard core and specialty publications like Bondage, in which women have torches or knives held to their breasts or vaginas, and worse. Theaters across the country attract eager crowds with the film "Snuff," which shows the actual murder and butchering of one of its actresses. (In the final scene the Director reaches into the victim's abdomen and waves her insides high above his head in orgasmic delight.) "Snuff forced us to stop turning the other way each time we passed an X-rated movie house, wrote Beverly LaBelle, who saw the film and reported on it in Take Back the Night, a powerful anthology of women's writings on pornography.

"Pornography is the theory," says Robin Morgan, "Rape is the practice." Rapists are for the most part (as numerous studies confirm) normal men. And more and more normal men are becoming rapists. Rape is the most frequently committed and fastest growing violent crime in America. Increasingly it leads to other crimes of violence against women, as virility and violence become more closely linked in the pornographic masculine model.

Every three minutes a woman is beaten by her male partner—a man who often claims to love her. Every five minutes a woman is raped, and they call that "making love" too. And every ten minutes a little girl is molested, sometimes by a relative, perhaps her own father. The violence mounts. "Every few seconds in America a woman is slapped, slugged, punched, chopped, slashed, choked, kicked, raped, sodomized, mutilated, or murdered. She loses an eye, a kidney, a baby, a life. That's a fact," writes Ann Jones in Take Back the Night, "And if the statistics are anywhere near right, at least one of every four women reading this paragraph will feel that fact through firsthand experience."

That these tragedies are so overlooked and unappreciated as the horrible acts of war they are is testimony to how much damage has already been done in the hearts and minds of the people. "(T)hey think of us today what the Inquisitors thought of us yesterday," writes Andrea Dworkin. ("Carnal lust... is in women insatiable," declared the witchhunters.) We "asked for it." We "wanted it." We "loved it." They try to drum it into our brains: The victim is to blame. The fear of rape keeps us prisoners in our own homes. And still we are not safe: over half of all rapes occur in break-and-entry situations. Susan Griffen writes, "(T)he world, even a girl's neighbor-

hood, becomes a mined field."

Military Virility

While Snuff films "entertain" male viewers, the military offers hands-on experience. Veteran Richard Hale reports that on the way to Vietnam troops were told, "There's a lot of loose ass over there men, and they just love GI dick. And best of all, they are only Gooks, so if you get tired of them, you can cram a grenade up their cunt and 'waste' them." Many soldiers seized the opportunity; stories of wartime atrocities against women abound. "This is my rifle, this is my gun," the troops chant, "One is for killing, the other's for fun." Four-hundred thousand Bengali women were systematically raped by Pakistani soldiers; How many women have our boys raped? Women are, after all, the bounty in every war.

Mysogyny and homophobia are basic components in military indoctrination. "When you want to create a solitary group of male killers," goes the Marine philosophy, "you kill the woman in them."

In a society where each man is trained to equate violence with virility it follows that public policy, dominated as it is by males, will also adopt such a posture. The objectification of women has been so successful that upon the suggestion that a foreign military target is somehow effeminate patriotic bellicosity is aroused. And it's no surprise that pacifists, even the most sexist ones, are viewed as effeminate in the militarists' perspective; pacifists cherish life, a biologically "feminine" trait as defined by Patriarchy.

And so we see that, as Barbara Burris and others pointed out in The Fourth World Manifesto, "(W)ar is simply an extension of the colonial policy of the subjection of the female culture and 'weaker' male cultures, i.e., 'weaker' national cultures." Witness the blatant sexual connotation of the popular jingo slogan, "Fuck Iran!" Such machismo exists in the highest echelons of government. In Henry Kissinger's 1975 appeal to Congress for military and financial "aid" for Angola, he described the U.S. as "emasculating itself" by not sending "help."

After President Johnson ordered North Vietnam PT boat bases and oil depots bombed he bragged to a reporter, "I didn't just screw Ho Chi Minh. I cut his pecker off."

The logical extension of this eroticized violence is articulated on a plaque which

"Pornography is the theory; rape is the practice."

—Robin Morgan

The fear of rape keeps us prisoners in our own homes.

Mysogyny and homophobia are basic components in military indoctrination.

The feminist movement has become the most potent force for nonviolent revolution in practice.

hangs on the wall of the Syracuse Research Corporation, a private think tank with large military contracts. Illustrated by a missile in flight, the inscription reads:

I LOVE YOU BECAUSE

- Your sensors glow in the dark
- Your sidelobes swing in the breeze
- Your hair looks like clutter
- Your multipath quivers
- Your reaction time is superb
- Your missile has thrust;
- It accurately hones in on its target
- The fuse ignites, the warhead goes;

SWEET OBLIVION!

If a missile launching can be sexually fantasized by leading militarists as "sweet oblivion," it follows that total annihilation would be the ultimate orgasm. And they'd claim they did it for our welfare. Patriarchy has turned our worst nightmare into a frightening possibility.

When a destructive trait is seen as normal and cultivated as strongly as is the socialized violence of masculinity, the illness it produces tends to be treated by increasing the dosage. This is exemplified in the military macho of the nuclear arms race. Though the United States can destroy the USSR fifty times over, and that country can only destroy us twenty times over, and, in any case, no country can be destroyed more than once, the U.S. continues competition for competition's sake. It is preoccupied with size and power. We need to be more potent in order to feel more secure, the argument goes. We want to stay on top don't we? But the ultimate effect of this macho behavior is increased vulnerability, so the vicious cycle is perpetuated. *It's a man's world.*

Feminism and Nonviolence

While the feminist movement has not overtly defined itself as nonviolent, by opposing oppressive institutions of domination, by employing nonviolent tactics, by pioneering in non-hierarchical structures, by formulating principles and identifying visions of harmony and liberation, I believe it has become the most potent force for non-violent revolution in practice.

The principles of feminism and non-violence, when each is translated into the other's language, turn out to be remarkably similar. Both uphold the rights of all individuals in society to dignity,

justice and freedom. Both contest the notion that the end justifies the means. Both are wary of competition, which is seen as a form of aggression and precursor to domination and violence. Both see that power in its healthy form comes from the strength and sensitivity of wholistic understanding and that the nurturance that stems from this understanding is necessary for harmonious existence. Both oppose power which is exploitative, manipulative or competitive. Both understand that the revolution is not a before and after affair in which one group of men exchanges weapons and privileges with another, but instead measure revolutionary progress in terms of collective consciousness practiced in present tense. This consciousness attempts to rejoin the polarities which define aggression as good and submission as bad; which foster dominance and stifle nurturance, which glorify mechanism and suppress sensitivity.

Feminism and nonviolence place ecological laws in social perspective: They agree that everything is connected, every act has repercussions. The political-economic apparatus, the social structure, the eco-system, the production system, the military-industrial complex, the moral and psychological health of a people are all part of a continuum. Exploitation at any point along the way affects it all. Feminism and nonviolent politics integrate another ecological understanding; that social strength depends on social diversity which encourages individuality and validates the power, experience, sensitivity and expression of each individual identity on the principle that the natural identity is nonviolent and cooperative.

Feminists oppose the objectification of women because it insults integrity. This is augmented by the pacifist understanding that objectification is the first step on the path of violence. By objectifying an enemy, by robbing an individual of her or his humanity, the aggressor makes violence more acceptable.

It has been put forth that feminism and pacifism are similar because both adhere to maternal principles. But I am wary of such a statement because it echoes the sexist belief that nurturance is a female characteristic. It doesn't challenge the destructive results of that stereotype, but instead tends to glorify it along with the Victorian notion of feminine virtue which denies its own victimization. (Hence the notions of pacifists' passivity and moralism.) But I agree in essence that we must, women

The principles of feminism and non-violence turn out to be remarkably similar.

Both contest the notion that the end justifies the means.

Feminism and nonviolence both agree that everything is connected.



WRL "Feminism & Militarism" Conference, April 12, 1981, Dingman's Ferry, PA. Photo by Kate Donnelly.

and men, uphold nurturing principles. I like Barbara Deming's integrated feminist/pacifist insight that "In each one of us the mother lives, for each one of us has been at one with the mother." She points out that when this is realized it makes us "conscious more easily of the fact that the universe is one, that we are members one of another, that nobody, nothing is strictly other," evoking "a consciousness that can inspire exploration of every kind."

Ed Hedemann writes elsewhere in this book, "The theory of nonviolence is based on the understanding that all power depends completely on the obedience, consent, and/or cooperation of the governed." On some level feminists have always understood this. It is reflected in our analysis of the psychology of oppression and realization that the personal is political. In order to live so intimately with our oppressors, a network of elaborate psychological conditions have been established between men and women. (Women are not any less oppressed by men, nor are we to be blamed for having participated in these arrangements. We did what we had to, the best we could, in order to survive when our very lives were being denied us.) When we realized that what we once thought were personal tragedies and impossible dilemmas actually characterize the condition of women throughout Patriarchy, we demanded that this oppression, so deep as to be rendered invisible, be recognized and fought. We coined the slogan, "The personal is political." When we discovered that, contrary to radical rhetoric, we were able to help women in crisis before the revolution, with the odds so set against

us, we learned the meaning of Kathy Amatniek's declaration "Sisterhood is powerful!" As we worked one by one, nurturing, caring, respectful, we committed ourselves collectively to working together to overthrow our common oppression.

Confronting Sexism

If the peace movement is truly committed to social justice it must join the movement for women's liberation.

If the peace movement is to be consistent in its opposition to violence it must address violence against women.

If the peace movement is to be successful in putting an end to war it must work to eliminate the sex-role system which is killing us all by rewarding dominating aggressive behavior in men.

If the peace movement is to make nonviolent revolution it must commit itself to overthrowing the Patriarchy.

To the extent that the men in our lives refused to acknowledge their part in our victimization or to relinquish the benefits they derived from it, they confirmed their privileged status and alienated themselves from the emerging feminists. I realize I should be writing these comments in two tenses, for this phase has really never ended. As new groups organize, the same old battles arise. Even in the new non-hierarchical structures, old attitudes re-emerge. Everywhere feminists are learning that macho, patronization and paternalism can be disguised through conduct less blatant but still oppressive. We must move to new levels of consciousness and

If the peace movement is to make nonviolent revolution it must commit itself to overthrowing the Patriarchy.

"In each one of us the mother lives, for each one of us has been at one with the mother."

—Barbara Deming



Feminism is as crucial to pacifism as disarmament.

To call oneself a feminist/pacifist is not to use either as an adverb, but to integrate both.

organizational development to overcome the psychology of oppression in the age of behavior modification. The experience of superficial feminism demands philosophical activity. That is beginning to happen.

The peace and feminist movements are beginning to get together. I attribute it not to changes in men's behavior (though it has improved somewhat), but rather to the developments in feminist consciousness, especially among women in the peace movement.

Finally, to be a feminist pacifist no longer has to mean compromising one concern for another. It no longer has to mean going to two sets of demonstrations. It is no longer limited to attempting affirmative action in male-dominated groups. It no longer means that tenuous coalitions are the best we can hope for. To call oneself a feminist/pacifist is not to use either as an adverb, but to integrate both. We are saying that feminism is as crucial to pacifism as is disarmament, for we must dismantle the mental weaponry as well as the military. We are no longer talking about two different causes. We are talking about a philosophy unto its own: Feminist/Pacifism. We are experiencing a leap in consciousness, and we are recognizing that it is revolutionary.

Other Feminist Works

- Gyn/Ecology: Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, Mary Daly, Beacon, \$6.95, 1978.
- Rape: The Power of Consciousness*, Susan Griffin, Harper & Row, \$3.95, 1979.
- Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*, ed. Laura Lederer, Morrow Press, \$7.95, 1980.
- Radical Feminism*, ed. Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, Anita Rapone, Quadrangle, \$4.95, 1973. Especially "The Fourth World Manifesto."
- Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Institution*, Adrienne Rich, Bantam, \$2.95, 1976.

Resources

For speakers, literature, and other resources, contact the WRL/West program on Feminism and Nonviolence, 85 Carl Street, San Francisco, CA 94117.

Feminism & Nonviolence

- Readings on Feminism and Nonviolence*, WRL/West, \$4.
- Ain't No Where To Run: A Handbook for Women on the Nuclear Mentality*, Susan Koedt and Nina Swain, \$3.50, 1980.\*
- Redefining Nonviolence*, Andrea Dworkin, Frog in the Well, 75¢.\*
- Marx & Gandhi Were Liberals: Feminism and the New Left*, Andrea Dworkin, Frog in the Well, 75¢.\*
- Why So-Called Radical Men Love and Need Pornography*, Andrea Dworkin, Frog in the Well, 75¢.\*
- Three Guineas*, Virginia Woolf, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, \$2.25, 1966.

\* Available from WRL/West.

Der „Internationale Antimilitaristische Kongreß“ im Haag von Ostern 1921, wie die ihm vorausgegangene „Internationale Konferenz der absolutistischen Dienstverweigerer“ in Bilthoven, haben zum ersten Male versucht, eine umfassende internationale Front aller konsequenten Gegner des Krieges aufzubauen und dichter zusammenzuschließen. Tage innerer Gemeinschaft die allen Teilnehmern unvergeßlich bleiben werden.

Die englische Kriegsdienstverweigerer-Organisation hat sich nach dem Kriege umgewandelt in eine Bewegung „Nie mehr Krieg“, die folgende Erklärung zur Grundlage genommen hat:

„In dem Glauben, daß jeder Krieg unrecht ist und daß die Bewaffnung der Nationen sowohl zu Wasser, zu Lande als in der Luft, ein Verrat an der geistigen Einheit und Verständigung des Menschengeschlechts ist, erkläre ich es als meine Absicht, niemals an einem Kriege teilzunehmen, sei es ein Angriffs- oder Verteidigungskrieg, ein internationaler oder ein Bürgerkrieg, weder durch Waffendienst, noch durch Anfertigung oder Verkauf von Munition, noch durch freiwillige Zeichnung von Kriegsanleihe oder indem ich durch meine Arbeit andere für den Kriegsdienst freimache.“ —

„Außerdem erkläre ich es als meine Absicht, für die Beseitigung aller Kriegsursachen zu arbeiten und eine neue soziale Ordnung anzustreben, die auf gemeinsamer Arbeit zum allgemeinen Wohl beruht.“

Der letzte Zusatz war die Frucht der Bilthovener Tage, an denen Wilfred Wellock, einer der tapfersten Vorkämpfer der englischen Kriegsdienstverweigerer, als Vertreter der englischen Bewegung teilgenommen hatte.

Die Gründungskonferenz in Bilthoven, die vom 22. bis 26. März 1921 stattfand und die internationale Erklärung abfaßte:

**„Der Krieg ist ein Verbrechen gegen die Menschheit!**

**Wir sind daher entschlossen, keine Art von Krieg zu unterstützen und für die Beseitigung aller seiner Ursachen zu wirken!“**

erläuterte sie in folgender Weise:

**„Krieg ist ein Verbrechen gegen die Menschheit!**

Denn er ist ein Verbrechen gegen das Leben und mißbraucht den Menschen als Mittel für politische und wirtschaftliche Zwecke.“

**„Wir sind daher entschlossen,**

getrieben von starker Liebe zur Menschheit,

**Keine Art von Krieg,**

weder Angriffskrieg noch Verteidigungskrieg, zu unterstützen. Dies ist wichtig, weil fast jeder Krieg von den Regierungen als Verteidigungskrieg hingestellt und im Bewußtsein der Völker als Verteidigungskrieg geführt wird. Wir unterscheiden drei Arten von Krieg:

a) Krieg zur Verteidigung des Staates, zu dem wir durch Geburt oder Wahl gehören. Den Waffendienst für diesen Zweck zu verweigern, ist schwierig, weil der Staat alle seine Machtmittel gebrauchen wird, uns zu zwingen. Ferner, weil man die angeborene Liebe zu unserer Heimat so lange zu der nationalistischen Täuschung mißbraucht hat, als sei Staat und Heimat dasselbe.

b) Krieg zur Verteidigung der bestehenden Gesellschaftsordnung mit ihren Sicherungen und Vorrechten für die Besitzenden. Daß wir keine Waffen für diesen Zweck ergreifen werden, versteht sich von selbst.

c) Krieg zur Verteidigung und Befreiung des bedrückten Proletariats. Die Weigerung, für diesen Zweck die Waffen zu ergreifen, ist sehr schwer.

1. Weil der bolschewistische Staat und noch mehr das empörte Proletariat in Zeiten der Revolution in jedem einen Verräter sehen wird, der sich weigert, es mit Waffengewalt zu unterstützen.

2. Weil unsere angeborene Liebe für die Leidenden uns in Versuchung führen könnte, Gewalt zu gebrauchen, um ihnen zu helfen oder sie zu unterstützen.

Wir sind indessen überzeugt, daß Gewalt niemals die Ordnung aufrecht erhalten, nicht wirklich unsere Heimat schützen, das Proletariat nicht wahrhaft befreien kann.

Die Erfahrung hat gezeigt, daß durch jeden Krieg eine erschreckende Verwilderung und Verrohung, die Vernichtung aller Freiheit eintritt und daß das Proletariat nur scheinbar dadurch gewinnt, in Wahrheit aber seine Leiden ver-



Es ist uns daher unmöglich, irgend einen Krieg

#### Zu unterstützen,

weder durch direkten Dienst im Heere, in der Flotte, in der Luft, noch durch bewußte Herstellung von Munition und Kriegsmaterial, noch durch Leistung irgend eines von der Regierung geforderten Dienstes als Ersatz für Waffendienst, noch durch Zeichnung von Kriegsanleihen, noch durch Hergabe unserer Arbeit, um andere für den Kriegsdienst freizumachen.

Wir sind uns klar, daß wir als konsequente Pazifisten nicht das Recht haben, eine bloß negative Stellung einzunehmen, sondern bemüht sein müssen, die tieferen Ursachen des Krieges zu erkennen,

#### Und für die Beseitigung aller seiner Ursachen zu kämpfen.

Als Ursachen des Krieges sehen wir nicht nur Selbstsucht und Habsucht an, die sich in jedem Menschenherzen finden, sondern auch alle Faktoren, welche die Menschen als Massen zu gegenseitigem Haß und Massenmord führen.

Wir sehen in den folgenden Antrieben die für unsere Zeit wichtigsten:

1. Die Unterschiede der Rassen, die zu Neid und Haß künstlich gesteigert werden.
2. Die Unterschiede der Glaubensbekenntnisse, die durch Unduldsamkeit zu gegenseitiger Mißachtung künstlich aufgestachelt werden.

3. Die Gegensätze der Klassen, der Besitzenden und der Nichtbesitzenden, die fast unvermeidlich hintreiben zu Völker- und Bürgerkrieg, so lange das gegenwärtige Produktionssystem besteht, das auf Profitwirtschaft anstatt auf Bedarfswirtschaft beruht.

4. Die Gegensätze der Nationen, in denen wir zum großen Teil eine Folge des jetzigen Produktionssystems sehen, das zum Weltkrieg und zu wirtschaftlichem Chaos geführt hat.

Wir sind überzeugt, daß diese Gegensätze durch eine den Bedürfnissen der einzelnen Nationen angepaßte Regelung der Weltwirtschaft ausgeglichen werden können.

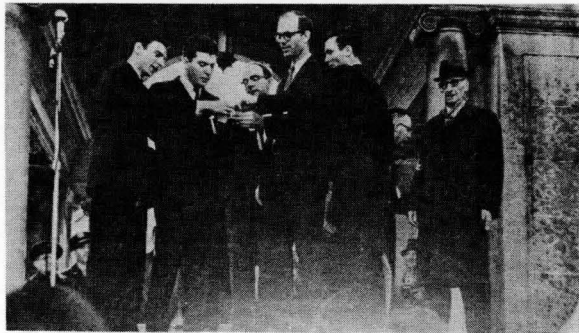
5. Endlich sehen wir auch eine wesentliche Ursache des Krieges in der falschen Auffassung über das Wesen des Staates. Der Staat ist um des Menschen Willen da, nicht der Mensch um des Staates willen.

Die Anerkennung der Heiligkeit des menschlichen Lebens, der menschlichen Persönlichkeit muß das Grundgesetz der menschlichen Gesellschaft werden.

Andererseits darf auch der einzelne Staat nicht mehr als souveränes Einzelwesen betrachtet werden; denn jede Nation ist ein Teil der großen Familie der Menschheit.

Wir müssen daher mit aller Kraft für die Beseitigung von Klassen und trennenden Grenzen wirken und für die Schaffung einer weltumfassenden Brüderlichkeit, begründet auf

**Gegenseitige Hilfe."**



Wehrpaßverbrennung am Union Square, New York City, am 6. November 1965 (Tom Cornell, Marc Paul Edelman, Roy Lisker, Dave McReynolds, Jim Wilson - an der rechten Seite: Abraham Johannes Muste)



## An Editorial Statement Our Roots of Action

The *Nonviolent Activist* does not begin life without a history, nor does it advocate action without clear purpose. As members of the nonviolent movement, we are part of a long history of democratic radical thought which owes something to the traditions of western liberalism with its emphasis on personal freedom and tolerance. We also draw upon the work of Karl Marx with his insights into the relationship between economic structures and larger social structures, and his recognition of the inherent conflicts in a society where the prosperity of the few is achieved by domination over the many. Finally, our radical perspectives are influenced by the thinking of classical anarchists with their conviction that the machinery of the State overwhelms liberty and represses the spontaneous ability of people to govern themselves.

There are conflicts and contradictions in these ideological roots. It is impossible for a movement actively confronting the issues of its time to progress without such contradictions and paradoxes. *The Nonviolent Activist* will surely be a forum for opinions that are sometimes inconsistent and even contradictory. However, to a large extent, our divergent thoughts are the fruits of common radical roots.

Besides these common roots, there are other foundations upon which our thoughts are constructed. One of these is ancient and two are relatively new. One of the new and vital concepts which has formed a solid basis for our thinking is a decisive awareness of the structure and consequences of patriarchy. Included in this new consciousness is a determination to eliminate the artificial separations, divisions, and inequalities which are inherent in a patriarchal society. This fundamental recognition must be incorporated in our thinking about all aspects of society, not only in the immediate analysis of sexual relations.

The second recent development is linked to the feminist movement. It is an awareness that the human race is not simply "one" in a philosophical sense, but in the concrete sense that we all breathe the same air, drink the same water, and live on the same land. It is the recognition that the abuse of technology by one nation threatens all nations; that poisoned air and poisoned water recognize no State boundaries; that an environment destroyed is irreparable.

The ancient concept which serves as a foundation for us is the utopian vision of a peaceful and just world. While depicted differently in other cultures, the Judeo-Christian vision of this utopia is of a world where the lion shall lie with the lamb and where justice will roll down from the mountains as sweet water. It is important for radicals to remember this vision of the future as a beloved community where love redeems us from the law, and a sense of community replaces the confines of the State.

Both the Marxist and anarchist movements held a vision of a future which was better than the past. Their utopia represented that "which had never been, but which humanity could create." It also served as a yardstick with which to measure the present. The newer movements of feminism and environmentalism are deliberately less precise in their visions. They work with concepts demanding an emphasis on a collective participatory process, rather than reliance on "orthodox texts" and centralized leadership. This sensitivity to the means used to achieve an end has been central to the nonviolent movement from its inception.

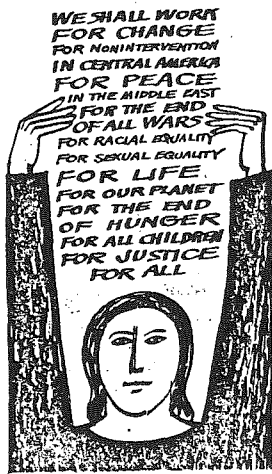
Whether in India with Mohandas Gandhi or in this country with Martin Luther King Jr. or Dorothy Day, the link between means and ends has served as the thread connecting all nonviolence thinking. For the pacifist, that which will be grown directly out of that which is. History is a record of actions not of intentions. It is not an accident that the Soviet experiment of 1917 ended in the slave camps and mass executions of the Stalin period. The monolithic structures set up by Lenin and Trotsky and the violence with which they imposed the Bolshevik experiment helped set the scene for this tragedy. (Of course, violent efforts by the West to strangle the Bolshevik experiment contributed to the tragic direction the Revolution took.) The impasse for Zionism in Israel is the effort to violently impose a Jewish State on an area both Moslem and Jewish by history. Even when violence seems to have facilitated progress, as observers of China reported in the 1960's and early 1970's, successors to Mao attested to the

monumental human suffering that had resulted from the Maoist period.

If a verdict on other nations is clear, so too is our judgment of our own country. Our violent "national liberation" movement liberated white male property owners while insuring the subjugation of women, minorities and the poor. Our bloody Civil War did not liberate the slaves; anything approaching an emancipation had to wait until the 1950's and '60's when a mass nonviolent movement led by Blacks achieved an end to segregation, if not to racism. Following the rise of the United States to a truly imperial power, the good intentions of its leaders did not protect the world from its violent foreign policy. Instead, millions died in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America as a result of perceived American self-interest.

Nothing is more dangerous than a powerful fool, for this fool has the means to destroy but lacks the wisdom to know limits. So it is with us as a nation. The United States has all too often brought destruction to others through our inability to limit ourselves.

Our concern is to be aware of our own limits. Those of us working on this magazine have barely enough wisdom to run our own lives. Often not enough. We cannot possibly profess to know what is the "correct" line of action for people living in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, in Poland, in South Africa, in Afghanistan, or in other situations.



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To know our own limits is also to begin to understand how little we know. Our natural sympathies are with Solidarity in Poland, yet we find on examination that some Solidarity supporters within Poland are quite enthusiastic about Western missile deployment. We would like to believe the good things the Soviet Peace Committee tells us, yet we find that they are silent regarding the KGB harassment of those Soviet citizens seeking to work for peace in unofficial ways. We want to fully

support the Sandinistas in their revolutionary efforts, yet they have instituted conscription laws which we cannot condone. We want to believe in the integrity of every guerrilla fighting in El Salvador, yet we know that there are betrayals and tragedies there as well.

We are imperfect in a world that is imperfect. We cannot claim to know truth. Yet, this lack of absolute knowledge must not prevent us from acting on our beliefs. We use nonviolence both because of our commitment to action and because of our recognition of our limits. If we use violence, we are likely to hurt others. If we do not act, we implicitly condone existing oppression and risk our own destruction. We recognize that if history

is to continue, a new beginning must be made. We must stop justifying the lie of violence in the name of a greater truth. We must stop giving a blessing to killing sisters and brothers by calling it revolutionary necessity. Yet even while saying this, we know we are on the side of the oppressed who use violence to overthrow their subjugators, rather than the oppressors who use violence to subjugate

others. In the struggle for justice, for freedom, for a human life with meaning, we stand with the African National Congress; we stand with the Sandinistas; we stand with the Polish people who struggle against totalitarian constraints; we stand with those elements of the Palestinian people who seek statehood without terrorism; and we stand with those Jews within Israel who reject the right of Zionism to crush the Palestinians.

We are concerned with more than the relationship between means and ends. We also focus on the place of individual responsibility within a movement for collective change. It is true that the society from which we come helps form the values on which we act. Yet, without individual responsibility and action, the society itself cannot change or adapt. We do not exalt the individual over the group. Instead, we recognize the relationship between the two. If we praise unilateral action in the political sphere, it is not as a substitute for multilateral change, but rather as a step towards achieving such change. If we argue that the "logic" of the nuclear age demands individual responsibility, it is not to replace cooperative actions or a sense of the communal. Rather, it is because movements which insist that no one should move until all are ready all too often do not move at all and instead tend to paralyze. In a world of grave danger and peril the hope of the communal is linked to the affirmation of the personal.

We have many divisions within our own ranks but we join in this experiment with a resolve to continue our search for truth, and with compassion that knows love demands risk. We are of the left, yet we are a problem for the left. In this contradiction we are a reflection of the world in which we live. *The Nonviolent Activist*

### XIII. Die "War Resisters League" - Geschichte und Gegenwart

#### RAOUL LUSCHNAR

Die "War Resisters League" ist die größte und eine der ältesten landesweiten Friedensorganisationen der USA. Sie wurde neben der von religiösen Pazifisten 1915 gegründeten "Fellowship of Reconciliation" (FOR) (1) unter dem Eindruck des Ersten Weltkrieges 1923 als Organisation für nichtreligiöse, radikale Pazifisten und Kriegsdienstverweigerer gegründet.

Die Liga geht auf die "Anti-Enlistment League" zurück, die 1915 von Jessie Wallace Hughan in Zusammenarbeit mit Tracy D. Mygatt und John Haynes Holmes gegründet wurde und das Ziel hatte, den Eintritt der USA in den Ersten Weltkrieg zu verhindern.

Inspiziert durch die Gründung der Internationale der Kriegsgegner ("War Resisters International") 1921 in Bilthoven/Holland durch europäische Kriegsgegner und wie diese ausgehend von der Überzeugung, daß der nächste Krieg nur verhindert werden kann, wenn die Nicht-Teilnahme an Kriegen von Kriegsgegnern organisiert wird, gründete Hughan 1922 innerhalb der FOR das "Committee for Enrolment Against War". Zusammen mit Vertretern der Frauenfriedensgesellschaft ("Women's Peace Society"), der Frauenfriedensvereinigung ("Women's Peace Union"), Kriegsdienstverweigerern des Ersten Weltkrieges wie ihrem späteren langjährigen Vorsitzenden Dr. Evan Thomas (2) und anderen Kriegsgegnern etablierte Hughan und ihr "Enrolment Committee" 1923 die Liga als unabhängige Organisation. Radikale Demokraten, Sozialisten und Anarchisten gehörten ihr, soweit sie die damals gültige Grundsatzklärung unterschrieben, an. Die Grundsatzklärung, die als Plattform der Organisation gilt, hatte damals folgenden Wortlaut:

"War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

Die Hauptaktivität der WRU bestand damals- und besteht noch heute -in der Organisation und Unterstützung von Kriegsdienstverweigerern. Die Zahl der Kriegsgegner stieg

im Laufe der Jahre, so hatten 1938 bereits 13.000 Amerikaner die Grundsatzserklärung der WRL unterschrieben. In diesen Jahren trug die WRL zu einer Kampagne für Antikriegserziehung bei, während der sie Paraden, Demonstrationen, Straßenmeetings, Konferenzen und andere Aktivitäten organisierte, die ihre pazifistischen Positionen verdeutlichten und publik machten.

Die Liga organisierte zwischen 1931 und 1934 die jährlichen "No More War"- Paraden, an denen 1931 300, 1934 jedoch schon 15.000 Menschen teilnahmen. Auch waren Ligamitglieder unter den ersten, die vor der steigenden Gefahr des Faschismus warnten. So wurde die erste öffentliche Demonstration gegen den deutschen Antisemitismus 1933 neben dem Rabbiner Stephen Wise von dem Liga-Mitbegründer Reverend John Haynes Holmes angeführt. Auch wandte sich die Liga in diesen Jahren öffentlich gegen Roosevelts Einwanderungspolitik, die die Einreise (Asyl) von Flüchtlingen aus dem Nazideutschland behinderte. Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges konzentrierte die Liga ihre Aktivitäten auf die Unterstützung von Kriegsdienstverweigerern bei Prozessen und im Gefängnis. Sie unterstützte auch Kriegsdienstverweigerer, die es vorzogen, in den von der Regierung zwecks "Zivildienstes" eingerichteten "Civilian Public Service Camps" (CPS- Camps) zwangszuarbeiten. Nach dem "Selective Service Act" von 1940 wurden nur religiös motivierte Kriegsdienstverweigerer als solche anerkannt, jedoch wurde das Gesetz von den Gerichten flexibel ausgelegt, so daß außer Quäkern, Mennoniten, "Brethrens", Katholiken und Methodisten auch nicht-religiös motivierte Kriegsdienstverweigerer dort ihren Dienst absolvierten (4). Die WRL kritisierte öffentlich die CPS- Camps und bezeichnete sie als amerikanische Konzentrationslager. Die Haltung der Liga gegenüber der US- Kriegspolitik war eindeutig und konsequent: Sie war gegen jede Kriegsbeteiligung der USA. Wiederholt riefen sie die Regie-

rung auf, mit Deutschland um die Freilassung aller KZ- Insassen zu verhandeln, auch wenn die US- Regierung dadurch von ihrem gesetzten Ziel, Deutschland zur bedingungslosen Kapitulation zu zwingen, hätte abweichen müssen. Als während des Krieges publik wurde, daß bereits zwei Millionen Juden in den Konzentrationslagern umgebracht worden waren, drängte sie das "State Department" zu einem Waffenstillstand.

Nach dem Krieg gaben Verweigerer des Zweiten Weltkrieges wie Dave Dellinger, Jim Peck, Ralph DiGia, Igal Roodenko, Bayard Rustin, George Houser und Roy Finch (5) der WRL eine neue aktionsorientierte Richtung. Eine Gruppe von WRL- Mitgliedern, die sich die "Peacemakers" nannten, stellte 1948 ein Aktionsprogramm auf, das Arbeitsschwerpunkte der WRL für die kommenden Jahrzehnte vorwegnahm: Kriegsdienst- und Militärregistrierungsverweigerung, Kriegssteuerungsverweigerung und die Entwicklung von Formen des gewaltfreien Widerstandes, die gesellschaftsverändernd wirken sollten. Dieses entstand unter dem unmittelbaren Einfluß des erfolgreichen Unabhängigkeitskampfes der Gandhi - Bewegung in Indien. Basierend auf einer marxistischen Kritik der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft versuchte das Programm von Gandhi formulierte und anarchistische Ideen zu verbinden (6). Diese Gruppe war nicht sehr lange aktiv, und in den Jahren der McCarthy- Ära war es sehr ruhig um die amerikanische Friedensbewegung geworden.

Neuen Auftrieb bekam die Bewegung und die WRL 1956 durch die Gründung der Zeitschrift "Liberation", die das Organ eines neuen, auf gewaltfreien direkten Aktionen gestützten Pazifismus wurde. Dieser neue Pazifismus verstand sich weder als liberal-demokratisch, da er die Notwendigkeit einer sozialen Revolution vertrat, noch im engen Sinne marxistisch, da er im Gegensatz zu Marx für Gewaltfreiheit als Mittel



(und Methode) dieser Revolution eintrat.

Die neue pazifistische Linke hatte eine dezentralisierte Gesellschaft als Ziel. In diesem Sinne waren Pazifisten aktiv an utopischen Kommuneprojekten engagiert - so wie Staughton Lynd, einer der führenden Gestalten der pazifistischen Linken der 60er Jahre, der eine Zeit lang im "Brüderhof Settlement" lebte. Abraham Johannes Muste, die aus der amerikanischen Arbeiterbewegung kommende Integrationsfigur des US-Pazifismus, nahm starken Einfluß auf die WRL. Nach einem gründlichen Studium der Gandhi - Bewegung war er der erste, der versuchte, Theorie und Praxis Gandhis auf amerikanische Verhältnisse zu beziehen und in diesem Sinne zu formulieren. Roy Finch - Kriegsdienstverweigerer des Zweiten Weltkrieges und Mitbegründer der neuen amerikanischen Gandhi - Bewegung - beschrieb die Zielrichtung der neuen Bewegung:

"To understand the significance of Gandhi for American pacifists, it is necessary to look at the conflict between two fundamental ideas and orientations in the peace movement: the idea of non-resistance and the idea of non-violent resistance ... The shift from one to the other represents a change from a conservative, individually-oriented pacifism to a radical, social action pacifism." (7)

In den 50er Jahren organisierte die WRL Aktionen und Demonstrationen gegen Atombombentests, gegen den Kriegsdienst und für die Generalamnestie aller Kriegsdienstverweigerer. Sie rief zu Massendemonstrationen gegen staatliche Zivilverteidigungsübungen im Falle eines Atomkrieges ("duck and cover") auf. Die WRL hatte in diesen Jahren großen Anteil an der Gründung der "Student Peace Union" und des "Committee for Nonviolent Action" (CNVA). Das CNVA wurde in den 50er und 60er Jahren durch spektakuläre Aktionen des zivilen Ungehorsams gegen Atomwaffen bekannt. Die Taktik, mit Segelschiffen in Atombombentestgebiete zu segeln, damit den geregelten Ablauf der Tests zu stören und Öffentlichkeit herzustellen, praktizierten sie bereits 1958 mit dem Segelschiff

"Golden Rule" und Anfang der 60er mit den Schiffen "Everyman I" und "Everyman II" in den Testgebieten der USA. Mit der "Everyman III" segelte 1962 sogar eine Crew in die UdSSR, um ihre Regierung zum sofortigen Atombombenteststop zu drängen. Damit waren die CNVA- Aktivisten die Pioniere einer Aktionsform, für die die Umweltschutzorganisation "Greenpeace" in den 70er und 80er Jahren weltweit bekannt wurde. In den 60er Jahren nahm die CNVA eine bestimmende Rolle in der Organisierung von Aktionen der Bürgerrechtsbewegung ein. Die WRL war seit ihren Anfängen Teil der Bürgerrechtsbewegung ("Civil Rights Movement"), die die Aufhebung der Rassentrennung in allen öffentlichen Bereichen als erstes Ziel sich vornahm und vielleicht die bisher erfolgreichste Anwendung von Gandhis Methoden des gewaltfreien Kampfes zur Durchsetzung von politischen Zielen in den USA der Nachkriegszeit darstellt. Während der ersten "Freiheitsfahrt" (freedom ride) 1947 wurden drei WRL- Mitglieder: Joe Felmet, Igal Roodenko und Bayard Rustin, zu dreißig Tagen Gefängnis verurteilt, weil sie in North Carolina in den für Weiße reservierten Vorderplätzen eines öffentlichen Busses gemeinsam Platz nahmen, um gegen die Segregation in öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln zu demonstrieren. Der Schwarze Bayard Rustin, WRL- Exekutivsekretär in den Jahren 1953 bis 1964 und einer der führenden Bürgerrechtler, personifizierte die Verbindung von Bürgerrechts- und Friedensbewegung. Er verweigerte den Kriegsdienst im Zweiten Weltkrieg, weil er seine Sozialarbeit als Zivildienst ansah und arbeitete eng mit A.J. Muste und A. Philip Randolph zusammen. War er zunächst in der kommunistischen Bewegung aktiv gewesen, engagierte er sich nach dem Krieg in der FOR und war ein Mitbegründer des CORE (Congress of Racial Equality). Er war Mitorganisator des "Montgomery Bus Boycotts" 1955 und war in den darauffolgenden sieben Jahren Assistent von Martin Luther King jr. Mit ihm baute er die "Southern Christian

Leadership Conference" (SCLC) auf und organisierte schließlich mit der WRL 1963 den Bürgerrechts-"Marsch auf Washington", an dem 250.000 Menschen teilnahmen. Anfang der 60er Jahre war die WRL maßgeblich an der Wählerregistrierungskampagne der Schwarzen beteiligt. Sie engagierte sich auch in den Anti-Armuts-Kampagnen der 60er und 70er Jahre. Die Liga betrachtet sich als Teil der Emanzipationsbewegungen der 60er und 70er Jahre, die in Studentenunruhen der späten 60er Jahre ihre Anfänge hatten. Sprachrohr des radikalisierten Pazifismus wurde in den 60er Jahren die WRL-Zeitschrift "WIN Magazine", die aus dem "New York Workshop in Nonviolence" - einem Projekt der WRL und des CNVA - hervorging. Sie wurde später zur auflagenstärksten Zweiwochenschrift der Friedensbewegung.

Es liegt in der Logik von Anti-Kriegs-Bewegungen, daß sie in Zeiten von internationalen Krisen und Kriegen einen Aufschwung erleben. So auch im Fall der WRL: Angesichts der grauenhaften Kriegserfahrungen des Ersten Weltkrieges, die die Nachkriegsjahre zu den "Gründerjahren" nationaler und internationaler pazifistischer Organisationen in der ganzen Welt werden ließen und unter anderem zur Gründung der "War Resisters International" 1921 und der "War Resisters League" 1923 führten, nahm die Liga in den Jahren des Zweiten Weltkrieges als auch in den Jahren des Vietnam-Krieges an Einfluß und Aktivität enorm zu. Ihre Aktivitäten waren in diesen Jahren wie eh und je hauptsächlich auf dem "grassroot level", auf die Basis angelegt, was dem Selbstverständnis der WRL entspricht. So war von 1964 bis 1973 die Zahl der WRL-Mitglieder von 3.000 auf 15.000 gestiegen, die in 4 regionalen und 30 lokalen Büros organisiert waren. Die WRL war im Begriff, zu einer pazifistischen Basisbewegung zu werden.

Die Organisation hatte alle Hände voll zu tun, für die Verweigerung des Kriegsdienstes in Vietnam zu werben und Kriegsdienstverweigerer zu unterstützen. Eine charakteristische direkte Aktion des zivilen Ungehorsams der WRL ist die öffentliche Verbrennung von "draft-cards" (Wehrpässe) - sie entsprechen den deutschen Einberufungsbefehlen - die 1965 zum ersten Mal von der Liga initiiert wurde. Die 1967 gestartete "campaign of non-cooperation" brachte tausende Einberufene dazu, ihre Militärkarten nach Washington zurückzuschicken. Die WRL war unter anderem an der Organisation der ersten landesweiten Anti-Vietnam-Kriegs-Demonstration 1964 und der spektakulären "May Day"-Demonstrationswoche 1971 beteiligt. 1972 rief die WRL landesweit zum Boykott des multinationalen Konzerns ITT auf, der stark in der Waffenindustrie engagiert ist, und in dem folgenden Jahr startete sie die Freiheitskampagne ("Campaign Freedom"), in der jeder Teilnehmer einen südvietnamesischen Kriegsgefangenen "adoptieren" konnte, das heißt in wiederholten Briefen an die US-Regierung seine Freilassung forderte. Sie hatte großen Anteil daran, daß der öffentliche, weltweite Druck auf die US-Regierung immer stärker wurde, und ihre Kampagnen gegen den Kriegsdienst hatten auch dazu beigetragen, daß die amerikanische Regierung 1972 die allgemeine Wehrpflicht abschaffte und die US-Armee vollständig zur Berufsmarine umfunktionierte.

Nach dem Ende des Vietnam-Krieges rückten Themen wie konventionelle und atomare Abrüstung wieder in den Vordergrund. So initiierte die WRL in den 70er Jahren die jahrelangen Abrüstungskampagnen "Mobilization for Survival". Es kamen andere, im Laufe der emanzipatorischen Bewegungen der 60er und 70er Jahre ins Bewußtsein gerückte Themen wie Aspekte sozialer Ungerechtigkeit und produzierter Armut, Engagement gegen die Nutzung der durch Atomkernspaltung und -fusion gewonnenen Energie (durch z.B. gewaltfreie Besetzungen von

Atomkraftwerksbaustellen wie in Seabrook, New Hampshire) und für eine ökologisch eingebaute Technologienutzung und Produktionsweise dazu, ebenso Anti-Diskriminierungs-Kampagnen für feministisches Anliegen und die Interessen der Homosexuellen ("Gays and Lesbians"). Und daß kleine Erfolge wie die Aufhebung des Kriegsdienstes 1972 (in Kraft gesetzt ab 1973) nur zeitliche Gültigkeit haben und die Bewegung immer wieder Rückschritte erleidet, wenn sich die politische Stimmung in der Bevölkerung verändert und/oder vielmehr "wirtschaftliche Notwendigkeiten" es erfordern, zeigt die Änderung des Wehrdienstgesetzes, die am 12. Juni 1980 vom Senat verabschiedet wurde (8). Nach dem neuen "Selective Service System" sind alle amerikanischen Männer, die das 18. Lebensjahr vollendet haben, verpflichtet, sich offiziell bei der US- Armee registrieren zu lassen, und können bei Bedarf oder im Kriegsfall bis zum vollendeten 26. Lebensjahr einberufen werden. Doch das Bewußtsein vieler junger und auch nicht weniger älterer Amerikaner ist gestiegen: Vietnam ist doch nicht ganz vergessen. Die WRL schätzt, daß 10 % der Betroffenen (9) bewußt als Kriegsdienstverweigerer ("conscientious objectors") oder aus anderen Gründen (Familie, Beruf, persönliche Gründe anderer Natur etc.) die Registrierung verweigern (10). Daß diese Zahlen nicht übertrieben sind, zeigen die Zahlen der Verweigerer und Nichtteilnehmer des Vietnam-Krieges: 250.000 wurden nie registriert, weitere 210.000 wurden wegen Verletzung des Einberufungsgesetzes angeklagt. Knapp 10 % dieser Verweigerer kamen vor Gericht, wovon viele dieser Verfahren in der Masse der Fälle verlorengingen und nie zur Verurteilung führten. Die Bilanz schließt mit der Feststellung, daß 89 % der Fälle von Nichtregistrierung nie verfolgt wurden und ca. nur 1/2 % der schätzungsweise insgesamt 600.000 US- Amerikaner, die sich nicht registrieren ließen, deswegen ins Gefängnis kamen (11). Doch auch wenn die

US- Armee eine Berufsarmee ist und es in den USA Kriegsdienstpflicht wie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland noch nicht wieder gibt, gab es immer eine Art Armutsrekrutierung ("poverty draft") (12). Vor allem Angehörige ethnischer Minderheiten wie Schwarze und Latinos - Männer wie Frauen -, unter denen die Arbeitslosigkeit besonders hoch ist, sind in der US- Armee überproportional vertreten. Die ersten Verfahren gegen Registrierungsverweigerer, die ihre Verweigerung als politischen Akt verstehen, sind abgeschlossen. So wurde z.B. Ben Sasway Ende 1982 zu 30 Monaten Gefängnis, respektive 10.000 Dollar Geldstrafe verurteilt (13). (Gefängnisstrafen bis zu 5 Jahren sind per Gesetz vorgesehen !) Die Zahl der Verfahren steigt. Die WRL unterstützt die Verweigerer durch Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Rechtsbeistand und -beratung, Aktionen etc. Wie zur Zeit des Vietnam-Krieges befindet sich die WRL seit der Wiedereinführung der Registrierungsspflicht in Präsident Carters Amtszeit und dem Amtsantritt der Reagan- Administration im Aufwind. Zwischen 1981 und 1984 stieg ihre Mitgliederzahl von 20.000 auf 25.000, die in regionalen Hauptbüros, drei an der Zahl, und 29 lokalen Gruppen in 19 US- Staaten organisiert sind. Die WRL begreift sich als Teil der heutigen, großen US- amerikanischen und internationalen Friedensbewegung.

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Die "War Resisters League" hatte nie ein ausformuliertes gesamtgesellschaftliches Programm zur Durchsetzung ihrer politischen Ziele. Ihre Mitglieder sind radikale Kriegsgegner: Anarchisten, Sozialisten, Feministen/innen, und ihr Ziel ist -kurz zusammengefaßt- eine gewaltfreie, herrschaftslose, entmilitarisierte, dezentralisierte und basisdemokratische Gesellschaft ohne Feindbilder. Mitglied kann werden, wer die Grundsatzerklärung unterschreibt und bereit ist, für diese Grundsätze aktiv einzutreten. Die alte Grundsatzerklärung von 1923, welche der "War Resisters International" (WRI) (14) entspricht, ist in den letzten Jahren infolge der Diskussion

innerhalb der Organisation erweitert worden. Ich möchte hier die aktuelle Version zitieren und die Zusätze zur alten Version kommentieren (die Zusätze sind von mir unterstrichen) :

"The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all causes of war."

Auch wenn die WRL kein verbindliches Grundsatzprogramm hat, so gibt es doch eine Reihe von Grundüberzeugungen, die innerhalb der Organisation einen Konsens darstellen und sich in vielen Texten, die im Laufe der Jahre von WRL-Mitgliedern und anderen Pazifisten erstellt wurden, widerspiegeln.

Einer dieser zentralen Grundsätze ist jener der Gewaltlosigkeit als Mittel und Methode zu Erreichung ihrer politischen Ziele. Die Überzeugung, daß Krieg das unmittelbare Produkt einer hierarchischen Gesellschaft ist, die auf Gewalt und Unterdrückung aufgebaut ist, und Krieg so zugleich ihr Spiegelbild ist, führt zu der Erkenntnis, daß die Mittel und Methoden (Gewaltlosigkeit), die zur Gesellschaftsveränderung führen sollen, ihren Zielen (gewalt- und herrschaftslose Gesellschaft) entsprechen müssen. Dieser Grundsatz der Übereinstimmung ist mit dem starken Einfluß Gandhis auf die Nachkriegs-WRL zu erklären:

"We are imperfect in a world that is imperfect. We cannot claim to know truth. Yet, this lack of absolute knowledge must not prevent us from acting on our beliefs. We use non-violence both because of our commitment to action and because of our recognition of our limits. If we use violence, we are likely to hurt others. If we do not act, we implicitly condone existing oppression and risk our own destruction. We recognize that if history is to continue, a new beginning must be made."

Die gerade in den letzten Jahren in der Friedensbewegung heftig geführte Diskussion über die Legitimität von Gewalt bei revolutionären Prozessen in der Dritten Welt (Zentralamerika, Südafrika etc.) führt bei der WRL zur ideellen Unterstützung von Freiheitsbewegungen in der Dritten Welt. Diese ideelle Unterstützung bedeutet jedoch

nicht, den Grundsatz der Gewaltlosigkeit für WRL-Mitglieder in Frage zu stellen. So sind die Zusätze in der aktuellen Grundsatzerklärung der WRL also zu erklären: "nonviolently" als unumstößlicher Grundsatz, auch in Fällen von Befreiungs- und Bürgerkriegen, "any kind of war". Die scheinbar widersprüchliche Einstellung der WRL zur Gewaltfrage ist in dem Artikel "Our Roots of Action" (1984, siehe schon voriges Zitat) folgendermaßen formuliert:

"We must stop justifying the lie of violence in the name of a greater truth. We must stop giving a blessing to killing sisters and brothers by calling it revolutionary necessity. Yet even while saying this, we know we are on the side of the oppressed who use violence to overthrow their subjugators, rather than the oppressors who use violence to subjugate others. In the struggle for justice, for freedom, for a human life with meaning, we stand with the African National Congress ; we stand with the Sandinistas ; we stand with the Polish people who struggle against totalitarian constraints ; we stand with those elements of Palestinian people who seek statehood without terrorism ; and we stand with those Jews within Israel who reject the right of Zionism to crush the Palestinians." (15)

Wenn die Gewaltlosigkeit der einende Grundsatz der WRL ist, so sind verschiedene politische Strömungen innerhalb der Bewegung vertreten, die als Teile eines gesellschaftlichen Befreiungskampfes verstanden werden, sich einander nicht widersprechen, sondern ergänzen. Die neben dem bereits erwähnten Text "Nonviolence" dem "WRL Organizer's Manual" (16) vorangestellten Essays "Socialism", "The Nature of Anarchism" und "Feminism" bezeichnen die wichtigsten Schwerpunkte.

Für die noch ungenauen Vorstellungen von einer zukünftigen Gesellschaft wird aus der sozialistischen Theorie die Notwendigkeit einer wirtschaftlichen Umorganisation der Gesellschaft entnommen, während Dezentralisierung, Herrschaftsfreiheit und damit verbundene Basisdemokratie aus der anarchistischen Theorie stammen. Konsens ist in der WRL jedoch auch, daß diese Gesellschaft nicht die Züge eines real existierenden Sozialismus osteuropäischer Prägung haben kann. Der Friedensmarsch 'San Fran-



cisco - Moskau' 1960/61, die Entsendung zweier WRL-Vertreter zu Protestaktionen gegen die sowjetische Invasion in der CSSR 1968 und vieles andere mehr sind Beweise dafür, daß ihr Friedenskampf sich gegen alle Kriegsursachen richtet, gleich welcher ideologischen Rechtfertigung.

Eng verbunden mit Herrschaftsstrukturen, Militär und Gewalt in unserer Gesellschaft ist der dritte Schwerpunkt - Feminismus - zu sehen. Im Zuge der feministischen Bewegung mit Friedens-Feministinnen wie Donna Warnock und Barbara Deming setzte sich in den 70er Jahren innerhalb der WRL bei Frauen und Männern die Überzeugung durch, daß Rollenverteilung und damit verbundenes männliches Verhalten in Rollenstereotypen wie Sexismus, Unterdrückung der Frau auf der einen und hierarchische Strukturen, Militär und Krieg auf der anderen Seite sich einander bedingen und aus der gleichen Mentalität entspringen, die es zu überwinden gilt. "Kriege werden von Männern gemacht": heißt nicht, daß nicht auch Frauen ihren Anteil daran haben, sondern trägt nur der Geschichte einer von Männern beherrschten Welt Rechnung. Und daß "der neue Mensch" keine Frau, sondern eher ein "androgyn" Typ ist, der erstrebenswerte Charaktereigenschaften vereint, die die bürgerliche Gesellschaft den Männern (z.B. Selbstbewußtsein, Initiative, Intelligenz, Mut) und den Frauen (z.B. Sensibilität, "Mütterlichkeit", Geduld) getrennt zuordnet, schreiben die WRL-Mitglieder Bruce Kokopeli und George Lakey in ihrem Essay "More Power Than We Want: Masculine Sexuality and Violence" (17).

Bezeichnend für die WRL in ihrer politischen Aktivität ist ihre Aktionsorientiertheit. Der Text "Civil Disobedience Organizing" von Ed Hedemann ist einer von vielen dieser Art und deutet darauf hin, daß die Stärke der WRL - vielleicht der amerikanischen Friedensbewegung überhaupt - nicht die Erstellung von politischen Gesellschafts- und Zukunftstheorien ist, sondern eher die Theorie von der praktischen Aktion. In einer Gesellschaft,

in der die audio-visuelle Darstellung in der Öffentlichkeit und in den Medien einen größeren Stellenwert besitzt als Bücher, Manifeste, Schriften, in der große Teile der Bevölkerung mehr fernsehen als lesen, hat die direkte, gewaltfreie Aktion vielleicht mehr Echo und Überzeugungskraft als die Produktion von Papieren, Aufsätzen und Büchern. Die WRL will trotz vieler Rückschläge und geringer Erfolge aufrütteln, überzeugen und entgegen einer weitverbreiteten Attitüde der Ignoranz aufklären. Da die täglichen Fernsehnachrichten dies nicht leisten, kann vielleicht ein Straßentheater über das Zusammenspiel von Macht und Kriegsindustrie aufklären oder das Beispiel eines Kriegsdienstverweigerers veranschaulichen, daß kein Mensch das Recht hat, einen anderen Menschen zu töten. Doch geht es der WRL nicht um blinden Aktionismus, sondern um die Praktizierung der Prinzipien Gandhis und Thoreaus, der gewaltfreien Aktion und des zivilen Ungehorsams. Der Aufruf zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung wird zum Beispiel auch damit begründet, daß diese Gesellschaft in einem längeren Prozeß nur dann gewaltfrei verändert werden kann, wenn die einzelnen Gesellschaftsmitglieder mit Stützen der Gesellschaft wie dem Militär nicht mehr kooperieren und der politischen Klasse die Gefolgschaft aufkündigen, die Loyalität verweigern. Das ist das Prinzip der Nicht-Kooperation und des zivilen Ungehorsams.

Eine andere Form des zivilen Ungehorsams, die die WRL seit 1969 organisiert, ist der Boykott eines Teils der Steuern, die der Staat für Rüstung ausgibt, die "war tax resistance". Radikale Quäker wie John Woolman im 18. Jahrhundert oder Abolitionisten wie Henry David Thoreau, der 1848 einen Teil seiner Steuern aus Protest gegen den amerikanisch-mexikanischen Krieg verweigerte, waren die bekannten Pioniere dieser Form des zivilen Ungehorsams. Thoreaus Essay "Civil Disobedience" ist auch einer der ältesten Texte, auf den sich die WRL

beruft - sozusagen das klassische Manifest des zivilen Ungehorsams. So rief die WRL z.B. 1983 die Amerikaner auf, 6 Cent, 6 Dollar, 60 Dollar oder mehr als Teil ihrer Einkommenssteuer symbolisch für den Teil der Steuern, die für Rüstung ausgegeben werden, einzubehalten und den Steuerbehörden schriftlich ihre Beweggründe mitzuteilen.

Andere Formen des zivilen Ungehorsams sind zum Beispiel die Arbeitsstreiks, die inhaftierte Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Zweiten Weltkrieg im Gefängnis durchführten, oder Boykottmaßnahmen gegen bestimmte Waren wie Früchte aus Kalifornien (im Zusammenhang mit der "United Farm Workers Union" und ihrem Sprecher Cesar Chavez) und andere.

Die WRL hat in den Nachkriegsjahren viele gewaltfreie Aktionen geprägt und populär gemacht (18). Darunter zu zählen sind vor allem Märsche für den Frieden und Abrüstung und für die Bürgerrechte. Inspiriert von Gandhis "Satyagraha"- Lehre wurden diese Märsche entweder auf Massenbasis organisiert oder in einzelnen Fällen von wenigen Aktivisten durchgeführt, wie zum Beispiel der Friedensmarsch San Francisco - Moskau, der von rund einem Dutzend Menschen über 10 Monate lang durchgeführt wurde.

Andere Aktionsformen wie sit-ins, Sitzstreiks und Blockaden wurden von der Bürgerrechtsbewegung resp. der Studentenbewegungen der 60er und 70er Jahre mitgeprägt. Wiederum andere wie das Eindringen von Personen und Schiffen in Atombombentestgebiete wurden in den späten 50er Jahren von der WRL praktiziert. Das öffentliche Verbrennen von Einberufungsbefehlen ("draft cards") wurde von WRL-Mitgliedern erstmals 1967 praktiziert und entwickelte sich in den darauffolgenden Jahren zu einer klassischen öffentlichen Demonstrationsform von Kriegsdienstverweigerung, die in den 70er Jahren auch von europäischen und bundesrepublikanischen Pazifisten nach dem amerikanischen Beispiel übernommen wurde.

In den 80er Jahren hat sich schließlich die gewaltfreie Strategie und die mit ihr verbundenen Aktionsformen in der europäischen Friedensbewegung und bedeutenden Organisationen wie bei den "Grünen" in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland weitgehend durchgesetzt: Friedensmärsche, Blockaden, "Die-ins", Straßentheater, Boykotts, Sitz-, Hunger- und andere Streiks - alles gewaltfreie politische Aktionsformen ...

Zu dieser gewaltfreien Strategie gehören Prinzipien wie jene, die von den heutigen europäischen Friedens-, Ökologie- und Anti-Atomkraft-Bewegungen nach amerikanischem Vorbild praktiziert werden. Zu den Prinzipien der Vorbereitung gewaltfreier Aktionen gehört die Bildung kleiner "Bezugsgruppen" (affinity groups) von höchstens 10 bis 15 Menschen, die entweder als Gruppe für sich Aktionen durchführen oder bei massiveren Aktionen durch einen Sprecher in einem koordinierenden Sprecherrat vertreten sind, von welchem konzertierte Aktionen beschlossen und vorbereitet werden. Diese Vorgehensweise entspricht einem Demokratieverständnis, das jedem Einzelnen Mitsprache garantieren soll und bemüht ist, hierarchische Gruppenstrukturen abzubauen. Auch die minutenpräzise Vorbereitung von gewaltfreien Aktionen in sogenannten "gewaltfreien Trainings", die unter anderem durch gruppenspezifische Prozesse auf zu erwartende Konfliktsituationen während einer Aktion vorbereiten sollen, ist eine Vorgehensweise, die vor allem in den USA in den letzten 20 Jahren entwickelt wurde und sich seit den frühen 80er Jahren verbreitet. (Vorbild dieser Gruppen sind Friedensbrigaden - "peace brigades" - für Konfliktschlichtung, auch "Zivilarmee" genannt nach indischem Vorbild von "shanti sena" !) Das Friedensdorf in Gorleben, die Blockade in Groß-Engstingen und die Dauerblockade in Mutlangen, Orte mit stationierten Atomraketen oder für Denkmale der Plutoniumindustrie, sind Beispiele für Aktionen von 1979 bis 1986, für die Anwendung dieser Prinzipien in der bundesdeutschen Ökologie- und Friedensbewegung...

Anmerkungen

- 1) beides Sektionen des Internationalen Versöhnungs-bundes ("International Fellowship of Reconciliation" - IFOR) mit Sitz in Alkmaar/Holland
- 2) Evan Thomas (1890-1974), inhaftierter Kriegsdienstverweigerer des Ersten Weltkriegs, die folgenden 30 Jahre führender Verfechter des Rechtes auf Verweigerung der Wehrpflicht, Vorsitzender der WRL im Zweiten Weltkrieg bis 1951
- 3) britisches, radikalpazifistisches Pendant zur WRL
- 4) "The Conscientious Objector in America (Men in Civilian Public Service Camps)" - eine Graphik aus dem Buch: Cooney/Michalowski (Hrsg.): The Power of the People - Active Nonviolence in the United States, Culver City/Kalifornien 1977, S. 99
- 5) s. "War Resisters League" in: ebd., S. 97
- 6) s. Brock, Peter: Twentieth-Century Pacifism, New York 1970, S. 249
- 7) Roy Finch in: Brock, Peter, a.a.O., S. 250
- 8) s. "Draft Registration to Resume" in WRL News Nr. 219 von Juli-August 1980, veröffentlicht von: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012
- 9) ebd. - d.h. schätzungsweise zwischen 80.000 und 400.000 Männer -
- 10) s. "Draft Registration to Resume", WRL News Nr. 219, S. 2
- 11) Statistik aus: "Registration: Making a Choice", herausgegeben 1980 vom Registration Education Committee, San Francisco/Kalifornien
- 12) ebd.
- 13) s. Mongeau, Michael: Resisting the Draft, in: WRL News Nr. 229 vom November-Dezember 1982
- 14) 1921 in Bilthoven/Holland gegründeter internationaler Zusammenschluß von nationalen Kriegsdienstgegnerorganisationen - die WRI hat heute Sektionen in Europa, Nordamerika und Asien...
- 15) The Nonviolent Activist Committee: Our Roots of Action, in: The Nonviolent Activist, Dezember 1984 (Zeitschrift der WRL)
- 16) Hedemann, Ed (Hrsg.): War Resisters League Organizer's Manual, War Resisters League, New York 1981 - außerdem: War Resisters League: History of the War Resisters League, New York Juni 1980
- 17) Kokopeli, Bruce und George Lakey: "More Power Than We Want: Masculine Sexuality and Violence", in: McAllister, Pam (Hrsg.): Reweaving the Web of Life, Philadelphia 1982
- 18) Ed Hedemann legt wert auf die Unterscheidung zwischen "nonviolent direct action" und "civil disobedience" - Hedemann, Ed: Civil Disobedience Organizing (in dem "War Resisters League Organizer's Manual", a.a.O.)

DOKUMENT 33

# NONVIOLENCE

By Ed Hedemann

**T**here are four standard responses to a conflict situation\*: ignore it and not become involved; give in and beg for mercy; get the hell out of there; and fight back violently. There is a fifth response, often ignored and little understood: nonviolence. Nonviolence excludes neutrality, excludes capitulation, excludes flight, and excludes fighting violently.

Because nonviolence has the power to make fundamental changes without personal threat or sacrificing militance, because nonviolence contrasts dramatically with the methods of the powers-that-be, and because nonviolence is so often misunderstood, this organizer's manual would be incomplete if the nuts and bolts of organizing contained herein were not put in the context of a broader vision of social change.

## Standard Perceptions of Nonviolence

Most people understand "nonviolence" to be passive or that which is not violent. At the same time some of these people will often perceive a nonviolent action as being violent. A 1969 survey revealed that 58% of American males viewed draft card burnings as violent, while 57% felt that police shooting looters was not violent.†

Most movement people are able to see beyond these misunderstandings of violence and nonviolence. But they often identify nonviolence with a number of other myths, which frequently prevents adequate experimentation and exploration of effective ways to achieve fundamental social change.

\*Lanza del Vasto, "Definitions of Nonviolence"  
 †Science News, July 3, 1971, pp. 14-15

## Myths About Nonviolence

### Passive

Passivity—a form of violence—is the opposite of nonviolence. The use of nonviolence does not mean avoidance of conflict, but a different approach to conflict, through militant nonviolent struggle if necessary.

### Reformist

Many feel nonviolence is simply prayerful action and petitioning to what is assumed to be responsive and benevolent authorities, thereby reinforcing and strengthening the oppressors.

Nonviolence at its most creative seeks to make radical changes in society—altering even the methods of overcoming oppression and achieving justice.

### A Way To Avoid Harm

Though likely to result in fewer casualties, nonviolence does not guarantee no one will be hurt. Those primarily interested in personal safety should stay home. As Barbara Deming said, "Non-violent battle is still battle... people do get hurt."\*

### Suicidal

A common view of nonviolent struggle is that it is suicidal: "relying on nonviolence means being defenseless—sheep being led to slaughter."

Adopting a nonviolent discipline will generally result in fewer casualties, in the long run, since opponents cannot as easily justify the use of violence against people who are not physically threatening them.

\*Revolution and Equilibrium, 1968.

*"A nonviolent revolution is not a program of seizure of power. It is a program of transformation of relationships, ending in a peaceful transfer of power."*

M.K. Gandhi

Just a Tactic

On a purely mechanical or tactical level, nonviolence can be of considerable value. However, its greatest effectiveness comes when it is persistently clung to, even in the face of violent repression. It is not a method of the weak or cowardly. Nonviolence is also not a substitute method to punish, harass, or seek vengeance over an opponent. It is a way to achieve justice through seeking to change, rather than conquer, the antagonist.

If it is seen as only a tactic, then it may well be discarded when the going gets rough, rather than carried to a logical conclusion.

History of Mass Nonviolent Action

The use of nonviolence is as old as, or older than, recorded history—and so is violence. There have been numerous instances of people who have courageously and nonviolently refused to cooperate with injustice.

However, what is relatively new in the history of nonviolent action is the fusion of nonviolence with mass struggle. Organized warfare is 30 centuries old, but organized mass nonviolent action as we know it is less than one century old. The synthesis of mass struggle with nonviolence was developed largely by Mohandas Gandhi beginning with the onset of the South African campaign for Indian rights in 1906.

Gandhi continued to experiment and develop mass nonviolence in the 28-year struggle for Indian independence from the most powerful nation on the face of the earth, Great Britain. From the beginning of the first nationwide civil disobedience campaign in 1919 to independence in 1947, India was transformed from a splintered, downtrodden mass of people to a unified, self-respecting society largely through nonviolent action. This was not without incredible suffering at the hands of the British imperialists: 300,000 jailed (100,000 alone in the year-long Salt campaign); hundreds killed; many more beaten, injured, and abused; and property confiscated.

Since 1906, mass nonviolent struggle was used successfully in many different social and political situations. The militant campaign for women's suffrage in Britain included a variety of nonviolent tactics such as boycotts, noncooperation, limited property destruction, civil disobedience, mass marches and demon-

—M.K. Gandhi

*"Nonviolence to be a potent force must begin with the mind. Nonviolence of the mere body without cooperation of the mind is nonviolence of the weak or cowardly and therefore has no potency. If we bear malice and hatred in our bosoms and pretend not to retaliate, it must recoil upon us and lead to our destruction."*

PROTEST AND PERSUASION  
leafleting, picketing, marches, teach-ins

NONCOOPERATION

Social  
student strike, social boycott

Economic  
tax resistance, consumer boycotts, labor strikes

Political  
draft resistance, civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

INTERVENTION  
civil disobedience of "neutral" laws, nonviolent blockage, sit-in, nonviolent obstruction.

The Politics and Dynamics of Nonviolence

In order to use nonviolence effectively, an understanding of the basic concepts and operating dynamics is essential. What is described below represents one brief formulation of the fundamental elements of nonviolence and how it works. This formulation is derived from an analysis of power, an understanding of human nature, a study of history and politics, a theory of nonviolence, and experimentation through practice.

Ends and Means. If we wish to achieve a society without wars, violence, and injustice, then it is counterproductive to use wars, violence, and injustice. What we do and how we do it determines what we get. Nonviolence is rooted in the understanding that ends and means are fundamentally linked, and are simply different forms of the same thing; means are ends in the making.

Separation of the Role from the Person. Nonviolence recognizes that the system or the injustice is the problem which needs to be overcome, not the individual. An individual committing an injustice needs to be confronted and changed, not killed. Simply changing the personnel in an oppressive system, without changing the existing power relationships or structure of the system, will not end the injustice.

Nonviolence seeks a victory over injustice, not vengeance or punishment. Opponents are more likely to change if offered a way out, rather than backed up against a wall under personal attack, so that they continue to fight violently well beyond the point of reason.

strations, filling the jails, hunger strikes, and disruption of public ceremonies.

The United States labor movement has used nonviolent action with great effectiveness in a number of instances, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) free speech confrontations in Spokane, San Diego, Fresno, etc.; the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) sit-down strikes from 1935 through 1937 in automobile plants; the UFW grape and lettuce boycotts; and, of course, the strike.

Using mass nonviolent action, the civil rights movement changed the face of the South. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), initiated nonviolent action for civil rights with sit-ins and an interracial, interstate "freedom ride" in the 1940's. The successful 1956 Montgomery bus boycott electrified the nation. Then, the early 1960's movement exploded with nonviolent action: sit-ins at lunch counters and other facilities, organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Freedom Rides through the South organized by CORE; the non-violent battle against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); the 1963 March on Washington, which drew 250,000 participants; and the voting rights drives in the early sixties.

Opponents of the Vietnam War employed the use of draft card burnings, draft file destruction, mass demonstrations (such as the 500,000 who turned out in 1969 to protest the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C.), sit-ins, blocking induction centers, draft and tax resistance, and the historic 1971 May Day traffic blocking in Washington, D.C., in which 13,000 people were arrested.

Nonviolent action has also led to the overthrow of authoritarian regimes in Germany (1920), Guatemala (1944), and Iran (1979); and the creation of instability for such regimes in Saigon (1963), Russia (1917), and Norway (1942), among other countries.

Methods

The variety of nonviolent methods and tactics is about as limited as the imagination. Gene Sharp has isolated 198 distinct methods\* which have been used in the past. What follows is Sharp's categorization of the types of nonviolent action:

\*The Politics of Nonviolent Action, volume 2: Methods; 1973.

Nature of Power.\* The theory of nonviolence is based on the understanding that all power depends completely on the obedience, consent, and/or cooperation of the governed. The power of governments is often so fragile that if a small but significant number of the governed were to disobey or noncooperate, the government would have to change, or collapse.

Conflict and Struggle. Recognizing that those who oppress have seldom willingly stopped their oppression, we must be willing to engage in a struggle to overcome injustice whatever its manifestation (whether that be war, sexism, racism, classism or any other form of violence and domination). Nonviolence seeks to resolve conflicts, not avoid them. Passivity in the face of injustice is complicity with it. To quote Barbara Deming again, "The challenge to those who believe in nonviolent struggle is to learn to be aggressive enough."

Nonviolence Is More Than a Tactic. To use nonviolence solely on a tactical basis is like saying "I'll use nonviolence at the moment, but I'll have a knife behind my back, just in case." The assumption is that violence is not nice, but more effective; and there exists a willingness to abandon nonviolence should the opportunity present itself. In order for nonviolence to be truly effective, the user must have enough confidence in it to persist in its use—especially at the point where the challenge is the toughest and the stress is the highest.

More Control.† The more the real issues are dramatized and the struggle separated from the personal, the more control those in nonviolent rebellion gain over their adversary. In a violent struggle, the adversary is put on the defensive, reacting out of resentment and desperation. The violence often escalates with both sides becoming more entrapped in a scenario which neither chose.

A greater pressure of defiance can be placed on opponents; if we simultaneously show a respect for their lives they are less likely to react out of fear and more likely to listen to us. Thus one major barrier in the path of change is removed.

Undercut Support of Opponent. Even if nonviolence cannot persuade an oppressor, its use will begin to erode support

\*Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, volume 1: Power and Struggle, 1973.

†Extracted largely from Barbara Deming, "On Revolution and Equilibrium," 1968.

*"Without a direct action expression of it, nonviolence, to my mind, is meaningless."*

—M.K. Gandhi



from the oppressor. An antagonist will find it harder to justify the use of violence. Nonviolence can move into action on our behalf those who are not naturally inclined to act for us. The more support our opponents lose, the less likely they will be able to sustain their oppression, and the more they will be forced to change. A desirable outcome of a conflict depends not only on the unity and morale of one side, but also on the morale—or lack of it—on the other side.

### Liberation Struggles

Some pacifists feel that all violence should be equally condemned no matter the ends or the circumstances which lead to the violence. Violence of the oppressed is just as reprehensible as violence of the oppressor.

However, the War Resisters League believes it is impossible to be morally neutral. Our unwavering commitment to nonviolence does not mean that we are hostile to revolutionary movements. Clearly we have to distinguish between the violence of the current regime in South Africa—which is criminal—and that of those struggling against it—which, by contrast, is tragic.

Those who remain neutral are to a degree complicit with the status quo which perpetuates violence. While we do not support the violent means used by some movements, we do support their objective in seeking liberation from oppression.

The greatest single contribution we can make to liberation movements is not by becoming entangled in the debate over whether or not such movements should use violence, but by actively working to bring an end to colonialism, imperialism, racism, and sexism. This can be accomplished by attacking the factors and social conditions which drive people towards the tragedy of violence, often seeming to exclude options they might otherwise have of nonviolent social revolution.

"We salute those people who are using nonviolent action in their struggle despite the current trends and pressures towards violence. We also salute our brothers and sisters in the various liberation movements. We will work with them when it is possible—but without yielding up our belief that the foundation of the future must be laid in the present, that a society without violence must begin with revolutionists who will

not use violence."<sup>\*</sup>

### Nonviolence Controversies

The nonviolence movement, as any other movement, contains a variety of differences and controversies. Listed below are some of the most prominent ones.

#### Persuasion vs. Coercion

Some nonviolence advocates (particularly religious pacifists) feel that change should be attempted only through conversion of, love for, and persuasion of an opponent. Love prevents the development of fear and anger. Coercion is violent and is less likely to bring about permanent change.

Such arguments do not recognize that nonviolent action, while more aggressive, is no more violent than persuasion. Coercion is often essential in campaigns to end oppression, which may have long been entrenched through vested interests. Persuasion may not be sufficient to get the attention of opponents, let alone change them. The use of nonviolent force in a creative manner may provide a way to break through barriers often thrown up by adversaries.

#### Secrecy

Some actions—particularly ones which are small in number rely heavily on surprise for their success. In totalitarian societies, it is difficult to accomplish anything with openness. Getting Jews out of Nazi Germany would have been impossible without secrecy.

On the other hand, secrecy breeds mistrust among friends, and encourages fear and government spying, sometimes leading to violence. Effective nonviolent activity can be carried out even in totalitarian countries without secrecy. Secrecy generally runs counter to our intention of building an open and honest society (means and ends).

#### Property Destruction

Property destruction or sabotage is likely to escalate the struggle to a level where we may lose control. In a property-conscious society, such an act may be extremely provocative. It is usually not necessary to achieve our goals (e.g., we can climb a fence, rather than cut it, to

<sup>\*</sup>From a working document of War Resisters' International Council, Vienna, 1966.

gain access to a site).

On the other hand, some property has no right to exist (e.g., nuclear weapons, napalm, electric chairs). Other property, such as fences around nuclear power plants or military bases, while "neutral," serve only to protect facilities which are harming all of us. The concern is not their destruction, but how they are destroyed. No one has suggested blowing them up or indiscriminate property destruction, but a calm deliberate cutting of a fence with a minimum of hardware can gain entry into a site otherwise not accessible.

#### Anger<sup>\*</sup>

Anger and hatred are often the bases of violence, putting opponents on the defensive, inhibiting dialogue, and placing additional barriers in the way of constructive change. Hatred clouds thinking and does not separate the person from his or her role. It weakens the distinction between ego-tripping and social change.

On the other hand, anger and hatred can be separated. Anger can serve a good purpose if it is channeled into constructive action, and aids in motivating the desire for change.

#### Suffering

If there is no other choice, we must be prepared to undergo suffering (e.g., fasting, being beaten) rather than inflict it on others. Suffering for a good cause can build discipline, and may also rouse considerable sympathy of friends and even opponents. All of us endure some measure of suffering—whether that of a soldier undergoing the rigors of boot camp or battle, or the discomforts many of us impose on ourselves through various disciplines or exercise to improve ourselves. This ability to accept suffering can be put to good use when an injustice is being resisted, though its main purpose should be to *prevent* suffering of others, rather than to draw attention to our own suffering.

Suffering to gain sympathy can easily be seen as masochistic, if it is sought for itself rather than accepted in the course of a positive action. Deliberate self-mutilation or self-destruction is generally an act of desperation and a type of aggression turned inward, which is perceived (often rightly) as hostile and coercive, therefore having a negative effect. In extreme situations, however—such as those of the Buddhist monks in Vietnam—

<sup>\*</sup>See "On Anger," *Liberation*, Barbara Deming, 1971.

self-destruction may appear to be the only course of action, especially if it is in the context of a cultural tradition. In general one must weigh the particular situation in trying to determine to what extent one's acceptance of suffering is necessary and effective (though the latter is not always calculable), or to what extent it may be self-serving and masochistically out of proportion to the principle for which one is demonstrating.

### Further Reading

This chapter has been far too brief to give anyone unfamiliar with nonviolence an adequate understanding of its history and politics. The reader is encouraged to explore the following books and articles.

**Revolution and Equilibrium**, Barbara Deming, 1968. An essay in a book with the same title. This is one of the best essays on the dynamics of nonviolence. Essential reading.

**The Politics of Nonviolent Action**, Gene Sharp, 1973. A lengthy (900 pages), but thorough, analysis of the nature of power, the dynamics of nonviolence, and variety of nonviolent methods.

**Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict**, Joan Bondurant, 1965. One of the best political analyses of Gandhian nonviolence.

**The Power of Nonviolence**, Richard Gregg, 1966. A classic study and explanation of the psychology of nonviolence.

**The Power of the People**, edited by Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, 1977. The most readable and graphic account of history of nonviolent action in the United States.

**Nonviolent Resistance**, M.K. Gandhi, 1951. A collection of essays giving a basic understanding of Gandhi.

*"Nonviolent action is a means of combat, as is war. It involves the matching of forces and the waging of 'battle,' requires wise strategy and tactics, and demands of its 'soldiers' courage, discipline, and sacrifice.*

*"This view of nonviolent action as a technique of active combat is diametrically opposed to the popular assumption that, at its strongest, nonviolent action relies on rational persuasion of the opponent, and more commonly it consists simply of passive submission.*

*"Nonviolent action is just what it says: action which is nonviolent, not inaction. This technique consists, not simply of words, but of active protest, noncooperation, and intervention.*

*"Overwhelmingly it is group or mass action."*

—Gene Sharp

NO BARS TO MANHOOD  
DANIEL BERRIGAN



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NO BARS TO MANHOOD

may have heard of us—the Society of Jesus. We have a name here and there.

Now, it may be convenient for the purposes of civil law, or even of the Catholic Church, to consider me a freak, the kind of biological sport who turns up now and then to confound even the most artful selective process. Such may be the fact. Or, something else may also be of point. It may possibly be that the legal tradition and mine are converging on a point of truth; that we, both of us, are trying to make that point—equally perplexed, perhaps even in jeopardy before a truth of which neither of us is the keeper.

The question is one of tradition, my tradition and that of the legal profession. I believe a man's possibility is in large part measured by the tradition he comes out of. I have said it repeatedly on the Cornell campus; I have said it before the SDS, before the religious communities, before the fraternities, before my own soul; like it or not, we are what we have been. A man can claim to be going somewhere only if he has come from somewhere. Alienation in any absolute sense can only be a source of dislocation and irresponsibility.

To go somewhere, a man must come from somewhere. For myself, if my claim to Christian tradition is valid, it is so only because I am trying to embody that conception of citizenship and faith that runs from Jesus to Paul to Galileo to Newman to Teilhard to Pope John to myself. In the same way, if one claims the Western legal tradition, it is because one embodies a spirit that runs from the Magna Carta through English common law on to Holmes and Frankfurter to oneself.

It perhaps goes without saying also that if one claims to be the inheritor of his tradition, he is required to cast off the enticements and lies that corrupt the tradition. For the reverse of our proposition is also true: A man can claim to have come from somewhere only if he is going somewhere. Thus I must cast off the fury and incoherence of the Inquisition, and lawyers presumably are ridding themselves of the attitudes we inherit from slave laws. I am trying to outgrow an inhuman priesthood—its mystification, and its neglect of living men. And men of the law, I would think, are casting off the enticements of big

CONSCIENCE, THE LAW,  
AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Let us grant from the beginning the serious nature of this subject. Indeed, it is so serious that on its behalf many good men are driven against a wall—to death by violence, to prison in resistance to violence. Their blood and tears forbid us the luxury of an abstract debate.

May I begin with a postulate that may be uncomfortable, but which cannot in truth be avoided. The postulate is a place: Cornell Law School. The school is Anglo-Saxon, white, Western. It is rich by anyone's standards: in libraries, in professional savvy, in tradition, in public resources. It carries the weight of Gothic walls, and a special coloration in all seasons; as such, it is a member of a league named "Ivy." It has joined hands with certain other white, rich, Anglo-Saxon, Western, post-Christian, post-Gothic structures of law schools. They, all of them, house lawyers, students, books, and by implication a large measure of our future, if any. I pay this excellent arrangement my tribute, even though mine can be, ironically, only the tribute of a felon.

Such, in crude brief, is the geography.

I also have a scene. I have not come out of Jove's forehead, nor out of a stork's chimney. Indeed, if one can believe it, I come out of a tradition stern in point of law, and insistent in force of obedience. There are those who

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money, big names, ignorance of the social currents and passions of the day, neglect of those who run with man—the draft resisters, the black power students, those who are working their way through perplexity and inhumanity, to a possibly decent society.

All of this may of course be no more than empty rhetoric, in the light of our actual desires and motives. For it takes enormous courage and discipline and patience to be a man of tradition, in the sense we speak of, in whatever sphere of life. One of the difficulties is that every discipline, every aspect of man's public life tends today, of its own unchecked momentum, to claim man totally for itself. Lawyers like to believe that man is the sum of his laws; sociologists, that man is the sum of societal phenomena; philosophers, that man is defined by his wisdom or logic; believers, that man is his religion; nationalists, that man owes his life and well-being to the state; generals, that man must march against other men, to someone's tune. But I dare to suggest, reporting on the fact of life, that in order to be a man, it is sometimes necessary to escape from these definitions; to free the ghetto, to disobey the law, to disavow the race, to surpass the religion. In order to be a student it is necessary to disrupt Columbia. In order to be a citizen it is necessary to march in the streets of Chicago. In order to abide by law, it is necessary to confront the law. Such at least are the possibilities that men feel impelled to explore. Men disobey, disrupt, break laws. Are they thereby criminals in fact? Or is something deeper and more mysterious at work? Can lawbreaking in certain cases be a function of conscience?

The thesis thus follows on the facts of the times, which is not, of course, a way of denying that the argument remains arguable. It must, in order to vindicate itself, confront both the fact of the reluctant courts and of the passionate lawbreakers, the fact of black anger and of white intransigence, the fact of stalemated structures and of the unkillable, rising tide of man's hope.

Today, powerful forces of love and hatred are experimenting with the future of our society. No one can rationally suggest that a stalemate or compromise will be any sort of viable outcome. Indeed, no. Everything in history

## NO BARS TO MANHOOD

suggests that so neat a solution is self-defeating. It is untrue to events, to the pace of things, to the evidence before us. Indeed, revolution is the heart of that evidence: radical social change is the order of the day and the dream or nightmare of the night.

That was the order of my generation, too, and its nightmare. We came out of a kind of northern Appalachian poverty. In the thirties our family was a rural one, a part of the pandemic poverty of the great depression years. And we barely made it. We learned firsthand the near catastrophe of the "crash," the harsh, slow recovery of the Roosevelt years, the first moves toward social reform. We were the hands into which the New Deal was dealt. Public relief programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Industrial Reconstruction Act; we ate our alphabet soup and were grateful for it, however thin it was drawn.

During those same years, while federal institutions were shaken to their foundations, another fact of life surrounded my family. We were members of a church whose main word, whether we or others liked it or not, was revolutionary. The revolution only really began to march much later. No matter, the bomb was buried; it needed only to be detonated. Meantime, we had to undergo the preliminaries of any revolution; which is to say, the possession of the field by reactionaries. The church revolution today is in debt to its most determined resisters, ironically enough. Francis Cardinal Spellman and Senator Joseph McCarthy were the precursors; they flourished, all but unchallenged, during the fifties. (During the same years, for those who could really look around, there were men like Maritain, Murray, and Pope John on the scene, pointing to something radical and new.) And then the sixties arrived, and the Vietnam war fueled itself into a fury. The Catholics joined communities of protest across the nation, a fire wall against that monstrous fire. The Boston Two, the Baltimore Four, the Catonsville Nine, the Milwaukee Fourteen, the Washington Nine, the New York Eight, the protests by Catholics, mainly priests, in Chicago, Newark, Brooklyn, Cleveland. Revolution? The score (let me be arrogant for a moment) is not a total loss.

But what of the revolution in law? The news is not good. I suggest that the facts are nothing short of lamentable.

## NO BARS TO MANHOOD

I should like to sharpen the issue. The law profession, I submit, is one among several professions that, in the larger world of men, are simply acting against man. The leading American law schools are producing large numbers of lawyers every year whose professional life is a hideout from social change and human issues. Such schools produce judges who prosecute men like my brother and myself, instead of prosecuting the men who are prosecuting a genocidal war. They produce lawyers who peddle the American line at the United Nations, at embassies throughout the world, in government programs that mask or openly purvey retrograde nationalistic aims, compounded of militarism, nationalism, limited but no less looting wars. And if the present is any measure of the future, such schools strengthen a corporate system bent in the direction of more and more American economic hegemony abroad, more and more firmly imbedded poverty and racism at home.

The law profession, in fact, is connecting with fewer needs, fewer issues, and fewer men. Need we linger over the dolorous fact that the legal profession has just produced a new President of the United States? Charity, or depression of spirit, forbids further comment.

Now the really dolorous fact is not that Mr. Nixon is an anomaly; in the legal profession, as lawyers advance toward power, Mr. Nixon is, in fact, typical. He is, in fact, pure American, vintage 1970. Within an arrangement that functions on behalf of fewer and fewer people, the system is continuing to work for him. He has undoubtedly never had reason to reflect upon the ironic statement of Florence Nightingale, writing from the Crimea to England in the nineteenth century: "I am not certain as to the purpose of a hospital," wrote the lady, "but I am fairly certain that a hospital is not meant for the spreading of disease." Mr. Nixon, I venture to say, has never had reason to seek medical aid in a hospital that was, in fact, dedicated to the spreading of disease—I speak of the public wards of most city hospitals today. No, if he or his family require medical attention, they get it promptly and expertly. To extend the matter, if his family seeks a school they find one; given their suppositions about education, it will be a good one. If they need the services of the courts or the law,

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Today the law, and the mentality of those who make and enforce and teach and study the law, is changing too slowly; the headlong facts of social change are edging them offstage.

But there is more bad news to be told; the law, as presently revered and taught and enforced, is becoming an enticement to lawlessness. Lawyers and laws and courts and penal systems are nearly immobile before a shaken society, which is making civil disobedience a civil (I dare to say a religious) duty. The law is aligning itself more and more with forms of power whose existence is placed more and more in question. Lawyers, law students, and law professors have not raised their voices with any audibility against a monstrous, illegal war.

So if they would obey the law, men are being forced, in the present crucial instance, either to disobey God or to disobey the law of humanity. Indeed, obedience to American law, as purveyed and parlayed by many lawyers, as enforced in many courts, as punished in many jails, exacts, in many crucial instances, the violation of the rudimentary common sense requirements of a civilized conscience.

The law allows, on the other hand, a weird and possibly ruinous kind of selectivity in enforcement. The criminal activity of many men in power goes unscrutinized, while those whose despair or alienation drives them into the streets are prosecuted with all possible rigor. Differing criteria? Double standards? Of course—whether in respect of promptness or of rigor, when the law is applied, say, to a policeman, an Afro-American, a corporation executive, a clergyman, a dissident student.

Some are co-opted in principle. Some are protected in principle. And the result is predictable. A man is driven to break the law as a strict requirement of being a man at all. The law turns its screws on the limbs of decent men. A few resolve on heroism, most settle for complicity, simply because they are not heroic. The legal system suppresses human decency as a societal resource, because good men are not able to be heroic men. They are forced into objective evil, into evil obedience, because the law that claims them is intent on—what? Survival? Prestige? Big money? The pursuit of power?

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its skills will immediately bend in their direction. They are, as their photos convey, people of health and well-being, well-housed, well-fed, well-policed, well-churched, well-armed against the stings and arrows of fate.

Many Americans, however, and the majority of men throughout the world, are not so armed, not so housed, not so fed, not so spoken for by church and state. Throughout the world, medical aid does, in fact, spread disease (either by its ineptitude or its grievous absence). Most men on earth are ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed; and if to break out of this noose of despair they transgress the law the law closes the noose with a jerk, and those who are dying slowly, die in a moment.

The point of all this, it seems to me, is a perception of our relationship to this total world scene. Given the fact that the American machine is not working well, either in its inner gears, or in its meshing with the world, good men must take action. Some of them, in the practical order of events, must be willing to go to jail, rather than to remain good citizens at large. That is to say, they must be willing to respond to what they see when they look at the machine, when they hear it misfiring, when they see human blood staining its gears. The machine has been programmed to dump out of one spigot a vast arsenal of lethal military junk (80.5 billion dollars in the current budget for war and war preparation), out of another, a diminishing trickle of services (some 11 billion dollars for all health, education, and welfare services). Someone, as a strict requirement of sanity and logic, must be willing to say a simple thing: "The machine is working badly." And if the law of the machine, a law of military and economic profit enacted by generals and tycoons, must be broken in favor of the needs of man, let the law be broken. Let the machine be turned around, taken apart, built over again. Let the irrational power that set it to its evil production be made to listen to reason.

A few years ago, most of us of the Catonsville Nine had not thought so harshly about our social machinery. I, for one, had never before May 1968 violated a civil law. This was one experience that the nine defendants shared in common. From Guatemala to North Vietnam to Africa to

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the inner cities of New York, New Orleans, Washington, Newburgh, and Baltimore we had kept the law, had worked within the law, had believed that change was possible through the law. For many years we had believed that being good Americans was an acceptable secular task; within it we could work out our vocation as Christians.

But suddenly, for all of us, the American scene was no longer a good scene. It was, in fact, an immoral scene, corrupted by a useless and wasting war abroad, and a growing, petrifying racism at home. Ours was a scene that moral men could not continue to approve if they were to deserve the name of men. The American scene, in its crucial relationships—the law, the state, the Church, other societies, our own families—was placed in mortal question. Quite a charge, quite an indictment! Indeed, the change we underwent was so devastating that one misses the point entirely if he sees the Catonsville act as merely a protest against this or that aspect of American life. Catonsville, rightly understood, was a profound “No” aimed not merely at a federal law that protects human hunting licenses. Our act was aimed, as our statement tried to make clear, at every major presumption underlying American life today. Our act was in the strictest sense a conspiracy; that is to say, we had agreed together to attack the working assumptions of American life. Our act was a denial that American institutions were presently functioning in a way that good men could approve or sanction. We were denying that the law, medicine, education, and systems of social welfare (and, above all, the military-paramilitary styles and objectives that rule and overrule and control these others) were serving the people, were including the needy, or might be expected to change in accord with changing needs, that these could enlist or embody the resources of good men—imagination, moral suppleness, pragmatism, or compassion. We were denying that any major structure of American life was responding seriously on behalf of the needs of young people, of black people, of poor people, of working people, of Church people, of passionate people—as such men scrutinized their institutions, rightly expecting decent performances of them.

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the law. We were asking for a President who would obey the mandate that had given him office. We were asking for police forces that would eschew violence as their primary tactic. We were demanding that citizens accept the law of the land with regard to equal access to education and housing and jobs, for all, white or black.

Our hopes were modest. But in the rapid explosions of public fury since 1954, our hopes one by one were dashed. Law and order were violated almost universally. They were violated first of all and most frequently by those who cried to us as a slogan of social salvation, “Law and order!” The citizenry were racist, the police were violent, the Congress was delinquent, the courts were conniving, the President was expanding an undeclared war. It went on and on, an interlocking dance of death, a celebration of horror.

Then we resolved to act. The facts of the action I have described earlier; its outcome is before the courts.

I conclude on a word of hope. Our lives are part of a vast social paradox; the affluent are often eaten by secret despair, yet those who place their lives and good names in jeopardy are lit by an inextinguishable joy and hope. Indeed, we have such strong hope in the power of life, and in the vitality of our society, as to test our lives rigorously at the hands of power. We wish indeed to discover whether or not our society is dying in its main parts, or whether some mysterious new man is being born. Our act was the kind of surgical probe of which the poet T. S. Eliot speaks: “In order to be healed, our illness must grow worse.”

From a certain point of view we have worsened the public condition of things. We have embarrassed good men, among them our own friends and associates in the university and in the Church. We have hardened the hearts of many who seemed to be softening toward ideals of peace and domestic justice. But such a hope would only be another form of illusion, unless it were exploring the secret and unadmitted recesses of despair and illness, which are the other side of national optimism.

So be it. We have tried to underscore with our tears, and if necessary with our blood, the hope that change is

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We dared a great deal, as it turned out. We attacked an underlying, optimistic, unassailably stubborn presupposition: that the American instance is in fact a good example of the way civilized men conduct themselves; the supposition that, domestically, American institutions serve as a model for human assembly, for dispensing justice, medical services, religious needs, the needs of the poor.

And in attacking the American assumption, we were beyond any doubt attacking the law and its practitioners. We were attacking the assumption that lawyers are capable of embodying a legal tradition and of serving us. We were attacking the assumption that American law, in its present form, can represent us, mediate our sense of justice, judge our actions, punish us.

So our act was in fact dangerous to a point that society promptly recognized. It was dangerous, as evidence of health must always be a danger to neurotic anxiety, illness, dread of life, despair, acedia, fear. Believe me, the burning of draft files by men and women like us is a kind of preliminary and particular judgment. It has to do with the end of a long patience. Which is to say, when people like us grow conscious of the fact that the jails and the courts are a necessary other end of our Vietnamese folly, then places of power and those who occupy them are indeed in danger. Men who share from birth the benefits of American life do not commonly turn against their peers so quickly, so unequivocally. Neither kooks nor hippies nor rabid blacks, but imagine! Straight clergy, middle class, white, religious men and women—what’s happening, anyway?

I have perhaps suggested enough of the implications of Catonsville, both to reassure and to shatter. To reassure: We were aiming at the law. To shatter: We were aiming beyond the law. We aimed at a social change, in a time of paralysis and dread; our hope was modest and thoughtful. We were not asking for an apocalyptic, overnight change in the character of the law of the land. We were demanding, believe it or not, no more than a minimal observance of the laws that stood upon the books. We were asking lawyers and judges for a minimal insistence on obedience to that law. We were insisting that if those in high places obeyed the law, there would be no reason for us to break

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still possible, that Americans may still be human, that death may not be inevitable, that a unified and compassionate society may still be possible. On that hope we rest our case.



XIV. Die Brüder Berrigan - Vertreter einer revolutionären Gewaltfreiheit ("towards revolutionary non-violence")

GERALD BURCHARDS / MARKUS JAHN

1. Daniel Berrigan

wurde 1921 geboren. Sein Vater, Tom Berrigan, Sohn irisch-deutscher Einwanderer, war ein militanter Sozialist und engagierter Gewerkschaftler. Daniel wuchs als eines von sechs Kindern während der Weltwirtschaftskrise auf. Obwohl die Familie selbst nicht gerade wohlhabend war, wurden immer wieder Obdachlose aufgenommen und gepflegt. Seine nach eigenen Worten nur "mittelmäßige Schulausbildung ... verbesserte (er) durch ständiges Lesen". 1939 trat er in die Gesellschaft Jesu (den Jesuitenorden) ein, einem eher spontanen Entschluß folgend. Die ersten Jahre dort gaben ihm "ein tiefes Empfinden für die Gegenwart Gottes in der Welt und ganz besonders in der menschlichen Gemeinschaft". Sein Studium der Philosophie bezeichnete er nachträglich als "drei freudlose Jahre am Woodstock College". Von 1946-49 arbeitete er als Lehrer an der St. Peter's Preparatory School in New Jersey City/New Jersey für Französisch, Latein, Englisch und Religion. Dort blühte er-im Vergleich zu seiner Studienzeit- auf, da er sich als "nützliches Geschöpf" zu empfinden begann. Im Herbst 1949 nahm Daniel das Studium der Theologie am West College in Weston/Massachusetts auf. Am 19.6.1952 wurde er zum Priester geweiht. 1953 ging er für das dritte Jahr seiner Ausbildung (Tertiat) nach Frankreich. Dort "empfang mein Geist ... die Grundrichtung für das ganze Leben". 1954 verbot Papst Pius XII. die sogenannten Arbeiterpriester; Frankreich verlor den Krieg in Vietnam. Von Februar bis Juni 1954 arbeitete Daniel als Militärkaplan in Westdeutschland. "...nie stellten ich oder ein anderer die Frage nach dem modernen Krieg, die Frage, warum wir überhaupt in Deutschland waren."

Er fühlte sich von den "endlosen Ausgaben und Installationen, einschließlich der ersten atomaren Verteidigungsbasen in Westeuropa, unheilvoll an die Expansion des Römischen Reiches erinnert", machte sich aber darüber hinaus keine weiteren Gedanken, geprägt durch die anderen Kapläne, die "alle ohne Ausnahme vom Geist des Militarismus angesteckt waren. Sie trugen die Uniform nicht nur auf ihrem Leib, sondern auch auf ihrer Seele." Im Herbst 1954 kehrte Daniel nach New York zurück, wo er als Lehrer an der Preparatory School in Brooklyn tätig wurde und die nächsten drei Jahre mit Schülergruppen unter den Puerto-Ricanern von Brooklyn und in der Lower East Side von Manhattan arbeitete. Im Herbst 1957 bekam er eine Anstellung als Lehrer für das Neue Testament am LeMoyne College in Syracuse/New York. Außerdem arbeitete er in den Gemeinden des ländlichen Mexiko und in den Gettos der Altstadt von Syracuse. 1957 wurde ihm auch der Lamont-Preis für seinen ersten Gedichtband überreicht. Anfang 1962 erhielt er von der Schulleitung die Genehmigung, mit 15 Studenten außerhalb des Campus zusammenzuleben, um sich mit ihnen auf eine "Art Friedenscorps-Arbeit in den ländlichen Gebieten Mexikos" vorzubereiten. Ostern 1963 folgte er einer Einladung des Erzbischofs von Südafrika, daran schloß sich ein einjähriger Aufenthalt in Europa, zunächst in Paris, dann, für jeweils eine Woche, in der Tschechoslowakei und in Ungarn, an. Tief beeindruckt von der Tatsache, daß die Kirchen dort "selbst unter den schwierigsten Umständen noch Mittel und Wege zum Überleben fanden", schrieb er einen Bericht an den Vatikan mit der Empfehlung, "ein mehr auf die Praxis bezogenes Interesse an den religiösen und sozialen Gegebenheiten in den marxistischen Ländern Mitteleuropas (zu) bekunden". Im Juni 1964 fuhr er noch einmal nach Prag, und von dort aus mit einer Gruppe amerikanischer Theologen in die UdSSR, für ihn ein "erschütterndes Erlebnis ... Ich erkannte, welcher

Schaden dem Geist der Menschheit im Westen durch den Kalten Krieg zugefügt wurde." In Prag gewann er "eine Ahnung von der Rolle, die die Kirchen im gegenwärtigen Kampf um den Frieden und das Überleben der Menschheit spielen könnten". Er begann auch über die Rolle Amerikas im Vietnam-Krieg nachzudenken. Nach einem Aufenthalt in Nigeria reiste er im Herbst 1964 in die USA zurück. Er hatte die Überzeugung gewonnen, daß der Krieg in Vietnam "nur noch schlimmer werden kann". Es erschien ihm sicher, daß die Eigen-dynamik des Krieges es nicht zuließe, daß die USA sich kurzfristig vom asiatischen Kriegsschauplatz zurückziehen würden. Geprägt durch die Erlebnisse in Europa und Afrika begann er, "zu diesem Krieg, so laut ich konnte, 'Nein' zu sagen ...". Er erkannte, daß die USA "kriegslüstern (und) entschlossen (waren), gegenüber einem armen, verachteten Volk nicht nachzu-gaben".

"In mid 1964, Thomas Merton issued a call to retreat to a group of friends, bringing them to his monastic home that November. 'We are hoping to reflect together on our common grounds for religious dissent and commitment in the face of the injustice and disorder of a world in which a total war seems at times inevitable, in which few seek any but violent solutions to economic and social problems more critical and more vast than man has ever known before.' Among those who went to this retreat were Dan and Phil Berrigan, Jim Forest and Tom Cornell ; both of the latter were editors of the Catholic Worker. It is probably no understatement that that retreat at Gethsemani changed the lives of those who were there." (1)

Im Sommer 1965 war Daniel Mitbegründer der "Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam".

"The clerical composition of the group had considerable shock value in a country where, by and large, churchmen had stayed away from politics." (2)

Er unterzeichnete Aufrufe gegen den Krieg ; binnen eines Jahres "hatte ich mich daran beteiligt, Methoden zu er-sinnen, wie man gegen den Krieg protestieren könne". Außerdem nahm er an Fastenaktionen, sit-ins, picket-lines etcetera teil: "Wir hatten nie Erfolg und gaben

nie ganz auf." Sein altes Weltbild stürzte ein: "...die sieben Plagen wurden auf die Welt losge-lassen... Mein Verhältnis zu meiner Kirche und zu meinem Orden (wurde) grundlegend neu geordnet..." Der Bruch mit der amerikanischen katholischen Kirche begann sich abzuzeichnen, da diese sich äußerst patriotisch verhielt und uneingeschränkt den Vietnam-Krieg befürwortete. Im Oktober 1965 verbrannte David Miller, ein Student Daniel Berrigans, öffentlich seinen Einberufungsbefehl. Im Herbst des gleichen Jahres verbrannte sich Roger de la Porte, den Daniel Berrigan flüchtig kannte, aus Protest gegen den Krieg in Vietnam vor dem UNO- Gebäude in New York. Da "wilde Gerüchte seinen Tod mit unserer Bekanntschaft in Verbindung brachten", betrieb Kar-dinal Spellman Daniels Verbannung nach Mexiko. Während dieses Exils forderte die katholische Öffentlichkeit in den USA seine Oberen auf, ihn zurückzurufen, was nach fünf Monaten auch geschah: "In mid-December, a newly formed Committee for Daniel Berrigan took a full-page ad in the New York Times protesting its hero's exile and demanding his return. It was signed by hundreds of priests, nuns, seminarians, and Catholic laymen." (3) " After Daniel's departure, hardly a week went by without a demonstration on some Jesuit campus ...Several hundred young Jesuits threatened to leave the order if Daniel was not recalled." (4) Auf einer Pressekonferenz gab Daniel Berrigan bekannt, daß er sich weiter der Friedensarbeit widmen werde. Einladungen aus dem ganzen Land, vor Studentengruppen zu sprechen, folgten. Im Sommer 1967 reiste er nach Pueblo/Colorado, um an Programmen des Office for Economic Opportunity zur Bekämpfung der Armut mitzuwirken. Aber seine Ent-täuschung über derartige staatliche Programme wuchs: "Es erschien mir absurd und selbstmörderisch, angeblich den Armen im eigenen Land zu helfen und zugleich die Armen in Übersee mit Bomben zu belegen."

Am 21.10.1967 wurde Daniel erstmals während einer Antikriegsdemonstration vor dem Pentagon verhaftet, nachdem die Polizei vergeblich versucht hatte, die Demonstration aufzulösen. Im Herbst 1967 erhielt er eine Einladung der Cornell University, ein Amt im Rahmen einer religiösen Arbeitsgemeinschaft anzunehmen. Im Februar 1968 flog Daniel Berrigan auf Anregung und mit Howard Zinn von der Boston University nach Hanoi, um drei freigelassene amerikanische Kriegsgefangene zurück in die USA zu begleiten. Dabei erlebte er einen Bombenangriff der US- Luftwaffe mit. Im Frühjahr desselben Jahres verbrannte sich ein Sechzehnjähriger vor der Kathedrale von Syracuse. Daniel Berrigan besuchte ihn, als er im Krankenhaus im Sterben lag. "Der Kranke starb, jedoch nicht ohne etwas in mir zum Leben erweckt zu haben." (5)

## 2. Philip Berrigan

wurde 1923 geboren. Nach seiner Schulausbildung wurde er 1943 zur Armee einberufen. Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges kämpfte er in Frankreich und Deutschland als Artillerist an der Front. "Er war durch und durch Soldat und wurde auf dem europäischen Kriegsschauplatz ausgezeichnet und zum Offizier befördert." (6), schreibt später sein Bruder Daniel über ihn. Er selbst sieht seine Jahre bei der Armee nachträglich folgendermaßen: "Am 6. August 1945 war ich eben vom Krieg in Europa heil wieder nach Amerika zurückgekehrt. Meine Division hatte den Befehl erhalten, sich auf die Invasion Japans vorzubereiten. Die Atombombenexplosionen schreckten mich weder auf, noch war ich darüber entsetzt. Ich war nur irgendwie enttäuscht, als ihnen wenige Tage später der Waffenstillstand folgte. Wie meine Landsleute war ich von der Rechtschaffenheit Amerikas ebenso überzeugt wie von meiner eigenen Rechtschaffenheit und der Richtigkeit der Tatsache, daß ich am Kampf teilgenommen hatte. Mit anderen Worten: Meine eigenen kriminellen Jugendjahre und die meines Landes fielen zeitlich genau zusammen." (7)

1945 nahm Philip sein Studium am Holy Cross College in Massachusetts auf ; 1950 trat er dem Josephitenorden ("Society of Saint Joseph, S.S.J.") bei, einer Priestergemeinschaft, die besonders in den Gettos der schwarzen Amerikaner in den Großstädten arbeitet. 1955 wurde er zum Priester geweiht. "Nach seiner Priesterweihe verbrachte Philip mehrere Jahre in Gettogemeinden und -schulen in Washington, New Orleans und Baltimore. Auf diese Weise machte er eine Art Rekrutendienst durch - die richtige Ausbildung für einen einsatzfreudigen Aktivist. Von Anfang an trat er für die Armen in den Städten ein und kämpfte für sie. ... Er arbeitete für verschiedene katholische Hilfsorganisationen und Verbände, die damals großen Zulauf hatten, für CORE und SNCC (dem gewaltfreien Studentenverband der Bürgerrechtsbewegung). Er nahm an Demonstrationsfahrten für die Freiheit teil, übte alle möglichen manuellen Tätigkeiten aus, erbettelte Geld, um anderen helfen zu können, und kämpfte um Stipendien für schwarze Studenten." (8) 1962 erhielt Philip einen Lehrauftrag am Seminar des Ordens in Newburgh/New York. 1963 wurde er während einer Zwischenlandung auf einem Flug nach Jackson, wo er an einem sit-in gegen die Rassentrennung in öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln teilnehmen wollte, von seinem Oberen zurückbeordert. Der Konflikt spitzte sich zu, als er 1965 in Newburgh eine "Emergency Citizens' Group Concerned About Vietnam" gründete und bei einem Vortrag die amerikanische Außenpolitik im Lichte der Innenpolitik betrachtete und sie in Frage stellte: "Ist es möglich für uns im Inland, gemein, brutal, unmoralisch und gewalttätig zu sein und nach denselben Prinzipien eine gerechte, Wohltaten verbreitende und idealistische Außenpolitik zu verbreiten ?" (9) Im April 1965 bezeichnete er bei einer Lesung vor dem Community Affairs Council den Rassismus zuhause und den Militarismus in Vietnam als Ausdruck ein und derselben Mentalität.

Auf Druck der Öffentlichkeit hin wurde er an die St. Peter Claver- Pfarrei in Baltimore versetzt ; ihm wurde zur Auflage gemacht, sich nicht weiterhin über den Vietnam-Krieg zu äußern, woran er sich auch drei Monate hielt. Im Herbst 1965 bildete er zusammen mit evangelischen und katholischen Priestern der "Baltimore Interfaith Peace Mission" eine neue Anti-Kriegs-Gruppe, die Baltimore den Namen einer christlichen Guerillastadt einbrachte. "This new group ... spent its first year thrusting its views upon various public officials. Philip met with Senators Brewster and Tydings, of Maryland, in their Washington offices. He debated Maryland Representative Clarence Long at John Hopkins University ; assisted by Representative John Dow, of Rockland County/New York, he tried to arrange for a group of anti-war clergymen to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to discuss the morality of the Administration's Vietnam policy. Senator Fulbright, the chairman of the committee, promised a meeting after the congressional elections in the fall of 1966, but the meeting never took place." (10) Am 29.12. 1966 fuhren 20 Mitglieder nach Washington, um vor den Häusern von Dean Rusk und Robert McNamara zu demonstrieren. Sie trugen Transparente "Stop the Bombing !" und beteten für die Beendigung des Krieges. Ein zweistündiges Gespräch mit Rusk am nächsten Tag brachte keine Änderung. Sie hatten den Punkt erreicht, "wo sie einsahen, die Regierung würde sie in himmlischer Geduld bis ans Ende der Zeit marschieren lassen und dennoch nie ihre Politik in Vietnam ändern. Von nun an wollten sie den Protest und die Auseinandersetzung ins gegnerische Lager hineintragen." (11) Die Gruppe traf sich dreimal in der Woche, um die Möglichkeiten radikaler Aktionen zu erörtern. Gefängnisstrafen wurden als Mittel der Mobilisierung des Gewissens der Nation bewußt in Kauf genommen. Die gewaltlose Zerstörung von Regierungseigentum, das militärischen Zwecken diente, wurde

diskutiert ; sie dachten an die Zerstörung unbewohnter Militärgebäude, entschieden sich jedoch für die Vernichtung von Einberufungsakten. "Am Morgen des 27. Oktober 1967, ... 10 Minuten nach 12 Uhr, als die Mehrzahl der Beamten Tischzeit hatte, betraten vier Männer - später die 'Baltimore Four' genannt - das Zollhaus, in dem in Baltimore die Behörden untergebracht sind. Während einer der Männer den diensthabenden Beamten ablenkte, öffneten die drei anderen die Schublade und begannen, die Akten der Behörde mit Blut, das sie in kleinen Flaschen bei sich trugen, zu begießen. In drei Minuten war die Aktion, die von Fernsehen und Presse aufgezeichnet wurde, beendet.

Die Männer, unter ihnen Philip Berrigan, setzten sich auf eine Bank, um auf ihre Verhaftung zu warten. In dem Prozeß, der im April 1968 stattfand, wurden Philip Berrigan und Tom Lewis zu je sechs Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt." (12)



Philip Berrigan, sein Bruder und sieben weitere katholische Aktivisten verbrennen Wehrpaß-akten in Catonsville, Maryland am 17. Mai 1968 ("Catonsville Nine")



Ein vietnamesischer, buddhistischer verbrennt sich auf dem Marktplatz von Saigon öffentlich selbst zu Tode, um gegen die anti-religiöse Militärpolitik der Regierung zu protestieren - 5. Oktober 1963

3. Gemeinsame Aktionen von Daniel und Philip Berrigan nach 1967

Bevor sie die Strafe antreten mußten, schritten sie zu einer neuen Tat: Catonsville. Philip Berrigan wandte sich diesmal an seinen Bruder Daniel und bat ihn, sich der Gruppe anzuschließen. Für Daniel kam das überraschend: "Ich war damals noch weit entfernt, die Dinge so zu sehen wie sie. Aber ich wurde zum Nachdenken aufgerüttelt. ... Als daher Philip Anfang Mai mit einer neuen Aktion an mich herantrat und mich dringend zur Teilnahme daran aufforderte, antwortete ich, innerlich zutiefst bestürzt, mit unmittelbarer Anteilnahme und Bereitschaft. ... Sie besuchten mich in Cornell Mitte Mai 1968. Dort unterbreiteten sie mir an einem Abend beim Essen ihren Plan, und wir diskutierten darüber. ... In der Morgendämmerung kam mir die Erleuchtung. Ich sagte zu Philip: 'Ich mache mit.'" (13) So kam es am 17.5.1968 zur Aktion der "Catonsville Nine". "Wir neun Mann drangen in das Einberufungsamt ein, entnahmen Hunderte von 1-A-Akten und verbrannten sie mit selbstgefertigtem Napalm auf einem beschotterten Parkplatz nahebei. Ich kann mich noch lebhaft an die Hitze und Leidenschaft dieses Nachmittags erinnern und an das überwältigende Gefühl der Befreiung, in dem wir einander anblickten, als alles geschehen war." (14) Während das Napalm die 378 Einberufungsbefehle der höchsten Tauglichkeitsstufe verbrannte, warteten sie betend auf die Polizei. "Verzeihung, gute Freunde, daß wir gegen Sitte und Ordnung verstoßen, indem wir Papier verbrennen anstatt Kinder und die Ordonnanzen im Vorraum des Schlachthofs verärgern. Aber, so helfe uns Gott, wir konnten nicht anders. Wir sind krank vor Sorge, unser Herz gibt uns keine Ruhe, wenn wir an das Land der brennenden Kinder denken ..." (15)

Sie wurden verhaftet, gegen Kaution aber wieder freigelassen. Im Prozeß war es ihnen nicht möglich, ihr eigentliches Anliegen vorzubringen. Wenn sie versuchten, ihr Verhalten zu erklären und den Staat wegen seines ungerechten, unmenschlichen und ungesetzlichen Handelns in Vietnam und zuhause anzuklagen, unterbrach sie der Richter oder der Staatsanwalt und bog die Diskussion ab auf die Klärung der Tatbestände und die Anklagepunkte, die allein zu verhandeln wären: vorsätzlicher Diebstahl, Verwüstung von Eigentum der Vereinigten Staaten und Behinderung der Einberufung. Für die Aktion von Catonsville wurde Daniel zu dreieinhalb, Philip, unter Anrechnung der Strafe für die Aktion von Baltimore, zu sechseinhalb Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt. Das Urteil erging am 8.11.1968 ; am 27.11.1970 beschuldigte J. Edgar Hoover, Direktor des FBI, Daniel und Philip Berrigan sowie vier Freunde der Verschwörung mit dem Ziel, den außenpolitischen Berater Nixons, Henry Kissinger, zu entführen und das Heizungssystem der Regierungsbauten in Washington in die Luft zu sprengen. Diese Anklage erwies sich schließlich als unhaltbar. Am 9.4.1970 entzogen sich Daniel und Philip Berrigan dem fälligen Haftantritt durch Flucht. "Philip und ich, Priester der katholischen Kirche, beabsichtigen diese Woche, gegen den automatischen, vom US- Justizministerium angemeldeten Anspruch auf unsere Personen Widerstand zu leisten. Wir glauben, daß ein solcher Anspruch offenkundig ungerecht ist. ... Daher bleibt uns nur eines zu tun übrig: uns zu Flüchtlingen vor der Ungerechtigkeit zu erklären. Denn wir sind keine Verbrecher." (16) Philip wurde am 21.4.1970 vom FBI in New York verhaftet und in das Gefängnis Lewisburg eingeliefert ; Daniel konnte sich bis zum 11.8.1970 in verschiedenen Städten bei Freunden verbergen. Ende Februar 1972 wurde Daniel wegen akuter Kreislaufschwäche auf Bewährung vorzeitig aus der Haft entlassen ; am 20.12.1972 wurde Philip - völlig unerwartet - ebenfalls unter Bewährungsaufgaben entlassen.

Von 1973 bis 1975 hatte Daniel einen Lehrauftrag an der Universität von Manitoba in Kanada inne. Philip Berrigan heiratete im Mai 1973 Elizabeth McAlister, eine ehemalige Nonne des "Order of the Sacred Heart of Mary and a teacher of art history at Marymount College in Tarrytown, New York." (17), was für ihn bedeutete, daß er seine kirchlichen Ämter aufgeben mußte. Am 1.6.1973 gründete Philip zusammen mit anderen in Baltimore das Jonah House, eine gewaltlose, christliche Widerstandsgruppe mit gemeinsamen Prinzipien:

- "1. That non-violence, community resistance were convertibles, i.e., they meant the same thing from different references ;
2. that contemplation - prayer, meditation, reflection, analysis - alone gave sustenance and spirit to resistance ;
3. that holding property in common - one bank account, community transportation, no personal or health insurance - was helpful for justice toward the poor and toward the earth ;
4. that the Judeo-Christian Scripture was the vision for a society faithful to God and loving toward itself. (At the same time, it was not obligatory to be a believing Jew or a believing Christian to join us.)

Our focus became resistance out of non-violent community. Resistance to what ? We realized in time that resistance was to evil, that to reverence life one had to protect it, to blow the trumpet at the approaching sword, to use the metaphor of Ezechiel. Resistance was to evil (death) in ourselves, in relationships, in structures, in the imperial State. ... More concretely, resistance was to the State and its wars - conventional and nuclear." (18)

Die Jonah House Gemeinschaft forderte in den folgenden Jahren durch verschiedene Aktionen, die sie selbst inszenierte oder an denen sie teilnahm, die Beendigung des Krieges in Vietnam und ein Ende des (atomaren) Wettrüstens - aufgezählt seien nur die Aktionen von 1973 bis 1977, um einen ungefähren Eindruck zu geben:

- White House Pray-Ins, Sommer 1973 ;
- Solidarity with the Political Prisoners of Indochina, September 1973 ;
- Thanksgiving Service, 1973 ;
- Baltimore Shopping Mall Demonstration, 1973 ;
- Straßentheater vor dem Weißen Haus, Weihnachten 1973 ;
- Straßentheater anlässlich des Jahrestages der Unterzeichnung des Pariser Friedensabkommens, 27.7.1974 ;
- The Lenten Series: verschiedene Aktionen vor öffentlichen Gebäuden (Gefängnisse, Banken, Rüstungsfabriken) während der Fastentage 1974 ;
- gewaltfreie Aktionen in den Büros des Vietnamese Overseas Procurement Office, Karfreitag und 10.7.1974 ;
- "Tiger Cage"- Aktion vor dem Capitol, 10.7.-9.8.1974 ;
- gewaltfreie Besetzung des Baltimore Gas and Electric Tower, 30.9.1974 ;
- gewaltfreie Besetzung des National Catholic Shrine in Washington, November 1974 ;
- Öffentliche Verlesung der Paris Peace Accords vor dem Weißen Haus, Januar 1975 ;
- Sit-in gegen die restriktive Handhabung des Amnestie-Programmes für Kriegsdienstverweigerer durch Präsident Nixon, 1.3.1975 ;
- Teilnahme an einer Demonstration vor dem Leavenworth Penitentiary Kansas, 15.3.1975
- Demonstrationen an der US Naval Air Base in Petapsco, Maryland, 11.9.1977 ;
- Demonstrationen gegen die geplante Aufstellung von Neutronenbomben in Mitteleuropa, 2.10.-18.12.1977 ;
- Thanksgiving Workshops, 21.-23.11.1977.

An der Ausführung dieser Aktionen waren Philip und Daniel Berrigan nur teilweise beteiligt, da ersterer an Bewährungsaufgaben gebunden war, und letzterer einen Lehrauftrag in Kanada innehatte und vom Frühjahr 1976 an eine Zeit lang mit Buddhisten in Paris zusammenlebte und -arbeitete. Das bedeutet jedoch nicht, daß sie diese Aktionen nicht mitvorbereitet und mitgetragen hätten. (19) 1978 begann Daniel Berrigan am St. Rose's Home in New York, einem Krankenhaus für arme Krebskranke, zu arbeiten. Diese Arbeit bestärkte ihn in seinem Entschluß, gegen die nukleare Aufrüstung weiterhin anzugehen:

"I don't know whether you have ever smelled cancer. Cancer of the nose, cancer of the face, which is the most terrible to look upon and to smell, cancer of the brain, cancer of the lungs: we see it all, smell it all, hold it all in our arms. ... Those things (the missiles) make cancer the destiny of humanity, as is amply shown. ... they (the dying) had helped me with their last days and their last breaths to understand why I had to continue the struggle, because I was seeing up close everything, everything, everything, especially the children." (20)

Mit symbolischen Aktionen, wie denen der Jonah House-Gemeinschaft, "... hielten (wir) uns ... auf, bis uns eines Tages klar wurde, daß bisher noch niemand die Kriegsindustrie direkt angegriffen hatte - dabei werden überall im Lande die Waffen produziert." (21) Im März 1980 versuchte Daniel Berrigan mit Freunden in die Lockheed-Fabrik in Santa Cruz/Kalifornien einzudringen, was jedoch verhindert wurde. Am Aschermittwoch desselben Jahres protestierte er gegen die Komplizenschaft der University of California mit den Livermore Laboratories, in denen Atomwaffen konstruiert werden. Ihre spektakulärste Aktion führte die Gruppe um Philip Berrigan, der sich diesmal wieder Daniel Berrigan anschloß, am 9.9.1980 durch. Die Niederlassung von General Electric in King of Prussia/Pennsylvania war schon vorher Ziel von Beobachtungs- und Aufklärungsaktionen gewesen. Flugblätter, auf denen der Atomsprengkopf 'Mark 12 A' - von General Electric hergestellt - graphisch dargestellt und seine Wirkung beschrieben wurde, waren an die Arbeiter verteilt worden. Schließlich beschlossen sie, mit den Aktionen in die Atomwaffenfabrik selbst hineinzugehen. Es bildete sich eine Gruppe, die sich neun Monate auf eine solche Aktion vorbereitete. "... our great desire was to beat that missile into a plowshare or something equivalent that would represent peace, to really lay our hands on an actual missile cone. ... We role-played what we wanted to do. And I think, the remarkable thing was that the action turned out like the role-play. We really did what we planned to do." (22)

Am 9.9.1980, früh um sieben Uhr, fuhren die "Plowshares Eight" (Der Name der Gruppe wurde von Jesaja 2,4 und Micha 4,3 abgeleitet: "Sie (werden) ihre Schwerter zu Pflugscharen und ihre Spieße zu Sichel machen.") zu General Electric. Die Schwester Anne Montgomery und der Priester Carl Kabat lenkten den Wachmann ab, während die anderen sechs vorbeigingen. Mit viel Glück - Daniel Berrigan nannte es "göttliche Vorsehung" - fanden sie in einer leeren Halle zwei 'Mark 12 A'- Raketenköpfe. Mit ihren mitgebrachten Haushaltshämmern schlugen sie auf diese ein. Als Arbeiter, vom Lärm aufgeschreckt, den Raum betraten, legten sie sofort ihre Hämmer nieder, um nicht den Eindruck entstehen zu lassen, sie würden die Arbeiter bedrohen. Bevor die Wachmannschaft eintraf, gossen sie noch Blut über die Sprengköpfe, über Werkzeuge und zufällig herumliegende Konstruktionszeichnungen. Dann gingen sie alle in eine Ecke des Raumes, nahmen sich bei den Händen und sangen und beteten, bis sie verhaftet wurden. Ihre Aktion begründeten sie aus der Bibel: "The prophets Isaiah and Micha summon us to beat swords into plowshares." (23) Als weitere Begründung gaben sie in ihrem Statement an:

"We commit civil disobedience at G.E. because this genocidal entity is the fifth leading producer of weaponry in the U.S.. To maintain this position, G.E. drains 3 million Dollars a day from the public treasury, an enormous larceny against the poor. We wish also to challenge the lethal lie spun by G.E. through its motto: 'We bring good things to life.' As manufacturer of the 'Mark 12 A' re-entry vehicle, G.E. actually prepares to bring good things to death. Through the 'Mark 12 A' the threat of First-Strike nuclear war grows more imminent. Thus, G.E. advances the possible destruction of millions of innocent lives. In confronting G.E., we choose to obey God's law of life, rather than a corporate summons to death. Our beating of swords into plowshares today is a way to inflesh this biblical call. In our action we draw on a deep-rooted faith in Christ, who changed the course of history through his willingness to suffer rather than to kill. We are filled with hope for our world and for our children as we join this act of resistance." (24)

Im nachfolgenden Gerichtsverfahren hatten die Teilnehmer der Pflugschar-Acht-Aktion kaum die Chance einer Verteidigung.

"Judge Samuel Salus ... objected to any use of the term 'warhead'. He also excluded any reference to the uses or destructive power of the Mark 12 A. 'We are not here to discuss these weapons - if they are weapons', Salus said. 'Nuclear war is not on trial here. International law is not on trial here.' But the defendants claimed their acts were justified, indeed obligated, under God's law, international law and Pennsylvanian law. The Judge ... refused to let them call their expert witnesses: Robert Aldridge (engineer for Lockheed, where he designed five generations of submarine-launched ballistic missiles before resigning). Daniel Ellsberg (student of nuclear policy), Richard Falk (professor of international law at Princeton University), George Wald (Nobel laureate, professor of biology at Harvard University), Helen Caldicott (pediatrician, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility), and Robert Jay Lifton (professor psychiatry at Yale University)... Their testimony was to provide evidence that the defendants had reasonable grounds for their belief that they were acting to prevent a greater harm by committing a lesser. But the judge held that all these witnesses were irrelevant." (25)

Die "Plowshares-Eight" wurden im Herbst 1981 in erster Instanz zu Gefängnisstrafen zwischen drei und zehn Jahren ohne Bewährung verurteilt.

In einem Revisionsverfahren wurden die acht Teilnehmer der Pflugschar- Aktion durch ein ausführlich begründetes Urteil im Februar 1984 freigesprochen !



4. Die Berrigans - Verkörperungen eines radikalen Kampfes für den Frieden

Die Berrigans wollen mit ihren demonstrativen Symbolhandlungen auf die Kriegs(vorbereitungs)maschinerie aufmerksam machen. Sie üben eine Kritik, die das Gefühl vermittelt, daß wir selber Opfer monströser Machenschaften sind, die aber im gleichen Moment merken läßt, wie sehr wir selber auch Akteure sind, zulassende Akteure des Unfriedens. "Soll unser Leben ein Leben für den Frieden sein, muß es der Prüfung durch Gott und den Menschen standhalten, und mit dem Menschen meine ich nicht die uns Gleichgestellten, sondern die Milliarden Menschen, die unter Krieg, Tyrannei, Hunger, Krankheit und der Bürde rassischer Vorurteile leiden." (26)

Die Berrigans tragen keine Theorien über Frieden vor. Sie verkörpern vielmehr in ihren Handlungen den Gegensatz zum Unfrieden. Die Wahrheit soll gelebt, nicht nur verkündet, der Friede bezeugt und nicht nur rhetorisch beschworen werden. "Wir wollen lediglich ein Zeichen des lebendigen Menschseins und einer menschenwürdigen Zukunft sein. Wir sind uns der Tatsache schmerzlich, aber klar bewußt, daß unser Vorhaben den Rahmen der durch die Verfassung garantierten Rechte und staatsbürgerlichen Freiheiten übersteigt und daher nicht leicht genommen werden darf." (27)

Die bewußte Regelverletzung und die symbolische Zerstörung von Kriegsgerät ist ein fester Bestandteil ihrer Aktionen. "Die Freiheit ist nicht etwas, das man geschenkt bekommt. Man kann in einer Diktatur leben und doch frei sein, es genügt, gegen die Diktatur zu kämpfen. Wer mit dem eigenen Kopf denkt, ist ein freier Mensch. Wer für das, was er für richtig hält, kämpft, ist ein freier Mensch. Hingegen kann man im freiesten Land der Welt leben, und doch nicht frei sein, wenn man im Innern faul, stumpf, servil, willenlos ist ; obwohl hier der gewalttätige Zwang fehlt, ist man ein Sklave. Nein, man soll seine Freiheit nicht erbetteln. Die Freiheit soll man sich nehmen !" (28)

Protest-Inszenierungen wie die der Berrigans attackieren nicht die Menschen, sondern das Selbstzerstörerische ihres Tuns. Niemand wird bei diesen Aktionen verletzt, beleidigt oder gar getötet. Entscheidend für die Berrigans ist, daß um jeden Preis auch die Niederlage des Gegners, also seine Demütigung vermieden wird, daß ihm also auch seelisch kein Schaden zugefügt wird. "Wir haben der institutionalisierten Gewalt widerstanden, wir haben ihren Militarismus, ihren Rassismus und ihren vorgetäuschten Wohlstand angegriffen und haben in Wort und Tat die Zusammenarbeit mit ihr verweigert. Mehr noch, wir behaupten, daß wir in völliger Übereinstimmung mit dem Buchstaben, dem Geist des gewaltlosen zivilen Widerstands gehandelt haben." (29)

Ein weiteres Charakteristikum ihres Handelns ist ihre Treue zur amerikanischen Verfassung, eine rigorose Vaterlandsliebe: "Wir lieben unser Land und rühmen seine Größe. Aber unsere Liebe kann das Böse in ihm nicht schweigend und passiv hinnehmen. Wir widersetzen uns diesem Bösen mit unserem Gewissen und unseren physischen Kräften und nehmen die sich daraus ergebende Strafe auf uns." (30)

"... es ist an der Zeit, der Ungerechtigkeit entgegenzutreten. Dies, so meinen wir, sollte das erste Ziel unseres Staates sein - der eingewurzelten, massiven und umfassenden Ungerechtigkeit unseres Landes entgegenzutreten. Jeder sollte ihr entgegentreten, redlich, gewaltlos und ohne Rücksicht auf die eigene Person und die eigene Zukunft." (31)

Auf den Vorwurf, ihre Aktionen seien nichts als Praktiken bürgerlichen Ungehorsams, antwortete Daniel Berrigan Anfang 1982: "Je länger diese Regierung agiert, um so klarer wird es, daß wir bürgerlichen Gehorsam üben, wenn wir das Gesetz brechen. Wir verteidigen das amerikanische Gesetz. Es ist die Regierung, die es ständig bricht, auf nationaler und auf internationaler Ebene. Die Regierung verhält sich anarchistisch, illegal und unkontrolliert." (32)

"Wie die anderen Angeklagten bin ich Amerikaner und Christ,

und zwar insofern, als ich meinem Land und der Menschheit unter den Worten der Unabhängigkeitserklärung und des Evangeliums gegenüberetrete. Als demokratischer Mann muß ich mich an eine Tradition des Protestes halten, die auf die Geburt unserer Nation zurückgeht - Traditionen, die unsere besten Stunden erhellt haben. Jefferson, Washington, Madison, Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman und Twain: auch sie sitzen heute auf der Anklagebank. ... Ich zögere nicht zu behaupten, daß diese Männer, lebten sie heute, ungehorsam wären, wie ich ungehorsam war, und verurteilt würden, wie ich verurteilt werde." (33)

Die dezidiert provozierenden Handlungen der Berrigans wollen die verantwortlichen Politiker der moralischen Unglaubwürdigkeit überführen, die Legitimität ihrer außen- und innenpolitischen Verfahrensweise öffentlich in Zweifel ziehen. Deshalb tragen sie ihren Protest auch ins gegnerische Lager selbst hinein, in die Wehersatzämter, in die industriellen Produktionszentren der neuen Waffen, in die Pentagonräume und in die Gerichtssäle.

Die Instrumente der Zerstörung werden symbolisch beseitigt und dadurch ein künftiger Zustand vorweggenommen, in dem ein Leben ohne Gewaltmittel möglich ist. Ein weiteres Merkmal dieses religiösen Pazifismus ist also das utopische Moment, das den kommenden Frieden (szustand) in kleinen, aber prägnanten Aktionen kurz sichtbar werden läßt. "Was wir anstreben und wofür wir zu leben versuchen, ist, glaube ich, Theologie der Hoffnung, die mit vollem Optimismus verkündet, daß der Mensch durch Christus neu geschaffen wurde, daß er seine Freiheit selbstverantwortlich gebrauchen kann, daß er eine Welt ohne die Schmach des Krieges, des Hungers und der Ausbeutung aufbauen kann." (34)

Der Protest der Berrigans richtet sich "gegen den Götzendienst am Eigentum und gegen die Kriegsmaschinerie, die aus Menschen Eigentum macht. Wir treten jenen Landsleuten entgegen, denen Eigentum mehr bedeutet als Menschenleben. Wir behaupten, daß Eigentum oft Instrument massiver Ungerechtigkeit ist. ... Wir sind uns darin einig, daß Amerika heute der größte Fabrikant und Vertreter der Gewalt in

der ganzen Welt ist. Wir sind der Meinung, daß das so ist, weil die Macht nicht in den Händen des Volkes liegt, dem sie gehört, sondern in den Händen einer ökonomischen, politischen und militärischen Verschwörergruppe, deren Interessen weder die Selbstbestimmung anderer Völker noch die Freiheit im eigenen Land zulassen können." (35)

Es ist fraglich, ob sich die Gruppe so präzise eingrenzen läßt, die die Berrigans durch ihren Protest ansprechen wollen. Sicherlich wendet er sich in erster Linie an die Verantwortlichen für die augenblickliche Hochrüstungspolitik, d.h. an die Regierung der U.S.A. - was jedoch nicht bedeutet, daß sie 'auf dem linken Auge blind' sind, wie u.a. ihr Brief an Leonid Breshnev zeigt, in dem sie ihm vorschlugen, als Antwort auf die Aktion der "Plowshare-Eight" "... der Welt die Demontage von drei russischen Atomwaffen bekannt zu geben und gleichzeitig Präsident Reagan aufzufordern, v i e r solcher Waffen zu zerstören und ihm zu versichern, daß Sie dann seiner Geste des Friedens entsprechen und es ihm gleichtun oder ihn sogar noch übertreffen werden." (36)

Ihre religiöse Bindung verpflichtet sie eher einem Handeln in der Tradition der Bergpredigt (etwa in ihrem uneingeschränkten Bekenntnis zur absoluten Gewaltlosigkeit) als dem Zwang, um jeden Preis politische Erfolge erzielen zu müssen. Zwar ist es ihnen noch nicht gelungen, die politischen Realitäten grundlegend zu verändern (so ist nach wie vor kein Ende des Wettrüstens abzusehen), allerdings kann man die nicht zuletzt durch öffentlichen Druck zustandegekommene Beendigung des Vietnam-Krieges im allerweitesten Sinne natürlich auch Aktionen wie den ihren zurechnen, ebenso wohl auch das Umdenken der amerikanischen Bischöfe, das sich in ihrem am 3.5.1983 verabschiedeten Hirtenbrief über Krieg und Frieden ausdrückt. Zumindest steht fest, daß es ihnen gelungen ist, die Diskussion über das Wettrüsten am Leben zu erhalten und die Öffentlichkeit auf diesem Wege zu politisieren:

"Für die Berrigans spricht ..., daß tatsächlich zuvor halbherzige Kriegsgegner für ein stärkeres Engagement begeistert werden konnten, so daß sie jetzt eine unmittelbare und aktive Rolle im Widerstand spielen." (37)

5. Zum Briefwechsel Cardenal - Berrigan:

Daniel Berrigan hatte Ende 1978 in einem offenen Brief an Ernesto Cardenal, der im National Catholic Reporter veröffentlicht wurde, seiner kritischen Sympathie ihm gegenüber Ausdruck verliehen, jedoch betont, daß seines Erachtens kein noch so hehres Ziel Gewalt gegen Menschen rechtfertige.

Ernesto Cardenal war 1978 der Guerillabewegung FRENTE SANDINISTA beigetreten, nachdem die von ihm gegründete christliche Gemeinde von Solentiname in Nicaragua von der Staatspolizei des nicaraguensischen Diktators Somoza zerstört worden war. In einer öffentlichen Erklärung gab er damals seiner Überzeugung Ausdruck, daß für die Unterdrückten nunmehr der gewalttätige Kampf der einzige Weg sei, eine gerechtere Gesellschaft aufzubauen.

Im November 1979 bezog sich Cardenal in einem Interview mit einer Journalistin des National Catholic Reporter auf Daniel Berrigans Brief und erklärte, warum er sich erst jetzt dazu äußere: "Ich wollte den Brief Berrigans damals nicht beantworten, weil es mir in der gegebenen Situation als eine sinnlose Aufgabe erschien, das Pro und Contra eines bewaffneten Kampfes zu diskutieren. Ich dachte, es wäre besser zu warten, bis die Realität zeigt, inwieweit wir recht haben. Jetzt ist diese Realität da. Mein großer Freund, mein Freund und Bruder, Vater Berrigan, kann nun nach Nicaragua kommen und die Begeisterung des Volkes über diesen Sieg sehen, der von den Waffen der sandinistischen Front erzielt worden ist. Das war ein trauriges Volk gewesen, und nun kann jeder Mann, der kommt, ein glückliches Volk sehen, trotz der großen Leiden." (38)

Dann setzte er sich sehr ausführlich mit dem Kernpunkt von Berrigans Kritik auseinander, eben jener Maxime, "daß der Tod eines einzigen Menschen ein zu hoher Preis (sei) für die Verteidigung irgendeines Prinzips". Dem pflichtet er grundsätzlich bei, schränkt jedoch ein, daß es Situationen gäbe, in denen man sich bei konsequenter Anwendung dieses Prinzips der Mittäterschaft bei der Ausübung von Verbrechen schuldig machen würde ; mit anderen Worten: daß es Situationen gäbe, in denen dieses Gebot nur eingeschränkt oder gar keine Gültigkeit haben könnte: "Ich stimme dem zu. Aber aus demselben Grund denke ich, daß kein Prinzip, so edel es auch sei, mehr wert ist, als das Blut ... (eines einzigen) Kindes. Der Kampf der sandinistischen Front wurde nicht wegen irgendeines Prinzips geführt - so hoch es auch zu bewerten ist -, sondern der Kampf wurde geführt, um das Blutvergießen dieser Kinder zu vermeiden, von Kindern, die von der Diktatur ermordet worden sind, von Männern, von Frauen und alten Leuten, die Tag für Tag ermordet worden sind. Die Waffen der Revolution sind nicht gebraucht worden, um zu töten, sondern um neues Leben zu geben."

Im Gegensatz zu Daniel Berrigan, für den kein noch so hehrer Zweck den Einsatz verwerflicher Mittel rechtfertigen kann, ist es für Cardenal von Bedeutung, w e r unter w e l c h e n Umständen Gewalt zu w e l c h e m Zweck ausübt. Er läßt es nicht dabei bewenden, festzustellen, ob oder daß Gewalt ausgeübt wurde, sondern differenziert zwischen verschiedenen Qualitäten von Gewalt: "Es kann keiner die Waffen unserer Leute mit ihren 22-Kaliber-Gewehren, Macheten, Stöcken und Steinen mit jenen schweren Waffen der Nationalgarde Somozas vergleichen, die von den USA oder Israel geliefert worden sind. Und keiner kann das Blut, das die sandinistische Front verursachte, mit dem der Soldaten der Nationalgarde vergleichen. Die Nationalgarde nahm niemals sandinistische Kämpfer gefangen. Die Garde tötete sie."

Vor allem widerspricht er Berrigans Behauptung, daß Gewalt immer wieder zu Gewalt führe. Er versteht die von den Sandinistas ausgeübte Gegengewalt vielmehr so, daß sie eingesetzt wurde, um Frieden zu schaffen: "Und hier in Nicaragua ist es demonstriert worden, daß es nicht unbedingt stimmt, daß der allgemeine Slogan gilt: 'Gewalt zeugt Gewalt'. Dieser Kampf war geführt worden, um Gewalt zu beenden. Die Sandinista-Front war sehr großmütig nach ihrem Sieg. Es ist keiner von denen getötet worden, die wegen ihrer Verbrechen den Tod verdient hätten... 'Wenn ein Soldat der Nationalgarde gefangen worden ist, sollten wir nicht nur sein Leben und seine Würde respektieren, sondern ihn wie einen unserer Brüder behandeln. Es ist vorzuziehen, ihn seiner Freiheit zu berauben und in dieser Weise zu sündigen und dabei großmütig, nicht rigoros zu sein.'" In der nicaraguensischen Revolution sieht Ernesto Cardenal ein vorbildliches Beispiel dafür, wie auf dieser Welt ein Schritt in Richtung auf eine bessere Gesellschaft geleistet worden ist: "Wenn wir eine Gesellschaft aufbauen wollen, in der neue Menschen wohnen sollen, müssen wir uns selbst wie neue Menschen benehmen. Wenn Präsidenten morden, wie können wir uns dann noch von unseren Feinden unterscheiden? Die Revolution in Nicaragua hat gezeigt, wie wir eine Revolution machen können, die Frieden produziert, Glück für das Volk, wie wir Gewalt dafür nutzen können." Cardenal betont vor allem, daß die Revolution nicht aus Eigennutz oder materiellen Interessen geführt wurde, sondern daß Christen in Befolgung christlicher Gebote zu den Waffen griffen: "Die Kirche ist sehr verwickelt in diese Revolution, Kirche nicht alleine als Summe der Bischöfe von Nicaragua zu verstehen, sondern als Gottesvolk von Nicaragua. Keiner kann in dem Falle Nicaragua einen Trennungsstrich zwischen der Kirche und der Revolution ziehen. Die Kirche ist das Gottesvolk, das die Revolution gemacht hat. Es hat Veränderungen im Volk ausgelöst, es hat das Volk großmütiger gemacht, brüderlicher. Für das haben wir die Revolution gemacht. Jene,

die die Waffen erhoben haben, haben es aus Mitleid getan. Sie haben es nicht aus verdeckten Interessen getan. Sie haben es für das Wohlergehen der anderen getan. Und die, die starben, folgten der Lehre Christi, ihr Leben für andere hinzugeben. In diesem Aufstand haben die Jugendlichen das Evangelium praktiziert und alles miteinander geteilt."

Das letzte Argument könnte allerdings auch ein Versuch sein, mit Daniel Berrigan einen Minimalkonsens erreichen zu wollen, da er in seiner bisherigen Argumentation ja nur am Rande auf dessen Kritik eingegangen war. Daß auch Daniel Berrigan mit seinen Mitteln für eine bessere Gesellschaft kämpft, muß für ihn außer Frage stehen, doch sind die äußeren Umstände, mit denen er sich auseinandersetzen muß, von völlig anderer Qualität. Dies zu beweisen fällt ihm in diesem Fall am einfachsten, indem er das Ergebnis der Revolution für sich sprechen läßt, und unausgesprochen die Frage anschließt, ob dies nicht auch die Gesellschaft sei, die Daniel Berrigan vorschwebe.

Die Argumente Daniel Berrigans und Ernesto Cardenals bauen auf weitestgehend unterschiedlichen Voraussetzungen auf, und daher kann diese Auseinandersetzung durch Cardenals Stellungnahme noch nicht beigelegt sein. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es interessant, zu erwähnen, daß Ernesto Cardenal und Philip Berrigan sich 1984 anlässlich einer Konferenz der Befreiungs-, Friedens- und Alternativbewegungen in Malta trafen. Dort erklärte Cardenal, daß "eine Brücke zwischen Friedensbewegung und Befreiungsbewegung geschaffen werden muß, daß also die erste und die dritte Welt einander brauchen und gemeinsam mit ihren jeweils unterschiedlichen Mitteln kämpfen müssen, um eine Welt von mehr Frieden und Gerechtigkeit zu schaffen. ... Allmählich entdecken Friedensbewegung und Befreiungsbewegungen ihre Gemeinsamkeit in einem entscheidenden Wert: der Emanzipation. Emanzipation heißt Selbstbestimmung. Beide setzen einen sehr weitgehenden Willen voraus, die Formen der Produktion,



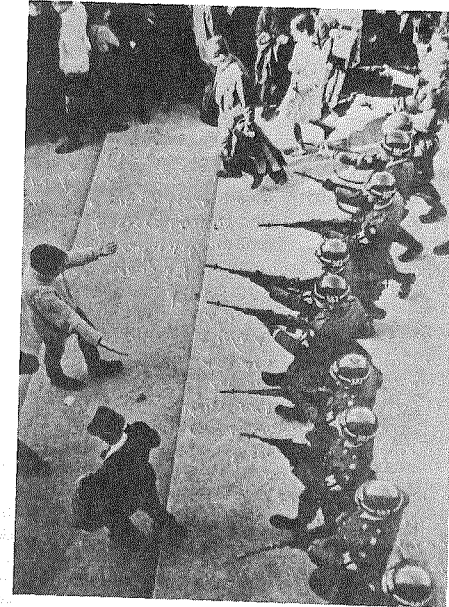
des Verbrauchs und des Zusammenlebens zu verändern, die bis heute vorherrschen ... Nur durch Emanzipation, Selbstbestimmung, und den grundlegenden Wandel der Produktions-, der Verbrauchsgewohnheiten und der Formen des Zusammenlebens im Norden wie im Süden werden wir alle gemeinsam überleben können, Menschen im Norden wie im Süden. Oder es wird keiner überleben, und es wird keine Zukunft geben." (39)

Philip Berrigan betonte in seinem Beitrag, daß er die Einschätzung Cardenals teile: "Zunächst möchte ich betonen, daß es nach meiner Einschätzung zwischen Ernesto Cardenal und mir keine wesentlichen Meinungsverschiedenheiten gibt." Um Befremden über diese Aussage zuvorzukommen, faßt er die Grunddifferenzen zwischen Cardenal und ihm in einem Satz zusammen, der beispielhaft für den Kern des 'Briefwechsels' zwischen Daniel Berrigan und Cardenal stehen könnte: "Wir Nordamerikaner, oder besser: wir Angehörige der ersten Welt, können uns den Luxus leisten, über Gewalt und Gewaltfreiheit zu diskutieren."

Philip Berrigan zitiert Gandhi, den klassischen Vertreter revolutionärer gewaltfreier Auseinandersetzung, mit einer Äußerung, die eine weitere Brücke zwischen ihm und Cardenal schlägt: "Diejenigen, die sich der Unterlassung schuldig machen und nicht auf die Leiden der Schwester oder des Bruders eingehen, begehen eine größere Gewalttätigkeit als jene, die zu sogenannten Gewaltmitteln greifen, um zu den neuen Übereinkünften zu gelangen."

So erwuchs die scheinbare Differenz zwischen Daniel Berrigan und Ernesto Cardenal (sofern man davon ausgehen darf, daß Philip auch für seinen Bruder spricht) im wesentlichen eben nicht allein aus der vermeintlichen Unvergleichbarkeit der sozialen Bedingungen und äußeren Umstände des politischen Kampfes und des Widerstandes gegen Herrschafts-Gewalt. Eine Bemerkung Philip Berrigans auf der Malta-Konferenz faßt dies so treffend zusammen, daß dem wohl nichts mehr hinzuzufügen bleibt:

" Nach meiner Auffassung sollten wir - was andere nicht können - uns die Freiheit nehmen, Gewaltfreiheit zu praktizieren und dieses Kapital zu nutzen."



Pentagon, Washington D.C.,  
21. Oktober 1967

# "TOO HEAVY A PRICE"

## LETTER FROM DANIEL BERRIGAN TO ERNESTO CARDENAL

Dear Brother Ernesto Cardenal,

Your account of events in your community of Solentiname has been widely distributed in the United States, especially by the religious press. One translation appended a word; "It is important for us in this country to be able to listen and not to judge this."

Indeed. But at least we can talk together. Please consider what follows then, as a continuing reflection on matters you have had the courage to open up, and indeed, to act on.

May I also summon a memory or two, as you do so poignantly in your statement? You visited my brother Philip and myself in jail in February of 1977, when we were locked up after a demonstration at the Pentagon. I hope you could read in our faces all your visit meant; a visit from a fellow priest, a poet, a good communitarian, a struggling friend, whose fame was great but whose human warmth was his best gift. Thank you once more for coming to us.

Then there was our first meeting a few years previous, when you brought the art of Solentiname to New York for an exhibition. I had the joy of greeting you, this poet, the intense quiet Latino, known in the southern countries for his sandals and flowing hair and beard, his kindly myopic eyes; known here for his poetry, his courage.

The shadow of Thomas Merton's death lay heavy on us. I think we were seeking consolation in one another's eyes. And we found it.

I am not going to start with the customary disclaimers about your statement. Such are not only superfluous, they verge on the insulting. What Latino, what Yankee

doesn't know by now the deadly mutual interests which in Washington, prop up the Nicaraguan military government of the Somozas? And who would regard you, an exile, a priest who must now anoint your forehead with the ashes of your dream — regard your convictions, your choices, with anything but the utmost respect? All this is implicit in friendship itself.

I would like to do you a better courtesy, that of taking you seriously: your words, and the actions which by now, I presume you have taken.

Let me say too that the questions you raise are among the most crucial that Christians can spell out today. Indeed, in your own country, your life raises them. But you thrust them also at us, and rightly so. They are far more than a matter of domestic importance.

There is first of all, no parallel in America to the violence you describe — whether of the Somozas or the Sandinistas.

What indeed are a few guns, or even a few hundred guns in the hands of guerrillas, in comparison with the doomsday cache of nuclear horrors lurking in our mountains and bunkers? What reasonable comparison can be made between the sorties of your Frente Sandinista, and the lunar devastation of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia? On your part, a few deaths, much love, exalted goals. On the part of America — but words fail me.

These things I grant with all my heart. What then nags at me, when I ponder your words? I have some inkling of what you face, what your companions face, the students and workers and peasants of your country. I know that the Somozas, given the leash, could swallow all of you tomorrow.

I know that on the same day, the U.S. military could swallow the Somozas who had swallowed you — the mouse within the dog within the python — and hardly feel sated. On the world scale where the stakes are piled high — oil, uranium, *laissez-faire* larcenies, predatory markets, ripoffs and standoffs; in a world where the superpowers warily circle one another like urban thugs, nuclear firebombs in hand; in such a world, you or your followers, or even your persecutors, count for very little.

You and the Frente, and the Somozas, could disappear tomorrow. Only a minor breeze would stir the papers on the desk of some sub-secretariat of the State Department. A lie or two at a presidential press conference would be your obituary, the Nicaraguan folder transferred to a dead file. The empire, in sum, can take your life, and take your death, and take your theology, and the destruction of your community, and your resistance, all in stride.

I say this in no spirit of cynicism. Merely to suggest that in a way I find both strange and exhilarating, your situation lies quite near the realities of the gospel. It ought not after all, depress us beyond measure, if the empire finds you and me expendable. That is quite normal and constant in the history of such entities. What is of import finally is whether we are able to salvage something in the open season on humans.

I do not mean salvage our lives; I mean our humanity. Our sense of one another, of compassion — our very sanity.

I hope I am inching toward the contents of your letter. You discuss quite freely and approvingly the violence of a violated people, yourselves. You align yourself with that violence, regretfully but firmly, irrevocably.

I am sobered and saddened by this, think of the consequences of your choice, within Nicaragua and far beyond. I sense how the web of violence spins another thread, draws you in, and so many others for whom your example is primary, who do not think for themselves, judging that a priest and poet will lead them in the true way.

I think how fatally easy it is, in a world demented and enchanted with the myth of short cuts and definitive solutions, when nonviolence appears increasingly naive, old hat, freakish — how easy it is to cross over, to seize the gun. How easy to conclude: the deck is stacked, first card to last, in favor of the Big Sharks; the outcome of the game, of life itself, is settled before the cards are dealt. Why then is taking a few lives (of dubious value at best, torturers, lackeys, police) preferable to the taking of many lives of great value, students, the poor, the victimized and defenseless, the conscientious, those easily identifiable as gospel brothers and sisters? There is, after all, a long tradition of legitimate self-defense.

It may be true, as you say, that "Gandhi

would agree with us." Or it may not be true. It may be true, as you imply, that Merton would agree with you. It may be true that Christ would agree with you. I do not believe he would, but I am willing to concede your argument, for the sake of argument.

You may be correct in reporting that "those young Christians fought without hate . . . and especially without hate for the guards" they shortly killed (though this must be cold comfort to the dead). Your vision may one day be verified of a Nicaragua free of "campesino guards killing other campesinos . . ." The utopia you ache for may one day be realized in Nicaragua: ". . . an abundance of schools, child care centers, hospitals and clinics for everyone . . . and most importantly, love between everyone." This may all be true; the guns may bring on the kingdom.

But I do not believe it.

One religious paper here published your words under the following headline: "When they take up arms for love of the kingdom of God." How sublime, I thought, how ironic. We have had "just" wars of the right, a long history of blood, the blood of colonials and natives and slaves and workers and peasants. But we are through with all that. Now we are enlightened. We are to have "just" wars of the left!

So the young men of Solentiname resolved to take up arms. They did it for one reason: "on account of their love for the kingdom of God." Now here we certainly speak within a tradition! In every crusade that ever marched across Christendom, murder — the most secular of undertakings, the most worldly, the one that enlists and rewards us along with the other enlistees of Caesar — this undertaking is invariably baptized in religious ideology: the kingdom of God.

The power of such language we know too well. Religious battle cries induct hearts and minds as no secular slogans can. Religious ideology raises its flag in every nation, even as it denies the final authority of every nation. It offers to transcendent longings a task that is simple and forthright: kill. It offers a slogan that is as immediately tactile and hot as a fired gun: kill for the kingdom. And perhaps most important of all, it offers a way out: out of anger, out of frustration, out of poverty, out of political stagnation, out of the harsh and dreadful necessity of love. God wills it! The kingdom requires it!

Blood and iron, nukes and rifles. The leftists kill the rightists, the rightest kill the leftists; both, given time and occasion, kill the children, the aged, the ill, the suspects. Given time and occasion, both torture prisoners. Always, you understand, inadvertently, regretfully. Both sides, moreover, have excellent intentions, and call on God to witness them. And some god or other does witness them, if we can take the word of whatever bewitched church.

And of course nothing changes. Nothing changes in Beirut, in Belfast or in Galilee, as I have seen. Except that the living die. And that old, revered distinction between combatant and noncombatant, which was supposed to protect the innocent and helpless, goes down the nearest drain; along with the indistinguishable blood of any and all.

Alas, I have never seen anyone morally improved by killing; neither the one who aimed the bullet, nor the one who received it in his flesh.

Of course we have choices, of course we must decide. When all is said, we find that the gospel makes sense, that it strikes against our motives and actions or it does not. Can that word make sense at all today, can it be something more than utopian or extravagant? The gospel is after all a document out of a simpler age, a different culture. It may even be our duty to construct for ourselves another ethic, based on our own impasse or insights or ego. And go from there, with whatever assurance we can muster, amid the encircling gloom.

Or on the other hand, we can bow our heads before a few truths, crude, exigent, obscure as they are. The outcome of obedience we cannot know, the outcome of disobedience we can deceive ourselves about, indefinitely and sweetly. Thou shalt not kill. Love one another as I have loved you. If your enemy strike you on the right cheek, turn to him the other. Practically everyone in the world, citizens and believers alike, consign such words to the images on church walls, or the embroideries in front parlors.

We really are stuck. Christians are stuck with this Christ, the impossible, unteachable, irreformable loser. Revolutionaries must correct him, set him aright. That absurd form, shivering under the cross winds of power, must be made acceptable, relevant. So a gun is painted into his empty hands. Now he is human! Now he is like us.

Does it all have a familiar ring? In the old empires, the ragged rabbi must be cleaned up, invested in byzantine robes of state, raised in glittering splendor to the dome of heaven. Correction! correction! we cry to those ignorant gospel scribes, Matthew and the rest. He was not like that, he was not helpless, he was not gentle, he was under no one's heel, no one pushed him around! He would have taken up a gun if one had been at hand, he would have taken up arms, "solely for one reason: on account of his love for the kingdom of God." Did he not have fantasies like ours, in hours out of the public glare, when he too itched for the quick solution, his eyes narrowed like gun sights?

How tricky it all gets! We look around us at our culture: an uneasy mix of gunmen, gun makers, gun hucksters, gun researchers, gun runners, guards with guns, property owners with guns. A culture in which the guns put out contracts on the people, the guns own the people, the guns buy and sell the people, the guns practice targets on the people, the guns kill the people. The guns are our second nature, and the first nature is all but obliterated; it is gunned down.

And who will raise it up, that corpse with the neat hole in its temple, ourselves? It is impossible, it is against nature.

Christ asks the literally impossible. And then, our radical helplessness confessed, he confers what was impossible.

Dear brother Ernesto, when I was underground in 1970 with J. Edgar Hoover's

hounds on my tail, I had long hours to think of these things. At that time I wrote: "The death of a single human is too heavy a price to pay for the vindication of any principle, however scared." I should add that at the time; many among the anti-war left were playing around with bombings, in disarray and despair.

I am grateful that I wrote those words. I find no reason eight years later to amend or deny them. Indeed, in this bloody century, religion has little to offer, little that is not contaminated or broken or in bad faith. But one thing we have: our refusal to take up bombs or guns, aimed at the flesh of brothers and sisters, whom we persist in defining as such, refusing the enmities pushed at us by warmaking state or war-blessing church.

And our weapons?

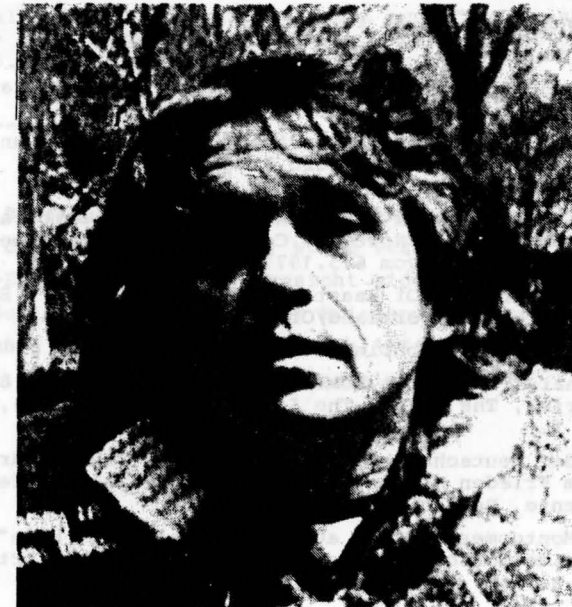
They are contaminated in what they do, and condemned in what they cannot do. There is blood on them, as on our hands. And like our hands, they cannot heal injustice or succor the homeless.

How can they signal the advent of the kingdom of God? How can we, who hold them? We announce only another bloody victory for the emperor of necessity, whose name in the Bible is Death.

Shall he have dominion?

Brother, I think of you so often. And pray with you. And hope against hope.

*Daniel.*



Daniel Berrigan (geb. 1921)



Anmerkungen

- 1) Bill Barrett, O.F.M., Review of: Thomas Merton, "The Nonviolent Alternative", in: "The Catholic Worker", September 1980 (New York)
- 2) Francine du Plessix Gray, "Acts of Witness", in: "The New Yorker" vom 14.3.1970, S. 94
- 3) ebd., S. 98
- 4) ebd., S. 100
- 5) Die vorhergehenden Zitate stammen - sofern nicht anders angegeben - aus:  
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- 6) Philip Berrigan: Christen gegen die Gesellschaft - US-Priester im Gefängnis, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1971, S. 22 (kurz: Berrigan 1971)
- 7) ebd., S. 51
- 8) ebd., S. 23
- 9) Daniel Berrigan: Die dunkle Nacht des Widerstands, Limburg 1971, S.201
- 10) s. Anm. 2, S. 104
- 11) Berrigan, Daniel (Hrsg.): "Kreuz kontra Krieg", München 1971, S. 7 (Aufsätze über die Brüder Berrigan)
- 12) Berrigan 1971, S. 10
- 13) Berrigan 1972, S. 22 f.
- 14) ebd., S. 22 f.
- 15) Daniel Berrigan: Der Prozeß gegen die Neun von Catonsville, Frankfurt a.M. 1972, S. 45
- 16) aus einem Brief Daniel Berrigans vom 10.4.1970 an den Jesuitengeneral Pater Pedro Arrupe, zitiert in: Berrigan 1971, S. 124
- 17) Francine du Plessix Gray, "Address to the Democratic Town Committee of Newtown, Connecticut", in: "The New York Review" vom 6.5.1971, S. 22
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- 22) Anne Montgomery, RSCJ, auf dem "Festival of Hope", Riverside Church, New York, am 17.2.1981, zitiert nach: s. Anm. 20

- 23) Statement der "Plowshare 8", zitiert nach: s. Anm. 20, S. 3
- 24) ebd.
- 25) Liane Allison Norman, "Judge stifles Plowshares' 'greater evil defense'", in: "In These Times", 18. - 31.3.1981, zitiert nach: s. Anm. 20, S. 31
- 26) Berrigan 1971, S. 29 f.
- 27) ebd., S. 10
- 28) Ignazio Silone: Brot und Wein, zitiert nach: Berrigan 1971, S. 48
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- 30) Berrigan 1971, S. 11
- 31) Berrigan 1971, S. 33
- 32) "Wahnsinn unter dem Deckmantel der Legalität", Interview mit Philip und Daniel Berrigan, in: Junge Kirche 5 / 1982, S. 246
- 33) Berrigan 1971, S. 33
- 34) Berrigan 1971, S. 140
- 35) Berrigan 1971, S. 11
- 36) s. Anm. 21, S. 13
- 37) s. Anm. 11, S. 43
- 38) Dieses Zitat sowie die folgenden - sofern nicht anders angegeben - stammt aus: s. Anm. 21, S. 22 ff.
- 39) Alle folgenden Zitate stammen aus: "Friedensbewegungen - Befreiungsbewegungen", in : Junge Kirche 3 / 1985, S. 119 ff.

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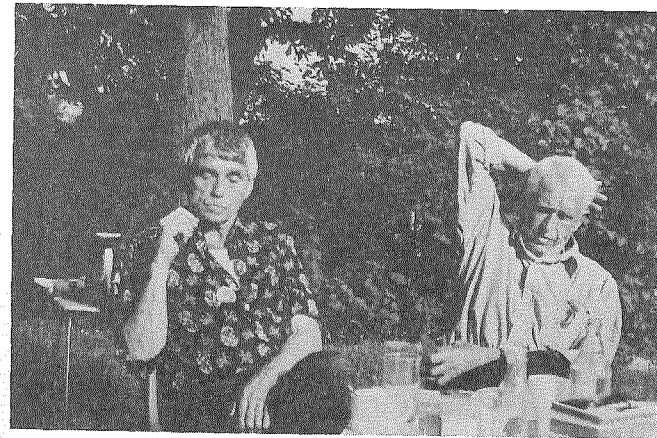
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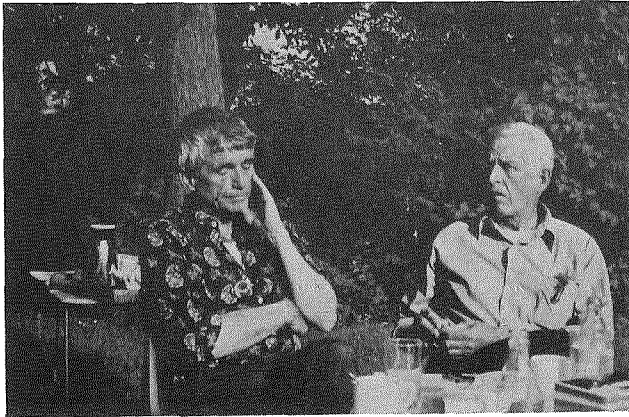
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Daniel und Philip Berrigan ...



... in Berlin (West) im Juni 1982

# Where Death Abounded—Life

By DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.

(In 1898, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, left the social and literary circles of New York City to live in the slums of the Lower East Side and care for the poor who were afflicted with cancer. From this beginning a community grew, and the work continues today at St. Rose's Home, one of seven homes run by the Hawthorne Dominican Sisters. Eda note.)

I first heard of St. Rose's two years ago, from a friend who had begun working there as an orderly. I was in the usual spinning orbit of teaching, writing and pilgrimage to the Pentagon to throw ashes and blood at the idols. Something was lacking; whether true icons, physical work or self testing. I phoned the Sister in charge. Could I hire out as part time volunteer?

What ensued I like to call in a modest way, history. I am by no means capable or willing to tell all, nor is there need to. Rather speedily and in a wonderfully offhand way, I was given a tour of the place, my questions were answered sensibly, it was made clear that if I wished to help I would be welcome.

It gave to ponder, as the French say. Here was a spanking medical facility humming with compassion and energy, up to the minute equipment; to it, the urban poor came to die, within it the intangible realities of life ("the things which are unseen") were available, abundant. Here moreover, sisters and orderlies underwent, orchestrated, that Great Day which the spirituals said was Gonna Be.

All this struck my earth bound mind. And there was more, as I was to learn. In payment for such care, such friendship, no money crossed the palm. No guest paid, no one could pay. It was a rule of the order, strictly adhered to. It struck me: here we had a stunning instance of the ethical, cemented into natural law. The rule was all but metaphysical: no money. No insurance, no red, white or blue crosses, no bread from city, state, feds. No payment from any patient or relative, no matter how highly or mightily placed, or how lowly.

I spell out the rule in some detail, to show how it spun about in my mind, dazzling. Who could have believed it? It had the delicious evanescent aura of the more than human. I thought about the phrase: "more than human." What in the world could be more than human?

The more I pondered, the clearer it became; the phrase meant "simply human." Which is not to deny that the hospital was a salutary assault on lowered expectations. How marred our hopes are! Things which should be available to all, inevitably cost a great deal. The few things which are still free of price tags, are polluted; air, parks, vistas. But in any sane scheme of things, that almost unimaginable world that shone on our retinas like a mirage, like the kingdom of God, would not good medical care be free to all?

We were so used to paying up; a cross of gold, as the old orators used to intone; the degradation of the buck, fast or slow, inflated or sound, lies heavy on us. Goods and services became bads, disservices; before the eyes of the poor, they dangle out of reach; and for the

rest of us, who desperately tread dark waters, such things are overpriced, begrudged, performed in bad spirit, left to others. What profession today ministers well, according to its own ideals?

Here and there, city parochial schools in New York have held the line. They still do what they once set out to do: serve the poor, teach the children of the poor. Nuns live in the ghetto, poor standing by. All reports, including secular ones, say the instruction is sound, the children are making it.

Hospitals have fared less well, for a multitude of reasons. The cost of medical care, as is no news to anyone, has soared out of sight. Nineteenth century orders of women, founded to do basic medical work among the immigrants and poor, have withered before the blight of the buck. Either the (male) diocesan chanceries have grabbed the facilities and "integrated" them into church-state hyphens, or the sisters have given in, done the same sad thing on their own. In either case, the mirage of bigger and better has won over the solid reality of small and beautiful. By now the Catholic hospitals in any given town, including New York, are sprawling, big and getting bigger, pledged to the same medical practices, abortion excepted, as their secular counterparts.

In the process, original intentions have all but vanished. Where nuns are present in the typical hospital, they are more apt to be commanding switchboards or accounts offices, than nursing the sick and dying. The services are secularized, with all the ambiguity that implies; so, it goes without saying, are the finances. The poor receive the kind of health care which the state allows or disallows, another function of that bulldozing of existence euphemistically, and despite all malpractice, named "welfare." St. Rose's Home, for reasons both complex and fascinating, has escaped such attrition. Let me avoid meandering, and simply report that this unique hospital for the dying has heven to its original line, literally and consistently. The sisters do today what their founder set out to do some ninety years ago: an achievement that strikes one, in the American farce of size, quantity, media puffing, death and dying chic, the sell-out of much originality and imagination to the stuck culture—strikes one as either a triumph of plain stubborn vision, or of specially tender providence, or both.

You don't have to be poor in America to die badly. You just have to be dying; the rest is supplied. And by "dying badly," I don't mean to refer to immediate physical care, on which, bad or good, the rich have the usual monopoly.

Let me speak of the obverse, "dying well," as St. Rose's has helped me understand the term. Dying well implies a sense of one's self, a hand on the rudder, a mind that despite tides and near swamping, is reasonably able to give and take, to read signals and send them out; for the conscious duration, those who die well hold a sense both of anguish and humor; amid concern for one's plight, comfort, degree of pain, etc., such hardy spirits turn the tables, show a good face to the pain of others, including

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# St. Rose's

(Continued from page 7)

Beyond the hospital, the metaphor. Before the catastrophe, the warning. In the race toward oblivion half the horror is getting there. Day by day, in New York and elsewhere, the poor drop by the wayside, emblems of things to come. The poisoning of air and water and food strikes them first. And in their fate we may read our own.

At present, some twelve orderlies at St. Rose's are Catholic Workers. Several have been jailed in recent years, for resisting the nuclear arms race or nuclear energy plants. They bring to the care of the cancer patients, a sense of the show-down; a realism desperately required as an ingredient of compassion, of sanity itself.

We live with the unknown. If we live at all.

A hideously deformed technology demands something else; that we live with the known, with a curious version of "the known," the threat, the myth, the inexorable, the (as they love to say) facts of life today. In sum, we are to accept a bleak military, political, economic fate, a botched mock-up of reality. We are condemned to it; we are to live in it, the "real world," as in a cage.

In the cage, moreover, is a child's rocking horse; on it we swing away, rocking off balance, distracted, feverish, doomed. Like the child in Dr. Lawrence's story, we rock until we die.

At St. Rose's, an entirely different story. Those who work there, those who suffer and die there, must live with the unknown, in trust. The Dream stops here. There are no gods skulking in corners, no cures. There may indeed be a true God; but in this place, He refuses to act, is silent. Patients who arrive on their feet, some with a quibotic last ditch will to "get well," quickly or slowly collapse, fade out. Others arrive dying; they fall like moths before a frost. But whatever their condition, or the resignation or anger or bewilderment that marks their families, one takes a stand at their side, a stand in favor of life, infinitely precious and fragile. And waits. And hopes.

A restoration of balance goes on. I think of it as a weight on a fulcrum, a Catholic correction of the literally unbalanced world. The more life is rendered cheap, held in low esteem, and expendable, made subject to blasphemous property and bullish dollar, nullified in the womb, disposed of through gas and electric voltage, shoved over the abysses of war—the more rancor and revenge demand their victims—the more crucial it seems to me that we intervene. We must declare our trust in life, at that exact point where life is most assailed, put to naught. Thus in accord with a law of nature itself, a law of balance and compensation, Christians belong at the Pentagon, and on the Bowery, and at abortion mills, and in the prisons. And in cancer wards.

I treasure the image of cliffs of Block Island, constantly assaulted and stritified by the sea's fury. Each winter, several feet of the promontory fall into the tides. Every attempt to stop the land loss fails; tons of brush are dumped over the cliffs, grasses sown, sea walls thought of. But nothing avails, so far. Nature tips away. Home owners, the lucky ones, move their houses inland, gain a few years.

But if you are attentive, raise your eyes, a marvel meets you, a strange compensation at work. The far side of the island slopes gently to the sea. In wondrous immaculate beaches. And there, the land builds and builds. The old light house that once stood at the sea's edge, is now some half mile inland; what was once sea is a thinning wilderness of dunes and grasses.

I think under this image, of trust, compensation. The dying, worn down, caving in, their bodies puffed or emaciated, the odor of sweet and nauseous decay, all is but one side of things: the "things which are seen." You make a covenant with the unseen side of things as you watch death's riptide invade. It

is all immensely strange, awesomely real. The covenant, the trust, is placed in life and the life giver; in a promise. But the trust is also in the nature of things, without evidence; it is offered only blind and starts. You cannot make the covenant directly with the invisible; the spiritual presence that presses and covertly hides. You must swear the oath of trust with those who seem least able to fulfill it, least able to act as proxy for its Principal. Which is to say, you make it with the dying. You hold this hand, look into these falling eyes, say what you can muster; or better perhaps, say nothing. There is no other way.

Out of the depths. No other way. There may have been a time, or almost certainly there was, when caring for cancer patients was a fairly exotic work. It was possible to place oneself at a reasonable, safe distance from such a fate. There were protagonists and there were victims, the ill and the healthy; the lines were clean.

There was as yet no cancer culture, so to speak, a spoon on the winds. There was no plutonium, there had been no Hiroshima. There was not even a Pentagon, wars were ironically "conventional."

Metaphorically as well, we were not yet "nuked." Families were not splitting, things were holding, making sense. Or so it was believed. The poor of New York who were stricken with cancer, could be successfully isolated. They were transferred by boat to Welfare Island in the East River, there to die out of sight, out of mind. Clearly, the city was successfully coping with its domestic lepers. Or so it was believed.

## XV. Der Freispruch der "Plowshare Eight" - Eine Dokumentation

CHRISTIAN BARTOLF

All that is changed. The cancer situation now is one of stark and simple mutuality; those hands we swear by, all but draw us with the urgency of truth or death, into their darkness.

A bitter pill to swallow. We, our children, our fair land, the sea drenched cliffs and beaches—all are endangered. The days pass, the danger nears; it is clear by now that only an act of God can snatch us from the folly of death, universal, self-inflicted.

An act of God. The expression stops me short. It is normally hailed up to preclude responsibility, not to invoke it. God's act is thought of as a kind of court of last resort, a hair's breadth snatch at the end of things. But all this is unbiblical, demeaning to God and ourselves. The act of God is simply a covenant in which, hand in hand with one another, we bespeak our trust in God, our stake in the world and its creatures, in truthful living and good outcome. Come what may. The act of God is being enacted by us, here and now, each day; or it is not.

For my part I believe the vainglorious and violent will not inherit the earth, to its utmost destruction. In pursuance of that faith, my friends and I take the hands of the dying in our hand. And some of us travel to the Pentagon, and others live on the Bowery and serve there, and others speak unpopularly and plainly of the fate of the unborn and of convicted criminals. It is all one. Thus, acts of trust render us trust-worthy. Let the covenant be verified elsewhere. The act is, after all, primarily an act of God. For ourselves, our trust is not merely that the dying voyage into another orbit of existence, but that they "live, in Christ Jesus."

Nor does that other world, that "great ring of pure and endless light," stand at a great distance from us. It is other, but it also interposes, illumines, presses, warns, signals. Its heart, its God, is also our God.

And the life He vindicates, rewards, restores, elsewhere, beyond our ken. He would also have vindicated, rewarded, defended, here and now. The act of God is also the act of humans, ourselves.

Paul Goodman wrote somewhere that his respect for Christians was based on their utterly crazy comprehension of the last day. Perhaps he was right. I am not sure. I think that what we have to offer today, is an utterly crazy comprehension of this day, of the day to

day, of the simultaneous acceptance and taming of the apocalyptic fury. I am not sure the day to day is not the last day.

We are indeed, as a hundred numblings underfoot remind us, stepping gingerly in the mine fields of the end of things. This is no news to anyone who walks in prophetic bones; hardly news, certainly not good news.

Can we make a sorry time, good news? "I am with you." We must de-terrorize the terror, by an act of God, our act.

Let us tell our heart; we will swear our covenant anew. We will hold the hand of the dying. It is an act of sublime trust; of land trust, of water trust, of trust in God, of trust in one another. The covenant reverberates in the womb; the endangered unborn, surely the "least of these," hear our voice. Please trust us, little ones, we hold your hand.

The covenant reaches into prisons and death rows. Trust us; we do not believe that murder casts out murder.

The covenant says to all; Stand in our circle. We declare that humanity itself is a nuclear free zone.

God does not walk away from such an oath. Neither would we.

"Ich für mein Teil war niemals allzu sehr versucht, den Begriff 'Pazifismus' zu erwähnen, weil diese Wendung etwas zu viel Theorie und zu wenig Aktion enthält.

Ich habe große Schwierigkeiten, wenn ich sagen sollte, Jesaja war ein Pazifist, ich habe keine Schwierigkeiten zu sagen, Jesaja war ein Friedens-Stifter ("peace-maker"). Und ich glaube, es gibt da keinen Unterschied.

Ich bin ebenfalls davon betroffen, daß im Neuen Testament die Seligpreisung der Bergpredigt nicht Pazifisten erteilt wurde, sondern jenen, die Frieden stiften, was eine viel schmutzeligere und praktischere und eben auch arbeitsamere Aufgabe darstellt."

(Daniel Berrigan, im Gemeindehaus Dahlem, Berlin (West) am 27. Mai 1982)



# Swords Into Plowshares

By DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.

(Eight members of the Atlantic Life Community, a religiously-based collection of nonviolent resistance communities on the East Coast, were arrested at the General Electric Re-entry plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania on September 9, 1980. The group entered the rear entrance of the building, damaged several components of the Mark 12A nuclear delivery system with hammers, and then poured several pints of human blood on plans for the missile components and equipment standing in the area.)

Of the eight men and women arrested, Father Karl Kabat, O.M.I., Elmer Mass, Sister Anne Montgomery, R.S.C.J., Molly Bush, Phillip Berrigan, Deas Hammer and John Schuchardt remain in jail awaiting trial. Father Daniel Berrigan was released on bail for reasons of health. Correspondence can be sent c/o Bradyville Peace Community, 51 Barren Rd., Media, PA 19063. Eds. note.)

September 27, 1980 marked my first visit to the monastery at Gethsemani, Kentucky, since the death of Thomas Merton in 1968. I was asked to offer the homily at morning Mass: the text was from Matthew, for the feast of St. Vincent de Paul.

I bless you, Father of heaven and earth, for hiding these things from the learned and clever, and revealing them to the children . . .

And Matthew continues, with unscripted solemnity more typical of John, " . . . No one knows the Son except the Father, just as no one knows the Father except the Son — and those to whom the Son chooses to reveal Him." Then a glance descends: face to human face, he takes us in: "Come to me all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you peace. Take up my yoke, learn of me; I am

meek and humble of heart. You will find rest for your souls, for my yoke is easy, my burden light."

In Jesus we learn of the modesty of God.

I set this down in a time of promethean muscle building, muscling in: a time of no limits, a time when literally everything is allowed: genetic splicing, abortions on demand, nuclear warheads poking the landscape. We learn too well the sad litany of human excess: a national political campaign for example, in which the nuclear arms race is simply not an issue; the only question being, how much more how quickly? Death always inflicted elsewhere, the artificers of death presumably safe and sound in a nuclear free free zone? We are gently driven mad.

The modesty of God.

After Mass, we visited Merton's grave. Nearby a fresh mound arose. I was told of a Brother recently deceased: "We buried him in his red socks. He was a kind of Santa Claus in the community." Among Trappists there is no brothering, no casket or outer box. A brothering descends into the grave, receives the body as it is lowered. He covers the face with a cover—the earth is splayed in a box, his body shipped half across the world, most of the journey in an Air Force plane.

We trudged up the hill to the cottage where Merton spent his last years. Some sat about in the suave autumn sunlight, on the porch facing the valley. Bob Lax began reading from Tom's poetry, *Cables to the Ark*. I went walking in the woods, the (Continued on page 3)

# Swords Into Plowshares

(Continued from page 1)

paths he and I had taken fifteen years before. How different the little dwelling appeared, as though time had spun it around, the pivot of those hills. And the trees: where we once sat facing an empty field, unfolding away and away like a sea swell, now mature trees cast up their spume or flame. And around us a ten foot crest of hedge blew and blew.

This is what Merton wrote me in August, 1964:

I realize that I am at the end of some line. What line? What is the trolley I am probably getting off? The trolley is called a special kind of hope . . . of things getting more intelligible . . . being set in a new kind of order and so on. Point one, things are not going to get better.

Point two, things are going to get worse.

I will not dwell on point two.

Point three, I don't need to be on the trolley anyway.

You can call the trolley anything you like, I have gotten off it. You can call the trolley a form of religious leprosy if you like. It is burning out. In a lot of sweat and pain if you like, but it is burning out for real . . . that leprosy of temporal hope, that special expectation that young monks have, that priests have.

As a priest I am a burnt out case . . . So burnt out that the question of standing up and so forth, becomes irrelevant. I just continue to stand there where I was hit by the bullet. And I will continue standing there . . .

But I have been shot dead, the situation is different. I have no priestly ax to grind with anyone about anything. . . . The funny thing is that I will prob-

ably be dead at all, inert. It vibrates with the message of a living universe. At one end, a monastery, a hive of stillness and listening and strength. And at the other, an unspeakable horror, a factory of genocide.

To taste death and life, you go to headquarters; you listen and learn from the experts.

No sylvan setting for General Electric, no fooling around. Austerity, efficiency, cost value, big bang for big buck. You drive into an industrial park, down a broad macadam highway; building after building, anonymous, wall-eyed, abstract. A campus of world experts in the science and practice of abstract death.

September 9.

We rose at dawn after (to speak for myself) a mostly sleepless night. In and out of dream, in and out of nightmare. The refrain was part nuptial chant, part dirge; the latter theme dominant, the former a minor key indeed. Brasses, kettle drums, and now and again, the plaintive flute in obligato, the cry of an infant in the river reads . . .

We had passed several days in prayer together, an old custom indeed, as old as our first arrests in the late sixties. We were mostly vets of those years, survivors too; survivors of the culture and its pseudos and counters, survivors of courts and jails, of the American flare of conscience and its long hibernation, survivors in our religious communities, in our families (they have survived us). By an act of God and nothing of our own, survivors of America—its mimes, grimaces, enticements, abhorrences, shifts and feints, masks,

Of one thing we were sure. If we were to reach the highly classified area of shipping and delivery, and were to do there what we purposed, Someone must intervene, give us a lead.

After our deed, a clamor arose among the FBI and state and county and G.E. (and God knows what other) police who swarmed into the building. "Did they have inside information? Was there a leak?" Our answer: of course we had Inside Information; of course there had been a Leak. Our Informant is otherwise known in the New Testament as Advocate, Friend, Spirit. We had been at prayer for days.

And the deed was done. We eight looked at one another, exhausted, bedazzled with the ease of it all. We had been led in about two minutes, and with no interference to speak of to the heart of the labyrinth.

They rounded us up, trundled us out in closed vans. We spent the day uncommonly cheerful in that place of penitence, in various cells of the police headquarters. We underwent what I came to think of as a "forced fast," the opposite of forced feeding, and undoubtedly less perilous to life and limb. Around the corridors of the spiffy new building (we were in G.E. country, the economy is 40% G.E., G.E. brings good things to life) the atmosphere was one of hit and miss, cross purpose, barely concealed panic. How the hell did they get into the building so easily? How about our jobs, who were purportedly guarding the nuclear brews and potions?

Lines to Justice Department, Pentagon, F.B.I., were red hot. Why can't you get your act together up there? And what are we to do with these religious doomsayers? Let them go let them off light let them off never?

scramble, as though merely putting words together could make sense of moral incoherence, treachery, meandering apathy, could break that spell.

Rationality? Reason? If these were ever in command, they had certainly fled the scene during the Vietnam war. I would be willing to venture that sanity, reason, have never sat in the catbird seat again.

In the saddle of power and decision we have instead, a kind of "Eichmania" analyzed by Merton: a tightly hierarchical, spiritually captivated, ideologically closed insanity. In it are caught the multiconglomerations and their squads of engineers and planners, on and up to the highest responsible chairs of command—the Pentagon and White House.



ROBERT MCGOVERA

ably continue to write books. And work will go around about how they got this priest who was shot, and they got him stuffed, sitting up at a desk, propped up with books and writing books; this book machine that was killed. I am waiting to fall over; it may take about ten more years. When I fall over it will be a big laugh because I wasn't there at all...

I am sick to the teeth... with explanations about where we are all going, because where we are going is where we went a long time ago, over the falls. We are in a new river and we don't know it...

He wrote of having ten years, but he had only four. Then he fell over.

To be alive to the future, one had best poke about in the past, at least now and then. I went to the monastery to seek a measure of light on why I had gone, some weeks before, to King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. And there, in the words of our statement,

... beat swords into plowshares... exposed the criminality of nuclear weaponry and corporate piracy... We commit civil disobedience at General Electric because this genocidal entity is the fifth leading producer of weaponry in the U.S. To maintain this position, G.E. drains \$3 million a day from the public treasury, an enormous larceny against the poor.

We wish also to challenge the lethal lie spun by G.E. through its motto, "We bring good things to life." As manufacturers of the Mark 12A re-entry vehicle, G.E. actually prepares to bring good things to death. Through the Mark 12A, the threat of first strike nuclear war grows more imminent. Thus G.E. advances the possible destruction of millions of innocent lives.

If a plumb line could lie horizontal, in time rather than space, then the line, tight as a bowstring, would lie between the monastery and General Electric. I do not know how to put matters more simply. Somewhere along that line we stand (if we are lucky, it is literally a life line). We touch it; the line is not



Robert McGovern

counter masks. Survivors (barely) of the demons who, challenged, shouted their name—Legion!

We knew for a fact (the fact was there for anyone who bothered to investigate) that General Electric in King of Prussia manufactures the re-entry cones of Mark 12A missiles. We learned that Mark 12A is a warhead that will carry an H-bomb of 335 kilotons to its target. That three of these weapons are being attached to each of 300 Minuteman III missiles. That because of Mark 12A accuracy and explosive power, it will be used to implement U.S. Counterforce or First Strike policy.

We knew these hideous cones ("shrouds" is the G.E. word) were concocted in a certain building of the General Electric complex. The building is huge; we had no idea exactly where the cones could be found.

Please advise!

About noon another ploy got underway. They loaded us in vans again; back to the scene of the crime. It was like a Mack Sennett film played backward; first you were sped away in Black Maria, then you were backed freakishly into the same doorway. (It devolved later they wanted identification by the employees.)

But they wouldn't talk, so we wouldn't walk.

They carried four or five of us out of the van; into that big warehouse room, the bloody floor, the bloody torn blueprints stamped "top secret." And then the missile cones, broken, bloodied, useless. No more genocide in our name and the wall of faces, police, employees, silent as the grave, furious, bewildered, a captive nation.

Under shrill orders from Somewhere, the charade was halted. The procedure was illegal. A District Attorney said it might endanger their whole case. In-

So back to durance vile. They locked us up, they kept saying: "Sure we'll feed you, presently we'll charge you." And nothing happened.

By 5 PM the more inventive among us were ready to close their eyes, strip their shoelaces, and pretend we were eating spaghetti Rossi in the West Village.

Then something happened. One by one we were led out. Take off your shoes. And (to the six males) take off your pants.

It appeared that, these objects being stained with our blood, they were severely required as evidence.

So like the bad little boys in the fairy tale, suppleless and shoeless, we were led off to our destiny by Stepmother State.

An intuition which we and others have been pondering for a long time, grows on us, presses closer.

To wit; in a time of truly massive irrationality, one had best stop playing the old academic-ecclesial game of

All so to speak (so to "doublespeak") "bring good things to life."

And then outward into society, the malaise touches all with a leprosy finger; meandering apathy, at least as complex an illness as rotten power. Apathy, the natural outcome of such authority, so used.

We have evidence of such indifference to moral and physical disaster in other modern societies—societies whose citizens, under whip and lash, or under a rain of bread and a politics of the circus, stood helpless—to win the nod of blind deaf fate, to speak up, to force a hearing.

Such apathy shows face today, in our inability to summon resistance against nuclear annihilation. Screen out the horror; a shutter comes down. Best not to imagine what might be, best to act as though the worst could not be.

The phenomenon before the catastrophe is remarkably like the phenomenon after the catastrophe. Many of the survivors of Hiroshima, afflicted with radiation sickness, conceal their illness as long as possible, "act as though" they had not been stricken. They go so far as to falsify family history, conceal the fact that they were in the orbit of death on the day of the bomb.

No wonder that today Americans find it more plausible, more conducive to sanity, to ignore our nuclear plight, to fight survival in areas where the facts are less horrid, the cards less stacked. Economic woes, job layoffs, inflation—we have enough trouble drawing the next breath. And you with your little hammers and bottles of blood, go out against Goliath? Thanks, good luck. But no thank you.

Blood and Hammers. The symbolic aspect of our G.E. action has appealed to some and appalled others. But almost no one who has heard of the action lacks an opinion about it; usually a passionately stated one.

In pondering these passions, so long dormant, newly released, one learns a (Continued on page 4)

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great deal; not about passions in a void, but about vital capacities for survival, sociability, spirituality.

Some who hear grow furious; some of the furious are Catholics, Catholics also guard us, judge us, prosecute us. This is an old story which need not long detain us.

What is of peculiar and serious interest here, is the use and misuse of symbols, their seizure by secular power; then the struggle to keep the symbols in focus, to enable them to be seen, heard, tasted, smelled, lived and died for, in all their integrity, first intent.

Their misuse. How they are leveled off, made consistent with the credo of the state. Thus, to speak of King of Prussia, and our symbol there; blood. Its outpouring in the death of Christ, announced a gift and, by implication, set a strict boundary, a taboo. No shedding of blood, by anyone, under any circumstances; since this, My blood, is given for you. Blood as gift.

Hence the command; no killing, no war. Which is to say, above all, no nuclear weapons. And thence the imperative; resist those who research, deploy, or justify on whatever grounds, such weaponry.

Thus the drama; the symbol outpoured implies a command. Do this; so live, so die. Clear lines are drawn for public as well as personal conduct. Church and state, the "twin powers," always in danger of becoming Siamese twins, are in fact kept from a mutually destructive symbiosis, by imperative and taboo. More, they are revealed for what they in fact are, radically opposed spiritual powers, as in Chapter 13 of Revelation. Church can never be state; state is forbidden to ape or absorb church. And this mutual opposition, this non-alignment, this friction and fraying, erupts from time to time in tragic and bloody struggle. The church resists being recast as a state; the state resists being

## Swords Into Plowshares

before the act, to plumb our motives, consult loved ones, care for the future of children, arrange professional and community responsibilities, measure in fact, all good things against this "one necessary thing." And decide.

The eight so decided; yes. Such an act must be taken, even though it disrupt almost everything else, call many things in question, inflict suffering on others. The value of the act is thus measured by the sacrifices required in order to do it; an old and honored Christian idea, if I am not mistaken.

(For us, going as we did in fear and trembling, from the Eucharist to General Electric, had the feel of the last hours of Jesus; his journey from the upper room to death. We held our liturgy the night before, broke the bread, passed the cup. Light of head, heavy of heart, we none the less celebrated by anticipation, the chancy event of the following day; and the trial to come; and the penalty. Our logic? The Body was "broken for you," the cup "poured out for all.")

(The logic was not only our own. At one court hearing, the prosecutor asked, under prodding from his chief, who referred to me as "this so-called priest" and "this wandering Gypsy" (sic)—"And when did you last celebrate Mass?" I was obviously to be shown up

dangerment, criminal mischief, terroristic threats, harassment, criminal coercion, unlawful restraint. Talk about overkill! We sat in court, transfixed, gazing on our images in the crazy mirrors of the state fun house.

It takes a large measure of good sense to stand firm at such moments. People gifted with our nefarious history must remind themselves that at King of Prussia, hammers and blood in hand, we set in motion a lengthy and complex drama. One should speak perhaps of three acts.

The first act belonged in the main to us; an early morning curtain raiser, the action underway. In a sense, the adversaries have not yet appeared; only a few subalterns act on their behalf, in their name; the guards and police and employees. But G.E. has not yet turned on its voltage. No official appears in justifying garb to bespeak the ancient myths, to invoke sacro-secular outrage at the violation of a holy place, property off bounds, the shrine accessible only to initiates. (Antigone has buried her brother's body; but Creon has not yet flogged his way to condemn her.)

Then a second act opens. It marks the marshalling of forces of law and order, the invoking of demons of natural law, secular karma.

Anger, retaliation are in the air, the gods of property buzz furious overhead. The actors all but tear up the script of act one; and assault is mounted on the earlier reliance on "higher law" or "con-science." Behold true conscience, behold the highest law of all, the law by which all citizens must live, the law that is our common safeguard against anarchy!

So in the manner of Shakespeare or Pirandello or Sophocles, act two is a



the eight is segregated from the world, the faces of the defendants, mirrors of conscience, are hooded. The inert symbols, hammers, empty bloodied bottles, lie there, tagged, soulless, mere items of evidence. They are relics of moral defeat, emblems of legal punishment; as such, the prosecutor will refer to them with disdain and handle them with distaste. They will be compared, subtly or openly, to the tools of safe crackers, bloodied knives, guns. In any case; What if such implements became the common tools of so-called conscience? What if all citizens, under whatever itch of notoriety, took up such tools? (like the soiled hands of Antigone, heaping foul dust on her brother's body, against the law of the state—how sordid a venture!)

In the course of this act, the classic Greek formula is verified; the purging of pity and fear.

These must be purged, for pity and terror get in the way of spiritual change. They are obstructive emotions; to be taken seriously, no doubt, but strictly as preliminary to the main event.

That event, in a large sense, is destined to occur neither on stage nor in the court. It is rather the unending passionate pursuit of moral good, the righting of injustice, the ousting of death; the reordering of an ethical universe, and of its social and political forms.

But in order to be purged, pity and fear have first to be aroused.

How acute the Greeks were! In the first days following our action, friends invariably spoke of their forebodings; their dread of the harsh sentences that undoubtedly would befall us, their fear that our action would be ignored or misconstrued.

Pity and fear. The pity narrows emotional largesse, the fear spreads out inordinately, claims all minds. Fear of the future, fear for children bereft of parents, fear of the state and its legal savageries...

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as Caesarism took the state, blood, in firm possession, demands that the church knuckle under, bend knee, bless war, pay taxes, shut up. Church, thy name is trouble.

The choices are not large. Toil and trouble or—capitulation. In the latter case all is lost. The symbols are seized at the altar and borne away. Now the blood of Christ, the blood of humans, is cheap indeed; for what could be cheaper than blood the church itself has declared expendable? That blood is now a commodity, a waste. When Caesar speaks, blood may be shed at will; by Christians or others, it makes no difference. Which is also to say: there exists no longer any distinction in fact between armed combatants and citizens, between soldiers and little children. Killing has become the ordinary civil method of furthering civic ends. The sacred symbol of blood, whose gift urged the command (thou shalt not kill)—that blood is admixed, diluted, poisoned. It is lost in a secular vortex, immensely vigorous and seductive, urging a different vision. Labor is commodity, the flag is a sacred vexillum, humans are productive integers, triage rules the outcome. Finally, a peremptory secular command: Thou shalt kill when so ordered—or else.

It seems to me that since Hiroshima, to set an arbitrary moment, this debasing of the sacred symbols into secular use and misuse, has proceeded apace.

To undo the blasphemy, what a labor!

We have been at this for years—dramatic events, deliberately orchestrated, arbitrary but intensely traditional, liturgical, illegal, in every case wrenching the actors out of routine and community life—to face the music, face the public, face the jury.

Is it all worth it? In measure, the eight who acted at King of Prussia have already answered the question. At least for themselves, and for one another. One of them said in the course of our discussion, "Even if the action went nowhere, if no one understood or followed through on it, I would still go ahead."

Worth it for ourselves. Each of us had,



Frits Eichenberg

as not only rootless but faithless as well.)

But what of the larger meaning of the action; its value for the church and the public?

Here one must go slow. The value of the act for those who propose it, sweat it out, do it—this is more easily determined. Value is created, so to speak, in the breach, in a decision to gather, unite voices in an outcry, to precipitate a crisis that, at least for a time, will strip away the mask of evil.

But I know of no sure way of predicting where things will go from there, whether others will hear and respond, or how quickly or slowly. Or whether the act will fall to vitalize others, will come to a grinding halt then and there, its actors stigmatized or dismissed as fools. One swallows dry and takes a chance.

There was one sign that our action touched a nerve. A hasty attempt was made on the day of the action itself, to discredit us through a dizzying list of charges. Ideology, panic, special interests, combined to barrage the media and the public with a verdict before the verdict; mere violent crazies had gone on a rampage. The charges included—assault, false imprisonment, reckless en-

kind of play within the play. The audience is bewildered, thrown off guard. It had read a certain kind of admirable moral truth, in the face of the young woman Antigone (in the faces of a nun, of the mother of six, of a lawyer, a professor, a seminary graduate—faces like the credentials of moral worth)—now it hears another kind of truth. This is not the truth of "symbolic action" which from a legal point of view is always murky, easily discredited, and reaching troubleously as it does into dark existence. (The forbidden burial of a brother, the breaking and bloodying of ikons) must be excoriated, discredited — by measured relentless argument.

The argument, of devastating force, in ancient Greece as today, I call that of the Great If.

The example of Antigone, the example of the eight, is deliberately magnified, made stark. Behold their act, performed under clerical guise, under the guise of virtue. Behold their act, as viewed by the state, the guardian and interpreter of public morality. (What an unconscious and ironic tribute is paid the defendants here, as though in the court itself, the state were erecting stone by stone, a monument to the conscience (so fears—and so magnifies.)

In any case, citizens and believers, whatever divagations of spirit they were beckoned toward by the conduct of the protagonists, by their age or condition or credentials (above all, by their dark probing symbols)—all this is brought up, short and abrupt. You are in court, this audience, as extensions of the jury, who are in effect extensions of the judge. You are not here to indulge in murky existential probings, but to consider the letter of the law, and in your hearts, to approach a verdict . . .

Finally, act three. Many scenes and changes; the great world, a time between events (action/trial), the agora, a court room, the many places where people discuss, argue, make up their minds and unmake them again, slowly or with speed come to a conclusion, the knotting of the action.

In court, the argument of the Great If is relentlessly pursued. The crime of

One emotion is too narrow, the other too diffused. Neither finally is useful; that is to say, neither serves to heighten the truth of the universal predicament (which is not defined by prison sentences, but by nuclear annihilation) — or to grant hints and leads as to a way out.

I must inject here a message from the jails of Pennsylvania. If the eight have insisted on anything, it is that their trial and imprisonment are not the issue at stake. Pity for them gains nothing. Neither does fear for them, or for their children and spouses. The eight go their way, a way meticulously chosen and after much prayer. But the issues they raise will continue to shadow their lives and vex their hearts. It is the corporate crimes of General Electric, the race toward oblivion which this monstrous entity both fuels and illustrates.

Finally, what drove us to "such extremes?"

To reach the truth, one must turn from Creon to Antigone; from the prosecutor, in our case, to the Gospel.

In America, in 1980, it could hardly be called useful to the common weal, or a mitigation of the common weal, that a group of religious folk enter a mega-death factory—in vain proof that they are in possession of some kind of magical counterforce.

Why then?

Let us say merely, because they hungered for the truth, for its embodiment, longed to offer a response to its claim on us. That even through us, an all but submerged voice might be heard; voice of "God, not of the dead, but of the living."

From our statement: "In confronting G.E., we choose to obey God's law of life, rather than a corporate summons to death. Our beating of swords into plowshares is a way to enflesh this biblical call. In our action, we draw on a deep-rooted faith in Christ, who changed the course of history through His willingness to suffer rather than to kill. We are filled with hope for our world and for our children as we join this act of resistance."

## The Trial:

# Defense Statement

FR. DANIEL BERRIGAN

Fr. Anne Montgomery: Why did you do what you did to these (misile nose-cones)?

Fr. Daniel Berrigan: The question, as far as I can see, brings up immediately words that have been used again and again in the courtroom like conscience, justification. The question takes me very briefly back to those years when my conscience was being formed, back to a family that was poor, and to a father and mother that taught, quite simply, by living what they taught. And, if I could put their message very, very briefly, it would be something like this:

In a thousand ways they showed us that you do what is right because it is right, that your conscience is a matter between you and God, that nobody owns you.

If I have a precious memory of my mother and father that lasts to this day, it is simply that they lived as though nobody owned them. They cheated no-one. They worked hard for a living.

They were poor; and, perhaps most precious of all, they shared what they had. And that was enough, because in the life of a young child, and a growing life, the first steps of conscience are as important as the first steps of one's feet.

And they set the direction of where life will go. And I feel that occurred to my brothers and myself in that way; and that there is a direct line between the way they saw life and the way they turned our eyes and this action.

That is no crooked line. That was the first influence. The second one, shortly, has to do with the religious order that Bishop Parrilla-Bonilla (of Puerto Rico, present as a character witness) and I belong to.

When I was eighteen, I left home for the Jesuit order. I will be sixty years old in May and I have never been anything but a Jesuit priest in my whole life.

We have Jesuits throughout Latin America today, my own brothers, who are in prison, who have been under torture; many of them have been murdered.

There are on the walls of our religious communities both here and in Latin America faces of murdered priests, priests who stood somewhere because they believed in something. And those faces haunt my days. And I want to know how I can be wishy-washy in the face of such example of my own lifetime, my own age, my own generation.

This is a very powerful thing, to know other people, to be in a common bond of vows with people who have given their lives, because they did not believe in mass murder. And they were not allowed to go on in their name.

Dear Jurors, you have been called the conscience of the community. Each of us eight comes from a community. I don't mean just a biological family. That is understood. I mean that every one of us hopefully will have a chance to say that we have brothers and sisters with whom we live, with whom we pray, with whom we offer the Eucharist Mass, with whom we share income, the care of children, in some cases, for the married defendants.

We will try to express to you that our conscience comes from somewhere, we have not come from outer space or from chaos or from madhouses to do this thing.

We have come from years of prayer, years of life together, years of living, of who we are, in the church, and in the world. And we would like to speak to you, each of us in a different way, about that community, because you see, as to the matter of conscience, it is our conviction that nobody in the world can form his or her conscience alone.

Now perhaps I don't even have to dwell on that. Most of you who have children know the importance of others, not just parents, but all friends, relatives, those who are loved and who love, in helping us understand who we are.

What are we to do in bad times? Well, all of that has gone into our conscience so that we come as a community of conscience to meet your community of conscience and to ask you, are our consciences any different about the lives

and deaths of children? Very simple questions.

We would like you to see that we come from where you come. We come from churches. We come from America. We come from neighborhoods. We come from years of work. We come from earning a living.

We come from sharing. And we have come to this. And the judgment of our conscience that we would like to present to you is something like this:

We could not not do this. We were pushed to this by all of our lives. See what I mean? All our lives.

I would just speak about myself now, because the others will speak for themselves. When I say I could not not do this, I would like you to understand me. It means, among other things, that with every cowardly bone in my body I wished I hadn't had to do it. And that's been true every time I have been arrested, all those times. My stomach turns over. I feel sick. I feel afraid. I don't want to go through this again.

I hate jail. I don't do well there physically. But I can't not do it, because I have read that we must not kill if we are Christians. I have read that children, above all, are threatened by this. I have read that Christ our Lord rather underwent death than inflict it. And I am supposed to be a disciple. But the push of conscience is a terrible thing.

And at some point your cowardly bones get moving, and you say, "Here it goes again," and you do it. And you have a certain peace because you did it, as I do this morning in being with you.

That phrase, about not being able to do something, maybe it is a little bit clumsy. But for those who raise children and those who go out to work every day and those who have decisions on the job, I think there is a certain knowledge of what I am trying to say. Children at times must be disciplined. We would rather not do it.

There are choices on jobs about honesty. And there are things to be gained. And it is hard not to do them.

And one doesn't do them. One cannot not do such things because one has a sense. "Well, I'm really giving over my humanity or my conscience." As we get a little bit closer to this thing, there's something about all of us not being able to live with that, or to think and turn in the other direction. And by a thousand

(Continued on page 8)

and pressures, a thousand silences, a thousand days and nights, a lot of people can begin to say together, "We can live with that." We know it's there. We know what it is for. We know that a lot of people will die if that stuff goes on.

And yet we act like those who dance around and close their eyes, who close their hearts, and close their briefcases, who take their paycheck and go home. It's called living with death. And it puts us to death before that falls.

We believe, according to the law of this state, that we were justified in saying we cannot live with that, saying it publicly, saying it dramatically, saying it with blood and hammers, as you have heard day after day, because that nose-cone and the hundreds and hundreds of them being produced in our country every day are the greatest evil conceivable to this earth.

There is no evil to compare it with. Multiply murder. Multiply desolation. The mind boggles.

So, to go into that place, and, in a modest, self-contained, careful way about lives, about people, put a few dents in it, get arrested for it, get into this court and talk to you about it, we believe with all our hearts that was justified and more.

(Taken from "The Trial," in The Plovershares 8—The Crime, The Trial, The Issues. Available for \$2.50 from Plovershares 8 Support Committee, 168 West 100th St., NY, NY 10025. Eds. Note.)

DOCUMENT 38

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do something, maybe it is a little bit  
clumsy. But for those who raise children  
and those who go out to work every day  
and those who have decisions on the  
job, I think there is a certain knowl-  
edge of what I am trying to say. Children  
at times must be disciplined. We would  
rather not do it.

There are choices on jobs about hon-  
esty. And there are things to be gained.  
And it is hard not to do them.

And one doesn't do them. One cannot  
not do such things because one has a  
sense, "Well, I'm really giving over my  
humanity or my conscience." As we get  
a little bit closer to this thing, there's  
something about all of us not being able  
to live with that, or to think and turn  
in the other direction. And by a thou-

(Continued on page 8)

and pressures, a thousand silences, a  
thousand days and nights, a lot of peo-  
ple can begin to say together, "We can  
live with that." We know it's there. We  
know what it is for. We know that a  
lot of people will die if that stuff goes  
on.

And yet we act like those who dance  
around and close their eyes, who close  
their hearts, and close their briefcases,  
who take their paycheck and go home.  
It's called living with death. And it puts  
us to death before that falls.

We believe, according to the law of  
this state, that we were justified in say-  
ing we cannot live with that, saying it  
publicly, saying it dramatically, saying  
it with blood and hammers, as you have  
heard day after day, because that nose-  
cone and the hundreds and hundreds of  
them being produced in our country  
every day are the greatest evil conceivable  
to this earth.

There is no evil to compare it with.  
Multiply murder. Multiply desolation.  
The mind boggles.

So, to go into that place, and in a  
modest, self-contained, careful way  
about lives, about people, put a few  
dents in it, get arrested for it, get into  
this court and talk to you about it, we  
believe with all our hearts that was jus-  
tified and more.

(Taken from "The Trial," In The Plow-  
shares 8—The Crime, The Trial, The  
Issues. Available for \$2.50 from Plow-  
shares 8 Support Committee, 188 West  
160th St., NY, NY 10025. Eds. Note.)



The Trial: Defense Statement (Abschrift aus: "IN THE KING OF  
- 11.Szene - PRUSSIA")

Sister Anne Montgomery: (weist auf atomare Sprengkopfhülsen)

- Father Berrigan, I'd like to ask you a simple question:  
Why did you do what you did to these ? -

Daniel Berrigan:

- The question, Sister Anne, dear friends, brings up words that you have already heard frequently in this court and you will hear again, great words, words like conscience and justification and community.  
I would like, by way of telling my story, to begin with the formation of a young child's conscience in a family that was poor, in which the parents live what they taught and taught by living it, in which the good was done because it was good, in which as far as I can remember there were no crooked lines but a straight understanding of who we were in the world.  
The second influence and one which abides really to this moment is the influence of my religious order.  
At 18 I entered the Jesuits and I reflect that in May I was 60 years old which means I guess that I have never really been anything in my about life except a priest and a Jesuit. And I think this morning of all those Jesuit priests throughout Latin America who are also in the court rooms or under torture and imprisoned and murdered and whose images, whose pictures are on the walls of homes of the poor, venerated, because they stood by their people and stood by God and believed in something in tough times. I say these things because I think all of the eight would have you realized that we come from somewhere that our conscience is not operating in a void, that we come from long years of life in community, from a common discipline and a common faith and prayer and that we would like to consider you a community of conscience meeting our community. To see if some light may be shed upon a desperately dark time. You have been called in this court "the conscience of the community". I'm wondering what questions arise in good consciences these days. It seems to me that one way of putting the questions that brought us here - you could put it many ways so could we - but maybe this for a start: What is to happen to the children of the world if these things continue ? Is there going to be a human future, is there going to be a next generation ? These are desperately grave questions in the light of these weapons. Because they foreclose the future, they foreclose the lives of children, they're absolute indiscriminate in their power destruction. They don't even deserve the word weapon. They are some nameless horror, aimed at life. What do we do in such times ? I think the eight will tell their story of what we tried to do, where we tried to go, where our conscience has impelled us; the direction has not been easy. And again I speak for myself - I will put it this way:

I could not not do what I did! I use that deliberately clumsy phrase that I hope you can grab:  
I could not not do this thing! It speaks of a kind of a blow in the back, it says: take the next step, a step that you don't wanna take, a step that every cowardly bone in your body says: Don't take it!. I must say to you and the confession is not particularly appealing or a proud one: Every time I'm arrested my stomach turns over. I want not to do it, I want not to move in that direction, I don't do particularly well in jail. I hate the humiliation, I hate the degradation of the law, the seal in which human life is so devalued and devoured. And yet one goes forward. One cannot not do what must be done !  
Especially with a kind of background that I have been trying to share with you. Well, so we came to this hour which has been told again and again, September 9th. And in a very modest and carefully calarated way being careful about the human life involved the guards and the others we went into that plant and did something which evidently is highly charged in the public mind, in the judicial mind, something symbolic, poured our own blood over these monstrous objects, dented them and stood around praying and singing until the law came and we were at least thrown off. It's a very simple story, it involved harm to no-one in spite of any claim that it did. We did what we could not not do ! -

Sister Anne Montgomery:

- Could you say something about what your work or how your work at the cancer hospital in New York influenced what you did ? -

Daniel Berrigan:

- Sure ! Sister Anne refers to the fact that for the past three years, I guess, I've been working with the dying part time in New York City. This is a hospital where we only take those who cannot pay, cannot be received elsewhere. The poor of the city, the streetfolks, all ages, all colours, all conditions. I wonder how many of the jury have really smelled and touched cancer of close. This is a not very appealing smell or sight: cancer of the brain, cancer of the face, cancer of the tongue, cancer of the limbs. It has a great relevance to this, because we have amounting evidence now in this country and across the world that at the flash point whether its word is Hiroshima or New York City or Moscow or anywhere else in the world many thousands will die and many thousands will live dying. We know in fact, that according to this calculation cancer is the vocation of the human family and those who do not die at the flash point will die and die and die for years of cancer. I could not enter that hospital without understanding the Pentagon, and without having spoken to those dying folk of why people like myself and others who work there went from St. Rose's Home in New York by direct line to the Pentagon to object to and to resist what was being planned there in our name: cancer as a universal plague. This, I submit you, friends, is intolerable that the world should be so wasted in the disservice to human life and in the service of the Gods of death and the talent and money and the sweeper should thee pounding down a rat hole which seems to have no end: the military. -

Sister Anne Montgomery:

- Getting to the action itself, could you say a word about our preparation for it ? -

Daniel Berrigan:

- Surely ! Sister Anne's question really touches back on the earlier refernces I made to community. We have really never gone into anything as serious as this action without serious spiritual preparation. We have always spended at least one day of prayer, often two or three before such actions together. Searching out the will of God in our regard. Trying to decide together what burdens we could bear, trying to lay out our fears before one another in the light of God's will and to dispose of those fears at least to the point where we could take the next step. But I'm happy for the question again because it enables you to know us better, to know that we are not flagrant or vagrant or people who do things on the spur of the moment or by whim ; we tried to be as serious about the children of the world as the parents of the children of the world would want us to be. At the end of those three days it seemed to be apparent to the eight who sit at this table that we were to move, we were to take that step, we were to take those consequences. And so here we are ... -

Sister Anne Montgomery:

- These questions are very short: Have you ever physically harmed anyone ? -

Daniel Berrigan:

- No. -

Sister Anne Montgomery:

- Would you ever for any reason injure another person ? -

Daniel Berrigan:

- No. -

Sister Anne Montgomery:

- Would you ever by word or gesture threaten to injure another person ? -

Daniel Berrigan:

- No, I would not. -

Sister Anne Montgomery:

- Thank you. -

(Abschrift nach Tonbandmitschnitt)

# NEWS



*plea of justification may prevail....No peril is greater—no peril even approaches—the peril of nuclear war.*

In a letter to Judge Spaeth, Daniel Berrigan, one of the Plowshares Eight, writes, "People everywhere, all but overwhelmed by fear and paralysis, take heart when they hear of your action....It may be, as the Bible reminds us, that one just person saves everything—and everyone."

(...)

- Joe Peacock

(aus: IFOR Report, Juli 1984, Seite 19)

## JUDGES SPEAKING OUT AGAINST THE BOMB

In the early morning of September 9, 1980, a group of eight religious peace activists entered the "Re-entry Division" plant of the General Electric Corporation in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. Once inside, the group used hammers to batter the warhead casings being manufactured for the Mark 12A, a component of the MX and Trident II missile system. The "Plowshares Eight" based their actions on the prophetic command to "beat swords into plowshares." The following July, after a long and turbulent trial in which the eight defended themselves without the assistance of lawyers, they were sentenced to prison terms of up to ten years. (A film, *The King of Prussia*, has been made about the action and the trial.)

The decision was appealed, however, and on February 20, 1984, the Superior Court of Pennsylvania reversed the earlier judgment. It ruled that the trial had been improperly conducted because the defendants had not been allowed to present evidence explaining the justification of their action. In a concurring opinion, Superior Court Judge J. Spaeth stated:

*...whenever a defendant pleads justification, the court should ask, "What value higher than the value of literal compliance with the law is the defendant asserting?" The trial court failed to ask this question....The trial court says that the appellants "failed to establish the urgency or 'imminent danger' which they sought to prevent"....But, I submit, a "public disaster" is "imminent." By resorting only to our own Government's official publications, we may learn that the United States and the Soviet Union—without reference to Great Britain and France (and others? Israel?)—each has the capability of destroying the other within minutes and on command....The fallacy in the trial court's and the dissent's reasoning is to equate "reasonableness" with "success": if by breaking the law you did not succeed in gaining your objective, you may not plead justification. But reasonableness is a function of the actor's situation. If the peril to the town was slight, it may indeed have been unreasonable of me to make a firebreak by destroying my neighbor's house. But if the peril was great, my action may be seen in a very different light, and my*

DOKUMENT 40

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COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF

PENNSYLVANIA

v.

REV. DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.  
REV. PHILIP BERRIGAN,  
SISTER ANNE MONTGOMERY,  
ELMER H. MAAS,  
REV. CARL KABAT,  
JOHN SCHUCHARDT, DEAN  
HAMMER, MOLLY RUSH

Appellants

APPEAL FROM THE JUDGMENT OF SENTENCE  
IN THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS OF  
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, CRIMINAL, NO. 2647-80.

EN BANC

BEFORE:

CERCONE, P.J., SPAETH, HESTER, BROSKY, each for work!  
WIEAND, BECK and JOHNSON, JJ.

CONCURRING OPINION BY SPAETH, J.

FILED FEB 17 1984

in June. The Jesuits have asked for  
some help. We'll see!

I join Judge BROSKY's opinion, and offer the  
following comments in the hope that it may be helpful to  
approach this case, which has given us such difficulty, from a  
somewhat different angle. Much love to you + yours.

Daniel.

Dear Jim - You may have heard  
our case is finally reversed - though  
Pa. has appealed the decision. We  
think they're appalled that justifica-  
tion for such crimes is now in the legal  
record, + want it expurgated. Also that  
they're not interested in another trial,  
though I hope they are!  
: In current NCR, Cardinal  
refers to "stupid, stubborn pacifists  
in USA who" etc. etc. too bad.

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-1-

The justification defense arose from the  
recognition that literally interpreted, the law may be not  
merely <sup>"a morass"</sup> ~~merely~~ caught up in its arcane technicalities, but  
cruel. A lost and starving man who breaks into a cabin and  
eats food he finds there is not a burglar and thief. Cf.  
American Law Institute, Model Penal Code §3.02 Comment at 9  
(Tent. Draft No. 8, 1958) (citing examples). There are  
"higher value[s] than the value of literal compliance with the  
law." G. Williams, The Criminal Law §229 (2d ed. 1970). As  
soon as we acknowledge this fact, we recognize that the  
justification defense is "essential to the rationality and  
justice of all penal provisions." Model Penal Code, supra,  
§3.02 Comment at 5.

Accordingly, whenever a defendant pleads  
justification, the court should ask, "What value higher than  
the value of literal compliance with the law is defendant  
asserting?" The trial court failed to ask this question.  
Apparently in its eyes no higher value is implicated in this  
case. And for the dissent, this case is to be decided as we  
would decide a case involving "the theft and destruction of

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guns or explosives by altruistic and well-meaning citizens who sincerely believe that guns or explosives possess the potential to kill at sometime in the future." Dissenting Slip op. at 11-12. But appellants are not pleading as their justification the danger arising from "guns or explosives;" they are pleading the danger arising from nuclear missiles. One who does not understand that danger does not understand appellants' plea.

The trial court says that appellants "failed to establish the urgency or 'imminent danger' of the public disaster which [they] sought to prevent." Slip op. at 29. But, I submit, a "public disaster" is "imminent." "Imminent" means "[t]hreatening to occur immediately; near at hand; impending; -- said esp. of misfortune or peril." Webster's New International Dictionary 1245 (2d ed. 1938). By resorting only to our own Government's official publications, we may learn that the United States and the Soviet Union -- without reference to Great Britain and France (and others? Israel?) -- each has the capability of destroying the other within minutes and on command. See e.g., The Effects of Nuclear War, Office

of Technology Assessment (1979) (describing effects of nuclear attacks in various proportions); The Effects of Nuclear Weapons, Department of Defense and Energy Research and Development Administration (1977) (same). Why, then, is disaster not "imminent"? Because our Government and its allies would never initiate the attack? Because the Soviet Union is afraid to initiate it, knowing what our response would be? If this is the trial court's reasoning -- we don't know, for the court doesn't state its reasoning -- one can only say that many find it unpersuasive. Among the many are the Bishops of the Catholic Church, who say in their "Pastoral Letter on War and Peace, The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," Publ. No. 863, U.S. Catholic Conf. at 40 (1983):

We live today, therefore, in the midst of a cosmic drama; we possess a power which should never be used but which might be used if we do not reverse our direction. We live with nuclear weapons knowing we cannot afford to make one serious mistake.

Also among the many are the authors of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, whose symbol for the imminence of nuclear war is a clock. In the January 1984 edition of the Bulletin, the clock stands at three minutes to midnight (in the December 1983 edition, it stood at four).



The dissent, like the trial court, says that "it was unreasonable as a matter of law [for appellants] to believe that nuclear war could be avoided merely by destroying one of several components being separately made for incorporation into future nuclear missiles." Dissenting Slip op. at 11. (emphasis in original). See Trial Court Slip op. at 29-30. But nothing in the record warrants the conclusion that this was appellants' belief. Appellants do not assert that their action would avoid nuclear war (what a grandiose and unlikely idea!). Instead, at least so far as I can tell from the record, their belief was that their action, in combination with the actions of others, might accelerate a political process ultimately leading to the abandonment of nuclear missiles. And that belief, I submit, should not be dismissed as "unreasonable as a matter of law." A jury might -- or might not -- find it unreasonable as a matter of fact. But that is for a jury to say, not for a court.

The fallacy in the trial court's and the dissent's reasoning is to equate "reasonableness" with "success": if by breaking the law you did not succeed in gaining your objective, you may not plead justification. But reasonableness is a function of the actor's situation. If the peril to the town

was slight, it may indeed have been unreasonable of me to make a firebreak by destroying my neighbor's house. But if the peril was great, my action may be seen in a very different light, and my plea of justification may prevail, even in the face of proof that the fire swept across the space I had cleared, and burned down the town. See, e.g., State v. Wooten, Crim. No. 2685 (Cochise Cty., Ariz. Sept 13, 1919) (unreported) reprinted in Comment, The Law of Necessity and the Bisbee Deportation Case, 3 Ariz. L.Rev. 264 at 278 (1961) ("One claiming the right to destroy buildings to prevent the spread of a conflagration must necessarily have that right determined by the condition existing or appearing to a reasonable man to exist at the time of the destruction."). See generally Arnolds & Garland, The Defense of Necessity in Criminal Law: The Right to Choose the Lesser Evil, 65 J.Crim.L. & Criminology 289 (1974).<sup>1</sup>

No peril is greater -- no peril even approaches -- the peril of nuclear war:

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<sup>1</sup> I know that other courts have used the same reasoning that the dissent has. See, e.g., United States v. Best, 476 F.Supp. 34 (D. Colo. 1979); State v. Marley, 54 Haw. 450, 509 P.2d 1095 (1973). But see Commonwealth v. Capitolo, \_\_\_ Pa. Super. \_\_\_, \_\_\_, \_\_\_ A.2d \_\_\_, \_\_\_ (1984) (Slip op. at 24-27, discussing in some detail why this reasoning is unpersuasive).

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The people in the Pentagon offices and their counterparts in the Kremlin where the questions of coping with war injuries are dealt with must be having a hard time of it these days, looking ahead as they must to the possibility of thermonuclear war. Any sensible analyst in such an office would be tempted to scratch off all the expense items related to surgical care of the irradiated, burned, and blasted, the men, women, and children with empty bone marrows and vaporized skin. What conceivable benefit can come from sinking money in hospitals subject to instant combustion, only capable of salvaging, at their intact best, a few hundred of the victims who will be lying out there in the hundreds of thousands? There exists no medical technology that can cope with the certain outcome of just one small, neat, so-called tactical bomb exploded over a battlefield. As for the problem raised by a single large bomb; say a twenty-megaton missile (equivalent to approximately two thousand Hiroshimas) dropped on New York City or Moscow, with the dead and dying in the millions, what would medical technology be good for? As the saying goes, forget it. Think of something else. Get a computer running somewhere in a cave, to estimate the likely numbers of the lucky dead.

L. Thomas, On Medicine and the Bomb, reprinted in L. Thomas, Late Night Thoughts on Listening to Mahler's Ninth Symphony at 118 (1983).

Nor is the peril confined to those who will be "irradiated, burned, and blasted." It extends much farther, to our survival as a species. If only a small fraction of the nuclear missiles now able to be fired, either by us or the Soviet Union, are fired, a "dark nuclear winter" will occur: a cloud of debris

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will block off our sunlight; temperatures will plunge; and our death by freezing or starvation will follow. Scientists have identified a 100 megaton explosion as the "nuclear war threshold" that once crossed will lead to such a global catastrophe. See "After Atomic War: Doom in the Dark," *Phila. Inquirer*, November 1, 1983, at 1. It is in the light of this peril that the reasonableness of appellants' belief must be judged.

Perhaps a jury will discount evidence that our situation is as desperate as the authorities I have alluded to believe. Or perhaps a jury will regard appellants' conduct as mere bravado. On either of these views, appellants' plea of justification will fail. But we must leave such appraisals to a jury. For we are not entitled to hold, "as a matter of law," as the dissent would, that a jury could not find that our situation is as desperate as appellants offered to prove, and then, proceeding from that finding, could not go on to decide that appellants' conduct, however unlikely of success, represented a reasonable response. I admit that for my part --

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and here at least I suppose that the dissenters and I are not far apart -- I am skeptical of appellants' conduct. I believe there are better ways, the Bishops' among them. But that is what trial by jury is all about: to ensure that the defendant is not judged by a skeptical judge but by his peers.

-2-

Like Judge BROSKY, I find nothing in support of the claim that Congress, in exercising the war power, has preempted the defense of justification, and I see no need to add to the discussion of preemption in Commonwealth v. Capitulo, \_\_\_ Pa. Super. \_\_\_, \_\_\_ A.2d \_\_\_ (1984), except for a brief comment on the dissent's reliance on Hirabayashi v. United States. 320 U.S. 81 (1943), and Senate Report No. 1699.

In Hirabayashi the Court upheld an Executive Order of the President confining some 70,000 American citizens to designated military zones because they were Japanese or of Japanese ancestry. It is not one of the Court's finer moments,<sup>2</sup> and to the extent that it still stands for anything,

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<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Girdner & Loftis, The Great Betrayal (1969); Grodzins, Americans Betrayed (1949); Dembitz, Racial Discrimination and the Military Judgment, 45 Colum.L.Rev. 175 (1945); Rostow, The Japanese - American Cases - A Disaster, 54 Yale L.J. 489 (1945); Freeman, Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus - Genealogy, Evacuation, and Law, 28 Cornell L.Q. 414 (1943).

it illustrates how an uncritical acceptance of the war power can lead us to abandon liberties we say we hold dear.

The dissent cites Senate Report No. 1699, which discusses the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as showing that Congress was "fully cognizant of the dangers inherent in nuclear weapons." Dissenting Slip op. at 17. But no one today shares the Report's serene confidence in "our atomic weapons stockpile." If the Report shows anything, it shows that Congress was not fully cognizant of the dangers inherent in nuclear weapons. If we are inquiring into Congressional cognizance, we should do better to examine the debates over whether to authorize the production of the MX missile, see, e.g., 129 Cong. Rec. H. 5309-50 (daily ed. July 30, 1983), and the adoption by the House of the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, see 41 Cong. Q. 868 (May 7, 1983) (reporting passage of H.J.Res. 13).

Time has overtaken Hirabayashi and Senate Report No. 1699. Nothing in them suggests that Congress has preempted appellants' right to plead the defense of justification

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provided them by our Crimes Code. Indeed, recently just the opposite has been made apparent by the Supreme Court's decision in Silkwood v. Kerr-McGee Corp., \_\_\_ U. S. \_\_\_ (52 U.S.L.W. 4043, January 11, 1984). There the Court held that an award under state tort law of punitive damages against a federally-licensed manufacturer of nuclear fuel pins for use in nuclear power reactors was not preempted "either because it falls within that forbidden field [regulating the safety aspects of nuclear energy, Pacific Gas & Electric Co. v. United States Energy Resources Conservation & Development Comm'n, \_\_\_ U. S. \_\_\_ (1983)] or because it conflicts with some other aspect of the Atomic Energy Act." 52 U.S.L.W. at 4044. After reviewing the legislative history of the Price-Anderson Act, Pub.L. 85-256, 71 Stat. 576 (1957), and amendments thereto, limiting liability for one nuclear accident, the Court observed:

Punitive damages have long been a part of traditional state tort law. As we noted above, Congress assumed that traditional principles of state tort law would apply with full force unless they were expressly supplanted. Thus, it is Kerr-McGee's burden to show that Congress intended to preclude such awards. See IBEW v. Foust, 442 U.S. 42, 53 (1979) (BLACKMUN, J., concurring). Yet, the company is unable to point to anything in the legislative history or in the regulations that indicates that punitive damages were not to be allowed . . . .

In sum, it is clear that in enacting and amending the Price-Anderson Act, Congress assumed that state-law remedies, in whatever form they might take, were available to those injured by nuclear incidents. This was so even though it was well aware of the NRC's exclusive authority to regulate safety matters. No doubt there is tension between the conclusion that safety regulation is the exclusive concern of the federal law and the conclusion that a state may nevertheless award damages based on its own law of liability. But as we understand what was done over the years in the legislation concerning nuclear energy, Congress intended to stand by both concepts and to tolerate whatever tension there was between them. We can do no less.

52 U.S.L.W. at 4048.

We, too, "can do no less" than to retain, in cases like this, the defense of justification provided by our Crimes Code. For if Congress has not preempted state tort law, it surely has not preempted state criminal law.

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In one of his last books, Civilization and Its Discontents, Sigmund Freud pictured us as caught in a struggle between two "Heavenly Powers" -- Love, or Eros, and Death. Reflecting on the outcome, he said:



. . . I have not the courage to rise up before my fellow-men as a prophet, and I bow to their reproach that I can offer them no consolation: for at bottom that is what they are all demanding -- the wildest revolutionaries no less passionately than the most virtuous believers.

The fateful question for the human species seems to me to be whether and to what extent their cultural development will succeed in mastering the disturbance of their communal life by the human instinct of aggression and self-destruction. It may be that in this respect precisely the present time deserves a special interest. Men have gained control over the forces of nature to such an extent that with their help they would have no difficulty in exterminating one another to the last man. They know this, and hence comes a large part of their current unrest, their unhappiness and their mood of anxiety. And now it is to be expected that the other of the two "Heavenly Powers," eternal Eros, will make an effort to assert himself in the struggle with his equally immortal adversary. But who can foresee with what success and with what result?

S. Freud, Civilization And Its Discontents, 92 (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., N.Y., 1962).

It is with Freud's final, haunting question in mind that we should decide this case. For it is this question that provides the context in which appellants' conduct must be judged.

WESTSIDE JESUIT COMMUNITY  
220 West 98th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10025

14. April 1984

Lieber Richter Spaeth,

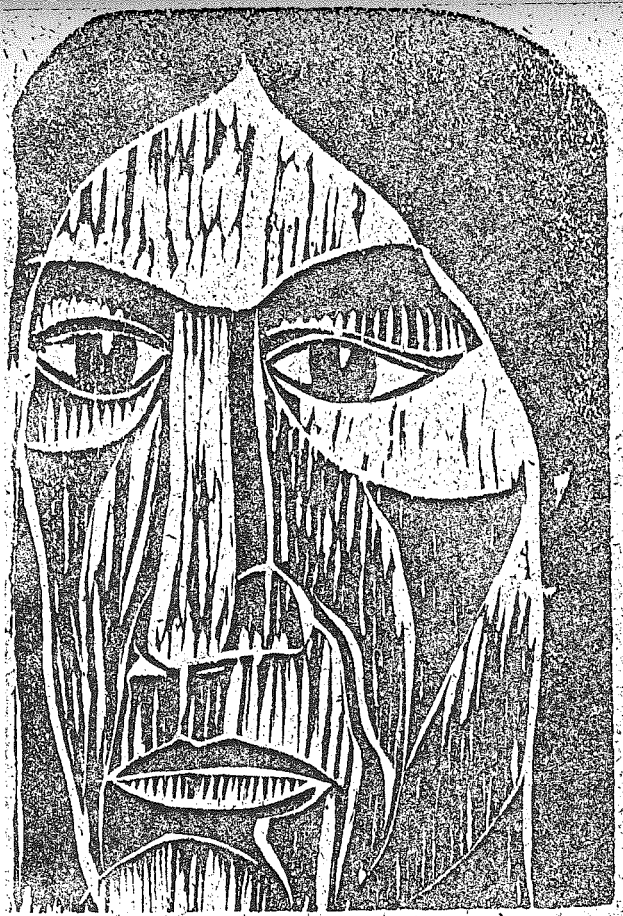
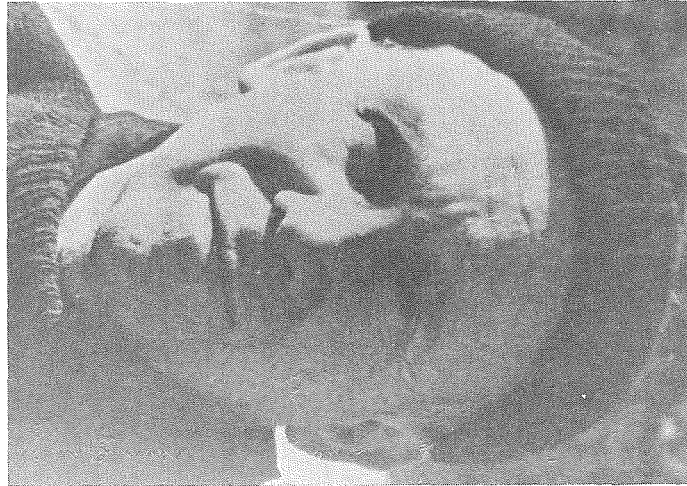
Schon lange wollte ich Ihnen schreiben, vor allem um Ihnen im Namen so vieler zu danken für Ihre beredete und mutige Stellungnahme zu unserer Berufung.

Unser Dank braucht eine kleine Erklärung. Ich glaube, ich spreche im Namen aller Angeklagten, wenn ich Ihnen sage, daß unser Urteil, so hart es auch schien, nicht die Hauptursache für unsern Dank an Sie ist. Wir können nicht deshalb wieder frei atmen, weil man uns "den Kopf aus der Schlinge" gezogen hat. Meiner Erfahrung nach ist bei vielen Aktionen des Gewissens unsicher, was dabei herauskommt: doch in dem geheimnisvollen Reich des Glaubens und des Gewissens ist die Folge doch immer eine Stärkung der Hoffnung, der Entschlossenheit und des Mutes.

Diese Folgeerscheinungen beginne ich zu fühlen, wenn ich Ihre Ansicht über den Pflugschar-Fall höre. Überall auf der Welt fassen Menschen, die von Furcht gelähmt waren, wieder Mut, wenn sie erfahren, was Sie gesagt haben. Und ich denke an die Ungeborenen, an alle in der Welt, die keine Stimme haben, an die Unschuldigen, die nach alter Tradition als Nicht-Kombattante geschützt sein sollten - alle diese werden jetzt als Geiseln gehalten für die sehr reale Aussicht auf den Tod alles Lebendigen (omni-death). Es ist vielleicht so, wie es in der Bibel steht, daß um eines Gerechten willen alles und jedermann gerettet wird...

...  
Daniel Berrigan

Thomas Merton (1915-1968)



STATT EINES NACHWORTES :

THOMAS MERTON

# ISHI MEANS MAN

*Foreword by Dorothy Day  
Woodblock by Rita Corbin*

*Unicorn Press, Inc.  
Greensboro, North Carolina*

## *Ishi: A Meditation*

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Genocide is a new word. Perhaps the word is new because technology has now got into the game of destroying whole races at once. The destruction of races is not new—just easier. Nor is it a specialty of totalitarian regimes. We have forgotten that a century ago white America was engaged in the destruction of entire tribes and ethnic groups of Indians. The trauma of California gold. And the vigilantes who, in spite of every plea from Washington for restraint and understanding, repeatedly took matters into their own hands and went out slaughtering Indians. Indiscriminate destruction of the “good” along with the “bad”—just so long as they were Indians. Parties of riffraff from the mining camps and saloons suddenly constituted themselves defenders of civilization. They armed and went out to spill blood and gather scalps. They not only combed the woods and canyons—they even went into the barns and ranch houses, to find and destroy the Indian servants and hired people, in spite of the protests of the ranchers who employed them.

The Yana Indians (including the Yahi or Mill Creeks) lived around the foothills of Mount Lassen, east of the Sacramento River. Their country came within a few miles of Vina, where the Trappist monastery in California stands today. These hill tribes were less easy to subdue than their valley neighbors. More courageous and more aloof, they tried to keep clear of the white man altogether. They were not necessarily more ferocious than other Indians, but because they kept to themselves and had a legendary reputation as “fighters,” they were more feared. They were understood to be completely “savage.” As they were driven further and further back into the hills, and as their traditional hunting grounds gradually narrowed and emptied of game, they had to raid the ranches in order to keep alive. White reprisals were to be expected, and they were ruthless. The Indians defended themselves by guerrilla warfare. The whites decided that there could be no peaceful coexistence with such neighbors. The Yahi, or Mill Creek Indians, as they were called, were marked for complete destruction.

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Hence they were regarded as subhuman. Against them there were no restrictions and no rules. No treaties need be made, for no Indian could be trusted. Where was the point in “negotiation”?

Ishi, the last survivor of the Mill Creek Indians, whose story was published by the University of California at Berkeley three years ago,<sup>1</sup> was born during the war of extermination against his people. The fact that the last Mill Creeks were able to go into hiding and to survive for another fifty years in their woods and canyons is extraordinary enough. But the courage, the resourcefulness, and the sheer nobility of these few stone-age men struggling to preserve their life, their autonomy and their identity as a people rises to the level of tragic myth. Yet there is nothing mythical about it. The story is told with impeccable objectivity—though also with compassion—by the scholars who finally saved Ishi and learned from him his language, his culture, and his tribal history.

To read this story thoughtfully, to open one’s heart to it, is to receive a most significant message: one that not only moves, but disturbs. You begin to feel the inner stirrings of that pity and dread which Aristotle said were the purifying effect of tragedy. “The history of Ishi and his people,” says the author, Theodora Kroeber, “is inexorably part of our own history. We have absorbed their lands into our holdings. Just so must we be the responsible custodians of their tragedy, absorbing it into our tradition and morality.” Unfortunately, we learned little or nothing about ourselves from the Indian wars!

“They have separated murder into two parts and fastened the worse on me”—words which William Carlos Williams put on the lips of a Viking exile, Eric the Red. Men are always separating murder into two parts: one which is unholy and unclean: for “the enemy.” Another which is a sacred duty: “for our side.” He who first makes the separation, in order that he may kill, proves his bad faith. So too in the Indian wars. Why do we always assume the Indian was the aggressor? We were in *his* country, we were taking it over for ourselves, and we likewise refused even to share any with him. We were the people of God, always in the right, following a manifest destiny. The Indian could only be a devil. But once we allow ourselves to see all sides of the question, the familiar perspectives of American history undergo a change. The “savages” suddenly become human and the “whites,” the “civilized,” can seem barbarians. True, the Indians were often cruel and inhuman (some more than others). True, also the humanity, the intelligence, the compassion and understanding which Ishi met with in his friends the scholars, when he came to join our civilization, restore the balance in our favor. But we are left with a deep sense of guilt and shame. The record is there. The Mill Creek Indians, who were once seen as bloodthirsty devils, were peaceful, innocent and

1. Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A biography of the last wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, U. of California Press, 1961).

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deeply wronged human beings. In their use of violence they were, so it seems, generally very fair. It is we who were the wanton murderers, and they who were the innocent victims. The loving kindness lavished on Ishi in the end did nothing to change that fact. His race had been barbarously, pointlessly destroyed.

The impact of the story is all the greater because the events are so deeply charged with a natural symbolism: the structure of these happenings is such that it leaves a haunting imprint on the mind. Out of that imprint come disturbing and potent reflections.

Take, for example, the scene in 1870 when the Mill Creeks were down to their last twenty or thirty survivors. A group had been captured. A delegation from the tiny remnant of the tribe appeared at a ranch to negotiate. In a symbolic gesture, they handed over five bows (five being a sacred number) and stood unarmed waiting for an answer. The gesture was not properly understood, though it was evident that the Indians were trying to recover their captives and promising to abandon all hostilities. In effect, the message was: "Leave us alone, in peace, in our hills, and we will not bother you any more. We are few, you are many, why destroy us? We are no longer any menace to you." No formal answer was given. While the Indians were waiting for some kind of intelligible response, one of the whites slung a rope over the branch of a tree. The Indians quietly withdrew into the woods.

From then on, for the next twelve years, the Yahi disappeared into the hills without a trace. There were perhaps twenty of them left, one of whom was Ishi, together with his mother and sister. In order to preserve their identity as a tribe, they had decided that there was no alternative but to keep completely away from white men, and have nothing whatever to do with them. Since coexistence was impossible, they would try to be as if they did not exist for the white man at all. To be there as if they were not there.

In fact, not a Yahi was seen. No campfire smoke rose over the trees. Not a trace of fire was found. No village was discovered. No track of an Indian was observed. The Yahi remnant (and that phrase takes on haunting biblical resonances) systematically learned to live as invisible and as unknown.

To anyone who has ever felt in himself the stirrings of a monastic or solitary vocation, the notion is stirring. It has implications that are simply beyond speech. There is nothing one can say in the presence of such a happening and of its connotations for what our spiritual books so glibly call "the hidden life." The "hidden life" is surely not irrelevant to our modern world: nor is it a life of spiritual comfort and tranquillity which a chosen minority can happily enjoy, at the price of a funny costume and a few prayers. The "hidden life" is the extremely difficult life that is forced upon a remnant that has to stay completely out of sight in order to escape destruction.

This so-called long concealment of the Mill Creek Indians is not

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romanticized by any means. The account is sober, objective, though it cannot help being an admiring tribute to extraordinary courage and ingenuity of these lost stone-age people. Let the book speak for itself.

The long concealment failed in its objective to save a people's life but it would seem to have been brilliantly successful in its psychology and techniques of living. . . . Ishi's group was a master of the difficult art of communal and peaceful coexistence in the presence of alarm and in a tragic and deteriorating prospect. . . . It is a curious circumstance that some of the questions which arise about the concealment, are those for which in a different context psychologists and neurologists are trying to find answers for the submarine and outer space services today. Some of these are: what makes for morale under confining and limiting life-conditions? What are the presumable limits of claustrophobic endurance? . . . It seems that the Yahi might have qualified for outer space had they lasted into this century.

There is something challenging and awe-inspiring about this thoughtful passage by a scientifically trained mind. And that phrase about "qualifying for outer space" has an eerie ring about it. Does someone pick up the half-heard suggestion that the man who wants to live a normal life span during the next two hundred years of our history must be the kind of person who is "qualified for outer space"? Let us return to Ishi! The following sentences are significant:

In contrast to the Forty-niners . . . whose morality and morale had crumbled, Ishi and his band remained incorrupt, humane, compassionate, and with their faith intact even unto starvation, pain and death. The questions then are: what makes for stability? For psychic strength? For endurance, courage, faith?

The answers given by the author to these questions are mere suggestions. The Yahi were on their own home ground. This idea is not developed. The reader should reflect a little on the relation of the Indian to the land on which he lived. In this sense, most modern men never know what it means to have a "home ground." Then there is a casual reference to the "American Indian mystique" which could also be developed. William Faulkner's hunting stories, particularly "The Bear," give us some idea of what this "mystique" might involve. The word "mystique" has unfortunate connotations: it suggests an emotional icing on an ideological cake. Actually the Indian lived by a deeply religious wisdom which can be called in a broad sense mystical, and that is certainly much more than "a mystique." The book does not go into religious questions very deeply, but it shows us Ishi as a man sustained by a deep and unassailable spiritual strength which he never discussed.



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Later, when he was living "in civilization" and was something of a celebrity as well as an object of charitable concern, Ishi was questioned about religion by a well-meaning lady. Ishi's English was liable to be unpredictable, and the language of his reply was not without its own ironic depths of absurdity:

"Do you believe in God?" the lady inquired.  
"Sure, Mikel!" he retorted briskly.

There is something dreadfully eloquent about this innocent short-circuit in communication.

One other very important remark is made by the author. The Yahi found strength in the incontrovertible fact that they were in the right. *"Of very great importance to their psychic health was the circumstance that their suffering and curtailments arose from wrongs done to them by others. They were not guilt-ridden."*

Contrast this with the spectacle of our own country with its incomparable technological power, its unequalled material strength, and its psychic turmoil, its moral confusion and its profound heritage of guilt which neither the righteous declarations of Cardinals nor the moral indifference of "realists" can do anything to change! Every bomb we drop on a defenseless Asian village, every Asian child we disfigure or destroy with fire only adds to the moral strength of those we wish to destroy for our own profit. It does not make the Vietcong cause just; but by an accumulation of injustice done against innocent people we drive them into the arms of our enemies and make our own ideals look like the most pitiful sham.

Gradually the last members of the Yahi tribe died out. The situation of the survivors became more and more desperate. They could not continue to keep up their perfect invisibility: they had to steal food. Finally the hidden camp where Ishi lived with his sister and sick mother was discovered by surveyors who callously walked off with the few objects they found as souvenirs. The mother and sister died and finally on August 29, 1911, Ishi surrendered to the white race, expecting to be destroyed.

Actually, the news of this "last wild Indian" reached the anthropology department at Berkeley and a professor quickly took charge of things. He came and got the "wild man" out of jail. Ishi spent the rest of his life in San Francisco, patiently teaching his hitherto completely unknown (and quite sophisticated) language to experts like Sapir. Curiously enough, Ishi lived in an anthropological museum where he earned his living as a kind of caretaker and also functioned, on occasion, as a live exhibit. He was well treated, and in fact the affection and charm of his relations with his white friends are not the least moving part of his story. He adapted to life in the city without too much trouble and returned once, with his friends, to live several months in his old territory, under his natural conditions, showing them

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how the Yahi had carried out the fantastic operation of their invisible survival. But he finally succumbed to one of the diseases of civilization. He died of TB in 1916, after four and a half years among white men.

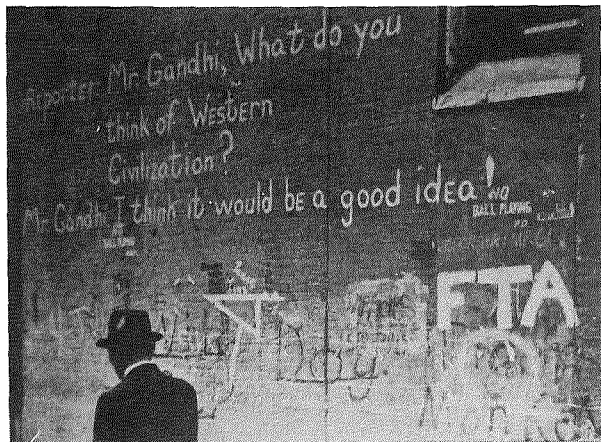
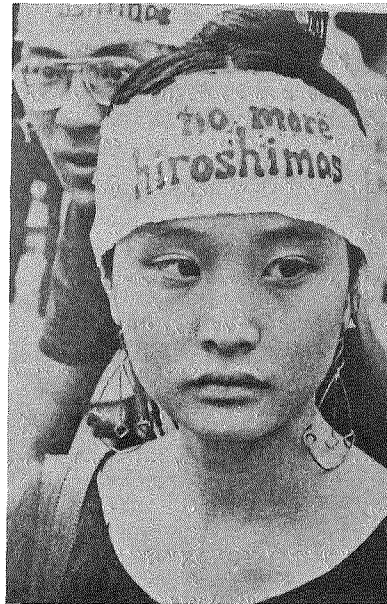
For the reflective reader who is—as everyone must be today—deeply concerned about man and his fate, this is a moving and significant book, one of those unusually suggestive works that *must* be read, and perhaps more than once. It is a book to think deeply about and take notes on not only because of its extraordinary factual interest but because of its special quality as a kind of parable.

One cannot help thinking today of the Vietnam war in terms of the Indian wars of a hundred years ago. Here again, one meets the same myths and misunderstandings, the same obsession with "completely wiping out" an enemy regarded as diabolical. The language of the vigilantes had overtones of puritanism in it. The backwoods had to be "completely cleaned out," or "purified" of Indians—as if they were vermin. I have read accounts of American GIs taking the same attitude toward the Vietcong. The jungles are thought to be "infested" with Communists, and hence one goes after them as one would go after ants in the kitchen back home. And in this process of "cleaning up" (the language of "cleansing" appeases and pacifies the conscience) one becomes without realizing it a murderer of women and children. But this is an unfortunate accident, what the moralists call "double effect." Something that is just too bad, but which must be accepted in view of something more important that has to be done. And so there is more and more killing of civilians and less and less of the "something more important" which is what we are trying to achieve. In the end, it is the civilians that are killed in the ordinary course of events, and combatants only get killed by accident. No one worries any more about double effect. War is waged against the innocent to "break enemy morale."

What is most significant is that Vietnam seems to have become an extension of our old Western frontier, complete with enemies of another, "inferior" race. This is a real "new frontier" that enables us to continue the cowboys-and-Indians game which seems to be part and parcel of our national identity. What a pity that so many innocent people have to pay with their lives for our obsessive fantasies!

One last thing. Ishi never told anyone his real name. The California Indians apparently never uttered their own names, and were very careful about how they spoke the name of others. Ishi would never refer to the dead by name either. "He never revealed his own private Yahi name," says the author. "It was as though it had been consumed in the funeral pyre of the last of his loved ones."

In the end, no one ever found out a single name of the vanished community. Not even Ishi's. For Ishi means simply MAN.



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