

**CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT: UN ANÁLISIS DESDE LA ACCIÓN POLÍTICA NO
VIOLENTA Y LA LÓGICA TRANSNACIONAL DE LOS MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES**

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“Catholic Worker Movement: un análisis desde la acción política no violenta y la lógica transnacional de los movimientos sociales”

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RESUMEN

El Catholic Worker Movement se ha caracterizado por enmarcarse en las dinámicas de movilización social y acción política no violenta, que respondían, desde su creación en 1933, a un conjunto de problemáticas sociales y económicas sobre las cuales la sociedad civil se interesó y dio inicio a su actividad en escenarios de la política doméstica de Estados Unidos. Pese a ser un movimiento que surgió en un contexto nacional con fundamentación religiosa, el CWM alcanzó el desarrollo de lógicas transnacionales que contribuyeron a la defensa de su causa y a la reivindicación de valores y principios que motivarían posteriormente a la búsqueda de recursos para reforzar su lucha. Así, el proceso de evolución del movimiento tomó dirección en torno a fenómenos como la difusión, la adquisición de repertorios de acción colectiva correspondientes a la no violencia, y al aprovechamiento de factores exógenos y endógenos representados en distintas formas de oportunidad política y capacidad organizativa.

Palabras clave: *Movimientos sociales transnacionales, acción colectiva, acción política no violenta, Catholic Worker Movement.*

ABSTRACT

The Catholic Worker Movement was characterized by framing in the dynamics of social mobilization and non-violent political action, responding, since its foundation in 1933, to a set of social and economic issues on which civil society was interested and began its activity in the United States domestic policy. Despite being a movement that arose in a national context with religious foundations, the CWM reached the development of transnational logics that contributed to the defense of their cause and the claim of values and principles that later moved to the search for resources to strengthen their struggle. Thus, the process of evolution of the movement took direction about phenomena such as diffusion, acquiring repertoires corresponding to non-violence collective action, and the use of exogenous and endogenous factors represented in various forms of political opportunities and organizational capacity.

Keywords: *Transnational social movements, non-violent political action, collective action, Catholic Worker Movement.*

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INTRODUCCIÓN

El presente estudio de caso busca exponer algunas manifestaciones de transnacionalización y expresión de la acción política no violenta, particularmente, en el Catholic Worker Movement [CWM]. Tiene como objetivo explicar las dinámicas a través de las cuales dicho movimiento logró la internacionalización de principios, valores, e ideas religiosas que motivaron a la acción política; lo anterior, por medio de la identificación de los factores exógenos y endógenos del mismo, que contribuyeron a su transnacionalización y rápida difusión en espacios domésticos, a la exposición de las relaciones de causalidad que existen entre los valores que promueve y acciones específicas de acción política no violenta, y finalmente, a la exploración de algunos escenarios políticos internacionales de participación que adquirió.

El lector podrá encontrar, además de una aproximación a la historia y a los fundamentos del CWM, un análisis desde los aportes conceptuales de estudiosos de los movimientos sociales, la acción colectiva, y la acción política no violenta, significativos para la investigación, y que ilustran, desde diferentes saberes, algunas dinámicas y otras expresiones de la unidad de análisis, destacables en la disciplina de las Relaciones Internacionales. Para la descripción de los procesos y dinámicas del CWM como estudio de caso, se considera entonces una metodología basada en la utilización de catálogos de aporte conceptual y teórico respecto a movimientos sociales transnacionales y acción no violenta, y a fuentes académicas que han caracterizado la actividad y evolución del mismo.

Se advierte, que pese a la búsqueda de literatura a profundidad, en el presente estudio de caso no es posible incluir el incremento en número de casas de hospitalidad del movimiento, ni la cantidad de personas que la conforman, pues el programa de voluntariado y la administración de las mismas, es independiente, y puede, o no, revelar dichos datos.

El Catholic Worker Movement es un movimiento de laicos nacido en Nueva York en 1933, que se caracterizó por promover los valores del catolicismo

(especialmente la ética heredada del Evangelio), y por estructurar una comunidad que atendía a la población en condición de marginalidad y vulnerabilidad de la época, dados los acontecimientos coyunturales de la Gran Depresión del 29 en Estados Unidos. Fundado por Dorothy Day, una periodista católica interesada en asuntos de activismo y resistencia civil, el CWM dio inicio a la creación de un movimiento que ofrecía la participación de la sociedad en cualquiera que fuera su realidad, involucrando dos componentes: la espiritualidad cristiana, y la acción no violenta para la defensa del ser humano.

Los miembros del Catholic Worker viven en una comunidad solidaria con los pobres y personas sin hogar, compartiendo las finanzas, el trabajo, y la oración diaria. Es un estilo de vida diseñado para servir a los pobres y un activismo radical por la paz que a menudo conduce a largas penas de prisión. Históricamente, las diversas casas de hospitalidad del Catholic Worker (hay más de un centenar en Estados Unidos) participan en una amplia gama de acciones no violentas (Riegle,, et al. 1997, pág.65).

Consecuentemente, el CWM evidenció un profundo interés por la protección a la población víctima de la injusticia social, las consecuencias de la guerra, y las políticas económicas estatales. Sin embargo, a pesar de que su espacio de atención inmediato era estadounidense, los miembros del movimiento ampliaron su espectro de acción y empezaron a preocuparse por la realidad internacional, en la que su país desempeñaba un rol protagónico.

Un escenario de guerras y de rápida expansión de la brecha entre pobres y ricos, llevaron a que Dorothy Day además de crear un periódico (*Catholic Worker*) que ofrecía una aproximación al contexto nacional desde la religión católica, decidiera ampliar su proyecto evangelizador y dar inicio a un periodo de viajes continuos para conocer la situación de otros países mientras compartía sus ideas de cambio. Así, en la década de los sesenta, Day emprende un rumbo nuevo hacia la búsqueda de la paz; “fue una década que puso de relieve hasta qué punto el testimonio del CWM, en particular, su testimonio por la paz, había penetrado en la sociedad” (Coy 1988, pág. 92).

Por un lado, el CWM tomó importancia como movimiento de acción no violenta en los años posteriores a la Crisis del 29, creando casas de hospitalidad para los pobres y marginados de la sociedad; en la Guerra Fría, a través de la organización de protestas anuales de desobediencia civil en contra de los simulacros de guerra nuclear efectuados entre 1955 y 1961 en Nueva York; y en el desarrollo de la Guerra de Vietnam, mediante protestas en contra de las Fuerzas Armadas Estadounidenses participantes en el conflicto; entre otros. Por otro, el marco de acción del movimiento se amplió con la incursión de situaciones internacionales que no estaban directamente relacionadas con Estados Unidos, como: la lucha contra el Anti-Semitismo en 1939, en repuesta al fuerte régimen de Hitler; los viajes constantes de Day para divulgar las noticias e ideas del CWM en México, Cuba, Inglaterra, Italia, Unión Soviética, e India; y la difusión de los valores católicos que respaldaban incluso la protección a los inmigrantes ilegales en el continente. (Powers, et al. 1997)

Quienes se adherían al CWM decidieron involucrarse rápidamente, y de manera directa con las instituciones y estructuras políticas a fin de defender y promover un conjunto de valores y reglas que estaban siendo vulneradas, desde su perspectiva, por los actores políticos nacionales e internacionales. En la actualidad, las casas de hospitalidad bajo las cuales funcionan las comunidades del CWM se han inaugurado en 12 países¹ distintos a Estados Unidos, y llevan la bandera de una herencia de resistencia y activismo político que no puede detenerse ante un entorno de desigualdad e injusticia social.

El Catholic Worker Movement exponía entonces que a pesar de que la vocación de los movimientos católicos no es principalmente política, existen discursos y acciones que dejan ver la influencia que éstos pueden adquirir en la sociedad y en el escenario público; sean éstas directas (protestas y actos de desobediencia a las autoridades), o indirectas (enseñanza y promoción de valores católicos respaldados por las escrituras).

¹ Actualmente existen 29 casas de hospitalidad extranjeras en: Argentina, Bélgica, Canadá, República Dominicana, México, Uganda, Gran Bretaña, Países Bajos, Alemania, Nueva Zelanda, Escocia, y Suecia.

Considerando lo anterior, el estudio de los movimientos sociales, y en particular, aquellos que operan bajo la acción no violenta, arroja un grado de transnacionalización que éstos pueden llegar a adquirir y que impacta (como en el caso del CWM) a una población agrupada bajo el criterio de la nacionalidad. Así,

Forzados a coexistir más recientemente con fuentes alternativas de poder (cuerpos intergubernamentales, bloques regionales, y corporaciones transnacionales), el estado-nación ha retrocedido como organizador de focos de acción colectiva. En ese contexto, la movilización política efectiva trasciende su orientación nacional y adquiere dimensiones transnacionales (Stamatov 2010, pág. 609).

En efecto, no puede desconocerse el alcance político de las comunidades (principalmente laicas) que agrupadas por su religión proponen cambios y reformas sociales, consolidándose como actores de las relaciones internacionales que participan activamente en el sistema y pueden incluso, desatar nuevos escenarios de operación para los actuales gobernantes. La Iglesia Católica, particularmente, ha demostrado tener influencia directa en la dirección de la política de un país (de forma más evidente en sus inicios, con la legitimidad de las decisiones tomadas por el Papa); sin embargo, no siempre ha mantenido formas semejantes de participación en la sociedad, y luego de las reformas realizadas en la misma, surgieron otros movimientos y corrientes que, con el ánimo de dar respuesta a realidades sociales que demandaban un cambio desde el comportamiento de cada individuo, consolidaron nuevas representaciones de la misma al interior de los Estados católicos.

La religión, en paralelo con el estudio de movimientos sociales basados en la profesión de fe, ofrece entonces nuevas categorías analíticas para la interpretación del escenario internacional, al mismo tiempo que permite entender, la manera en la que el Estado se enfrenta a nuevos desafíos y retos, representados por una sociedad que actúa según un conjunto de reglas distintas a las contenidas en los códigos jurídicos del mismo (aquellas relacionadas con la fe y la espiritualidad popular). Adicionalmente, el componente religioso ha demostrado cobrar importancia para entender los fenómenos internacionales, especialmente a partir del siglo XXI; pues no solo resulta visible como causa de conflictos actuales entre etnias, comunidades, y

Estados, sino también, es considerada una herramienta clave para los tomadores de decisión al momento de evaluar dinámicas nacionales e internacionales que estén relacionadas con lógicas de poder y proyectos de acción política.

La universalidad, como principal característica del catolicismo, hace que estos movimientos no puedan ser entendidos exclusivamente dentro de las fronteras de un Estado, por el contrario, se hace necesaria una comprensión que transgrede las mismas y ofrece una visión amplia sobre el flujo de ideas que en el caso de la Iglesia Católica, viajan con facilidad entre continentes.

1. OPORTUNIDADES ENDÓGENAS Y EXÓGENAS PARA LA ACCIÓN COLECTIVA DEL CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

En razón de la aplicación y la difusión de principios y valores heredados del credo católico, el Catholic Worker Movement, ha demostrado tener un alcance político tanto en el escenario nacional como internacional, desafiando la noción tradicional de poder de los Estados frente a la sociedad. Este movimiento de laicos, que tuvo origen en un contexto de crisis económica en Estados Unidos (Gran Depresión del 29), se caracterizó por adaptar un margen de maniobra a sus seguidores en dos vías: el activismo y la protesta civil, y la difusión de la ética católica respaldada por el Evangelio.

Con la motivación de una lucha que tuviera como prioridad la protección y la atención a la población víctima del capitalismo, que para la época era considerado el responsable directo del desempleo, la pobreza, la indigencia, y demás manifestaciones de injusticia y desigualdad social y económica, tuvo lugar la materialización de las ideas de Dorothy Day, una activista perteneciente al Partido Comunista estadounidense, que junto con Peter Maurin, un pacifista francés, dio origen a lo que hoy se conoce aún como Catholic Worker Movement. Lejos de sumarse a la larga lista de organizaciones de caridad, el CWM estaba desde sus inicios, proyectado como un movimiento radicalista y masivo que alcanzaría con el tiempo, un impacto considerable y sostenido a nivel mundial. (Byrne 2010)

Pese a que de dicha proyección se esperaba la reproducción de las ideas de Day y Maurin en el escenario internacional, la vocación principal del movimiento estaba cimentada en un criterio inamovible y fundante de toda acción ejecutada por sus seguidores: la fidelidad y el cumplimiento del Evangelio, en otras palabras, las enseñanzas y el ejemplo de Jesucristo. Por lo anterior, aunque no se pensaba replicar el modelo de una organización de caridad, ni el de un grupo de reivindicación y protesta ya existente, sí se tendría como guía, la universalidad del cristianismo, concretamente, del catolicismo. Así, más que una labor social ante la inequidad, el

CWM tuvo como propósito combatir y contrarrestar los efectos del capitalismo a partir de dos estímulos; el primero, en coherencia con la ideología de sus precursores, estaba relacionado con la proyección de la imagen de una sociedad víctima de la lucha de clases y la opresión burguesa descrita por Marx (Byrne 2010), y el segundo, correspondía a la creencia en la misericordia como principio clave para la formación de una sociedad justa. Desde la perspectiva del CWM, ni el Estado, ni la Iglesia Católica estaban cercanos a interesarse o adoptar alguno de éstos.

Contrario a lo que puede considerarse otra de las expresiones del radicalismo de la era de la Depresión, tal como lo sostienen algunos estudiosos, el CWM logró desarrollarse bajo las dinámicas de un movimiento religioso estructurado y de gran impacto en escenarios domésticos e internacionales, un movimiento que, como describe Tarrow (1998, pág. 278), se desarrolló en “forma de interacciones específicas dentro de fases generales de acción colectiva, dependientes de las formas de movilización empleadas, sus significados e identidades y las redes sociales y las estructura de conexión sobre las que se construyen”.

Siguiendo las ideas de Tarrow (1998, pág. 22), la acción colectiva que el CWM desarrolló desde su auge, en combinación con el apoyo de otras redes sociales, dio vida a un movimiento social que ha logrado sostenerse de forma longeva en el tiempo, desafiando otros actores del sistema internacional, y creando nuevas interacciones con los mismos. Desde otra aproximación, como señala Cante (2007, págs. 154-155), dicha acción colectiva también corresponde a un proceso de interacción estratégica y de cooperación racional de quienes se adhirieron al movimiento por su tendencia política (vinculada a la izquierda), o, mayoritariamente, por su afinidad religiosa (perteneciente, en éste caso, al catolicismo). Ahora bien, la acción colectiva que ha caracterizado el CWM dependió de creencias, y de oportunidades endógenas y exógenas, que en su conjunto contribuyeron a la transnacionalización del movimiento, dinámica que se mantiene como eje central del presente estudio de caso.

1.1. Oportunidades endógenas del Catholic Worker Movement para la acción colectiva

Dentro de las oportunidades endógenas para la acción colectiva del CWM, y las creencias sobre las cuales nació el movimiento, deben considerarse todos los factores de tipo religioso a los cuales se recurrió para llamar la atención de la sociedad estadounidense en los años 30; éstos pertenecen a un escenario en el que se combinan, la ideología cristiana, el adoctrinamiento, y las emociones de un sector de la población que se motiva a luchar por una causa, en razón de lo que ha recibido por tradición, por experiencia de fe, e incluso, por el seguimiento a la Iglesia Católica como institución de autoridad tan social como política. De tal forma, el incentivo más importante que un ciudadano debía tener, además de la sensibilización por el panorama desequilibrado e inequitativo del capitalismo, era el amor al prójimo, especialmente a los pobres, al cual exhortan las escrituras de la religión católica. En este contexto, su fundadora se preguntó entonces,

¿No es posible protestar, exponer, quejarse, señalar los abusos y demandar reformas sin desear el derrocamiento de la religión? En un intento de popularizar y dar a conocer las encíclicas de los Papas, en lo que se refiere a la justicia social y el programa planteado por la Iglesia para la 'reconstrucción del orden social', El Catholic Worker Movement; ha iniciado (Day, citada por Zwick, M. y Zwick, L. 2005, pág. 24).

Al señalar la necesidad impostergable de que quienes profesaban la religión católica asumieran como lucha la defensa y el rescate de los derechos de la sociedad víctima de los efectos de la crisis económica, su líder, Dorothy Day, buscaba no sólo crear un puente entre la profesión de fe y la acción política, sino también, resignificar los actos de misericordia, de modo que además de convertirse en una práctica social, también se constituyeran como un principio hermenéutico (McKanan 2008, págs. 4-6). Así, el CWM tendría como uno de sus objetivos, lograr que sus seguidores se identificaran con una nueva forma de ver el mundo, al mismo tiempo esta perspectiva haría que quien se adhiriera al movimiento estuviera en capacidad de transformar la sociedad, y paralelamente, alcanzar su crecimiento espiritual en concordancia con el más importante discurso pronunciado por Jesús: el Sermón de la Montaña.

En resumen, la propuesta de Day y Maurin consistía en la participación colectiva en una cadena de cambios que tendría inicio con una visión renovada de la problemática mundial, pasaría por la transformación individual en términos de mente y espíritu, y concluiría en un nuevo orden social. Fue así como el CWM se forjó entonces como un movimiento profético que invitaba a su seguimiento no solo desde una aplicación exclusivamente práctica, sino también radical; desde un modelo de fe, no violencia, y creatividad, quienes se suscribían como Catholic Workers, mantendrían fidelidad al Evangelio, como ruta hacia la salida de la época de caos que demandaba, por parte de la población estadounidense, una intervención rápida y visible, esencialmente en oposición al sistema Estatal. (Zwick, M. y Zwick, L. 2005, pág. 2)

Pese al contenido complejo de creencias y principios del catolicismo, el CWM concentró sus esfuerzos en dos ejes fundamentales del cristiano, a saber, la vocación al servicio como característica inherente al ser humano, y la participación en todas las obras de caridad y de misericordia que convergieran en un encuentro personal con Jesucristo a través de los más necesitados. A dichas oportunidades para la acción colectiva del movimiento, se sumó también el poder carismático de Dorothy Day, y la capacidad organizativa del mismo, en casas y granjas de hospitalidad que con el tiempo se extenderían hasta alcanzar cobertura nacional, y posteriormente, internacional.

En primer lugar, quienes se integraban al CWM tenían como motivación sus creencias para participar de la acción colectiva y cooperar con aquellos que, en función de éstas, estuvieran dispuestos también a sostener y organizar el movimiento. Éste es el caso de los católicos que entendían como principio fundamental de la vida cristiana, el actuar en correspondencia a las palabras y obras de Jesucristo, y en coherencia con la idea del hombre como creación a imagen y semejanza de Dios. Bajo este enfoque, la vinculación a un movimiento como el CWM estaba motivada por un deber moral y por la apelación a un discurso universal, en el que se transgrede la dimensión humana respecto a lo que se considera correcto, y se sugiere una perspectiva divina al respecto; caso en el que las emociones, y en particular las

creencias individuales alcanzan un grado de sensibilización, al menos necesario para mantener activo el movimiento en su etapa de gestación.

La importancia de involucrar la religión, y específicamente el cumplimiento de los mandamientos de Dios, resultó una oportunidad indispensable para la organización del movimiento, pues el compromiso con la causa a favor de los pobres y los marginados de la sociedad, más que adquirirse con la estructura y con los líderes del mismo, se obtenía con la imagen de una persona que está por encima de la comprensión humana, y al que además le corresponde decidir asuntos que tienen un grado de afectación alto en la vida del cristiano, a saber, la salvación y la redención de los pecados. Así, la incertidumbre y la ansiedad frente a la llegada al cielo, o al infierno, por ejemplo, son factores con los que podía manejarse la emotividad de cada uno de los Catholic Workers.

En segundo lugar, bajo las emociones señaladas, y siguiendo la propuesta cristiana para seguir con obediencia las indicaciones de Jesucristo, el CWM proponía el seguimiento de una vida social, con repercusiones directas en la esfera política, estructurada en dos labores principales denominadas, trabajos espirituales de misericordia, y trabajos corporales en servicio a los pobres.

Los trabajos espirituales de misericordia son: amonestar a los pecadores, instruir a los ignorantes, abogar por los confundidos, consolar a los afligidos, llevar el sufrimiento con paciencia, perdonar las heridas, y rezar por vivos y muertos. Los trabajos corporales eran alimentar al hambriento, dar de beber al sediento, vestir al desnudo, rescatar a los cautivos, albergar a los habitantes de calle, visitar a los enfermos, y enterrar a los muertos (Jordan 2002, citado por Beck 2012, pág. 216).

La relación complementaria entre las labores espirituales y corporales simbolizaban el culmen de la existencia cristiana, especialmente, la de quienes estaban dispuestos a trabajar y mantener un activismo permanente como estilo de vida en nombre del movimiento. Dentro de las oportunidades endógenas, se encuentran entonces la exigencia y la promoción de ambas tareas como parte del adoctrinamiento, al que directamente se refería Peter Maurin (co-fundador del CWM), el cual incluía también

lo que llamó “aclaración del pensamiento”, un proceso de diálogo y de frecuente compartir de las ideas y los fundamentos del catolicismo. (Beck 2012, pág. 216)

En tercer lugar, cabe resaltar también la importancia estratégica de la victimización como incentivo para la reivindicación individual y colectiva tanto en espacios domésticos (en los que eran visibles las consecuencias de la crisis económica), como internacionales (en los cuales se llamó la atención principalmente sobre la población afectada por las guerras, y los efectos nocivos del uso de armas nucleares); así, “dados sus elementos de intervención divina y de magia, es muy fácil retratar movimientos proféticos emitidos con un atuendo religioso” (Scott 2009, pág. 294). A la luz de una sociedad víctima, y un Estado victimario, el activismo, en principio, basado exclusivamente en motivaciones de culto religioso, se consideró entonces, por un lado, un medio de lucha y de resistencia social, y por otro, una oportunidad relevante para el seguimiento fiel a Dios y para el cumplimiento de sus preceptos.

En razón de lo anterior, la idea de un movimiento católico fundado en las obras de misericordia y amor al prójimo, ya no estaría limitado exclusivamente a la proyección nacional, sino también internacional, no sólo por el escenario global que tiene la Iglesia Católica como institución, sino por la reproducción de crisis económicas y contextos diversos de injusticia social en otros países de población cristiana activa; razón por la que no era primordial, y en algunos casos necesario, tener una aproximación espacio-temporal de la realidad estadounidense. Pese a esto, la figura de Dorothy Day sí resultó determinante como factor de unificación del CWM, sustancialmente, al iniciar la inauguración de casas de hospitalidad y granjas con su nombre en otros países de la comunidad internacional.

Ahora bien, el CWM se abrió espacio a través de la acción colectiva transnacional gracias a una etapa inicial favorecida por la capacidad organizativa del movimiento en razón a dos aspectos clave; el primero hace referencia al poder integrador de la religión católica, y particularmente de las organizaciones que se

establecen a partir de ésta, y el segundo, al poder carismático y persuasivo de Dorothy Day, ambos estudiados por Kenneth Boulding (1993, pág. 211).

Siguiendo los aportes de Boulding (1993), el poder integrador del movimiento se hizo visible principalmente por la inclusión del mismo dentro de la institucionalidad de la Iglesia Católica, así, la mayoría de los individuos que consideraron pertenecer al mismo tenían como principio, la correspondencia y fidelidad a un sistema de creencias individuales, que sumada a la conciencia colectiva ya propuesta por el CWM, marcaban una tendencia a la formación de una comunidad caracterizada por proporcionar un espacio para la práctica de sus rituales (oración, celebración eucarística, etc.) y la propagación de creencias comunes; situación en la que la religión se instituyó como fuerza unificadora para el periodo inicial del movimiento.

Por su parte, Dorothy Day, desempeñó un papel importante como cabeza y defensora del movimiento. La conjunción entre sus posiciones políticas heredadas del comunismo, y sus fundamentos religiosos, hicieron del CWM un movimiento estable y llamativo, el cual tendría como base, lo que Byrne (2010) denomina, comunismo cristiano. Pese a las críticas del término (particularmente desde el Vaticano), Day consideró, además de necesaria, deseable la creación de una nueva versión del comunismo ajustado al catolicismo, que si bien desdibujaba la posibilidad de la llegada al socialismo ateo (calificado como un peligro para el cristianismo), también daría origen a un sistema político a favor de los más pobres y, particularmente, sustentado en un modelo de vida ideal, como el propuesto por las Escrituras. En síntesis, Dorothy Day incluyó en la propuesta del CWM “la renuncia a la propiedad privada en favor a la comunidad de bienes” (Byrne 2010, pág. 47) de manera que las prácticas de misericordia y justicia social exigieran de parte de los Workers, la apropiación de una visión del mundo colectiva.

1.2. Oportunidades exógenas del Catholic Worker Movement para la acción colectiva

Entendiendo como oportunidades exógenas, aquellas de carácter estructural y político, que “están más allá de la capacidad de control del colectivo” (Cante 2007, pág. 167), en el caso del CWM pueden identificarse principalmente dos, una representada en los agravios de los años treinta (periodo de gestación del movimiento), y otra, en las oportunidades políticas y alianzas de Dorothy Day.

La Gran Depresión es considerada uno de los factores que motivaron a la creación del movimiento debido a las consecuencias económicas que desfavorecieron a la población estadounidense de los más bajos estratos.

Surgieron sentimientos utópicos en Estados Unidos por la dislocación social de la depresión y el desencanto con el sistema capitalista por parte de los laicos y clérigos educados. Con la Depresión muchos intelectuales católicos jóvenes cuestionaron el sistema capitalista y el Catholic Worker Movement intentó ofrecer una alternativa [...] El resultado fue un dualismo que consistió en el comunitarismo agrario de Maurin y las ideas más pragmáticas de Day, orientadas al trabajador industrial urbano (Betten 2008, pág. 243).

La Crisis del 29 representaba un agravio para la sociedad que por un lado, en intervenciones concretas de acción política no violenta estaría dispuesta a confrontar, y por otro, denunciaría a través de su participación en el CWM. Peter Maurin y Dorothy Day encontraron en la época de crisis una oportunidad para alertar los efectos nocivos e irreversibles de un sistema político y económico capitalista, y la contradicción del mismo con lo que fue denominado, Evangelio Social. El aprovechamiento de dicha oportunidad inició entonces con la publicación de la primera edición del periódico del movimiento, el cual circuló entre las casas de hospitalidad de Nueva York, llamando la atención de quienes encontraron posteriormente en el CWM un marco de acción adecuado a sus intereses y, especialmente, a sus posibilidades de participación en asuntos domésticos relacionados con cuestiones políticos y sociales principalmente.

Además de la población estadounidense, la propuesta del movimiento, al estallar la Gran Depresión, significó una oportunidad para distintos sectores de la

sociedad provenientes de otros países, cultos religiosos, o católicos que consideraban la estructura eclesial un espacio limitado respecto a sus preferencias. El nacimiento del CWM en la coyuntura de los años treinta resultó relevante, por ejemplo, para los inmigrantes provenientes de Europa meridional y oriental, que empezaban a pasar de la clase trabajadora a la clase media en el momento del impacto de la crisis; las consecuencias indiscriminadas de la misma rompieron las barreras entre judíos, protestantes, católicos, y musulmanes, y dieron paso a las ideas de la Iglesia Católica respecto a la defensa de la justicia social. (McKanan 2008, pág. 147)

La estrategia de victimización descrita en las oportunidades endógenas, contribuyó también a la inclusión de los ciudadanos extranjeros en el CWM, sin embargo también incentivó el compromiso de éstos con sus pares, es decir que además de identificarse con los damnificados de la crisis, se motivaron a adherirse al movimiento con el fin de defender y luchar por los derechos de quienes compartían su situación.

Pese al adoctrinamiento sugerido por Peter Maurin, que incluía la promoción de prácticas y rituales del catolicismo en las casas de hospitalidad y granjas del movimiento, no se limitó la entrada y la participación de personas con distinto culto religioso, lo que posteriormente favoreció a la expansión del mismo. En el periodo más crítico de la Gran Depresión se enfatizó en la necesidad de un cuerpo voluntariado que tuviera como principal característica el interés por el servicio a los pobres, sin discriminación alguna, aplicable en dos vías, los colaboradores y los beneficiarios del CWM.

El nacimiento del CWM en medio de la Crisis del 29 resultó oportuno debido a que, por una parte representaba las necesidades de nacionales y de inmigrantes que se adaptaban a un estilo de vida inestable, y por otra, contrarrestaba la situación de una izquierda comunista que estaba siendo desacreditada. Con el respaldo de la Doctrina Social de la Iglesia, el CWM se consolidó como una alternativa en la que estaban considerados los riesgos del capitalismo, se sugería la mediación entre el Estado y el individuo, y además se salvaguardaba el bien común evitando los dos

extremos más peligrosos para la sociedad de la época, a saber, el individualismo y el totalitarismo. (McKanan 2008, pág. 147)

A los agravios representados en la crisis se suman “las estructuras nacionales de oportunidades políticas que afectan a la probabilidad de que se produzca un activismo transnacional” (McCarthy 1997, citado por Tarrow 1998, pág. 256). La motivación de los individuos que conformaron el CWM dependía entonces de las circunstancias en las que el Estado disminuyó su repertorio de acción y, por el contrario, aumentaban su incapacidad de respuesta ante las reclamaciones de los mismos; de ésta coyuntura resultaron recursos que el movimiento aprovechó para iniciar manifestaciones de acción colectiva, poner en evidencia las debilidades de las autoridades, y descubrir aliados importantes para la defensa de sus ideas. (Tarrow 1998, pág. 46)

En primer lugar, las oportunidades políticas que abrieron la puerta a la acción colectiva del CWM fueron las guerras protagonizadas o de participación estadounidense, o que motivaron a su líder Dorothy Day a involucrarse en las reclamaciones de la población ante los Estados. Dentro de éstas se encuentran la Revolución Cubana, la Guerra Civil Española, la Guerra de Vietnam, la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y la Guerra Fría. El intento de reconciliación de Day entre el socialismo ateo y el catolicismo reaccionario, transversal a las dos primeras, motivó, por ejemplo, una serie de viajes en los que logró conseguir aliados y lograr el reconocimiento del nombre del movimiento en otros países.

Adicionalmente, la Guerra de Vietnam representó una oportunidad destacable para el CWM, en especial para los miembros más jóvenes, en la medida en que permitió llamar la atención de la sociedad y dar inicio a una cadena de acciones de no violencia a favor de la resistencia a cualquier decisión gubernamental que incluyera la acción bélica en otros países. Esta circunstancia, en especial, sugirió una categoría heroica al movimiento, que trasladó su impacto doméstico al escenario internacional, en el que otros líderes y víctimas del conflicto destacaron su labor.

La participación de Estados Unidos en la guerra no sólo fue motivo de crítica al Estado, el CWM incluyó en su protesta contra la misma, una reclamación hacia la Iglesia Católica por las declaraciones pro-guerra de uno de los cardenales de turno, e incluso se dirigió en uno de sus viajes, a Roma exigiéndole al Papa Juan XXIII "una condena más radical a los instrumentos modernos de guerra" (McKanan 2008, pág 188). Para el movimiento resultó esencial enfatizar en las consecuencias de la guerra y el gasto desmedido en inversión del gobierno en ésta, y la necesidad de constituirse como pionero en construcción de la paz en escenarios de conflictos internacionales. Uno de los puntos álgidos de manifestación del CWM fue, por ejemplo, el periodo comprendido entre 1955 y 1961 en el que se realizaron simulacros de guerra nuclear en la ciudad de Nueva York. Sobre las manifestaciones concretas de acción colectiva, en forma de no violencia se retomará en el tercer capítulo del estudio de caso.

En segundo lugar, Day estaba influenciada por algunas ideas de líderes e intelectuales rusos que tuvieron injerencia en su visión del orden social ideal. Dentro de las alianzas destacadas de Day, se resaltó Helene Iswolsky, una inmigrante rusa que junto con Vladimir Solovyev y Nikolai Beryaev, inspiraron y reforzaron las metas y objetivos del CWM en torno a la consecución y la lucha por una sociedad basada en la hermandad y el amor. Ahora bien, pese a la utopía implícita en dichas consideraciones, la Gran Depresión, y el panorama económico y social desequilibrado las hizo parecer llamativas a los ojos de los trabajadores y ciudadanos en general, que deseaban una sociedad más humana, y que además estuviera constituida en torno a la ética y la moral del cristianismo. (Byrne 2010, págs. 15-16)

2. ACCIÓN POLÍTICA NO VIOLENTA: UNA APROXIMACIÓN DESDE EL CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

2.1. Breves aportes conceptuales de algunos estudiosos de la acción política no violenta

La noción de acción política no violenta resulta de la evolución de un concepto empírico que caracterizó la lucha de líderes y figuras carismáticas a través de métodos de promoción del pacifismo. Autores como McCarthy y Sharp (1997), recopilando algunas acciones que clasifican como no violentas, señalan que una de las formas en las que este concepto se hizo visible, fue en la “Carta desde la cárcel de Birmingham”, escrita por King en 1963. Lo anterior, dado que en dicho texto se identifican mensajes dirigidos a la población que no solo invitan a la lucha por la injusticia y la segregación racial, sino que también, describen una propuesta política llamada “Campaña de la no-violencia”. Sin embargo, las premisas de King serían criticadas posteriormente por académicos como Taylor Branch (1988), que cuestionaron la viabilidad y efectividad de su estrategia en sociedades, en las que, por ejemplo, no existen garantías constitucionales.

El estudio de la acción no violenta se expande entonces a otros componentes que sociólogos como Clarence Marsh Case (1923, citada por Sharp 1997), resalta como “métodos de presión social”, los cuales incluyen, en la comprensión del concepto, factores como boycotts económicos, oposición consciente a la violencia, y otros tipos de demostraciones; métodos que Sharp luego desarrollaría en tres categorías de análisis: protesta y persuasión, no cooperación, e intervención no violenta. Particularmente, la acción política no violenta aplicada al caso del CWM se enmarca en dichas categorías, y está respaldada también por el concepto de acción política no violenta basada en principios (consignada en sus principales páginas oficiales como característica fundamental del movimiento), que

[...] tiene tres características generales: a) se hace pública la intención de resolver conflictos sin recurrir a la violencia; b) adopta una exigente disciplina y compromisos para no ejercer ninguna clase de violencia; y c) quienes la ejercen están preparados

para sufrir y aún para sacrificar sus vidas, antes que causar perjuicio a la gente y en aras de defender sus principios (Woito 1997, citado por Cante 2007, pág. 13).

Adicionalmente, destacando la evolución del concepto de no violencia, Sharp indica que éste debe entenderse, si bien desde los métodos, también desde las dinámicas propias en las que la acción se desarrolla, pues cada una de éstas, aplicada a situaciones diferentes, se tienen distintos efectos, estrategias, y tácticas. Dorothy Day, por ejemplo, empleó para el CWM, estrategias como publicidad externa y oportunidades propias de los procesos de transnacionalización del movimiento.

Como última consideración, en el presente estudio de caso se asume que los métodos y el margen de maniobra del CWM también se encuentran incluidos en la definición que Sharp ofrece de la acción no violenta, como aquella que

[...] se refiere a los métodos de protesta, la resistencia, y la intervención sin violencia física en la cual los miembros del grupo no violento cumplan o se nieguen a hacer, ciertas cosas. Éstos pueden cometer actos de omisión - negarse a realizar actos que por lo general llevan a cabo, se espera que por costumbre realicen, o están obligados por ley o reglamento a realizar; o actos de comisión - realizar actos que por lo general no realizan, no se espera que por costumbre realicen, o están prohibidos de realizar por ley o reglamento; o una combinación de ambos (Sharp 1980, pág. 218).

En correspondencia con lo anterior, la acción política no violenta ha adquirido significado trascendiendo personalidades, acciones, e ideas particulares; y dentro de una comprensión más histórica y filosófica, requiere de aproximaciones más escépticas que converjan incluso, en el estudio de eventos moralmente significativos (Sharp y McCarthy 1997); dicha trascendencia para el caso del CWM hace referencia especialmente a las dinámicas transnacionales en las que el alcance de las ideas desafía la visión estado-céntrica de las relaciones internacionales.

2.2. Promoción de valores del catolicismo como fundamento para la acción no violenta

Además de las labores de misericordia y los trabajos corporales sobre los que se insistía en el CWM, el movimiento se enmarcó en dos identidades en torno a las cuales sus seguidores fundamentarían su participación; la primera asumía el Sermón de la

Montaña como único estándar, y la segunda, privilegiaba la comunión con la Iglesia Católica (McKanan 2008, pág. 65), de modo que, de cualquier forma, dichos seguidores reconocieran como prioridad, la fidelidad a las palabras y a los mandatos de Jesucristo (lo que se consideraría dentro de una dimensión divina), y paralelamente, la legitimidad de la Iglesia como institución que consigna las reglas y las normas morales que un cristiano debe seguir (factor relacionado a una dimensión humana de autoridad).

La importancia de señalar dichas identidades, además de garantizar el acercamiento de la población, al menos cristiana, coincidía con la capacidad del movimiento para evocar en sus seguidores una figura de discipulado que escalara su etapa de agrado y atracción hacia la causa de defensa, a la adquisición de un compromiso, respaldado por un llamado vocacional; dicho proceso estaría motivado por lo que Day adoptó como pilar principal del CWM, el amor, concretamente, el amor al prójimo. Sobre esto, deben tratarse dos consideraciones relevantes: la creación de un compromiso como paso importante para alejarse del egoísmo que neutraliza la voluntad del ser humano para ofrecerse al otro, y el altruismo (expresado en la donación de amor desinteresado y permanente) como una forma de acción no violenta; ambas a partir de los aportes de Amrtya Sen y Kenneth Boulding, respectivamente. (Cante 2013)

En Dorothy Day puede identificarse una preocupación constante por provocar en la sociedad de los años treinta, el deseo y la necesidad de compadecerse por el prójimo y apropiarse de la lucha del CWM, por lo que, inspirada en Emmanuel Mounier (filósofo cristiano francés), adopta la propuesta del personalismo, cuyo propósito central es resaltar la dignidad intrínseca del ser humano y la vitalidad de su libertad de conciencia (Colomer 2014, pág. 47). En contexto con el movimiento,

El personalismo no pretende ser totalmente objetivo. No se puede entender o apropiarse a través de una sola reflexión. El primer requisito del personalismo es el compromiso y el compromiso nunca es neutral. Es un compromiso que inicia y dirige el pensamiento de cada uno, y es en el compromiso en el que el pensamiento termina. Por lo tanto, el punto de partida del personalismo es: 'Amo, luego soy,' y no 'Pienso, luego existo' (Cantin 1974, citada por Zwick, M. y Zwick, L. 2005, pág. 100)

Confrontando las palabras de Descartes, pareciera entonces que el amor, como principio base del CWM, sugiriera la aproximación a la definición de Sen del compromiso, como “la acción de ayudar o de confraternizarse, no la mera sensiblería” (Sen 1977, citado por Cante 2013, pág. 54). De modo que, como llego a expresarlo Peter Maurin, la acción colectiva en nombre del movimiento naciera de la apropiación de una misión individual, con vocación al servicio y al trabajo por la comunidad, en semejanza al modelo de vida hallado en Jesucristo.

Como Day advirtió, dicho compromiso podría conducir a sus seguidores a enfrentarse al sufrimiento (en un final como o tan dramático como el de Cristo), o incluso, comparable al de los santos y mártires de la Iglesia Católica, circunstancia que sería recompensada por la oportunidad de contribuir a la construcción de una sociedad justa y por el cumplimiento de las promesas de Dios; caso en el que es posible distinguir la lógica de incentivos y motivaciones sobre las que los individuos manifiestan voluntad de renunciar a sus intereses y cooperar en favor del beneficio o bienestar de otros. Siguiendo las ideas de Boulding (1993, págs. 130-131), en el amor, principio base del CWM, existiría una dimensión de poder, al que el autor llama, poder integrador, a través del cual lograría entenderse la iniciativa de los Catholic Workers para preferir la benevolencia y la compasión por encima de su egoísmo.

El altruismo, como lo describe Cante (2007), se puede formular como solución a los problemas de violencia estructural que algunas oportunidades alternativas de participación, como el Catholic Worker Movement, buscan combatir a través de la acción política no violenta, en este caso particular, en correspondencia a la preservación de los valores y principios relacionados con la ética y la moral cristiana, y en reproducción de las obras de Jesucristo, narradas en los evangelios. A la luz de éstos aportes, se entiende la opción por el movimiento, como una propuesta de acción constructiva, a largo plazo, de una institución diferente y acomodada a los ideales colectivos de justicia social, y satisfacción de necesidades materiales y espirituales, entre otras; todas vez que Day “prefería que el Catholic Worker fuera un grupo más

desorganizado y más pobre, pero que desafiara continuamente las estructuras aceptadas” (Colomer 2014, pág. 43).

A lo anterior cabría añadir la importancia de la imagen de comunidad, que adquiere un nuevo significado en el contexto de lo que podría considerarse una tercera identidad, referida a la comprensión del prójimo como hermano, y por tanto, como familia, y que en complemento con las otras identidades (el Sermón de la Montaña como estándar y la comunión con la Iglesia) reforzaría las motivaciones por las que los individuos asumirían un compromiso y un estilo de vida propuesto por el movimiento. En palabras de Boulding (1993, págs. 208-211) el concepto que se tiene de familia genera en el ser humano un sentimiento de confianza, y que, pese a la posibilidad de fracaso, “en un número asombroso de casos, da buenos resultados y realiza el potencial de los hijos en una atmósfera de integración, benevolencia y amor mutuos”, un escenario no muy lejano de las aspiraciones de Dorothy Day; a lo que podría agregársele también el poder integrador de las organizaciones religiosas que sostienen comunidades a partir de creencias, a las que también se refiere el autor.

2.3. Activismo para la paz y aplicación de algunos métodos de acción no violenta

Como lo expresa Tom Cornell, miembro del CWM por más de sesenta años, el marco de acción del movimiento liderado por Dorothy Day no puede describirse de otra forma sino como un espacio de “activismo pacifista” (Sheridan 2014). Después del reconocimiento del Vaticano a Day como sierva de Dios, los seguidores del CWM han enfatizado en la importancia de que éste se mantenga como una organización, que pese a enfrentarse con el tiempo a nuevos desafíos, continúa luchando por la paz y la libertad de quienes llaman, el pueblo de Dios.

En la década de 1930 el Catholic Worker se había expresado más enérgicamente contra el anti-semitismo que prácticamente cualquier otra organización católica. Sin embargo, mientras los tanques nazis rodaron en toda Europa, el Catholic Worker publicó titular tras titular denunciando el reclutamiento militar y declarando el Sermón de la Montaña como su manifiesto de no violencia (McKanan 2008, pág. 24-25).

Si bien se ha enfatizado en la importancia de la búsqueda de la paz, el amor, y otros valores significativos para el catolicismo, se hace necesario exponer algunas manifestaciones de acción política no violenta en las que dichos valores, en combinación con las emociones del colectivo, se han visibilizado en escenarios inicialmente domésticos. En general, los factores que pueden considerarse causa de la ejecución de los métodos de acción no violenta en el caso del CWM son tres: los abusos en las políticas públicas del gobierno estadounidense en los años de la Gran Depresión, la participación y auspicio de Estados Unidos en guerras internacionales, y la discriminación o cualquier tipo de maltrato a la población inmigrante de condiciones vulnerables.

Dentro de la clasificación de los métodos de acción política no violenta, aquellos activados por el CWM corresponden a los *métodos de ejemplo moral*², en los que se busca, principalmente, el mantenimiento de una posición, sufriendo los costos o sacrificios (a los que se ha hecho alusión anteriormente en contraste con la vida de mártires y santos de la Iglesia) y de los que se espera como resultado, la conversión y la derrota moral (Sharp 1973). Conforme a la clasificación ya elaborada por Gene Sharp, en *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973), el CWM tuvo como métodos: la persuasión y protesta no violenta, la no colaboración o no cooperación económica y política, y la acción no violenta creativa.

En primer lugar, dentro de los métodos de persuasión y protesta no violenta rastreables en el CWM, se encuentran los discursos formales, como declaraciones públicas a cargo de Dorothy Day, en las que principalmente se imitó el modelo de exhortación de Jesucristo y de los Santos influyentes en su proceso de conversión al catolicismo (Santa Teresa, Santo Tomás, y San Juan de La Cruz), con el propósito de exponer al público la relevancia de las obras y la perseverancia en ellas. Sin embargo, la finalidad discursiva de Day, además de tener como objetivo la persuasión para ganar seguidores y voluntarios, también, y esencialmente, tuvo como propósito denunciar los abusos y las manifestaciones estatales y ciudadanas contrarias a los

²En *Métodos de la acción política no violenta*, Cante expone de manera resumida, otros métodos como la disrupción (desorden), y la creación (nuevo orden), cada uno con distintos resultados esperados.

valores católicos mínimos de convivencia, y por supuesto, aquellos que atentaran contra la paz. Ejemplo de esto fueron sus alocuciones públicas en 1977 en la comuna agraria de San José, en la que protestó fuertemente contra los contratistas de defensa local, como Honeywell, y defendió su postura a favor de los homosexuales (McKanan 2008, pág. 102).

Aunque la defensa de gais y lesbianas parecía contradictoria, Day argumentó siempre estar en contra de cualquier tipo de discriminación, acudiendo a sus principios cristianos bajo los cuales todos son considerados hijos de Dios, lógica desde la que, de igual forma, protegió a los inmigrantes, como se expondrá en el siguiente capítulo del presente estudio de caso.

En adición a los discursos, y quizá, de modo más evidente, el CWM se valió de un conjunto de formas de comunicación surgidas en el contexto de las audiencias y los escenarios del movimiento con vasta población como público. Entre éstas están, el símbolo del movimiento, que reivindica la no discriminación y la apertura de la vida cristiana a los pobres y rechazados de la sociedad³; los folletos y panfletos con textos o reflexiones bíblicas e imágenes de contenido sugestivo⁴; y por último el periódico que lleva el mismo nombre del movimiento, que por orden directa de Day debía repartirse en todas las casas de hospitalidad, y en cuyas columnas se narraba la cotidianidad de la comunidad de los beneficiarios, y otras denuncias importantes de su autoría. No deben desconocerse tampoco, como método de acción política no violenta, los actos religiosos como vigiliyas y largas jornadas de oración en las que se aprovechaba para instruir sobre la doctrina de la Iglesia Católica.

Respecto a los métodos de no colaboración o no cooperación económica, el CWM enfatizó especialmente en la negación de la comunidad al pago de impuestos, en particular, en los años más álgidos de la Crisis del 29, por considerarlos un abuso y un peligro para el sistema de justicia social que se quería impulsar. Esta expresión de acción no violenta se prolongó hasta el periodo de guerras, en el que Dorothy Day sostuvo que más que la rebeldía, la negativa al pago de impuestos obedecía a sus

³ Ver anexo 1.

⁴ Ver anexo 2.

principios de donación por motivación propia, desinteresada, y bajo la voluntad, no viciada (por ejemplo, para obtener beneficios fiscales) de cada individuo. (McKanan 2008, pág. 106). Además, por no cooperación política, ya en 1973 Day había sido arrestada mientras en una huelga, invitaba a la no obediencia a las autoridades que buscaban inspeccionar las casas y granjas de huéspedes.

Y en tercer lugar, el método de acción violenta creativa del que hizo uso el CWM fue la difusión de las enseñanzas de la no violencia, a partir del Sermón de la Montaña y las escrituras de la religión católica. Uno de los aportes más significativos al respecto fue la promulgación oral y escrita del “Evangelio de la paz” inspirado en la vida de San Francisco de Asís.

Finalmente, la inspiración de los fundadores del CWM estaba dirigida no solamente a la inauguración de casas de hospitalidad y comunas agrarias, si bien éstas hacían parte de la organización y la estructura en la que el movimiento adquiriría un espacio de acción, Peter Maurin y Dorothy Day tenían pensado ampliar su espectro de operación, mientras ganaban cobertura y miembros para la defensa de su causa. Peter Maurin, por una parte, definió el CWM como un “programa de acción católica, dirigido a fundar una sociedad católica dentro de un Estado pluralista” (Colomer 2011, pág. 52).

Por otra parte, Dorothy Day, desde los inicios del movimiento, encaminó sus esfuerzos a la construcción de un potencial Comunismo Cristiano, aterrizado a la realidad norteamericana de la época, ésta idea

Requeriría la renuncia a la propiedad privada a favor de la comunidad de bienes [...] Está claro los principios colectivistas de Day dejarían poco espacio para la propiedad privada, y que la actual propiedad real (los poderes ejecutivos) estarían en manos de una comunidad que se describe a sí misma como una variante del comunismo cristiano (Byrne 2010, pág. 47).

En el argumento expuesto, Day se acercaba a lo que podría considerarse un matiz de la acción política no violenta, en la medida en la que para la época, el acercamiento a las ideas de izquierda se consideraba traición, razón por la que incluso ya había perdido su empleo. Aun cuando Day trata de hacer trascender su objetivo, y como

señala Byrne (2010, pág. 49), reconciliar el Marxismo con la figura de Cristo, y acercarse al movimiento del “Evangelio Social”, el cual entendía a Jesús como un modelo de revolucionario capaz de liberar al pueblo de la opresión y la inequidad social, alterando las estructuras e instituciones existentes.

3. ESCENARIOS POLÍTICOS DE PARTICIPACIÓN ADQUIRIDOS POR EL CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

Como se mencionó en los apartados anteriores, el CWM logró transgredir las fronteras nacionales dentro de las que nació y manifestarse de distintas maneras en otros escenarios del sistema internacional. Para la comprensión del escalamiento del movimiento, de la acción colectiva doméstica, a la acción colectiva transnacional (conservando los métodos de no violencia), es necesario conocer algunos conceptos y aportes de estudiosos de los movimientos sociales y el activismo.

La definición de los movimientos sociales, y en particular, aquellos de carácter transnacional, puede considerarse contemporánea, en la medida en la que ha abarcado distintas dimensiones por la naturaleza misma del sistema internacional (cambiante y de fronteras cada vez más porosas), y la multiplicidad de redes de información en surgimiento. Enmarcando el concepto de movimiento social transnacional dentro de la acción colectiva, autores como Sidney Tarrow y Charles Tilly, se han aproximado a una definición nutrida de académicos expertos en ciencias principalmente económicas y en la sociología.

En primer lugar, Tilly desarrolla de manera ampliada el concepto de movimiento social, en su obra *Social Movements and National Politics*, definiéndolo como

[...] Una serie sostenida de interacciones entre los detentadores del poder y las personas que reclaman exitosamente para hablar en nombre de una circunscripción que carece de representación formal, en las que las personas hacen demandas visibles públicamente por cambios en la distribución o en el ejercicio del poder, y respaldan dichas demandas con manifestaciones públicas de apoyo (Tilly 1984).

En segundo lugar, en sus dos libros *Poder en movimiento* (1998), y *The New Transnational Activism* (2006), Tarrow delimita el concepto, definiendo los movimientos sociales transnacionales como “Interacciones contenciosas de grupos o individuos que desafían de forma sostenida a determinados oponentes, nacionales o no nacionales, mediante redes interconectadas que traspasan las fronteras nacionales” (Tarrow 1998, págs. 257-258).

Tanto los aportes de Tilly como los de Tarrow permiten una aproximación al CWM como movimiento transnacional que además de hacer visibles las demandas, en principio, de la sociedad de 1929 afectada por la crisis, con el tiempo logra el traspaso de las fronteras de Estados Unidos, especialmente a través de dos procesos que el segundo autor describe como enmarcamiento global, y difusión⁵. Haciendo énfasis en que el activismo político, característico del CWM no necesariamente debe tener lugar en el escenario internacional, para adquirir un carácter transnacional, se proponen entonces dichos conceptos en los que, por un lado (enmarcamiento global), se apela a un discurso global, que en este caso corresponde al de la religión católica, y por otro (difusión), se alcanza el establecimiento de antenas de un grupo que se extiende a otros países, caso en el cual se puede hablar de la aparición de las casas de hospitalidad en más de veinte países fuera de Estados Unidos. (Tarrow 2006, pág. 32)

Adicionalmente, Tarrow entra en debate con otros autores que se han interesado por el carácter transnacional de la acción colectiva, y construye lo que denomina “la tesis transnacional fuerte”. De Pagnucco y Atwood, toma el paso de estructuras nacionales de oportunidades políticas condicionadas, a una estructura transnacional; de Badie y Tilly, el argumento de la debilidad de los Estados para adaptarse a las corrientes económicas globales, producto de la integración de la economía internacional; de Keck, Sikkink, y McCarthy, la tesis acerca de la movilización de recursos; y finalmente, destaca el compendio de movimientos sociales transnacionales realizado por Jackie Smith (Tarrow 1998, pág 254).

De los aportes mencionados, se resalta el trabajo de Keck Y Sikkink, respecto a las redes transnacionales de defensa, que permiten una comprensión más amplia de la importancia que tiene en la acción política del CWM, la inclusión de valores y principios compartidos alrededor de los cuales funcionan organizaciones no gubernamentales domésticas e internacionales, movimientos sociales locales, fundaciones, iglesias, entre otros. (Keck y Sikkink 1998, págs. 54-55)

⁵ Ver anexo3.

Al anterior panorama de los movimientos sociales transnacionales se suman los repertorios de contención o estándares y tácticas que la población reconoce como medios viables para influenciar en la política y otras autoridades (Smith, et al. 1997, pág 71); métodos que corresponden a la ejecución de la no violencia del CWM, y que se reflejan, por ejemplo, en las marchas y protestas realizadas en los años treinta contra las políticas taxativas del Estado, y en la época de la Guerra Fría contra los simulacros de despliegue de armas nucleares.

3.1. Acción política no violenta del CWM y su alcance en otros actores del sistema internacional

En el capítulo dos del presente estudio de caso, se nombraron algunas de las acciones políticas no violentas del CWM desde los años treinta, con puntos de inflexión en los periodos de guerra mundial o guerras de participación estadounidense, sin embargo se hace necesario detenerse por cada uno de dichos puntos, de manera que sea posible identificar si existió un impacto considerable que indique un proceso de transnacionalización del movimiento⁶.

Como afirma Tarrow (2006, pág. 43), los activistas transnacionales, que para éste estudio se personifican en Dorothy Day y Peter Maurin, no inician su trayectoria desde un nivel internacional, sino, como se ha evidenciado anteriormente, lo hacen en un espacio exclusivamente doméstico sobre el que se reúnen distintas experiencias, se adquiere cierto grado de control sobre el colectivo, y se sugieren principios y reglas que rigen el movimiento. Si bien se han considerado ya las influencias ideológicas y teológicas de Day por su cercanía con algunos pensadores y académicos rusos, en este apartado se hará énfasis en sus oportunidades de salida del país, bien sea, con un fin político directo (discurso, entrevista, etc.), o con el objetivo de ejecutar alguna acción de resistencia no predecible por los Estados.

“Durante la primer Guerra Mundial, la objeción consiente de los católicos frente a la guerra no fue visible [...] para la época, los pocos católicos en Estados Unidos que

⁶ Ver anexo 4.

se resistían a la ofensiva militar por cuestiones de conciencia se encontraban encarcelados” (Zwick, M. y Zwick, L. 2005, pág. 256), sin embargo, en el marco del activismo pacifista, dentro del que se concentró el CWM, se identifica como primera acción de intervención de Dorothy Day, su anuncio, a través del periódico del movimiento, acerca de su participación en el Congreso de Estados Unidos Contra la Guerra.

Pero fue hasta la llegada de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, en 1935, que Day, en manifestación de su protesta contra la ofensiva nazi, junto con otros miembros del CWM reclamaron frente a las instalaciones de la embajada de Alemania en Nueva York. Como consecuencia de esta acción, aunque con resultados no muy visibles (ni si quiera ante las consideraciones de Maurin), Day logró hacer entender a su movimiento que la lucha a favor de los necesitados no estaba dirigida únicamente a quienes hacían parte de la religión católica, y abrió la puerta a todas las denominaciones religiosas a unirse y participar en el CWM.

Puesto que el medio inmediato de manifestación y de acción política no violenta para Day era su periódico, y para la etapa inicial del movimiento no existía la posibilidad de distribuirlo más que en las casas de hospitalidad cercanas a la ciudad, y tras los intentos fallidos de protesta en contra de las guerras, Dorothy encontró una oportunidad para llamar la atención del Vaticano, a través de su cercanía con algunos religiosos de la época que coincidían con su lucha anti guerra.

Ejemplo de ello fue, en 1941, su apoyo a Luigi Sturzo, un fray interesado en asumir la vocería de parte de la Iglesia en temas políticos, y que fue criticado por el cuerpo de obispos y cardenales de la época. Sturzo, quien se negó a seguir en la Iglesia Católica de España, con el tiempo, sería gran crítico de la misma, y transmitiría las ideas de Day sobre la Guerra Civil Española; sobre las enseñanzas del fray, en 1970 Day haría algunas reflexiones en su viaje a Australia, tiempo en el que se desarrollaba la Guerra de Vietnam, y que no desaprovechó para motivar a otro continente a la oposición frente a cualquier tipo de enfrentamiento y manifestación de violencia. (Byrne 2010, pág. 225)

Años más tarde, en 1963, por invitación de un sacerdote de la Orden de Dominicos, Simon Blake, y sirviéndose del tiempo de resplandor de los movimientos pacifistas en Inglaterra, Day participó en una de las conferencias más importantes en asuntos de paz para el continente europeo, en cuya intervención resaltó la necesidad de incluir en la agenda de la paz, temas de pobreza, proyectos de resistencia, derechos civiles, y la negativa a hacerse parte del juego de la guerra. (Coy 1988, pág. 92)

También fue el caso de los hermanos Berrigan, con los que, en 1981, tras la publicación del texto “Anarquismo Cristiano”, Day logró acaparar la atención de la institución eclesial, que había sido distanciada del laicado bajo la acusación de revelarse como una Iglesia a favor de los intereses de la Alemania nazi. Fue de ésta manera que desde la Santa Sede se empezó a sentir la voz de Day, y de su movimiento, que cada vez tenía más acogida en Estados Unidos. (Byrne 2010, págs. 260-261)

En adición a dichos espacios de participación, como describe Byrne (2010, pág. 65), en octubre de 1962, Day realizó un viaje a Cuba para conocer la realidad de la Revolución Cubana y entrevistarse con Castro. Mientras que Castro declaró a Cuba como un Estado ateo, Day insistió en dirigirse a él como un revolucionario con la responsabilidad de detener el derramamiento de sangre en su territorio. Aún con la brecha que abría la religión,

El ejemplo de la revolución cubana se convirtió en el guía de los revolucionarios emergentes estudiantiles estadounidenses que en los sesenta intentaron destruir las estructuras sociales, económicas y políticas dedicadas a las campañas sustanciales de bombardeo (que implicaban el asesinato de sus propios nacionales) y que además mostraron su odio por las autoridades en combates directos con la policía (Byrne 2010, pág. 67)

También cabe decir que, dentro de las alianzas relevantes de Day se encuentra César Chávez, un campesino encargado del sindicato United Farm Workers of America, al que conoció en 1967, quien posteriormente visitó una de las casas de hospitalidad del CWM y a quien considera “el principal ejemplo actual de resistencia no-violenta a la opresión, un ejemplo de la no-violencia en la lucha de clases y de razas que ha existido [...]” (Colomer 2011, pág. 120). Del fruto de dicha amistad, el CWM pudo inaugurar posteriormente una casa de hospitalidad en México, y adicionalmente, el encuentro

serviría para que Day se interesara en la defensa de la población inmigrante, por la que tomó nuevas formas de acción política no violenta, expresadas en la protección y refugio a los inmigrantes ilegales.

Sin embargo, la ayuda de Day y el respaldo a Chávez significó para ella, su octavo arresto en 1972, que, como argumenta Coy (1988, pág. 128), representó una motivación y una invitación a las siguientes generaciones, al activismo por la justicia social, principalmente a aquel que se expresa en contra de las leyes que perjudican u obstaculizan el derecho a la protesta y otros métodos de reclamación no violenta.

El CWM respaldaría su defensa por los inmigrantes en declaraciones oficiales de la Iglesia, en las cuales, religiosos como el Papa Juan Pablo II, en el marco del día de la Migración Mundial en el año 2000, condenaron como pecado la deportación y otros abusos a la población migrante ilegal; sobre este asunto, Mark y Louise Zwick (2010) ya han dedicado un libro de nombre 'Mercy without borders'.

Como ya lo ha señalado Coy (1988, pág. 129), los puntos de inflexión señalados son transversales a la publicación y distribución del periódico del movimiento, el cual, además de marcar una pauta para los comunicadores sociales y periodistas sobre el aprovechamiento de los medios para el activismo, también significó un termómetro sobre las oportunidades de opinión y denuncia respecto a asuntos internacionales que la sociedad podía desconocer. A pesar de que en sus inicios, con la Gran Depresión como coyuntura, el Catholic Worker alcanzó la circulación de mil novecientas copias, en los años de la Guerra Civil Española, y la Segunda Guerra Mundial, éstas se redujeron a más de la mitad (reflejo de las dificultades de Day para realizar algunos viajes al exterior); tal no fue el caso de la época de la Guerra de Vietnam y la Guerra de Corea, años en los que Day había ya logrado ganar espacios de participación internacionales, y que reflejaron nuevamente un aumento en los suscriptores del periódico.

Quizá la coyuntura más importante para la transnacionalización del movimiento fue la Guerra de Vietnam, que, como ya lo ha estudiado Mehlretter (2009, pág. 6), significó una oportunidad para que los Workers, haciendo uso de

algunas tácticas y métodos de protesta, se sirvieran también de la retórica para apelar a un sistema común moral, compartido dentro de la institucionalidad de la Iglesia, al mismo tiempo que abogaban por un cambio en las prácticas religiosas. La autora, destaca como punto central del estudio de la Guerra de Vietnam, desde el CWM, el equilibrio y la encrucijada que el movimiento debía resolver en cuanto a la rápida propagación de sus ideas y la adopción del radicalismo sugerido por Day.

Si bien Vietnam llegó a representar el periodo más crítico de protesta contra la guerra, tanto en el escenario doméstico, como internacional, la posición y la lucha propuesta por el movimiento fue desafiada por dos oponentes significativos, a saber, la Iglesia Católica, que en Estados Unidos estaba representada por la Conferencia Episcopal Estadounidense, y el Estado. Esto, en razón del discurso de Day, que pese a haber estado respaldado por el catolicismo, tras el apoyo de la Conferencia Episcopal al financiamiento de la Guerra, contradecía ahora la misma estructura eclesial de su país.

Así, mientras se insistía en la desobediencia y la protesta contra las decisiones gubernamentales de apoyo económico y militar a la guerra, el CWM debía encontrar la forma de iniciar un cambio en las ideas del clero, tarea que se dificultó, por ejemplo, con la muerte de Roger LaPorte, uno de sus seguidores más jóvenes, quien en 1965 se inmoló asegurando hacerlo como crítica a la guerra. Considerando el suicidio como pecado, en el contexto de la religión católica, el reto para Day y su movimiento, se concentró entonces en la reconciliación entre el radicalismo, que ya estaba difundiéndose en otros países, el derecho a la resistencia civil, la aplicación de métodos de acción política no violenta, y la fidelidad a la Iglesia, como institución legitimadora del CWM en sí mismo. (Mehltretter 2009)

A todos los puntos anteriores se les considerará procesos de contención internacional que Tarrow (2006) ha descrito como enmarcamiento global, dado que, se asumen las visitas y las acciones de Day, como expresiones de los principios y valores mismos del movimiento, que ella entiende como herencia de la religión católica. El catolicismo, siendo de vocación universal, con algunos matices, es

responsable de los discursos, al menos, extraídos de las Escrituras. Dichos discursos, resumidos en el Sermón de la Montaña, son los que adopta el movimiento para lograr impactar, por ejemplo, en todos los países con población católica. Aún con el distanciamiento entre las ideas radicales de Day, y las declaraciones de ciertos miembros de la curia, sus tres viajes a Roma, y su cercanía con otros religiosos, le permitieron mantener el argumento religioso como elemento unificador e identitario del movimiento.

3.2. Reproducción de casas de hospitalidad y programas de voluntariado como procesos de difusión del CWM⁷

La oportunidad de salida del CWM a otros países se puede encontrar de manera más clara en la inauguración de casas de hospitalidad que en la actualidad han adquirido cierto de independencia, pero siguen agrupadas bajo el nombre del movimiento, y conservan los principios que Dorothy Day estableció como base del mismo. Dado que dichas casas se han reproducido exponencialmente, vale la pena revisar los puntos álgidos de apertura de las mismas, y los programas de voluntariado, que permite agilizar convocatorias y atracción de nuevos seguidores y colaboradores con disposición a adherirse al CWM. Ahora bien, antes de explorar la situación de las casas abiertas en los últimos años, es pertinente preguntarse por su origen y la motivación de los fundadores del CWM para acelerar el proceso de difusión de las mismas, aun cuando se conoce que su sostenimiento se debe exclusivamente al recibimiento de donaciones y ayudas externas.

Quien importó el modelo de casas de hospitalidad fue Peter Maurin, que luego de conocer la historia de los monasterios en los que los irlandeses llevaron a cabo el denominado ‘martirio verde’, como renuncia a sus comodidades, y en oposición al ‘martirio rojo’ (que simbolizó la persecución y muerte de los cristianos), decidió emprender una ‘revolución verde’, en la que el CWM patrocinaría un espacio de

⁷Ver anexo 5, 6, y 7.

compartir en la palabra de Jesucristo y al mismo tiempo, practicar las labores corporales de misericordia a las que se exhorta en el Evangelio.

Sobre el aspecto de la hospitalidad, Maurin resaltaba que en los monasterios se acogía a todo el mundo sin distinción, y que los monjes se aseguraban de que el hospedado se sintiera como en casa. En efecto, como apuntan los historiadores, en Irlanda el viajero era acogido como huésped por tanto tiempo como necesitaba (Colomer 2011, pág. 13).

Si bien el movimiento ganó espacios de participación internacional después del periodo de guerras, en definitiva, uno de los factores claves para la difusión del mismo en forma de casas de hospitalidad (entendidas como antenas o sedes), fue el fallecimiento de Dorothy Day, y su causa de canonización, también considerada un aspecto unificador del movimiento que aun se mantiene.

En general, su crecimiento se dio de la siguiente forma: en el periodo comprendido entre la inauguración del periódico (1933), y el ataque a Pearl Harbor (1941), se construyeron al interior de Estados Unidos, aproximadamente cuarenta y tres casas en Boston, Los Ángeles, y Minnesota, entre otras (McKanan 2008, pág. 36). A partir de 1980 se inauguraron otras cincuenta, y en la siguiente década, setenta y nueve. Cabe resaltar que tanto en las granjas, como en las casas, se ha reproducido un fenómeno en el que quienes fueron beneficiarios y hospedados, han cambiado su rol, y se han encargado de multiplicar estos espacios del CWM; tal es el caso de Donna Howard, una antigua huésped que luego de la Primera Guerra del Golfo inauguró una casa que ahora administra.

Respecto a las casas inauguradas en otros países, se encuentra por ejemplo, que, en los años cincuenta se instalaron dos, una en Canadá (que cuenta con más de quinientos voluntarios, en un uno de los programas más activos en la actualidad, y que fundó una segunda casa en 1974), y otra en Nueva Zelanda. En la época de los noventa, el movimiento tuvo gran acogida en Europa, razón por la que países como Alemania (1994) y Bélgica (1991) fundaron las primeras casas en el continente. Y finalmente, en el presente siglo, se ha dado apertura a otras, especialmente en

territorio de América Latina, las cuales han proliferado de manera más acelerada. (Catholicworkermovement.org 2015).

Paralelamente, se han creado figuras de participación como miembros de una 'comunidad extendida', en las que se reciben voluntarios por temporadas, y se ofrecen programas de intercambio que alienten, mayoritariamente a la población juvenil, a unirse al colectivo de los Catholic Workers (McKanan 2008, págs. 97-102).

4. CONCLUSIONES

El Catholic Worker Movement, representa, con algunos matices, la forma en la que los movimientos sociales (particularmente aquellos de tipo religioso) adquieren espacios de participación nacional e internacional, en los que logran difundir y propagar con facilidad sus ideas y propuestas para la acción colectiva. El presente estudio de caso, expone dos de los ejes centrales sobre los que el movimiento de Dorothy Day, trabajó para lograr su existencia hasta la actualidad: la acción política no violenta, con fundamento en el sistema de creencias del catolicismo, y los procesos de transnacionalización de la acción colectiva en coherencia con el principio incluyente y universal del mensaje cristiano.

Pese a que el auge del movimiento se debió a circunstancias internas que parecieran exclusivas de la sociedad estadounidense, el CWM inició un proceso de rápida propagación de sus pilares fundamentales, que suscitaron posteriormente al mantenimiento de su causa y la aparición de comunidades agrupadas bajo su nombre en otros países del sistema internacional; lo cual motiva a la identificación de los factores que permitieron dicho fenómeno de internacionalización, y que dan razón de un proceso en el que se articulan principios y creencias religiosas, con acciones políticas particulares.

Las dinámicas a través de las que el CWM logra su internacionalización pueden pensarse a la luz del concepto de movimientos sociales, en los que es posible identificar oportunidades endógenas y exógenas para la acción colectiva. En razón de lo anterior, y por la importancia del poder carismático de Dorothy Day, el movimiento también permite una aproximación a las lógicas de poder integrador y del amor, como elementos fundamentales para la dirección y el sostenimiento de un colectivo en función de una causa particular.

La acción política no violenta puede enmarcarse entonces en la comprensión del CWM como movimiento social cuya operación estaba respaldada también, por principios que legitimaron su estructura y organización; esencialmente aquellos

procedentes del Evangelio y las escrituras. Se destacan, en especial, los métodos referidos a la no cooperación o colaboración por coyunturas como la de la Crisis del 29, o por los mismos criterios de donación, altruismo, y caridad que fundamentan el movimiento.

En esencia, existe una relación entre la política y su expresión, en sentido más amplio, en el sistema internacional, y la religión, que se vincula tanto a los procesos de construcción de la sociedad y al código cultural de la misma, como a la forma en la que las creencias se incluyen en discursos particulares, y son transversales a intereses comunes que pueden concluir en la aparición de movimientos para la reivindicación de situaciones y condiciones específicas, compartidas en más de un Estado. Dicha relación, puede ser evidenciada en algunos procesos de contención transnacional como la difusión y el enmarcamiento global.

En la actualidad, el CWM ha expandido sus casas de hospitalidad, y al mismo tiempo ha incluido en su agenda, la participación en otros espacios políticos, sociales, y económicos de interés, aun cuando ya no es tan visible la acción política no violenta y sus métodos; entre dichos espacios, se encuentran, por ejemplo, los escenarios de discusión y debate sobre calentamiento global y ecología (Sheridan 2014).

Después de más de ochenta años de su fundación, y luego del fallecimiento de Dorothy Day, el CWM aún tiene representación en Estados Unidos y otros países del sistema internacional. Este estudio de caso deja abierta una puerta para profundizar en temas relacionados con los procesos y prácticas que en el presente se desarrollan en las casas de hospitalidad que llevan el nombre del movimiento. Por la independencia que han adquirido cada una de éstas, se sugiere el desarrollo de una labor investigativa complementaria, que, valiéndose de un trabajo de campo detallado, pueda determinar las nuevas formas de acción política no violenta, o de trabajos corporales y espirituales, sobre los que insistía Day, que indiquen con precisión los cambios más evidentes en la acción colectiva del mismo.

La multiplicidad de casas de hospitalidad, y la autonomía con la que cuentan en la actualidad, son algunos de los límites y las barreras encontradas para el desarrollo

de la presente investigación. Debido a que la información disponible sobre el movimiento es mayoritariamente histórica, uno de los principales obstáculos que se encontraron fue la inexistencia de un registro detallado espacio-temporal, de la aparición de las casas y granjas adscritas al mismo. Vale la pena ampliar el estudio sobre la reproducción de métodos de no violencia en diferentes países, de la mano con una evaluación a cerca de la fidelidad al argumento religioso para el mantenimiento del movimiento, especialmente después de la muerte de Day.

Por último, cabe resaltar la utilidad de la investigación, señalando que las Relaciones Internacionales se caracterizan por aportar un estudio interdisciplinario de la realidad internacional, y, como algunos académicos han destacado, resulta de gran importancia la inclusión de la religión como nivel de análisis del mismo, teniendo en cuenta que éste podría nutrir la comprensión de la política interna y la política exterior de los Estados, su relación con la gobernanza global, y su aplicación para la creación de una agenda política orientada a la paz (James 2011, pág. 3). Los movimientos sociales religiosos, han demostrado alcanzar altos niveles de impacto en la sociedad, y, en combinación con la acción política no violenta, y lo que Tarrow (2006) ha señalado como nuevo activismo transnacional, ofrecen una aproximación a otras dinámicas en el sistema internacional, que se distancian de la visión, exclusivamente estado céntrica, de las mismas.

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ANEXOS

Anexo 1. Imagen. Logo del Catholic Worker Movement.



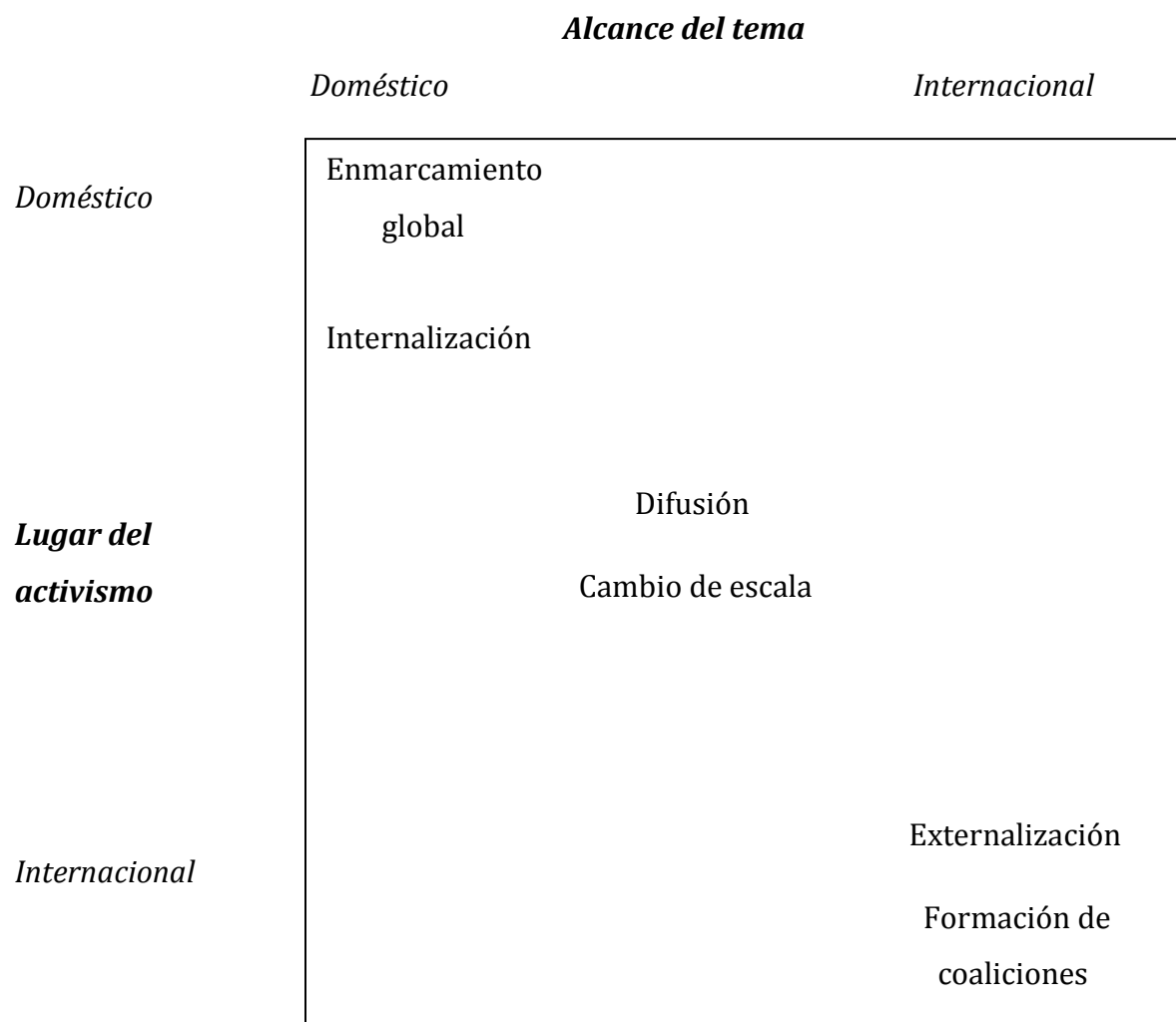
Fuente: (Catholic Worker Movement 2015, web)

Anexo 2. Imagen. Folletos distribuidos por el Catholic Worker Movement.



Fuente: (The Catholic Worker Farm 2015, web)

Anexo 3. Gráfico. Procesos de contención transnacional.



Fuente: (Tarrow 2006, pág. 33)

Anexo 4. Cuadro. Esquema temporal de algunas coyunturas aprovechadas y acciones vinculadas a espacios de participación del CWM.

<i>Coyuntura</i>	<i>Acción</i>	<i>Resultados obtenidos o esperados</i>	<i>Alcance</i>
<i>Gran Depresión</i>	Creación del periódico Catholic Worker.	*Conocimiento del movimiento. *Ganar seguidores y voluntarios.	Doméstico
	Fundación del movimiento		
	Marchas y negativa al pago de impuestos.		
<i>Periodo posterior a la Guerra Civil Española</i>	Alianzas y contacto con Luigi Sturzo.	*Llamar la atención de la Iglesia Católica y motivar al clero a la participación en la acción política legitimada por la religión. *Incentivar la denuncia de la violencia y los abusos políticos, económicos, y sociales, en otros países con presencia de la Iglesia.	Internacional
<i>Segunda Guerra Mundial</i>	Plantón frente a la embajada alemana.	*Mostrar inclusión de otros cultos religiosos en la causa del movimiento	Doméstico

	No-cooperación en pruebas de guerra nuclear	(defensa judía), y manifestarse en contra de otros Estados con situaciones de violencia vigentes.	
<i>Revolución Cubana</i>	Viaje a Cuba para reunirse con Fidel Catro	*Alianzas con otros líderes revolucionarios. * Aproximación a Centro América.	Internacional
<i>Guerra de Vietnam</i>	Participación en conferencias de paz en Inglaterra	*Respaldo al movimiento y promoción del mismo como pionero en búsqueda de la paz.	Internacional
	Encuentro con César Chávez	* Creación de casa de hospitalidad de constitución latina. * Alianza con el líder sindical.	
	Viajes a Roma	* Acercamientos en el Vaticano y ganancia de espacios representativos en la Iglesia Católica que legitiman y refuerzan la causa del CWM.	

Gráfico elaborado por el autor del presente trabajo de grado

Anexo 5. Gráfico. Número de casas de hospitalidad en Estados Unidos.

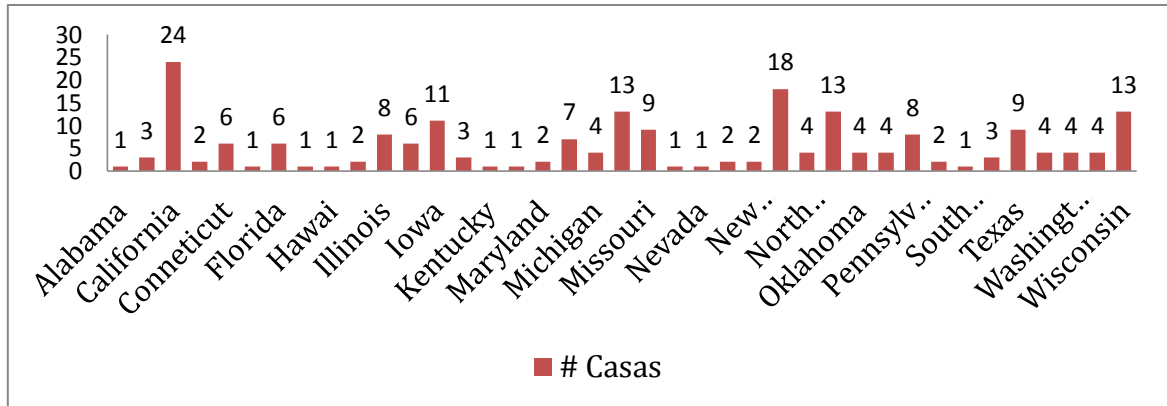


Gráfico elaborado por el autor del presente trabajo de grado con base a la información de (Catholic Worker Movement 2015, web)

Anexo 6. Gráfico. Número de casas de hospitalidad en otros países del sistema internacional.

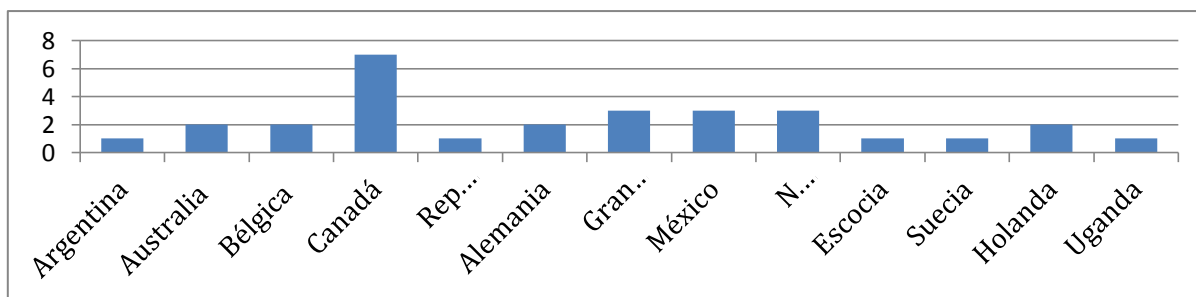


Gráfico elaborado por el autor del presente trabajo de grado con base a la información de (Catholic Worker Movement 2015, web)

Anexo 7. Mapa. Difusión del CWM en el sistema internacional.



Mapa elaborado por el autor del presente trabajo de grado con base a la información de (Catholic Worker Movement 2015, web)

Anexo 8. CD. Fuentes primarias: compendio de discursos y artículos de Dorothy Day.

1. DISCURSOS DE DOROTHY DAY

1.1. “Union Square Speech” (6 de noviembre de 1965)

Temas centrales: paz y lucha contra la guerra y otras formas de violencia.

[1] When Jesus walked this earth; True God and True man, and was talking to the multitudes, a woman in the crowd cried out, “Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breast that bore you and the breast that nourished you.” And he answered her, “Yes, but rather, blessed are those who hear the word of God and keep it.”

[2] And the word of God is the new commandment he gave us—to love our enemies, to overcome evil with good, to love others as he loved us—that is, to lay down our lives for our brothers throughout the world, not to take the lives of men, women, and children, young and old, by bombs and napalm and all the other instruments of war.

[3] Instead he spoke of the instruments of peace, to be practiced by all nations—to feed the hungry of the world,—not to destroy their crops, not to spend billions on defense, which means instruments of destruction. He commanded us to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, to save lives, not to destroy them, these precious lives for whom he willingly sacrificed his own.

[4] I speak today as one who is old, and who must uphold and endorse the courage of the young who themselves are willing to give up their freedom. I speak as one who is old, and whose whole lifetime has seen the cruelty and hysteria of war in this last half century. But who has also seen, praise God, the emerging nations of Africa and Asia, and Latin America, achieving in many instances their own freedom through non-violent struggles, side by side with violence. Our own country has through tens of

thousand of the Negroe [sic] people, shown an example to the world of what a non-violent struggle can achieve. This very struggle, begun by students, by the young, by the seemingly helpless, have led the way in vision, in courage, even in a martyrdom, which has been shared by the little children, in the struggle for full freedom and for human dignity which means the right to health, education, and work which is a full development of man's god-given talents.

[5] We have seen the works of man's genius and vision in the world today, in the conquering of space, in his struggle with plague and famine, and in each and every demonstration such as this one—there is evidence of his struggle against war.

[6] I wish to place myself beside A. J. Muste speaking, if I am permitted, to show my solidarity of purpose with these young men, and to point out that we too are breaking the law, committing civil disobedience, in advocating and trying to encourage all those who are conscripted, to inform their conscience, to heed the still small voice, and to refuse to participate in the immorality of war. It is the most potent way to end war.

[7] We too, by law, myself and all who signed the statement of conscience, should be arrested and we would esteem it an honour to share prison penalties with these others. I would like to conclude these few words with a prayer in the words of St. Francis, saint of poverty and peace, "O Lord, make me an instrument of your peace, Where there is hatred, let me sow love."

Fuente: (Voices of Democracy 2015, web).

1.2. "Short Speech at Penn State in 1965"

Temas centrales: labores de misericordia, guerra y conflicto internacional.

"It is not just Vietnam, it is South Africa, it is Nigeria, the Congo, Indonesia, all of Latin America. It is not just the pictures of all the women and children who have been burnt alive in Vietnam, or the men who have been tortured, and died. It is not just the

headless victims of the war in Colombia. It is not just the words of Cardinal Spellman and Archbishop Hannan. It is the fact that whether we like it or not, we are Americans. It is indeed our country, right or wrong, as the Cardinal said in another context. We are warm and fed and secure (aside from occasional muggings and murders amongst us). We are the nation the most powerful, the most armed and we are supplying arms and money to the rest of the world where we are not ourselves fighting. We are eating while there is famine in the world. Scripture tells us that the picture of judgment presented to us by Jesus is of Dives sitting and feasting with his friends while Lazarus sat hungry at the gate, the dogs, the scavengers of the East, licking his sores. We are the Dives. Woe to the rich! We are the rich.

The works of mercy are the opposite of the works of war, feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, nursing the sick, visiting the prisoner. But we are destroying crops, setting fire to entire villages and to the people in them. We are not performing the works of mercy but the works of war. We cannot repeat this enough."

Fuente: (Tomorrow's Bread Today 2015, web)

2. ARTÍCULOS DEL *CATHOLIC WORKER* PUBLICADOS POR DOROTHY DAY

Nota: Los artículos que se adjuntan en el presente anexo corresponden a algunos capítulos seleccionados de los textos escritos por Day, disponibles en el sitio web del movimiento. El material expuesto no corresponde a la totalidad de los mismos, por el contrario, incluye únicamente aquellos en los que la autora trata temas desarrollados en el estudio de caso, y que se consideran pertinentes para la comprensión del presente trabajo de grado.

2.1. Del texto “From Union Square to Rome”

Capítulo 1

Importancia: narración de la experiencia personal y las motivaciones para su conversión al catolicismo, representó un incentivo a quienes serían los futuros workers. En este capítulo Day cuenta también sus influencias ideológicas, y presenta el catolicismo, en particular, la Institución de la Iglesia, como escenario adecuado para ejercer las labores de misericordia propuestas por Jesucristo.

It is difficult for me to dip back into the past, yet it is a job that must be done, and it hangs over my head like a cloud. St. Peter said that we must give a reason for the faith that is in us, and I am trying to give you those reasons.

This is not an autobiography. I am a woman forty years old and I am not trying to set down the story of my life. Please keep that in mind as you read. While it is true that often horror for one's sins turns one to God, what I want to bring out in this book is a succession of events that led me to His feet, glimpses of Him that I received through many years which made me feel the vital need of Him and of religion. I will try to trace for you the steps by which I came to accept the faith that I believe was always in my heart. For this reason, most of the time I will speak of the good I encountered even amid surroundings and people who tried to reject God.

The mark of the atheist is the deliberate rejection of God. And since you do not reject God or deliberately embrace evil, then you are not an atheist. Because you doubt and deny in words what your heart and mind do not deny, you consider yourself an agnostic.

Though I felt the strong, irresistible attraction to good, yet there was also, at times, a deliberate choosing of evil. How far I was led to choose it, it is hard to say. How far professors, companions, and reading influenced my way of life does not matter now. The fact remains that there was much of deliberate choice in it. Most of the time it was "following the devices and desires of my own heart." Sometimes it was perhaps the Baudelairean idea of choosing "the downward path which leads to salvation." Sometimes it was of choice, of free will, though perhaps at the time I would have denied free will. And so, since it was deliberate, with recognition of its seriousness, it was grievous mortal sin and may the Lord forgive me. It was the arrogance and suffering of youth. It was pathetic, little, and mean in its very excuse for itself.

Was this desire to be with the poor and the mean and abandoned not unmingled with a distorted desire to be with the dissipated? Mauriac tells of this subtle pride and hypocrisy: "There is a kind of hypocrisy which is worse than that of the Pharisees; it is to hide behind Christ's example in order to follow one's own lustful desires and to seek out the company of the dissolute."

I write these things now because sometimes when I am writing I am seized with fright at my presumption. I am afraid, too, of not telling the truth or of distorting the truth. I cannot guarantee that I do not for I am writing of the past. But my whole perspective has changed and when I look for causes of my conversion, sometimes it is one thing and sometimes it is another that stands out in my mind.

Much as we want to know ourselves, we do not really know ourselves. Do we really want to see ourselves as God sees us, or even as our fellow human beings see us? Could we bear it, weak as we are? You know that feeling of contentment in which we sometimes go about, clothed in it, as it were, like a garment, content with the world

and with ourselves. We are ourselves and we would be no one else. We are glad that God made us as we are and we would not have had Him make us like anyone else. According to the weather, our state of health, we have moods of purely animal happiness and content. We do not want to be given that clear inward vision which discloses to us our most secret faults. In the Psalms there is that prayer, "Deliver me from my secret sins." We do not really know how much pride and self-love we have until someone whom we respect or****love suddenly turns against us. Then some sudden affront, some sudden offense we take, reveals to us in all its glaring distinctness our self-love, and we are ashamed.

There are some paragraphs about the Holy Trinity which I read not long ago that point out an analogy between the soul and God. The soul is always one. It knows itself and loves itself. "I am conscious of myself, and it is this *I* that is conscious of this *self*, the *I* that is objectified to itself, and knows itself in itself. But once more, whist the principle that is the *I* is the principle that knows, the *myself* is the term that is known, and in virtue of this a distinction is established between *I* and *myself*, and this perception that I get of myself involves and implies a third term which is the *love of I for self*. Whence result three imperfect but irreducible elements, co-existent in the undivided unity of my soul, three that are blended into one without becoming confused; one that radiates out into three without subdividing itself. Now in God there is the same law of activity and fecundity, but in the supreme degree of power and perfection. . . . Although we are always capable of thinking and willing, we do not always exercise our faculties in practice, there are interruptions, moments when we feel powerless, when we are weary. A fly is sufficient to prevent a man thinking. In this we distinguish . . . and this is weakness . . . the capability to act and the action itself. In God this weakness does not exist. If we strive in vain to put into our thoughts the best of ourselves, or better still, if we labor, without succeeding, to make ourselves wholly and entirely the objective of our thoughts, to objectify ourselves in our thoughts . . . the Divine Spirit succeeds where we fail." (Landrieux, *Le Divin Méconnu*.)

**

I write in the very beginning of finding the Bible and the impression it made on me. I must have read it a good deal, for many passages remained with me through my earlier years to return and haunt me. Do you know the Psalms? They were what I read most when I was in jail in Occoquan. I read with a sense of coming back to something that I had lost. There was an echoing in my heart. And how can anyone who has known human sorrow and human joy fail to respond to these words?

“Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord :

Lord, hear my voice. Let thy ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication.

If thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities:

Lord, who shall stand it.

For with thee there is merciful forgiveness: and by reason of thy law, I have waited for thee,

O Lord. My soul hath relied on his word: my soul hath hoped in the Lord.

From the morning watch even until night, let Israel hope in the Lord.

Because with the Lord there is mercy; and with him plentiful redemption.

And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.”

“Hear, O Lord, my prayer: give ear to my supplication in thy truth: hear me in thy justice.

And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight no man living shall be justified.

For the enemy hath persecuted my soul: he hath brought down my life to the earth.

He hath made me to dwell in darkness as those that have been dead of old:

And my spirit is in anguish within me: my heart within me is troubled.

I remembered the days of old, I meditated on all thy works:

I meditated upon the works of thy hands.

I stretched forth my hands to thee: my soul is as earth without water unto thee.

Hear me speedily O Lord; my spirit hath fainted away.

Turn not away thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit.

Cause me to hear thy mercy in the morning; for in thee have I hoped.

Make the way known to me, wherein I should walk: for I have lifted up my soul to thee.”

All through those weary first days in jail****when I was in solitary confinement, the only thoughts that brought comfort to my soul were those lines in the Psalms that expressed the terror and misery of man suddenly stricken and abandoned. Solitude and hunger and weariness of spirit–these sharpened my perceptions so that I suffered not only my own sorrow but the sorrows of those about me. I was no longer myself. I was man. I was no longer a young girl, part of a radical movement seeking justice for those oppressed, I was the oppressed. I was that drug addict, screaming and tossing in her cell, beating her head against the wall. I was that shoplifter who for rebellion was sentenced to solitary. I was that woman who had killed her children, who had murdered her lover.

The blackness of hell was all about me. The sorrows of the world encompassed me. I was like one gone down into the pit. Hope had forsaken me. I was that mother whose child had been raped and slain. I was the mother who had borne the monster who had done it. I was even that monster, feeling in my own heart every abomination.

As I read this over, it seems, indeed, over-emotional and an exaggerated statement of the reactions of a young woman in jail. But if you live for long in the slums of cities, if you are in constant contact with sins and suffering, it is indeed rarely that so overwhelming a realization comes upon one. It often has seemed to me that most people instinctively protect themselves from being touched too closely by the suffering of others. They turn from it, and they make this a habit. The tabloids with their presentation of crime testify to the repulsive truth that there is a secret excitement and pleasure in reading of the sufferings of others. One might say there is a surface sensation in the realization of the tragedy in the lives of others. But one who has accepted hardship and poverty as the way im life in which to walk, lays himself open to this susceptibility to the sufferings of others.

And yet if it were not the Holy Spirit that comforted me, how could I have been comforted, how could I have endured, how could I have lived in hope?

The Imitation of Christ is a book that followed me through my days. Again and again I came across copies of it and the reading of it brought me comfort. I felt in the background of my life a waiting force that would lift me up eventually.

I later became acquainted with the poem of Francis Thompson, *The Hound of Heaven*, and was moved by its power. Eugene O'Neill recited it first to me in the back room of a saloon on Sixth Avenue where the Provincetown players and playwrights used to gather after the performances.

"I fled Him, down the nights and down the days;

I fled Him, down the arches of the years;

I fled Him, down the labyrinthine ways

Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears

I hid from Him."

Through all my daily life, in those I came in contact with, in the things I read and heard, I felt that sense of being followed, of being desired; a sense of hope and expectation.

Through those years I read all of Dostoyevsky's novels and it was, as Berdyaev says, a profound spiritual experience. The scene in *Crime and Punishment* where the young prostitute reads from the New Testament to Raskolnikov, sensing the sin more profound than her own, which weighed upon him; that story, *The Honest Thief*; those passages in *The Brothers Karamazov*; the sayings of Father Zossima, Mitya's conversion in jail, the very legend of the Grand Inquisitor, all this helped to lead me on. The characters, Alyosha and the Idiot, testified to Christ in us. I was moved to the depths of my being by the reading of these books during my early twenties when I, too, was tasting the bitterness and the dregs of life and shuddered at its harshness and cruelty.

Do you remember that little story that Grushenka told in *The Brothers Karamazov*? "Once upon a time there was a peasant woman and a very wicked woman she was. And she died and did not leave a single good deed behind. The devils caught her and plunged her into a lake of fire. So her guardian angel stood and wondered what good deed of hers he could remember to tell God. 'She once pulled up an onion in her garden,' said he, 'and gave it to a beggar woman.' And God answered: 'You take that onion then, hold it out to her in the lake, and let her take hold and be pulled out. And if you pull her out of the lake, let her come to Paradise, but if the onion breaks, then the woman must stay where she is.' The angel ran to the woman and held out the onion to her. 'Come,' said he, 'catch hold, and I'll pull you out. And he began cautiously pulling her out. He had just pulled her out, when the other sinners in the lake, seeing how she was being drawn out, began catching hold of her so as to be pulled out with her. But she was a very wicked woman and she began kicking them. 'I'm to be pulled out, not you. It's my onion, not yours.' As soon as she said that, the onion broke. And the woman fell into the lake and she is burning there to this day. So the angel wept and went away."

Sometimes in thinking and wondering at God's goodness to me, I have thought that it was because I gave away an onion. Because I sincerely loved His poor, He taught me to know Him. And when I think of the little I ever did, I am filled with hope and love for all those others devoted to the cause of social justice.

"What glorious hope!" Mauriac writes. "There are all those who will discover that their neighbor is Jesus himself, although they belong to the mass of those who do not know Christ or who have forgotten Him. And nevertheless they will find themselves well loved. It is impossible for any one of those who has real charity in his heart not to serve Christ. Even some of those who think they hate Him, have consecrated their lives to Him; for Jesus is disguised and masked in the midst of men, hidden among the poor, among the sick, among prisoners, among strangers. Many who serve Him officially have never known who He was, and many who do not even know His name, will hear on the last day the words that open to them the gates of joy. O Those children

were I, and I those working men. I wept on the hospital bed. I was that murderer in his cell whom you consoled.”

But always the glimpses of God came most when I was alone. Objectors cannot say that it was fear of loneliness and solitude and pain that made me turn to Him. It was in those few years when I was alone and most happy that I found Him. I found Him at last through joy and thanksgiving, not through sorrow.

Yet how can I say that either? Better let it be said that I found Him through His poor, and in a moment of joy I turned to Him. I have said, sometimes flippantly, that the mass of bourgeois smug Christians who denied Christ in His poor made me turn to Communism, and that it was the Communists and working with them that made me turn to God.

Communism, says our Holy Father, can be likened to a heresy, and a heresy is a distortion of the truth. Many Christians have lost sight, to a great extent, of the communal aspect of Christianity, so the collective ideal is the result. They have failed to learn a philosophy of labor, have failed to see Christ in the worker. So in Russia, the worker, instead of Christ, has been exalted. They have the dictatorship of the proletariat maintained by one man, also a dictator. The proletariat as a class has come to be considered the Messiah, the deliverer.

A mystic may be called a man in love with God. Not one who loves God, but who is *in love with God*. And this mystical love, which is an exalted emotion, leads one to love the things of Christ. His footsteps are sacred. The steps of His passion and death are retraced down through the ages. Almost every time you step into a Church you see people making the Stations of the Cross. They meditate on the mysteries of His life, death, and resurrection, and by this they are retracing with love those early scenes and identifying themselves with the actors in those scenes.

When we suffer, we are told we suffer with Christ. We are “completing the sufferings of Christ.” We suffer His loneliness and fear in the garden when His friends slept. We are bowed down with Him under the weight of not only our own sins but the sins of

each other, of the whole world. We are those who are sinned against and those who are sinning. We are identified with Him, one with Him. We are members of His Mystical Body.

Often there is a mystical element in the love of a radical worker for his brother, for his fellow worker. It extends to the scene of his sufferings, and those spots where he has suffered and died are hallowed. The names of places like Everett, Ludlow, Bisbee, South Chicago, Imperial Valley, Elaine, Arkansas, and all those other places where workers have suffered and died for their cause have become sacred to the worker. You know this feeling as does every other radical in the country. Through ignorance, perhaps, you do not acknowledge Christ's name, yet, I believe you are trying to love Christ in His poor, in His persecuted ones. Whenever men have laid down their lives for their fellows, they are doing it in a measure for Him. This I still firmly believe, even though you and others may not realize it.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these brethren, you have done it unto me." Feeling this as strongly as I did, is it any wonder that I was led finally to the feet of Christ?

I do not mean at all that I went around in a state of exaltation or that any radical does. Love is a matter of the will. You know yourself how during a long strike the spirit falters, how hard it is for the leaders to keep up the morale of the men and to keep the fire of hope burning within them. They have a hard time sustaining this hope themselves. Saint Teresa says that there are three attributes of the soul: memory, understanding, and will. These very leaders by their understanding of the struggle, how victory is gained very often through defeat, how every little gain benefits the workers all over the country, through their memory of past struggles, are enabled to strengthen their wills to go on. It is only by exerting these faculties of the soul that one is enabled to love one's fellow. And this strength comes from God. There can be no brotherhood without the Fatherhood of God.

Take a factory where fifty per cent of the workers themselves content, do not care about their fellows. It is hard to inspire them with the idea of solidarity. Take those workers who despise their fellow-worker, the Negro, the Hungarian, the Italian, the Irish, where race hatreds and nationalist feelings persist. It is hard to overcome their stubborn resistance with patience and with love. That is why there is coercion, the beating of scabs and strikebreakers, the threats and the hatreds that grow up. That is why in labor struggles, unless there is a wise and patient leader, there is disunity, a rending of the Mystical Body.

Even the most unbelieving of labor leaders have understood the expediency of patience when I have talked to them. They realize that the use of force has lost more strikes than it has won them. They realize that when there is no violence in a strike, the employer through his armed guards and strikebreakers may try to introduce this violence. It has happened again and again in labor history.

What is hard to make the labor leader understand is that we must love even the employer, unjust though he may be, that we must try to overcome his resistance by non-violent resistance, by withdrawing labor, *i.e.*, by strikes and by boycott. These are non-violent means and most effective. We must try to educate him, to convert him. We must forgive him seventy times seven just as we forgive our fellow-worker and keep trying to bring him to a sense of solidarity.

This is the part labor does not seem to understand in this country or in any country. Class war does exist. We cannot deny it. It is there. Class lines are drawn even here in America where we have always flattered ourselves that the poor boy can become president, the messenger boy, the head of the corporation. The very fact of the necessity of national security laws, old age and unemployment insurance, acknowledges the existence of a proletariat class. The employer much too often does not pay a wage sufficient for a man to care for his family in sickness and in health. The unskilled worker, who is in the majority, does not have enough to lay some by for his old age or enough to buy a home with or to buy his share in partnership. He has been

too long exploited and ground down. The line has been fixed dividing the rich and the poor, the owner and the proletariat who are the unpropertied, the dispossessed.

And how to convert an employer who has evicted all his workers because they were on strike so that men, women, and children are forced to live in tents, who has called out armed guards as Rockefeller did in Ludlow, who shot into those tents and fired them so that twenty eight women and children were burnt to death? How to forgive such a man? How to convert him? This is the question the worker asks you in the bitterness of his soul? It is only through a Christ-like love that man can forgive.

Remember Vanzetti's last words before he died in the electric chair. "I wish to tell you I am an innocent man. I never committed any crime, but sometimes some sin. I wish to forgive some people for what they are now doing to me."

He said when he was sentenced: "If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by accident. Our words, our lives, our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fishpeddler—all! That last moment belongs to us. That agony is our triumph." He forgave those who had imprisoned him for years, who had hounded him to his death. You have read Mauriac. He was one of those of whom Mauriac was speaking when he said, "It is impossible for any one of those who has charity in his heart not to serve Christ. Even those who think they hate Him have consecrated their lives to Him."

It was from men such as these that I became convinced, little by little, of the necessity of religion and of God in my everyday life. I know now that the Catholic Church is the church of the poor, no matter what you say about the wealth of her priests and bishops. I have mentioned in these pages the few Catholics I met before my conversion, but daily I saw people coming from Mass. Never did I set foot in a Catholic church but that I saw people there at home with Him. First Fridays, novenas, and

missions brought the masses thronging in and out of the Catholic churches. They were of all nationalities, of all classes, but most of all they were the poor. The very attacks made against the Church proved her Divinity to me. Nothing but a Divine institution could have survived the betrayal of Judas, the denial of Peter, the sins of many of those who professed her Faith, who were supposed to minister to her poor.

Christ is God or He is the world's greatest liar and imposter. How can you Communists who claim to revere Him as a working class leader fail to see this? And if Christ established His Church on earth with Peter as its rock, that faulty one who denied him three times, who fled from Him when he was in trouble, then I, too, wanted a share in that tender compassionate love that is so great. Christ can forgive all sins and yearn over us no matter how far we fall.

How I ramble on! I do it partly to avoid getting on to the work of this book. It will, no doubt, be disjointed, perhaps incoherent, but I have promised to write it. It entails suffering, as I told you, to write it. I have to dig into myself to get it out. I have to inflict wounds on myself. I have, perhaps, to say things that were better left unsaid.

After all, the experiences that I have had are more or less universal. Suffering, sadness, repentance, love, we all have known these. They are easiest to bear when one remembers their universality, when we remember that we are all members or potential members of the Mystical Body of Christ.

However, one does not like to write about others, thus violating their privacy, especially others near and dear. So, in what follows I have tried to leave out as much as possible of other personalities, those of our own family and those with whom later I associated most intimately.

A conversion is a lonely experience. We do not know what is going on in the depths of the heart and soul of another. We scarcely know ourselves.

2.2. Del texto “On Pilgrimage”

Mayo

Importancia: destaca la labor y los procesos desarrollados por el Catholic Worker Movement, como movimiento pionero en la búsqueda de la paz. Como se ha mencionado en el presente trabajo de grado, Day insiste en las prácticas de misericordia, como vocación de toda la población cristiana. Day acude recurrentemente a las Escrituras para respaldar sus palabras.

“WITH WHAT praises to extol thee we know not, for He whom the heavens could not contain rested in thy bosom.”

Mother of fair love, it is hard to write about you, who have given us God. I can only write very personally in thanksgiving for bringing me to the Faith through motherhood, for sending me sweet reminders even through Communist friends (a gift of a rosary on one occasion and a little statue on another).

“The feast of our life is often sad,” the Hungarian Bishop Prohaszka writes. “There is much heavy food which science and politics provide, but our wine is missing, which should refresh the soul and fill it with pure noble joy of life. Oh, our Mother, intercede with thy Son in our behalf. Show Him our need. Tell Him with trust, ‘They have no wine.’ He will provide for us.

“Sweet wine, fiery wine, the Lord Jesus gives to our bridal soul; He warms and heats our hearts. Oh, sweet is the wine of the first fiery love, of the first elating zeal!”

White goats leaping in the violets,
Goats with their wattles,
Ducks with their waddles,
Black crows feasting on brown ploughed earth,
Walking in line by the green wheat field.

This is a poem written for my grandchild Rebecca, who was made a child of God May 6. So I always remember this day as well as her birthday. Some days we think of ourselves as mourning and weeping in this valley of tears. Other days we feel like shouting, "All ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord! Praise Him, adore Him, above all forever!"

Spring in the country, with its countless duties of ploughing, planting, and the care of new creatures! One of the greatest joys in life is bathing a new baby who stretches and yawns and opens its mouth like a little bird for provender. "Give us this day our daily bread!"

Thank God for everything. Thank God that in other countries peasants are ploughing and planting and tending new things – all of them samples of heaven, all of them portents of that new heaven and earth wherein justice dwelleth.

Leaving out of account Divine Providence, there is chaos and destruction ahead, and injustices breeding new wars. But we cannot leave out of account Divine Providence, so we can live in hope and faith and charity, and rejoice and continue to pray and do penance to avert another war.

We must rejoice this month of May and let our glance of joy rest on beauty around us. It would be thankless to do otherwise.

If there are such keen joys and beauty in such times as these, how heaven will shine forth. I like to think of Father Faber's writings on life and death. He quotes at the conclusion of one of these sermons, " 'My beloved to me and I to Him, who feedeth among the lilies till the day break and the shadows retire.' " And then he repeats with joy, "Till the day break, and the shadows retire. Till the day break and the shadows retire. Till the day break and the shadows retire!" If these joys are shadows, what can such bliss be?

It is May Day again, and we will begin our sixteenth year. *The Catholic Worker* has finished fifteen years in the lay apostolate. People look at our masthead and say, "Yes,

but it says Vol. XV, No. 3. What does that mean?" It just means that we have skipped an issue now and again, and it means that we come out eleven times a year, not twelve, but according to some regulation of the post office department, you have to number a journal in that way.

Last year I tried, taking the whole issue of the paper to do it in, to write a general article on what we were trying to do, summing up what our program meant. But a thing like that is most unsatisfactory. One is always leaving out the most vital things. Peter Maurin's program of action was for round-table discussions for the clarification of thought; houses of hospitality for the practice of the works of mercy, for the study of Catholic Action; farming communes or agronomic universities where the unemployed could learn to raise food, build shelters, make clothes, and where unemployed college graduates could do the same, where the worker could become a scholar and the scholar a worker.

And who are those with whom we have cooperated through the years, and whom we admire and love in the lay apostolate, in spite of differences?

There is first of all the N.C.W.C. labor action groups, with whom we first came in contact back in 1933 and who were pioneers in the field. Peter used to go to all their meetings, not only to hear but to be heard.

There was the *Commonweal* group of scholars, who were by their writings and thought studying the "theory of revolution." George Shuster, now president of Hunter College and then an editor of *Commonweal*, sent Peter Maurin to me and so started off the Catholic Worker movement.

There were the Friendship House groups, first in Canada and then in the United States, who worked so steadily in the interracial field, among the poor, performing works of mercy and having centers of meetings and study, days of recollection and retreats.

There is the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, with their papers throughout the country, and the papers they have influenced, and the priests who have entered the

field of trade unionism and gone on picket lines, into the factories, into the homes of workers, and into strike headquarters. There is *Work* in Chicago, edited by Ed Marciniak, one of the founders of the Chicago House of Hospitality, which is no more, and there are the ACTU publications, *The Wage Earner* in Detroit and *Labor Leader* in New York.

There is the Grail at Loveland, Ohio, and there is the Center for Christ the King [at] Herman, Pennsylvania, schools of the apostolate for women and for men, centers of study not connected by any close ties.

There are such publications as *Today* in Chicago and *Integrity* in New York, animated by much the same spirit, and to whom we owe much, as they owe much to us. There is official Catholic Action, not recognized yet in many a diocese, but making a beginning here and there about the country and stimulating and arousing the laity. Fides publications at South Bend, which recently published Cardinal Suhard's *Growth or Decline? Concord*, the student publication gotten out by the Young Christian Students, *The Catholic Lawyer*, published also from Notre Dame – all these are evidences of specialized Catholic Action, of the apostolate of like to like.

There are the retreat movements, and we refer especially to our own because it is a basic retreat open for both colored and white, Catholic and non-Catholic, men and women, young and old, for the poorest of the poor from the Bowery as well as for the young seminarian or student.

There are the Cana conferences for the family, started in St. Louis by Father Dowling and spreading throughout the country.

And we are part of it all, part of this whole movement throughout the country, but of course we have our own particular talent, our own particular contribution to make to the sum total of the apostolate. And we think of it as so important that we are apt to fight and wrangle among ourselves on account of it, and we are all sensitive to the accusation that we are accenting, emphasizing one aspect of the truth at the expense of another. A heresy overemphasizes one aspect of the truth.

But our unity, if it is not unity of thought in regard to temporal matters, is a unity at the altar rail. We are all members of the Mystical Body of Christ, and so we are closer to each other, by the tie of grace, than any blood brothers are. All these books about discrimination are thinking in terms of human brotherhood, of our responsibility one for another. We are our brother's keeper, and all men are our brothers whether they be Catholic or not. But of course the tie that binds Catholics is closer, the tie of grace. We partake of the same food, Christ. We put off the old man and put on Christ. The same blood flows through our veins, Christ's. We are the same flesh, Christ's. But all men are members or potential members, as St. Augustine says, and there is no time with God, so who are we to know the degree of separation between us and the Communist, the unbaptized, the God-hater, who may tomorrow, like St. Paul, love Christ.

This past month or so we have all been reading such books as *The Worker Priest in Germany*, translated by Rosemary Sheed; *France Alive* by Claire Bishop; *Growth or Decline?* by Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard; *Souls at Stake* by Rev. Francis Ripley and F. S. Mitchel, with a foreword by Archbishop Bitter.

Chesterton used to start off writing in answer to things he had been reading, or because he was stimulated by what he was reading, and I am sure that all of us on *The Catholic Worker* this month are doing just that. One of the books I have been reading by a non-Catholic, Richard Gregg, about the work of Gandhi along economic lines, led me to think of just how the Catholic Worker movement is distinguished from all these other movements, just what it is we emphasize, just what position we take which is not taken by them. Not that we wish to be different. God forbid. We wish that they all felt as we do, that we had that basic unity which would make us agree on *Pacifism* and *Distributism*.

We feel that the two go together. We feel that the great cause of wars [is] maldistribution, not only of goods but of population. Peter used to talk about a *philosophy of work* and a *philosophy of poverty*. Both are needed in order to change

things as they are, to do away with the causes of war. The bravery to face voluntary poverty is needed if we wish to marry, to live, to produce children, to work for life instead of for death, to reject war.

A philosophy of work is essential if we would be whole men, holy men, healthy men, joyous men. A certain amount of goods is necessary for a man to lead a good life, and we have to make that kind of society where it is easier for men to be good. These are all things Peter Maurin wrote about. (He is not writing anymore; we are just reprinting what has appeared by him in *The Catholic Worker* over and over again for many years. The fact that people think Peter is still writing is an evidence of the freshness of all his ideas. They strike people as new. They see all things new, as St. John said.)

A philosophy of work and a philosophy of poverty are necessary if we would share with all men what we have, if we would each try to be the least, if we would wash the feet of our brothers. It is necessary if we would so choose to love our brother, live for him, and die for him, rather than kill him in war. We would need to reject the work in steel mills, mines, [and] factories which contributed to war. We would be willing to go on general strike, and we intend to keep talking about general strikes in order to familiarize each other, ourselves, [and] our fellow workers with the phrase, so that they will begin to ponder and try to understand what a different way of working, different jobs, a different attitude to work would mean in the lives of all. (There is plenty of other work besides factory work. Not all workers are factory workers. There are the service jobs, the jobs that have to do with food, clothing, and shelter. There are the village jobs. Not all would have to be farmers. We are not shouting for all to rush to the land. There is the village economy. A destruction of cities may force us to consider it in the future.)

The Catholic Worker movement is distinguished from other movements in its attitude to our *industrial civilization*, to *the machine*, and to *war*.

To make a study of the machine, it would be good for our readers to send to India and get this book of Richard Gregg's called *The Economics of Khaddar* (hand-spun and handwoven cloth). It is published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad, India. "The symbol of the unity given to all Christians by Christ himself was food, bread and wine; so the symbol of unity of all India given by Gandhi was means to food – the spinning wheel."

Gandhi was concerned with the poor and with unemployment. So was Peter Maurin. He started his movement in 1933, when unemployment reached the peak of 11,000,000. It was war which put all these men back to work, and it is recovering from war which is keeping them at work, though unemployment is again setting in. Peter did not believe in the use of force any more than Gandhi did to settle disputes between men or nations. He was inspired by the Sermon on the Mount, as was Gandhi, and there was no talk in that of war. It was turning the other cheek, giving up your cloak, walking the second mile. It was feeding and clothing your enemy. It was dying for him on the Cross. It was the liberty of Christ that St. Paul talked of. Christ constrained no one. He lived in an occupied country all his years, and he made no move to join a movement to throw off the yoke. He thought not in terms of the temporal kingdom of the Jews.

The problem of the machine is the problem of unemployment. Or rather, the problem of *power*. "The right use of power is the important thing; the machine is only an incident." A spinning wheel is a machine; so is a typewriter, a churn, a loom, a plow. These machines use the available mechanical energy of men, women, and children, young and old. The old man (anyone over forty-five in our industrial era) can use any of these machines. Mechanical energy is derived from food eaten by the person. Not from gasoline and water-power or electricity or coal. Men have to eat, employed or unemployed. The efficient thing to do is to use the available energy, human energy, to combat unemployment. Then we would not have to fight about oil and such like raw materials.

There have been many tributes paid to Gandhi for his nonviolent resistance, his pacifism in a world at war. But little to the “economic validity of his program.” That is what this book is about. And I would wholeheartedly recommend it to all missionaries who have been sending us their desperate appeals these last years. We must continue to help them of course, but the works of mercy are not enough. Men need work as well as bread to be co-creator with God, as He meant them to be, in taking raw materials and ennobling them.

Richard Gregg synopsisized his book as follows (paragraphing mine):

In addition to being a consideration of the economic validity of Mr. Gandhi's programme, and of one aspect of the Indian renaissance,

it may be regarded as a discussion of a special instance of the economic validity of all handicraft work versus power-machine industry;

or as a discussion of a special method of unemployment prevention and relief; or as a new attack on the problem of poverty; or as an indigenous Indian form of cooperation; or as illustrating one phase of the relations between Orient and Occident; or between Western capitalism and some other forms of industrial organization; or as a fragmentary and tentative investigation of part of the problem of the limitation or balance of use of power and machinery in order to secure a fine and enduring civilization; or as a partial discussion of the beginning of a development of a sounder organization of human life.

If India will develop her three great resources, (1) the inherited manual sensitiveness and skill of her people; (2) the wasted time of the millions of unemployed; (3) a larger portion of the radiant energy of the sun, and if she will distribute the resulting wealth equably among all her people, by the wide use of the spinning wheel and the hand loom, she can win to her economic goal.

“You have to take a position on our contemporary civilization, to judge, condemn, or correct it,” Cardinal Suhard says. “You must draw up an objective evaluation of our

urban civilization today with its gigantic concentrations and its continual growth, inhuman production, unjust distribution, exhausting form of entertainment . . . make a gigantic synthesis of the world to come. . . . Do not be timid. . . . Cooperate with all those believers and unbelievers who are wholeheartedly searching for the truth. You alone will be completely humanist. Be the leaven and the bread will rise. *But it must be bread, not factitious matter.*"

That is why we rebel against all talk of sanctifying one's surroundings. It is not bread in the first place. It is not worth working with. We must think of these things, even if we can take only first steps out of the morass. We may be caught in the toils of the machine, but we do not have to think of it for our children. We do not just think in terms of changing the ownership of the machine, though some machines will remain and undoubtedly will have to be controlled municipally or regionally.

Peter Maurin's vision of the city of God included Pacifism and Distributism. And that is what distinguishes us from much of the lay apostolate today. It is the talent Christ has given us, and we cannot bury it. The April issue of *The Catholic Worker* has devoted its space to pacifism, and that was the issue distributed on May Day through the streets of New York. These May Day notes are again a recapitulation.

May 7

ALL OUR talks about peace and the weapons of the spirit are meaningless unless we try in every way to embrace *voluntary poverty* and not work in any position, any job that contributes to war, not to take any job whose pay comes from the fear of war, of the atom bomb. We must give up our place in this world, sacrifice children, family, wife, mother, and embrace poverty, and then we will be laying down life itself.

And we will be considered *fools for Christ*. Our folly will be esteemed madness, and we will be lucky if we escape finally the psychopathic ward. We know – we have seen this judgment in ourselves and in others. The well-dressed man comes into the office, and he is given respect. The ragged, ill-clad, homeless one is the hobo, the bum. "Get in line there. Coffee line forms at six-thirty. Nothing to eat until four. No clothes today."

Peter Maurin, visiting our Buffalo house one time, showed his face inside the door and was so greeted. "Come back at five and have soup with the rest of the stiffes." And then the comment, "One of those New York bums came in this afternoon, said he was from the New York house."

One of the friends of the work, in laughing at the incident that evening, said, "Where did you go, Peter?" "I went to see *Grapes of Wrath*." Peter was always meek, obedient to all. His speech with everyone when he was not indoctrinating was always Yea, yea, nay, nay. Another story told of him was that when he went to see a professor's wife at Columbia, the wife thought he was the plumber and ushered him into the cellar. He followed her confusedly, wondering why she was entertaining in the cellar. If he knew or thought of such things as rumpus rooms or basement bars, he might have thought he was being ushered into one of them.

Another tale told is of his going to speak at a Midwest college where the door brother was known for his great charity. At the very sight of Peter, the brother ushered him down into the kitchen and sat him down before a good meal, which Peter gratefully ate. As the time for the lecture drew near, the harassed fathers were telephoning and hunting all over the college, finally finding him in the cook's domain, having a discussion there.

Another case I know of, of my own knowledge, is a time he went up to Rye, or New Rochelle, or some Westchester town to make a morning address to a women's club. He always went where he was asked. An hour or so later, we received frantic calls. "Where is Peter?" People always called him Peter. Sometimes they were even more familiar and called him "Pete." Since I had put him on the train myself, I told them that he had left on the train designated, that he must be in the station.

"There is only an old tramp sitting on one of the benches, asleep," was the reply. We knew it was Peter, and it turned out to be so.

We have seen many an occasion when he was silenced at a meeting by a cautious chairman before he had even gotten underway. More courteous chairmen allowed him

so many minutes to “make his point” and without listening sat him down or called him to order. I have seen Father La Farge and Bishop Boyle come to his rescue and explain who he was, what he was trying to say.

Bishop Boyle likes to speak of the time he had an all-day discussion with Peter after one of these encounters in the lecture hall. “I had to get up and tell them what he was trying to say,” the bishop beamed. And it was not just the case of an accent, for Peter, even after forty years in this country, has an accent. If the accent goes with the well-groomed appearance, people make an attempt to understand it. Coming from a ragged old apostle, people make no attempt to listen.

“People will not listen,” Peter used to say sadly. Or else, more directly, he would rebuke, “You are listening with one ear, making your answers before you have heard what I have said. You do not want to learn, you want to teach, you want to tell me.” He knew he was a man with a message.

And now Peter is more than ever in absolute poverty. He has achieved the ultimate in poverty. This last chapter is necessary for a complete picture of Peter as he is today. It is hard to make our readers understand it. They read or half-read the articles that we run month after month, and no matter how many times we explain that they are reprinted from much earlier issues and that Peter has not written for four years, they write enthusiastically and tell us how they profited by his last essays. “His mind is as keen as ever,” they say enthusiastically.

But something has happened to his mind. We must say it again because it is of tremendous significance. It reveals more than anything else his utter selflessness, his giving of himself. He has given everything, even his mind. He has nothing left; he is in utter and absolute poverty. The only thing he really enjoyed, exulted in, was his ability to think. When he said sadly, “I cannot think,” it was because that had been taken from him, literally. His mind would no longer work. He sits on the porch, a huge old hulk. His shoulders were always broad and bowed. He looks gnome-like, as though he came from under the earth. He shambles about one-sidedly, as though he had had a stroke.

His head hangs wearily, as though he could not hold it up. His mouth, often twisted as though with pain, hangs open in an effort to understand what is going on around him. Most of the time he is in a lethargy; he does not try to listen or to understand. Doctors say that it is a hardening of the arteries of the brain. Some talk of cardiac asthma to explain his racking cough. He has a rupture which gives him pain. Sometimes he has headaches. We only know when we ask him, and he says yes or no.

"I have never asked anything for myself," he said once, and he made every conscious effort to give all he had, to give the best he had, all of himself, to the cause of his brother. The only thing he had left in his utter poverty which made Skid Row his home and the horse market his eating place and the old clothes room his haberdasher was his brilliant mind. Father McSorley considered him a genius. Father Parsons said that he was the best-read man he ever met. Now he remembers nothing. "I cannot remember." "I cannot think."

One time we acted charades before him at the retreat house at Easton. Irene Naughton arranged three scenes in which the men acted out . . . three essays, "When the Irish Were Irish a Thousand Years Ago," "When a Greek Met a Greek," [and] "When a Jew Met a Jew." The contrast was that of the teachings of the fathers of Israel and the Fathers of the Church with the present. The men dressed in sheets and angora goats' hair to give them a venerable appearance and did a delightful job of it. Afterwards we asked Peter what were the essays which the charades exemplified. He did not know. We read aloud his essays to him, and he did recognize them as he had written them, but as they were acted and spoken in the charade, he "could not remember."

John Cort, of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and one of the editors of the *Commonweal*, who spent a few years with us on Mott Street, said once that he thought the most significant message we had for the world today was poverty.

All the world admires and talks of the poor man of Assisi. Christ is honored even by the unbeliever, the hater of churches, as the poor man who washed the feet of His

disciples and had no place to lay His head. Poverty is praised and sung of in song and story. But its reality is little known.

It is a garden enclosed, a secret beauty. It is to be learned by faith, not by reason or by sense. It is not just *simplicity*, which can be a very expensive proposition indeed.

Peter's poverty might have been thought to be that of an old peasant who was used to nothing better. "After all, he never had anything – he was one of twenty-three children. They lived like animals; their manure pile was their greatest possession." I have heard just such remarks as these.

And of course there is truth in the fact that he was not used to soft garments nor the homes of comfort. He was always in good trim to practice the life of poverty.

One of Newman's Lenten sermons talks of our endeavors to multiply comforts and get rid of daily inconveniences and distresses of life.

"Cold and hunger and hard lodging, humble offices and mean appearance are considered serious evils," he writes. "All things harsh and austere are carefully put aside. We shrink from the rude lap of earth and embrace of the elements, and we build ourselves houses in which the flesh may enjoy its lust and the eye its pride."

Cold and hunger and hard lodging and all things that affront the senses were well known to Peter. But what of the interior senses, the memory and the understanding and the will? These last years we have seen all these mortified in him. Much of his memory and his understanding are gone, and his will is fixed on God. When we wake him in the morning, all we have to say is "Mass, Peter," and he is struggling and puffing and panting to get out of bed. At night it is the same for Compline and rosary unless we forbid him to get up and make him lie still.

There is a dear priest who used to talk to us about being *victims*. I could write a book about him, so great was his love of God and of souls, but this is about Peter. He too became a victim. What he loved most, after his spiritual work, was to do active work for souls – build houses, work his electric saw, make things for the chapel, travel about

to talk of the things of God. He was known for his activity. Then, at the age of fifty-seven, paralysis and loss of memory set in. Incontinent and bedridden, he has spent the last two years away from all those he loved, far from the activities he craved. I asked him if he had offered himself as a victim, and he said wryly, "One doesn't realize what one is saying often. We offer God so much, and maybe we think we mean it. And then God takes us at our word!"

Peter gave himself, he offered himself to a life of poverty, and he has been able to prove his poverty. It is not just something he was used to or was attracted to in a superficial way. His poverty, his self-abnegation was complete.

And now he is dying (if not already dead) to the things of the world. "His life is hid with Christ in God." He is not even appreciated for the saint he is. (And understand that I use this term as one uses it for one not passed upon formally by the Church. A rector of a seminary once said to his students, "I want you all to be saints, but not canonized ones. It costs too much.")

Father Faber describes what Peter's actual death may be like in one of his spiritual conferences on death entitled "Precious in the Sight of the Lord":

Let us speak of one more death, and then close our list. Let it be the death of saintly indifference. This is a death so obscurely veiled in its own simplicity that we can hardly discern its beauty. We must take it upon faith. It is the death of those who for long have been reposing in sublimest solitude of soul in the will of God. All complications have disappeared from their inward life. There is a bare unity about it, which to our unseeing eyes is barren as well as bare. All devotions are molten in one. All wishes have disappeared, so that men look cold, and hard, and senseless. There is no glow about them when they die. They die in colorless light. They make no demonstration when they go. There is no pathos in their end, but a look – it is only a look – of stoical hardness. They generally speak but little, and then it is not edifying, but rather on commonplace subjects, such as the details of the sick room or news about relatives; and they speak of these things as if they were neither interested in

them nor trying to take an interest. Their death, from the very excess of its spirituality, looks almost animal. They lie down to die like beasts, such is the appearance of it, independently as if they needed none of us to help them, and uncomplainingly, as if fatalism put them above complaining. They often die alone when none are by, when the nurses are gone away for a while. They seem almost as if they watched [for] the opportunity to die alone. As they have lived like eagles, they mostly die high up, without witnesses, and in the night. This death is too beautiful for us to see its beauty. It rather scares us by something about it which seems inhuman. More of human will would make it more lovely to us; for what is there to be seen when the will of the saint has been absorbed long since in the will of God? Like the overflow of some desert wells, the waters of life sink into the sand, without a tinkling sound to soothe the ear, without a marge of green to rest the eye.

Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.

May 10

NATURALLY SPEAKING, people are filled with repulsion at the idea of holiness. We have so many sad examples of Pecksniffs in our midst. But now we are filled with encouragement these days to find that it is not only the Catholic Worker lay movement but writers like Ignazio Silone, Aldous Huxley, and Arthur Koestler who are also crying aloud for a synthesis – the saint-revolutionist who would impel others to holiness by his example. And recognizing the difficulty of the aim, Silone has drawn pictures of touching fellowship with the lowly, the revolutionist living in voluntary poverty, in hunger and cold, in the stable, and depending on “personalist action” to move the world. *Bread and Wine* and *The Seed Beneath the Snow* are filled with this message.

According to St. Thomas, “The perfection of divine love is a matter of precept for all without exception, so that even the perfection of heaven is not excepted from this precept, since it is the end to which one must tend.”

We are either on the road to heaven or hell. "All the way to heaven is heaven, for He said, 'I am the Way,' " St. Catherine of Siena tells us. And likewise all the way to hell is hell. We have some pretty good visions of hell around us these days and these last years. Dante wrote his great vision of hell. St. Teresa of Ávila has a picture of hell in her autobiography. The latest vision of hell is Aldous Huxley's in *Time Must Have a Stop*. One night last winter I went to Tannhauser and realized then that Venusburg was another vision of hell, to which, in the old Christian legend, Tannhauser is condemned at the end, to repeat his senseless and cloying pleasures for all eternity. Bernanos wrote that hell was "not to love anymore." After the last war, everyone was talking about the lost generation. After this war, thank God, they are talking more about saints. A few years ago there was a book review in the *New York Times* about Greek and Christian tragedy and *Moby Dick* as an allegorical novel. In that review it is pointed out that unlike Greek tragedy, where one's fate is written, where it is only up to the hero to play the heroic part, the Christian has a *choice*, and each and every lowly Christian is forced to make that choice. W. H. Auden was the author of the review in the *Times*, and he writes,

There is the possibility of each becoming exceptional and good; this ultimate possibility for hero and chorus alike is stated in Father Mapple's sermon, and it is to become a saint, i.e., the individual through his own free will surrenders his will to the will of God. In this surrender he does not become the ventriloquist's doll, for the God who acts through him can only do so by his consent; there always remain two wills, and the saint therefore never ceases to be tempted to obey his own desires.

The saint does not ask to become one, he is called to become one and assents to the call. The outward sign that Ahab is so called is the suffering which is suddenly intruded into his life. He is called to give up hunting whales – "the normal, cannibalistic life of this world."

Archbishop Robichaud, in his book *Holiness for All* (New Man Press), emphasizes the fact that the choice is not between good and evil for Christians – that it is not in this

way that one proves his love. The very fact of baptism, of becoming the son of God, presupposes development as a son of God. C. S. Lewis, the author of *Screwtape Letters*, points out that the child in the mother's womb perhaps would refuse to be born if given the choice, but it does not have that choice. It has to be born. The egg has to develop into the chicken with wings. Otherwise it becomes a rotten egg. It is not between good and evil, we repeat, that the choice lies, but between good and better. In other words, we must give up over and over again even the good things of this world to choose God. Mortal sin is a turning from God and a turning to created things – created things that are good.

It is so tremendous an idea that it is hard for people to see its implications. Our whole literature, our culture, is built on ethics, the choice between good and evil. The drama of the ages is on this theme. We are still living in the Old Testament, with commandments as to the natural law. We have not begun to live as good Jews, let alone as good Christians. We do not tithe ourselves; there is no year of jubilee; we do not keep the Sabbath; we have lost the concept of hospitality. It is dog eat dog. We are all hunting whales. We devour each other in love and in hate; we are cannibals.

In all secular literature it has been so difficult to portray the good man, the saint, that a Don Quixote is a fool; the Prince Myshkin is an epileptic in order to arouse the sympathy of the reader, appalled by unrelieved goodness. There are, of course, the lives of the saints, but they are too often written as though they were not in this world. We have seldom been given the saints as they really were, as they affected the lives of their times. We get them generally, only in their own writings. But instead of that strong meat we are too generally given the pap of hagiographical writing.

Too little has been stressed the idea that *all* are called. Too little attention has been placed on the idea of mass conversions. We have sinned against the virtue of hope. There have been in these days mass conversions to Nazism, fascism, and communism. Where are our saints to call the masses to God? Personalists first, we must put the question to ourselves. Communitarians, we will find Christ in our brothers.

May 12

HERE ARE some quotations from my winter's reading:

Travels in Arabia Deserta by Doughty makes good background reading for one's study of the Bible. "Cheerful is the bare Arabic livelihood in the common air, which has sufficiency in a few things snatched incuriously as on a journey; so it is a life little full of superfluous cares; their ignorance is not brutish, their poverty is not baseness."

In another part he writes, "There is a winter proverb of the poor in Europe, 'Fire is half bread.'" I thought of this many times when we were cold during January and February.

"Attend to reading," St. Paul said to Timothy. St. Jerome writes to Eustochium, "Let sleep creep over you holding a book, and let the sacred page receive your drooping face." St. Augustine said, "Do you know how we should read Holy Scripture? As when a person reads letters that have come from his native country, to see what news we have of heaven." Rodriguez says that reading is sister and companion to meditation. St. Jerome wrote, "Where is this fire [of the love of God]? Doubtless in the holy Scriptures, by the reading whereof the soul is set on fire with God and purified from all vices." St. John 6:63: "The words that I have given you are spirit and life."

Thoughts on holy silence: St. Gregory kept silence during Lent.

Holy Abbot Agatho for three years carried a pebble in his mouth to gain the virtue of silence.

Abbot Deicoola always had a smile on his face, and when asked why he was so happy, he said, "Be what may be and come what may come, no one can take God from me."

Newman's picture of a Christian character: free from excitement or effort, full of repose, still, equable. "Act then as persons who are in a dwelling not their own. . . . What matters it what we eat, what we drink, wherewith we are clothed, what is thought of us, what becomes of us, etc."

On the other hand, there is the sacramental attitude toward life: "Whatever you do, whether you eat or drink, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus."

Isaiah 32:17-18: "The work of the righteous shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever. And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation and in sure dwellings and quiet resting places."

To think nothing of ourselves and always to judge well and highly of others is great wisdom and high perfection. – The Imitation of Christ

Prayer is what breath is to the body. Prayer is the hand of the body, waits on it, feeds it, washes it, tends it – as the hands do everything, so prayer. "If Stephen had not prayed," writes St. Augustine. Buddha says that community life is like sword grass in one's hand.

St. Apollo formed a community of 500 monks near Hermopolis, who received daily Communion and listened to a daily homily. "In these he often insisted on the evils of melancholy and sadness, saying that cheerfulness of heart is necessary amidst our tears of penance as being the fruit of charity, and requisite to maintain the spirit of fervor. He himself was known to strangers by the joy of his countenance."

"The grace of the Holy Ghost, like a good mother, has put aloes on the breasts of the world that that might become bitter to me which before was sweet, and sweetest honey on the things of virtue and religion in order to make that tasty and sweet to me which before seemed bitter and disagreeable." – Rodriguez

"It was a rule among the Jews that all their children should learn some handicraft in the course of their studies, were it but to avoid idleness and exercise the body, as well as the mind, in some sensible pursuit." – Butler

Charles de Foucauld wrote, "Manual labor is necessarily put into the second place, to make room for studies, at present, because you and I are in the period of infancy; we are not yet old enough to work with St. Joseph; we are still with Jesus, the little child at the Virgin's knee, learning to read. But later on, humble, vile, despised manual labor

will again take its great place, and then Holy Communion, the lives of the saints, prayer, the humble work of our hands, humiliation and suffering!”

Junio

Importancia: invita a la revolución desde una propuesta individual de encuentro con Jesús. En este apartado es posible leer la posición política de Day respecto al comunismo y al capitalismo, argumentos fuertes en las coyunturas donde el segundo sistema económico era considerado causa de todos los conflictos y desequilibrios sociales afrontados por la población estadounidense.

EVERY DAY the planting goes on. Tomato plants, cabbage, celery, asparagus, rhubarb, peppers, carrots, beets, beans – so much that I cannot think of it all. Today, a hot June day, it has been onions. Jane has begged onions from the wholesalers, and John Filliger and Tom and George and Jim have been out since lunch putting them in. They were soft ones which they were unable to sell. We have not been able to buy onion sets; the time for them is past, the onion growers around Florida, New York, tell us.

The cow is giving twenty-four quarts of milk a day, and we can use every bit of it, with eighteen sitting down to table, quite aside from retreats. People come to retreats and stay awhile. People pass by on the road and come in to stay weeks. Several leave and several arrive.

Last week it was Father Francis Meenan’s retreat that brought the crowds, a retreat for men, and they all said it was the best yet. I went to New York to take care of the office so that all at Mott Street could come to the farm over the Memorial Day weekend. No one on our block seemed to be going away for the holiday. It was as noisy, as crowded as ever. On Sunday morning there was one of those tragedies which attracted a still greater crowd. A woman down the street who had lost her husband a few months ago was washing her windows on a Sunday morning, fell three stories to the ground, and was killed instantly. I passed her on my way home from Mass. With the crowd and the ambulance out in front, I thought it was someone being brought to

the hospital, a routine we had become used to. It was a terrible shock as I passed down the middle of the street to see the figure of a woman lying in the gutter, amongst all kinds of litter, half-covered with a piece of brown paper from a neighboring butcher shop. It always seems [to take] an interminable length of time for police, ambulance, doctor to arrive. The priest arrived first.

It was quiet enough around the office. A few visitors came in, bringing boxes of clothes. Marge was housebound, what with the children having measles, German measles, and chicken pox right after each other. Women were sick in the house, and some who were not sick were disorderly.

During the last two months, Johanna and Tommy have been praying for a [new] station wagon to take children and their mothers to the farm. They had gone up in [one] to Newburgh last year, but this year the old wagon has fallen apart. So they had started to pray. Lo and behold, a friend of the farm turned over his 1932 Chevrolet to me, and after seventy-five dollars' worth of work on it, I was able to drive Bridget, Anne, and Dave back to New York in it with no mishaps. We came over the new Storm King highway, picked sweet clover on the way, [and] enjoyed the view of the river if we did not enjoy the sound we made between the echoing mountains. We sounded either like a Mack truck or an aeroplane, but I trust after we get the muffler fixed (there are a few large holes mended with tin cans), we will have a little more holy silence. I was afraid the children would feel that St. Joseph had let them down. I myself was much pleased with the car. But the children were delighted and insisted on calling it their station wagon. I had no sooner arrived boasting in my new conveyance when Tom Sullivan informed me that another friend had given a 1924 Columbia which was in much better shape all around – upholstery, engine, tires, general appearance, etc. To think of it – a car for the farm and a car to pick up stuff around New York! Both small cars that do not use too much gas. The men in the office talk of exchanging the two for a truck, but I am dead against it. These will get us there.

When I returned to the farm last Tuesday, I brought Johanna with me to recover from her measles, German measles, and chicken pox. Since she arrived she has fallen on her nose, barked her shins, had a skirmish with the dog, made friends with the bull, and helped milk the cow. Now we learn from New York that Tommy has mumps, so she just won't go home until this awful siege is past. The only thing left is whooping cough.

As I write, suppertime approaches. Helen has gone down the road to collect some promised rhubarb, Florence is mending here on the porch where I write, Peter is reading, and Charlie is tearing around inside, concocting one of his wonderful desserts. He has been serving us tender milkweed tops which taste like asparagus, and we have also had lamb's-quarter, dock weed, and dandelion greens aplenty.

Hans Tunnesen is busy working on a new floor in the unused barn, which will be a dormitory for mothers and children. (The barnyard will be made into the bull pen for the youngsters that Tim O'Brien wrote about some years ago.) We got the lumber for two hundred and seventy-five dollars, and we haven't a cent to pay for it. Brescia, the lumber man in Montgomery, is trusting us, and we told him we would have to pay in dribs and drabs, just as we could beg it. So those of you who are interested in family retreats are invited to chip in. There are six retreats scheduled for the summer months, and there will be weekends in the fall. We have already had three retreats this spring. Of course it will be during the summer months that the families will wish to come, so we could not wait for the lumber. St. Joseph was so prompt in sending the cars, we are sure he will take care of the barn floor and staircase and chimney for us.

June 20

SOME TIME ago, Douglas Hyde, one of the editors of the *London Daily Worker*, became a Catholic. In an article in the *Catholic Herald* of England, he wrote,

In 1943, I libeled, in the course of my work on *The Daily Worker*, a Catholic paper, *The Weekly Review*, and a number of its contributors. In preparation for an anticipated court case, which in fact was never heard, I read through the paper's files for the preceding year and studied each issue as it appeared.

I had accused it of providing a platform for Fascists at a moment when Fascist bombs were raining down on Britain. I came in time to realize that not only had I libeled it in law but also in fact.

For years my cultural interests had been in the Middle Ages. My favorite music was also pre-Purcell; in architecture my interest was in Norman and Gothic; in literature my favorites were Chaucer and Langland. We had a family joke which we made each year when holidays were discussed: "Let's go on a trip to the thirteenth century."

And these were the interests of the people behind the *Weekly Review*. I came to look forward to the days when it appeared on my desk. A natural development was that I became increasingly interested in the writings of Chesterton and Belloc. . . .

A good Communist must never permit himself to think outside his Communism. I had done so, and the consequences were bound to be fatal to my Communism.

That, as it were, is the mechanics of my introduction to Catholicism.

Not long ago at a mass meeting of the workers in a Finnish factory, when the question was asked which they would prefer, Communism or capitalism, they shouted, "Neither."

It is never too late to begin. It is never too late to turn over a new leaf. In spite of the atom bomb, the jet plane, the conflict with Russia, ten just men may still save the city.

Maybe if we keep on writing and talking, there will be other conversions like Mr. Hyde's. It was reading an article that got Father Damien his helper Brother Joseph, at Molokai. It was reading that converted St. Augustine. So we will keep on writing.

And talking, too. They always said in England that the Distributists did nothing but talk. But one needs to talk to convey ideas. St. Paul talked so much and so long that in the crowded room one young lad, sitting on the windowsill, fell out of the window and was killed like a woman down the street from us, last week. Only she was not listening to the word of God but washing windows on a Sunday morning. And it was sad that

there was no St. Paul to bring her to life. Her life finished there. But we are still alive, though we live in a city of ten million, and one can scarcely call it life, and the papers every day carry news of new weapons of death.

However, we are still here. We are still marrying and having children, and having to feed them and house them and clothe them. We don't want them to grow up and say, "This city is such hell that perhaps war will be preferable. This working in a laundry, a brass factory, the kitchen of a restaurant, is hell on earth. At least war will teach me new trades, which the public school system has failed to do. This coming home at night to a four-room or a two-room tenement flat and a wife and three children with whooping cough (there are usually not more than three children in the city) is also hell." And what can be done about it? We are taught to suffer, to embrace the cross. On the other hand, St. Catherine said, "All the way to heaven is heaven, because He said, 'I am the Way.'" And He was a carpenter and wandered the roadsides of Palestine and lived in the fields and plucked the grain to eat on a Sunday as He wandered with His disciples.

This morning as I went to Mass my eyes stung from the fumes of the cars on Canal Street. I crossed a vacant lot, a parking lot filled with cinders and broken glass, and longed for an ailanthus tree to break the prison-gray walls and ground all around. Last night all of us from Mott Street were at a meeting at Friendship House to hear Leslie Green, Distributist, and the talk was good and stimulating so that in spite of the noise, the fumes, [and] the apathy which the city brings, I was impelled this morning to write. My son-in-law, David, has also been deluging me with pamphlets. He has one of the best libraries in the country on the subject, and deals with the books and pamphlets which discuss Distributism.

We could list perhaps fifty among our friends, and if we went through the files of our readers we could find many more who have gone to the land. These toeholds on the land have meant, however, that the young, married couples had a little stake to start with. They had, or could borrow, a bit of money to make a down payment on a farm.

Their families could give them a start if it was only a few hundred dollars. (There was an ad in the *New York Times* yesterday of a farm for sale for twelve hundred dollars, three hundred down and twenty-five dollars a month.) Even with the bit of money, however, faith, vision, [and] some knowledge of farming or a craft are needed. People need to prepare themselves. Parents need to prepare their children.

On the one hand, there are already some toeholds on the land; there are those farmers already there who have the right philosophy; there is still time, since we have not as yet a socialist government or nationalization of the land. We have some government control, but not much yet. Not compared to what there may be soon.

On the other hand, there are such stories as that in the last issue of *Commonweal* about the de Giorgio strike in the long central valley of California, of fifty-eight thousand acres owned by one family, of two thousand employees, of horrible living conditions, poor wages, forced idleness, "times of repose" between crops, when machines are cared for but not men, women, and children. *The Grapes of Wrath* pattern is here, is becoming an accepted pattern. Assembly-line production in the factory and mass production on the land are part of a social order accepted by the great mass of our Catholics, priests and people [alike]. Even when they admit it is bad, they say, "What can we do?" And the result is palliatives, taking care of the wrecks of the social order, rather than changing it so that there would not be quite so many broken homes, orphaned children, delinquents, industrial accidents, so much destitution in general.

Palliatives, when what we need is a revolution, beginning now. Each one of us can help start it. It is no use talking about how bored we are with the word. Let us not be escapists but admit that it is upon us. We are going to have it imposed upon us, or we are going to make our own.

If we don't do something about it, the world may well say, "Why bring children into the world, the world being what it is?" We bring them into it and start giving them a vision of an integrated life so that they too can start fighting.

This fighting for a cause is part of the zest of life. Father Damasus said once at one of our retreats that people seemed to have lost that zest for life, that appreciation of the value of life, the gift of life. It is a fundamental thing. Helene Isvolsky, in a lecture on Dostoyevsky at the Catholic Worker House last month, said that he was marked by that love for life. He had almost been shot once. He had been lined up with other prisoners and all but lost his life. From then on he had such a love for life that it glowed forth in all his writings. It is what marks the writings of Thomas Wolfe, whose writing was a Niagara.

But how can one have a zest for life under such conditions as those we live in at 115 Mott Street? How can that laundry worker down the street, working in his steamy hell of a basement all day, wake each morning to a zest for life?

In the city, very often one lives in one's writing. Writing is not an overflow of life, a result of living intensely. To live in Newburgh, on the farm, to be arranging retreats, to be making bread and butter, taking care of and feeding children there, washing and carding wool, gathering herbs and salads and flowers – all these things are so good and beautiful that one does not want to take time to write except that one has to share them, and not just the knowledge of them, but how to start to achieve them.

The whole retreat movement is to teach people to “meditate in their hearts,” to start to think of these things, to make a beginning, to go out and start to love God in all the little things of every day, to so make one's life and one's children's life a sample of heaven, a beginning of heaven.

The retreats are to build up a desire, a knowledge of what to desire. “Make me desire to walk in the way of Thy commandments.” Daniel was a man of “desires.” Our Lord is called “the desire of the everlasting hills.”

Yes, we must write of these things, of the love of God and the love of His creatures, man and beast, and plant and stone.

“You make it sound too nice,” my daughter once said to me, when I was writing of life on the land, and voluntary and involuntary poverty, which means in specific instances ... doing without water, heat, washing machines, cars, electricity, and many other things, even for a time the company of our fellows, in order to make a start.

And others have made the same accusation who are making a start on the land. And I know well what they mean. One must keep on trying to do it oneself, and one must keep on trying to help others to get these ideas respected.

At Grailville, Ohio, there is not only the big school of the Grail Apostolate, where there is electricity, modern plumbing, [and] a certain amount of machinery that makes the work go easier and gives time for studies; but there is also a sample farm, twelve acres, with no electricity, no modern plumbing, no hot water, where the washing is done outside over tubs and an open fire, and yet there, too, the life is most beautiful and a foretaste of heaven. There one can see how all things show forth the glory of God, and how “All the way to heaven is heaven.”

Artists and writers, as I have often said, go in for voluntary poverty in order to “live their own lives and do the work they want to do.” I know many a Hollywood writer who thought he was going out there to earn enough to leave to buy a little farm and settle down and do some really good writing. But the fleshpots of Egypt held him. And I knew many a Communist who had his little place in the country, private ownership too, and not just a rented place, a vacation place.

Property is proper to man. Man is born to work by the sweat of his brow, and he needs the tools, the land to work with.

The principles of Distributism have been more or less implicit in much that we have written in *The Catholic Worker* for a long time. We have advised our readers to begin with four books, Chesterton’s *What’s Wrong with the World?* and *The Outline of Sanity*, and Belloc’s *The Servile State* and *The Restoration of Property*.

These are the books which Douglas Hyde must have read, which gave him the third point of view, neither industrial capitalist nor Communist.

In a brief pamphlet by S. Sagar, made up of a collection of articles which ran in *The Weekly Review*, Distributism is described as follows:

To live, man needs land (on which to have shelter, to cultivate food, to have a shop for his tools) and capital, which may be those tools, or seeds, or materials.

Further, he must have some arrangement about the control of these two things. Some arrangement there must obviously be, and to make such an arrangement is one of the reasons why man forms communities. Men being what they are, every society must make laws to govern the control of land and capital.

The principle from which the law can start is that *all* its subjects should exercise control of land and capital by means of direct family ownership of these things. This, of course, is the principle from which, until yesterday, our own law started. It was the theory of capitalism under which *all* were free to own, none compelled by law to labor. [Popular magazines like *Time* and the *Saturday Evening Post* are filled with illustrations of these principles, which all men admit are good, but unfortunately the stories told are not true. It is the reason why great trusts like . . . Standard Oil and General Motors have public relations men, why there is a propaganda machine for big business, to convert the public to the belief that capitalism really is based on good principles, Distributist principles, really is working out for the benefit of all, so that men have homes and farms and tools and pride in the job.] Unfortunately, in practice, under capitalism the many had not opportunity of obtaining land and capital in any useful amount and were compelled by physical necessity to labor for the fortunate few who possessed these things. But the theory was all right. Distributists want to save the theory by bringing the practice in conformity with it. . . .

Distributists want to distribute control as widely as possible by means of a direct family ownership of land and capital. This, of course, means cooperation among these

personal owners and involves modifications, complexities, and compromises which will be taken up later.

The aim of Distributism is family ownership of land, workshops, stores, transport, trades, professions, and so on.

Family ownership in the means of production so widely distributed as to be the mark of the economic life of the community – this is the Distributist's desire. It is also the world's desire. . . . The vast majority of men who argue against Distributism do so not on the grounds that it is undesirable but on the grounds that it is impossible. We say that it must be attempted, and we must continue to emphasize the results of not attempting it.

The Catholic Worker farm at Newburgh has ninety-six acres. We are raising hay, corn, vegetables, pigs, chickens, a cow. Every few days the dog, King, has brought in woodchucks, and some of them weigh eight pounds. He must have caught fifty this year. Down at the docks on the Hudson River the Negroes fish without a license for fish and eels. It is woodchuck season, and you can eat the woodchucks now. You skin them as you do rabbits, and roasted with sage dressing they make a good meal, and they are cleaner than chicken or hog. Right now Carmela and Florence are sitting out under the crab apple tree, stringing beans. There are peas and broccoli and Swiss chard besides lettuce for salads. It is getting easier to feed the forty or so retreatants who come every few weeks to the farm, and the twenty who are here all summer.

I tell these things to make the mouth water. In the fall we are going to put in a field of wheat, and next summer, God willing, we will have our own flour for the good whole-wheat loaves that come out of the oven every day.

For the average worker it is more and more difficult to get food. Butter, oleo, and fat are sky high. Meat costs a fortune. Food prices have gone up 133 percent and milk 85 percent. We saw these figures in a magazine recently to advertise milk as a food. How to live, how to feed a family! Most of all, how to find shelter!

We are not expecting utopia here on this earth. But God meant things to be much easier than we have made them. A man has a natural right to food, clothing, and shelter. A certain amount of goods is necessary to lead a good life. A family needs work as well as bread. Property is proper to man. We must keep repeating these things. Eternal life begins now. "All the way to heaven is heaven, because He said, 'I am the Way.'" The cross is there, of course, but "in the cross is joy of spirit." And love makes all things easy. If we are putting off the old man and putting on Christ, then we are walking in love, and love is what we all want. But it is hard to love, from the human standpoint and from the divine standpoint, in a two-room apartment. We are eminently practical, realistic.

Irene has charge of the clothes distribution at Mott Street (besides having charge of the women's house and writing for the paper and seeing visitors), and the other day a mother of eleven children, nine of them living, came in to get clothes. They are all living at the municipal lodging house on Third Street. The other afternoon when the rain had stopped, Irene and I walked down Mott Street to Bleecker where Mott Street ends, then over to the Bowery and up one block to Third Street, and there, just to the east of the Bowery, is the big building that used to be the Bowery Y.M.C.A. and which is now a municipal shelter.

I was familiar with the place because it used to have a "clean-up system" before the days of D.D.T. (which you can use like a talcum powder), and there once in a while I used to bring my old friend Mr. Breen. He was a very dignified old man, with a beautiful beard, and he walked with a cane. He looked like Chief Justice Hughes. He had worked as Sunday editor of the *Washington Post*, and he had worked for the *New York World*, written reviews for the *Commonweal*, poetry for us, and had assisted us, during his last years, in answering our large correspondence. His wife and children had died, he had fallen into bad times, and during the Depression we became his family. For a time he had slept in the world's largest bedroom, on a dock down at South Ferry, where the municipality put up about twelve hundred men every night. He used to tell us a story of one old man who evidently thought he was in a cathedral, so

vast was the long, dim dock at night, and in his nightshirt, with his long sticks of legs making him look like a strange bird, he used to “make the stations” down the inner aisle between the double-decker beds, pausing at every seventh bed to pray.

Mr. Breen had many such stories of the poor. We had to take him, as I said before, to the Bowery Y for a clean-up every now and then. One could bathe at leisure, have one’s clothes cleaned and pressed, and have a shave and a haircut – all for seventy-five cents. We used to go in state in a taxi cab. It was very hard to get Mr. Breen to go, and he would only go with me. As we went up to the desk and the very courteous young man behind it, Mr. Breen would look at him haughtily and say in lordly fashion, “I have come to be deloused.” Then he would turn to me with a sweeping bow, thank me for my escort, and I would leave him there for the night.

Now this building is part of the municipal lodging house. On either side of the entrance hall there are beautiful rural scenes painted on the walls, a road through the woods, a country field, and around the tiled halls, children from one year old and up are playing, slipping in and out between the hordes of young and old, black and white, drunk and sober men who are also served, who also are “clients” getting their lodging for the night and several meals a day. The men were registering at the desk as we came in. They all could write their names on the ledger; they were all literate. After they registered, they were all taken upstairs to the dormitories to bed. It was five-thirty. No one was taken in after nine.

Downstairs, meals were still being served. They had soup or stew, as we could see from the windows outside, two slices of bread, and huge mugs of cocoa.

I don’t know how many thousands of men are served every day, are lodged every day. What was occupying our minds was the fact that forty-five families were lodged there too, with six, eight, nine children. The mothers sat around, the fathers came in to report the result of their day’s search for rooms. (And who wants families of four children even, let alone nine?) The children restlessly ran from end to end of the hall, and we tried to talk.

“Isn’t there a playroom?” Yes, but the colored, the Puerto Rican, the Italian, and the “American” children fought. It was nerve-racking. There were separate bedrooms for different members of the family; it was not overcrowded. There is a doctor for the women and children. The city was doing what it could. Up at 26th Street, another branch of the municipal lodging house, there were other families and more men. What they were trying to do was bring all the men down to Third Street and get the women and children away from the Bowery and up to 26th Street, where there was a playground, a dead-end street, the river, and more light and air.

Yesterday two Irish Christian Brothers came to call and told us of Harlem, where their order had a school in what was the largest parish in the world. There were thirty thousand people in it, it was estimated. Families fleeing the hunger of Puerto Rico were living three families to an apartment. It was the most congested, most neglected section of the city. With all these thousands, the church on Sunday was only half full. It is not a leakage from the Church; it is a landslide.

We have been working on these problems at the Catholic Worker for the past fifteen years, and we can say with all sincerity that things have never been so bad as they are now, even in the worst of [the] Depression. Now men may have work, but they lack homes. There may be odd jobs, poorly paid jobs, something coming in the way of work, but the housing situation gets worse and worse. Everywhere it is the same. In every city and town the story is the same. There are no apartments; there are no houses.

Mr. O’Daniel, father of the eleven we were visiting, had had a job as janitor. In order to make their profits and avoid the penalties of rent gouging, the owners of the building he was in had transformed a twelve-apartment house into a twenty-four apartment house of two-and-a-half rooms each. The board of health got after the owner for having a large family of children in the basement, and he had let them go. No one wants to employ families; none want to rent to families.

And of course we can understand the homeowners' point of view. Once we saw a cartoon in the *Saturday Evening Post* of a mother rebuking her child. "Don't deface the wall, William. We *own* this house." In other words, what you own is taken care of. Property means responsibility. Property is proper to man.

But what a need there is to arouse the conscience! To call attention to the poor! "Are there any more poor?" This fatuous question has been asked me so often by well-meaning listeners at meetings that one must answer it. "What about the bricklayer and his huge wages? Never have wages been so high." And what do high wages mean when there is no just price? Anyway, with all the talk of high wages, most of the people around here that I know are working for thirty and thirty-five dollars a week. Also, the great white-collar class of young men and young women are getting along by living at home, profiting by the industry and thrift and better housing opportunity of their parents.

People sooner or later will have to admit that things are rapidly getting worse, not better. People said during the war that Hitler had the theory that the bigger the lie, the easier it was to get people to believe it. It seems to me we have quite a number of these big lies.

There is the lie of high wages.

There is the lie of widespread ownership.

There is the plentiful production lie.

There is the everyone-consuming-more lie.

S. Sagar says that the great danger of today is not a revolt of the proletariat but the lethargy of the proletariat. He also says that the "preliminary to any steps taken towards Distribution was the creation of the *will* to take them."

Here is one quotation from Pope Pius XII which ought to be considered a mandate along these lines:

We confirm what only recently we had occasion to expound. For Catholics, the only path to be followed in solving the social problem is clearly outlined in the doctrine of the Church. The blessing of God will descend on your work if you do not swerve in the slightest degree from this path. You have no need to think up specious solutions or to work with facile and empty formulas for results that prove only a delusion. What you can and ought to strive for is a more just distribution of wealth. This is and this remains a central point in Catholic social doctrine.

Joseph T. Nolan writes in *Orate Fratres*,

Too long has idle talk made out Distributism as something medieval and myopic, as if four modern Popes were somehow talking nonsense when they said: The law should favor widespread ownership (Leo XII); wages should enable a man to purchase land (Leo XIII and Pius XI); the family is most perfect when rooted in its own holding (Pius XII); and the tiller of the soil still represents the natural order of things willed by God (Pius XII). . . .

But in general there is so little facing of the problem of the land, or of machinery, which the Franciscan Belliot called one of the gravest and most disquieting elements in the social problem. How many Catholics, especially liturgists, share the anxiety of the present Pope at the agglomeration of huge populations in the cities “and the diminution of modern man by the domination of the machine”? Neither the nihilists nor the optimists who still dream of abundant production can fill our present need; a lot closer are the realists who are willing to rebuild an organic Christian society from the ground up, from the soil, who might escape the very real prospects of unemployment, hunger, and despair.

There are numerous steps that can be taken, outlined in *The Restoration of Property* by Hilaire Belloc. But how to create in men *adesire* to take them, a hope that they will be able to take them?

Things have gotten so desperate, Mr. Sagar says, goods have gotten so scarce, the effort to find housing has become so heartbreaking, that now at last today, after these many years, Distributism is going to be discussed.

The alternatives are not capitalism or socialism. We must take into consideration the nature of man and his needs, not just cash [for] commodities, food, and clothing, but a home, a bit of land, and the tools with which to work, part ownership in workshops and stores and factories.

Distributism does not mean that everyone must be a farmer. The Distributist thinks in terms of the village economy, and as for the size of the CITY (the city of God) which Cardinal Suhard talks of our building, that is a matter of situation. It may be five hundred, it may be five thousand, it may be fifty thousand population. The main thing to do is to *distribute* a the cities before the atom bomb does it. We are not suggesting that it be done by force but by education. If that seems too slow a method, probably depression, war, hunger, and homelessness will play their part. We only know it is not human to live in a city of ten million. It is not only not human, it is not possible. "Cities are the occasion of sin," Father Vincent McNabb said, and of course any theologian will say that we should flee the occasions of sin. Pope Pius XII pointed out that it was difficult for modern youth to live in the cities without heroic virtue. (And it was never intended that the good life should demand *heroic* virtue.)

Distributism does not mean that we throw out the machine. The machine, Peter Maurin used to say, should be the extension of the hand of man. If we could do away with the assembly line, the slavery of the machine, and the useless and harmful and destructive machines, we would be doing well.

In the psalms it says, "Lord, make me *desire* to walk in the way of Thy commandments." Daniel was called a man of desires, and because he was a man of desires, the Lord heard him.

Cardinal Suhard of Paris and Father de Lubac, S.J., both cry out against the refusal of some traditionalists to be co-creators with God and use the tools which science has

put in man's hands. But Father de Lubac also writes (in *The Dublin Review*), "Does not the discovery of new values involve the depreciation of other, perhaps more fundamental ones? And does it not breed, even while the discovery is still modest and tentative, a kind of intoxication, so that the passionate interest it arouses tends to make men oblivious of everything else, even of essentials? And so ambiguous situations pile up, leading inevitably to crises whose outcome no one can safely prophesy."

But the essentials are food, clothing, and shelter. The essential is ownership, which brings with it responsibility, and what is more essential than the earth from which we all spring, and from which comes our food, our clothes, our furniture, our homes?

It is as a woman, a mother, speaking for the family and the home, that I protest the work of "priest-sociologists," who in their desire to help the worker are going along with him in his errors and are accepting the easy way of capitalist industrialism, which leads to collectivism and the totalitarian state.

The warning is there, in Isaiah 26:5-6:

He shall bring down them that dwell on high; the high city he shall lay low. He shall bring it down even unto the ground; he shall pull it down even to the dust. The foot shall tread it down; the feet of the poor, the steps of the needy.

So "strengthen ye the feeble hands, and confirm the weak knees. Say to the fainthearted, 'Take courage and fear not. Behold, your God will bring the bread of recompense. God Himself will come and save you.' "

Noviembre

Importancia: como se profundizó en el capítulo de acción no violenta, uno de los principios fundamentales para el mantenimiento del movimiento fue la promoción del amor. Considerando una visión académica, desde la cual, el amor puede redefinirse como herramienta de poder, en este apartado el lector puede rastrear la importancia y el uso estratégico del mismo, para exhortar a la sociedad a una revolución basada en principios de su propia fe.

THERE IS a character in *The Plague*, by Albert Camus, who says that he is tired of hearing about men dying for an idea. He would like to hear about a man dying for love for a change. He goes on to say that men have forgotten how to love, that all they seem to be thinking of these days is learning how to kill. Man, he says, seems to have lost the capacity for love.

What is God but Love? What is a religion without love? We read of the saints dying for love, and we wonder what they mean. There was a silly verse I used to hear long ago: "Men have died from time to time, and worms have eaten them, but not for love." It comes from *As You Like It*. And nowadays in this time of war and preparing for war, we would agree, except for the saints. Yes, they have died for love of God. But Camus's character would say, "I mean for love of man." Our Lord did that, but most people no longer believe in Him. It is hard to talk to people about God if they do not believe in Him. So one can talk and write of love. People want to believe in that even when they are all but convinced that it is an illusion. (It would be better still to love rather than to write about it. It would be more convincing.)

In the Old and New Testaments there are various ways in which the relationship of God and men [is] mentioned. There is the shepherd and his sheep. "The Lord is my shepherd." "I am the Good Shepherd." The animal and the man. There is the servant and the master, there is the son and the father, and there is the bride and the

bridegroom. "Behold, the bridegroom cometh." The Song of Songs, the Canticle of Canticles, is all about love. "Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth."

It is hard to believe in this love. In a book by Hugh of St. Victor, which I read once on the way from St. Paul to Chicago, there is a conversation between the soul and God about this love. The soul is petulant and wants to know what kind of a love is that which loves everyone indiscriminately, the thief and the Samaritan, the wife and the mother and the harlot? The soul complains that it wishes *aparticular* love, a love for herself alone. And God replies fondly that, after all, since no two people are alike in this world, He has indeed a particular fondness for each one of us, an exclusive love to satisfy each one alone.

It is hard to believe in this love because it is a tremendous love. "It is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God." If we do once catch a glimpse of it, we are afraid of it. Once we recognize that we are sons of God, that the seed of divine life has been planted in us at baptism, we are overcome by that obligation placed upon us of growing in the love of God. And what we do not do voluntarily, He will do for us. Father Roy, our dear Josephite friend who worked with us at Easton and who has been these past two years in a hospital in Montreal, learning what it is to be loved, used to tell a story of a leper he met at a hospital up on the Gaspé peninsula. The leper complained to him, How could he believe in the love of God?

Father Roy proceeded to tell his favorite story. First of all, there is dirt, the humus from which all things spring, and the flower says to the dirt, "How would you like to grow and wave in the breeze and praise God?" And the dirt says "Yes," and that necessitates its losing its own self as dirt and becoming something else. Then the chicken comes along and says to the flower, "How would you like to be a chicken and walk around like I do and praise God?" And the flower assures the chicken that it would like it indeed. But then it has to cease to be a flower. And the man comes to the chicken and says to it, "How would you like to be a man and praise God?" And of

course the chicken would like it too, but it has to undergo a painful death to be assimilated to the man, in order to praise God.

When Father Roy told this story, he said with awe, "And the leper looked at me, and a light dawned in his eyes, and he clasped my hands and gasped, '*Father!*' And then we both cried together."

Father Roy is a childlike man, and the Russian leper up in the Canadian peninsula was a simple sufferer, and he saw the point that Father Roy was trying to make, and he began to believe in this love and to see some reason for his sufferings. He began to comprehend the heights and the depths and the strange mystery of this love. But it still takes the eyes of faith to see it.

The love of God and man becomes the love of equals, as the love of the bride and the bridegroom is the love of equals, and not the love of the sheep for the shepherd, or the servant for the master, or the son for the father. We may stand at times in the relationship of servant, and at other times in that of son, as far as our feelings go and in our present state. But the relationship we hope to attain to is that of the love of the Canticle of Canticles. If we cannot deny the *self* in us, kill the self-love, as He has commanded, and put on the Christ life, then God will do it for us. We must become like Him. Love must go through these purgations.

Unfortunately, when we speak of the human love of man and woman, most people, though they hope against hope, still regard it as an illusion, a great and glowing experience, a magic which comes into their lives for the sake of the procreation of the race. They assume and accept the fact that it will die, that it will not last, and in their vain clutching at it, they will put off one partner and look for it in another, and so the sad game goes on, with our movie stars going from the fifth to the sixth bride and swearing the selfsame promises to each.

The Best Years of Our Lives had a sad and cynical ending. While one young couple plighted their troth, exchanged their promises, another young couple disregarded

promises already made and fell into each other's arms to try to regain, to recapture love once more. Illusive love!

Vladimir Solovyov writes in *The Meaning of Love* about the need to study this problem, to seek the growth of this love, so that the force of love may be set loose in the world today to combat the terrible force of hate and violence that we have unloosed. Father D'Arcy deals with the problem in *The Mind and Heart of Love*. De Rougemont, in *Love in the Western World*, writes also about this work of love. These books may be hard reading for those who seem to learn of love by reading best-sellers and seeing the prize movies. But the very fact that all best-sellers and prize movies deal with this very theme of love should make the man of today turn to such books as these and get down to a study of what is most vital in our lives.

That most people in America look upon love as an illusion would seem to be evidenced by the many divorces we see today – and the sensuality of despair that exists all around us. But all these divorces may too be an evidence about love. They hear very little of it in this war-torn world, and they are all seeking it. Pascal said of love, "You would not seek me if you had not already found me." Just so much faith is there, at any rate. A faith in love, a seeking for love. It is something, then, to build on, amongst the mass of people who have lost God, who do not know in what they believe, though they believe in and seek for love.

And where are the teachers to teach of this love, of the stages of this love, the purgations of this love, the sufferings entailed by this love, the stages through which natural love must pass to reach the supernatural?

We would all like to hear of men laying down their lives for love for their fellows, and we do not want to hear of it in the heroic tones of a statesman or a prince of the church. We all know that such phrases used in wartime mean nothing. Men are taught to kill, not to lay down their lives if they can possibly help it. Of course we do not talk of brothers in wartime. We talk of the enemy, and we forget the Beatitudes and the commandment to love our enemy, do good to them that persecute us. "A new

commandment I give you, that you love one another as I have loved you.” One said that who did lay down His life for all men.

Youth demands the heroic, Claudel said, and youth likes to dream of heroic deeds and of firing squads, of martyrs and of high adventure. But bread means life too; and money, which buys bread, for which we work, also means life. Sharing and community living mean laying down your life for your fellows also, and it was of these things that Father Perrin, S.J., the workman priest in Germany, wrote in his moving book.

We have repeated so many times that those who have two cloaks should follow the early Fathers, who said, “The coat that hangs in your closet belongs to the poor.” And those who have a ten-room house can well share it with those who have none and who are forced to live in a municipal lodging house. How many large houses could be made into several apartments to take in others? Much hospitality could be given to relieve the grave suffering today. But people are afraid. They do not know where it all will end. They have all gone far enough in generosity to know that an ordeal is ahead, that the person taken in will turn into “the friend of the family,” most likely, or “the man who came to dinner.” No use starting something that you cannot finish, they say. Once bitten is twice shy. We have all had our experiences of ingratitude, of nursing a viper in our bosom, as the saying goes. So we forget about pruning in the natural order in order to attain much fruit. We don’t want to pay the cost of love. We do not want to exercise our capacity to love.

There are many stories one could tell about Catholic Worker life, but it is always better to wait until years have passed so that they become more impersonal, less apt to be identified with this one or that. There is the story of the sorcerer’s apprentice who took over the kitchen this last month at the farm. There is the story of a “friend of the family” who tried to stab a neighbor and was evicted by the neighbors. Too bad we cannot write these stories for the edification and instruction of those who are starting new houses of hospitality today.

There is a story now, however, about a reader of the paper – and this happened long enough ago so that we can tell it – who adopted a young girl and educated her, and the young girl proved to be a great joy and a comfort. Now she has entered a contemplative order to spend her life in prayer and work. The same reader then took in another young woman, who brought home a fatherless baby, and when that was forgiven her, went out and brought in still another, and there was apt to be a third, and our friend wrote and begged us for advice and help as to what to do. Was she contributing to the delinquency of this girl by forgiving seventy times seven, and was she perhaps going to have seventy times seven children to take care of ?

It is good to think of the prophet Hosea, whom I have mentioned before in writing on love. He was commanded by God to take a harlot to wife, and she had many children by other men. He was a dignified, respected teacher of his people, and he was shamed and humiliated by the wife of his bosom. Yet he was to go down in history as exemplifying the love of God for His adulterous people.

Love must be tried and tested and proved. It must be tried as though by fire, and fire burns. "It is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

In times of catastrophe we are all willing to share. In an earthquake, hurricane, war, or plague, people begin to love one another. Of course, the wife must consider her husband, but it is not so necessary for the husband to consider the wife. As head of the household, it is his job to lead the wife in hospitality, and if he is willing to support others in need, he should induce his wife to go along with him. He should share all but his intimate love with others, and that is for her alone. If he should withdraw that tenderness, that embrace, then he would be guilty indeed.

What kind of a love was that of Scobie, the Major in the current best-seller of Graham Greene, the love which had turned to indifference, if not to loathing at times, and which the author felt to be redeemed by the pity and compassion of Scobie for his nagging wife? How to love truly a woman after the *illusion* has passed and that woman becomes a climbing, snobbish, petty, self-conscious *inferior*, and not an equal, with

whom there is no longer any possibility of the love of equals, which is the love of the Canticle of Canticles?

Here are some excerpts from Solovyov that perhaps are pertinent:

It is well known to everyone that in love there inevitably exists a special idealization of the beloved object, which presents itself to the lover in an entirely different light from that in which outsiders see it. I speak here of light not merely in a metaphorical sense; it is a matter here not only of a special moral and intellectual estimate, but moreover of a special sensuous reception; the lover actually sees, visually receives what others do not. And if for him too this light of love quickly fades away, yet does it follow from this that it was false, that it was only a subjective illusion?

... The true significance of love consists not in the simple experience of this feeling but what is accomplished by means of it, in the work of love.

For love it is not enough to feel for itself the unconditional significance of the beloved object, but it is necessary effectively to impart or communicate this significance to this object. . . .

... Each man comprises in himself the image of God. Theoretically and in the abstract, this Divine image is known to us in mind and through mind, but in love it is known in the concrete and in life. And if this revelation of the ideal nature, ordinarily concealed by its material manifestation, is not confined in love to an inward feeling, but at times becomes noticeable also in the sphere of external feelings, then so much greater is the significance we are bound to acknowledge for love as being from the very first the visible restoration of the Divine image in the world of matter. . . .

A woman wants compassion, not pity, and Major Scobie did not work very hard at communicating the significance of his love to his wife. Even two of the characters in *The Best Years of Our Lives* had gone a bit farther along the path of love when they told their daughter, who was falling in love with a married man, "How often have we

hated one another!" In other words, what a purgation, what a working out we have been through together!

(I am consciously and purposely writing with these allusions so that those who are not able to read Solovyov but who do go to the movies will also know what I am writing about.)

True love is delicate and kind, full of gentle perception and understanding, full of beauty and grace, full of joy unutterable. Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, what God hath prepared for those who love Him.

And there should be some flavor of this in all our love for others. We are all one. We are *one flesh* in the Mystical Body, as man and woman are said to be one flesh in marriage. With such a love one would see all things new; we would begin to see people as they really are, as God sees them.

We may be living in a desert when it comes to such perceptions now, and that desert may stretch out before us for years. But a thousand years are as one day in the sight of God, and soon we will know as we are known. Until then, we will have glimpses of brotherhood in play, in suffering, in serving, and we will begin to train for that community, that communion, that Father Perrin talked so much about in his story of the workman priest in Germany.

This last month there was an article by John Cogley in *America* about his experiences in the Chicago House of Hospitality. He writes of it as in the dim and distant past, and tells of the "mushroom growth" of such houses back in the thirties. In the present there are a few still struggling along, he writes, and a few farms existing in dire poverty.

Yes, the problems have become intensified; a great many have left the running. Where there were thirty-two houses of hospitality and farms, there are now eleven. But in those eleven we are still trying to work out a theory of love, a study of the problem of

love so that the revolution of love, instead of that of hate, may come about, and we will have a new heaven and a new earth wherein justice dwelleth.

POEM FOR FALL

All around are the irregular fields.

Irregular because woodlots space the scene.

The fields are colorful with red and purple cabbages, pale carrots, green turnips, feathery dill, and dark red beets.

The harvest is not yet in, and far in the hundred-acre field are the bent figures of a dozen workers dressed in denim.

The trees – the oak, the maple, the elm and sassafras –

Are decked out brilliantly,

Dying gloriously

With joy,

With thankfulness.

Hope springs in my heart like a refreshing fountain.

This is the season of hope,

This, the month when we pray for the dead.

And I, whom “the certainty of dying afflicteth,

Am consoled by the promise of future immortality.”

“Life is changed, not taken away.”

Life is still there.

And as I walk these wagon tracks between fields,

Through the bright November air, sharp with impending frost,

But with the caress of the sun still on it,

Still as only November days can be still, expectant, breathless,

It is easy to think on death and life and their embrace.

For it is long since that my dying has begun.

So long that one gets used to it.

And long since, and yet how short a time
That I began to live.
The life increases with my dying.
That life becomes the more abundant life.
Life that is the beginning of our heaven here and now.

Some fields are bare and brown amid the green,
And striding through the harrowed field
Comes the sower.
His arm swings with long rhythms;
He strides freely.
He flings the seed.
Overhead wheel the swallows,
Swooping and dancing in the sun.
Another field far distant
Already shows its cover crop
Of tender rye,
And as I watch, I think of St. Paul's words:

But some man will say:
"How do the dead rise again?
Or with what manner of body shall they come?"

Senseless man! That which thou sowest is not quickened,
Except it die first.

And that which thou sowest,
Thou sowest not the body that shall be,
But bare grain,
As of wheat, or of some of the rest.
But God giveth it a body as He will,
And to every seed its proper body.

All flesh is not the same flesh;
But one is the flesh of man,
Another of beasts,
Another of birds,
Another of fishes.
And there are bodies celestial
And bodies terrestrial;
But one is the glory of the celestial
And another of the terrestrial.
One is the glory of the sun,
Another the glory of the moon,
And another the glory of the stars.
For star differeth from star in glory.
So also is the resurrection of the dead.

It is sown in corruption; It shall rise in incorruption. It is sown in dishonor; It shall rise in glory. It is sown in weakness; It shall rise in power. It is sown a natural body; It shall rise a spiritual body. Behold, I tell you a mystery. We shall all indeed rise again.

Deo gratias.

THIS MONTH I think of my mother, who died a few years ago on the feast of St. Raphael, the patron of travelers.

“My soul hath thirsted after the strong living God; when shall I come and appear before the face of God?”

But the psalmist also says, “In death there is no one that is mindful of thee.” So it made me happy that I could be with my mother the last few weeks of her life, and for the last ten days at her bedside daily and hourly. Sometimes I thought to myself that it was like being present at a birth to sit by a dying person and see their intentness on what is happening to them. It almost seems that one is absorbed in a struggle, a fearful, grim, physical struggle, to breathe, to swallow, to live. And so, I kept thinking to

myself, how necessary it is for one of their loved ones to be beside them, to pray for them, to offer up prayers for them unceasingly, as well as to do all those little offices one can. When my daughter was a little tiny girl, she said to me once, "When I get to be a great big woman and you are a little tiny girl, I'll take care of you," and I thought of that when I had to feed my mother by the spoonful and urge her to eat her custard. How good God was to me, to let me be there. I had prayed so constantly that I would be beside her when she died; for years I had offered up that prayer. And God granted it quite literally. I was there, holding her hand, and she just turned her head and sighed. That was her last breath, that little sigh; and her hand was warm in mine for a long time after.

It was hard to talk about dying, but every now and then we did. But I told her that we could no more imagine the life beyond the grave than a blind man could imagine colors. We talked about faith, and how we could go just so far in our reasoned belief, and that our knowledge was like a bridge which came to an end, so that it did not reach the other shore. A wonderful prayer, that one. "I believe, O God. Help Thou mine unbelief."

The beautiful flowers around her bedside were like a gorgeous promise of the new life to come. In winter everything seems so dead – the ground, the trees, and all the shrubbery around the house – and then in a few short months things begin to stir, palpably, and life bursts forth again. Mother had seen seventy-five autumns. Seventy-five times had she seen those promises fulfilled.

Life is changed, not taken away.

In Him there hath shone forth upon us the hope of a happy resurrection, so that we, saddened by knowing that we must one day die, are comforted by the promise of immortal life to come. From Thy faithful, O Lord, life is not taken away; it is but changed, for when their dwelling place in this earthly exile shall have been destroyed, there awaiteth them an everlasting home in heaven.

But some man will say: "How do the dead rise again? Or with what manner of body shall they come?" Senseless man! That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die first. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but bare grain, as of wheat.

These were comforting things to talk about and to think about, those all-too-short afternoons by mother's bedside. Outside, the maple trees blazed, cast their leaves about them, and stood gaunt and clean against the sky. Asters and chrysanthemums still bloomed in the garden.

One morning I prayed to the Little Flower, whose picture is over the foot of my bed, that she would especially look after my mother. I reminded her of her own grief at her father's long dying. That night Julia Porcelli brought me in some dried blessed roses. The next day, a friend brought a tiny bouquet with lace paper about it made up of roses and carnations, and my mother greeted it with a smile and held it in her hands a few times that afternoon. And it was that evening that she died, so quietly, so gently, saying but a few moments before to my brother, "Kiss me goodnight and run along, because I want to go to sleep."

A week later, when I went to Poughkeepsie to visit my three aunts, one of whom is a Catholic, and to go with them to offer up a Mass of thanksgiving for my mother's most peaceful death, we came out of St. Peter's Church that misty morning to be greeted by a brilliant rose in the garden next to the church. And when we arrived home for breakfast, there was a bouquet telegraphed to us from Florida, and in the center of the fall flowers were two lovely roses. The Little Flower was prompt and generous indeed in her message.

I wrote the account because I like to show my gratitude by telling others of such favors. Perhaps, too, it may comfort others who have sore and lonely hearts over the approaching death of a near one. "Life is changed, not taken away," and what a glorious change in these sad times, after a long and valiant life.

Look down with favor, we beseech Thee, O Lord, upon the offering we make for the soul of Grace, thy servant; from heaven send healing to it, and bid it rest in the certainty of Thy love.

O Lord, the God of mercies, grant to the soul of Thy handmaid a place of solace, of peaceful rest and of glorious light.

- Textos completos disponibles en: <http://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/>