

WINTER  
1984

# THE Round Table

"...a path from where we are to where we should be." --- Peter Maurin

**IF WE WORK  
FOR PEACE**



**WE MUST  
STOP PAYING  
FOR WAR.**

# WHY THIS ISSUE ?

## A Parable

Once, in a certain land, there were peasant villages on which napalm bombs fell; mines exploded along the paths and in the fields. Many of the villagers and their children were hurt and many killed.

When it became known that the villagers were suffering, many Christians wondered who was responsible.

A Quaker of good repute thought Congress was responsible and supported efforts to lobby the legislature to cut off funding for such bloodshed. He himself continued to give money to Congress each year on April 15 because the law said it was required.

A Catholic woman, daily communicant, thought upon the slaughter of innocent children and decided to pray each day for peace. She did not think about paying for the bombs and mines because the money was automatically taken out of her pay each week and sent to the government by her employer.

A Mennonite was troubled in conscience because he knew his taxes were paying for bombs and mines. Thinking about the future, he gave vigorous support to the World Peace Tax Fund which would provide by law that he could elect for reasons of conscience that his taxes be used only for non-military projects. He looked forward in faith to the day when this law would provide solace for his conscience.

A Baptist minister thought that the President was responsible and urged people to vote for a candidate who promised peace. Many in his congregation worked for companies making weapons; others were in the military; all were good, law-abiding citizens. The minister gave thanks to be shepherd of such a fine flock.

An elder in a Hutterite community thought upon the evils of the war and recommended a relief effort to care for the families and the injured. He said "If we knew our taxes were going only for war, of course, we would not pay them. But what can we do? Some of our taxes go for good purposes too, like schools and roads. Besides, our religious life might be disrupted if we were not faithful to the government and obedient to its laws."

Now a young man, an atheist, his eyes and heart open to suffering, made a decision to refuse to pay for war. And when the war against the villages was over and the government increased the military budget by \$4 billion and continued to build nuclear weapons, he also refused to pay for this.

Which of these was neighbor to the villagers?

JOHN SCHUCHARDT

When peacemaking choices are put before us in parable form as above, the truth is revealed and stood in a more clear light than often happens in our daily lives. The fact is, being consistent and thorough-going in living a nonviolent lifestyle is difficult. And military tax resistance comes to people wrapped in the apparel of a difficult and demanding choice indeed. As Dorothy Day herself said, "One of the most costly protests against war, in terms of long-enduring personal sacrifice, is to refuse to pay federal income taxes which go for war."

And so, in consonance with the longstanding Catholic Worker tradition of tax resistance, we present this issue--both as motivation and challenge--through a mixing of tax resistance articles with news from our houses of hospitality and from our community members who are performing the Works of Mercy in Central America. For as Dorothy later said after more reflection on the issue, "Actually, our tax situation and the threats which hang over us involve nowhere near as much suffering and heartbreak as the moral, physical and mental illnesses of so many who are dear to us."

### WE ARE NOT TAX EXEMPT

All gifts to the Catholic Worker go to a common fund which is used to meet the daily expenses of our work.

Gifts to our work are not tax-deductible. As a community, we have never sought tax-exempt status since we are convinced that justice and the works of mercy should be acts of conscience which come at a personal sacrifice, without governmental approval, regulation or reward. We believe it would be a misuse of our limited resources of time and personnel (as well as a violation of our understanding of the meaning of community) to create the organizational structure required, and to maintain the paper-work necessary for obtaining tax-deductible status. Also, since much of what we do might be considered "political," in the sense that we strive to question, challenge and confront our present society and many of its structures and values, some would deem us technically ineligible for tax-deductible, charitable status.

# WAR TAX RESISTANCE IN THE BIG MOSAIC

The oneness of God is the great mystery before which we all stand in our own fragmentation. God, the unity, the self-integration of truth, justice, beauty, love and compassion, cannot really be grasped by us, enmeshed as we are in the tangle we call civilized society. And the tangle we call civilized society is but the collective projection of our individual inner contradictions, only some of which we are even aware of, contradictions which we tacitly or ignorantly accept. All of us accept the unacceptable in some degree, both in society and within ourselves.

So it is with no sense of superiority that any of us can talk of the glimmers we have caught sight of--the glimmers of the unacceptable within ourselves and within society. None of us can boast or preach to others about the grace we have received to cease accepting an unacceptable. All have received such graces, and most people have used such graces to eliminate the unacceptable to some extent in their lives--to arrive at a more perfect harmony with, a greater integration into, the mysterious oneness of God. But we must share our glimmers with each other. We must express for others the joy and sense of fulfillment, the pains and diminishments that our acting on these glimmers brings.

I know people of means who monthly anguish over their responses to the many appeals the U.S. Mail brings in. Many end up literally giving out of their need--the requirements of their standard of living, usually a very reasonable standard of living by present standards. Some tear themselves apart in their generosity with their time and talents, maybe raising a family, holding a job and/or making a valuable service for others an effective reality. Politics, charities, direct peace and justice work are avenues for people of all economic levels to the reconciling to some degree within themselves and society the selfishness that contradicts our longing to be part of the mysterious but supremely attractive oneness of God.

By Harriette Lane Baggett

That longing is present in all of us, consciously or unconsciously. For God has given us humans the unique gift of self-reflection; and that gift brings the uncomfortable awareness, not only of our sin, but of the undeniable fact that we are limited. This awareness of our limitedness is the source of our longing for God, the Unlimited. And those who use their gift of self-reflection, prayerfully aware of the presence of God, become aware, too, of the contradictions they harbor within themselves, their lack of integrity, their sin. To find our way out of this fragmentation we Christians turn to the gospels. Through the gospels we experience a metanoia, a turning around. We begin to see the world and ourselves through gospel eyes. Our entire set of values goes through a shattering reversal. For example, we suddenly realize with horror that we have been paying for preparation to kill millions of innocent people.

That is why it is so difficult to explain war tax resistance to people who are caught up in the world's value system.



Peace through love (the gospel ideal) and peace through strength (society's ideal) cannot both be perceived by one person at the same time. Though the pacifist and the believer in military strength both view the same world, they see different worlds. The world in the light of the gospels and against the backdrop of the eternal, transcendent, limitless God of Love is not the same world as that seen by the believers in the efficacy of military might, caught up as they are in the logic of human power plays and the uses of fear. Fear and human power plays occur in the gospels only as the object of Jesus' scorn. For examples one can read Mt. 21:23-27 and 23:4.

Perhaps the situation is similar to the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein's duck-rabbit. (*Philosophical Investigations*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953, p.194)



In the duck-rabbit, the same lines can be perceived either as a duck facing toward the reader's left or as a rabbit looking up, but not as both at the same time. In our analogy, the curved lines that make up

the double picture would correspond to the world. Our inability to see both a duck and a rabbit at the same time corresponds to our inability to function in the logic of the gospels and the logic of our society at the same time. To the linguistic philosopher Wittgenstein, the duck-rabbit phenomenon presents quite a puzzle. But to us who have seen the world both through "society's eyes" and "gospel eyes" the puzzle is transparent. Gospel values, the values of the God-man Jesus, transform the world and us. Values actually change facts. Peace is dependent on love, not on strength. Even if love leads us to our death, we will know more peace, even in this world, than in a long life relying on power plays and the casting of fear.

A better analogy than the duck-rabbit might be to view the world as a mosaic. The picture we see in a mosaic is determined by the arrangement of the differently colored tiny stones. To the color-blind, the intention of the artist is incomprehensible. The color-blind might even see a different picture from that seen by a person who can distinguish all the colors. In this analogy, the colors represent Jesus' value system, where love is supreme and power plays and fear have no positive quality. People who have not grasped that value system, preserved for us by the gospels, will not see the reality of the creation at all. But they will take their distortion for reality. The gospel-blind, being more numerous than the fully-sighted, will feel great security in their acceptance of the distortion of reality. They will have scorn for those who see the whole picture and act accordingly.

Just as Jesus' society could not accept him, our society cannot accept us, until it sees the world through gospel eyes. Only God's grace can give us eyes to see as well as ears to hear. We cannot, by argument, convince those enmeshed in the values of our society of the logic of war tax resistance, because we are not talking about the same world. What we can do is struggle at bringing every aspect of our lives into harmony with the gospel world--the reign of God. Perhaps the whole picture of a life lived according to gospel values will jump into focus for some others, and they will find their old values shattered and the reign of God will spread a little. But most will not comprehend, and we will be fools in their eyes. Or they might see us as self-centered attention-cravers--as a recent guest at Karen House does--because of our acts of civil disobedience. Others might see us as haters of our country, as many of those do whom we encounter as we carry signs in front of General Dynamics. And we might indeed be tainted by such contradictions to Jesus' values, though I cannot see that any of us act primarily out of hate or self-seeking.



Just as Jesus was an embarrassment to the apostles at the end of his life, so we are to many of those closest to us, our families and old friends. Or we might be tolerated or even encouraged as lovable oddities: amusing but not to be taken seriously. A family member of mine recently stated that I was just playing a game with my refusal to pay the income taxes I owe. What if the people who disapprove of welfare, food stamps, aid to education and other federal programs for aiding the poor refused to pay their taxes? Surely I wouldn't approve of that, he im-



plied. But they should have the same right to withhold their taxes that I claim to have to avoid paying for war and preparation for war.

The truth is that, though I have spent a good part of my life in political activity directed toward increasing federal aid for those in the lower economic levels in our country, under certain circumstances I would approve of tax refusal by a taxpayer who disapproved of tax money being spent for such aid. To Catholic Workers, there are understandable grounds for disapproving of the lack of personalism and the degradation that recipients of federal aid are often subjected to. But whether those were the reasons for the tax refusal or not, if the person were willing to take a place in the lower economic levels, to be one with the poor, then I would see a gospel orientation to the tax refusal. I would see the possibility of an effort to bring about the equity, the justice of the reign of God, even if the person had never read a gospel. I would say such a person had undergone a metanoia, a turning around, a shattering of society's values and a taking on of Jesus' values.

If all taxpayers decided to accept only an income below the taxable range, our society would be well on its way to the reign of God, and--as Jesus told us--there would be enough for everyone. God would provide through our sharing. But that would take much faith on the part of many people, and we are people "of little faith." Jesus' own way of putting this can be found in Mt 6:26-34 and Lk 12:22-34.

I will try to draw together what may appear to be disparate ramblings. It appears that the decision to refuse to pay for war, and even a token partial refusal of taxes due, is an authentic result of an individual's pursuit of the integrity required by the human yearning for the limitless goodness which we call God. Other activities in the pursuit of justice and charity spring from the same yearning for God, even in those who are unaware of the source. At some point in our pursuit for personal integrity, a transformation occurs in us and in our vision of the world. The accepting of

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**Peace through love (the Gospel ideal)**

**and peace through strength (society's ideal)**

**cannot be perceived by one person at the same time.**

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the values of Jesus brings about that transformation, whether Jesus himself is known by the person or not. The logic of the new vision of the world--the reign of God--is inexplicable to those who do not have the vision. Many of us have the vision but still harbor within ourselves contradictions to the full realization of God's reign. Our life-long task is the discovery of those contradictions and our allowing God to dispel them and live in us. The more this is accomplished, the more apparent to others will be the Jesus vision of the world and the more the logic of the gospels will be grasped by others. Peace through love rather than through strength will make sense to more and more people.

Tax resistance is but one part of the whole Jesus-value colored mosaic. But it is a very visible part and speaks very pointedly to the nuclear calamity that society's refusal to accept Jesus' values seems surely about to bring on.

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# LOOKING BACK

By Bill Samuel

Tax refusal is such an obvious and fundamental means of protest and resistance that it has been used for centuries for a variety of purposes. Movements of tax refusers are reported as far back as the second century in Egypt. Tax refusal movements focusing on opposition to war date back at least as far as 1515, when Danish peasants refused to pay taxes to support King Christian II's war against Sweden.

In the United States, war tax refusal is older than the country. The Quaker-controlled Assembly of the Pennsylvania Colony in 1709 refused a royal demand to appropriate money for an expedition into Canada. In the 1750's, when the Assembly voted large amounts for the French and Indian War, many Quakers and Mennonites refused to pay taxes. During that war, this was true throughout the colonies, and a number were imprisoned as a result. The Quaker testimony became so strong that a number of Quakers were disowned by their Monthly Meetings (parishes) during the Revolutionary War for paying war taxes.

But it was not only Quakers and those of other traditionally pacifist religious groups who are engaged in war tax refusal. The most famous early American war tax refuser was Henry David Thoreau, who was jailed for refusing to pay taxes for the Mexican War. He eloquently defended his action in his landmark essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience": "If a thousand (people) were not to pay their tax bills this year; that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them; and enable the state to commit violence and shed innocent blood."

Over the following century, there continued to be persons refusing taxes on the grounds of objection to war, but war tax refusal was not a major part of peace efforts. It took the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the growth of the Cold War, to make tax refusal again an important issue in the peace movement. A number of peace activists, including A. J. Muste, began war tax refusal in the late 1940's.

In early 1948, about 250 people seeking a more radical approach to peace met in Chicago. War tax refusal was one of the major issues at the conference which spawned the radical pacifist Peacemaker movement. Nonpayment of taxes for war has been a central tenet of this movement since its founding. A handful of people associated with the Peacemakers were imprisoned on various charges connected with tax refusal during the 1950's and 1960's.

Until 1963, little was published on war tax refusal except leaflets and magazine articles. Two important books were issued that year. The Peacemakers issued the first edition of their Handbook on the Nonpayment of Taxes for War, which reported the experiences of a number of individuals and endeavored to explain both the whys and the hows of war tax refusal. The other publication, Edmund Wilson's The Cold War and the Income Tax, was written by a prominent literary figure who received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in the same year. This blistering attack on militarism and the income tax system was greeted with critical acclaim and received mass distribution as a Signet paperback.

Although war tax refusal grew in the two decades following Hiroshima, it remained largely an act of deeply committed pacifists, a tiny minority on the fringes of American society. It only became a mass movement when large numbers of Americans were killing and being killed in a war that was difficult to justify.

President Johnson aided the growth of tax resistance by identifying specific taxes needed to finance the war. The telephone tax, scheduled to expire in 1966, was reimposed explicitly to finance the Vietnam operation and was extended twice during the Vietnam War. For a time there was also an income tax surcharge to raise revenue for the war. People who strongly opposed the Vietnam War, but who were not necessarily pacifists, were moved to resist those taxes. Because it was both clearly associated with Vietnam and easy to refuse, the telephone tax was at one time refused by hundreds of thousands of Americans.

The War Resisters League (WRL) was the principal group promoting war tax refusal during the early Vietnam War years. By 1969 it seemed to merit its own organization. With considerable help from WRL, War Tax Resistance was launched at a New York press conference on December 16, 1969.

Aiming at the masses of Vietnam War protesters, WTR defined as a war tax resister anyone who refused at least \$5 of some federal tax.

WTR struck a real chord. Its initial hope was to encourage the formation of WTR branches in at least 25 cities. Within a year, it had 160 WTR Centers in all parts of the country. Tax resistance demonstrations were held, especially at filing deadline, in cities and towns all over the U.S. Most national peace groups participated in the campaign. Local churches of many denominations refused the phone tax. Two editions (1971 and 1972) of a book, Ain't Gonna Pay for War No More by Robert Calvert on the reasons for and the methods of war tax refusal were published.

### **In the U.S., war tax refusal is older than the country**

During the Vietnam era, the movement attempted to conquer a major obstacle to income tax resistance, the withholding system. Resisters began to claim additional exemptions on the withholding forms (Form W-4) they filed with their employers to reduce or eliminate withholding. A number of resisters were indicted on withholding fraud charges. A handful went to prison, but others won court decisions that an open aboveboard act could not be considered fraud. Withholding resistance became more sophisticated as Form W-4 was made more complex. Resisters began claiming allowances justified by large itemized deductions rather than additional dependents. Large amounts were claimed as "war tax deductions" on tax returns. This tax refusal method forced the IRS to allow the taxpayer appeals through the civil courts.

The movement also developed a concrete positive component, inspired by Karl Meyer's article "A Fund for Mankind" (sic) in the October 1969 issue of The Catholic Worker. Alternative funds pooling refused taxes began to spring up in cities all across the country. These funds would grant or loan money for a wide variety of social service and social change purposes. Sometimes the money was dispersed in public and dramatic ways, such as handing people subway tokens with a leaflet at subway stations in poor areas. Decisions about use of the funds have usually been made collectively by the donors. Most of the funds will

the event of IRS seizure. For this reason, many funds have retained all income tax deposits, spending only the interest earned on them. There were about 55 funds in existence by the time the Vietnam War ended.

In 1971, a group of war tax refusers and others concerned in the Ann Arbor, Michigan area began meeting together to find a legal alternative to paying taxes for military purposes. Under the able leadership of Quaker physician Dr. David Bassett, this group developed the World Peace Tax Fund Bill using the legal resources of volunteers from the University of Michigan Law School. This proposed legislation would allow persons to declare themselves conscientious objectors to military taxation on their tax returns. Their taxes would be diverted to a new government trust fund, the World Peace Tax Fund. The military portion of the taxes paid by conscientious objectors would perform alternative service through support of a national peace academy, disarmament efforts, international exchanges and other peace-related programs. The non-military portion would be returned to the Treasury for use in civilian government programs.

In 1972, a related committee composed largely of church and peace group lobbyists was formed in Washington. They persuaded Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and nine other U.S. Representatives to introduce the bill that year. The Ann Arbor and Washington committees, working from their own homes and offices on a volunteer basis, developed support for the bill from around the country from thousands of individuals and many Church, peace and political groups. In 1975, the two committees consolidated their efforts into the National Council for a World Peace Tax Fund, operating from a staffed office in Washington. In 1977, the bill was introduced in the Senate for the first time by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon). The World Peace Tax Fund Bill (H.R. 4897, S. 880) was introduced again in 1981 by Rep. Dellums and 29 co-sponsors (as of November 1981) in the House and Sen. Hatfield in the Senate.

In the first years after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, the war tax refusal movement lost a lot of its energy. Although there continued to be many more tax resisters than before the Vietnam era, the organized movement faltered. National WTR published the last issue of its Tax



Talk publication in 1975 and formally dissolved the following year. Many local WTR groups lapsed into inactivity. Most of the national peace groups lost interest. Individual resisters often had difficulty finding needed information and support.

As the much-heralded "Vietnam dividend" releasing resources for domestic needs failed to appear and military spending continued to rise, interest in war tax resistance began to grow, particularly within the religious community. In 1978, the Center on Law and Pacifism was formed. The brainchild of a Catholic attorney and lay theologian, William Durland, it was conceived as a radical religious pacifist group focusing on the relationship of pacifism to law and legal institutions. The Center has provided legal counsel to a number of war tax refusers. It has not won any major legal victories, but its existence as an expert resource for support encouraged many to become war tax resisters.

A Center workshop in November 1978 called for a People Pay for Peace campaign involving the refusal of at least \$2.40 (U.S. military budget per day per capita) in federal taxes. During the 1979 tax filing season, local groups formed in a number of cities, resulting in many new war tax resisters and a number of public witness actions. The Center issued the first edition of People Pay for Peace: A Military Tax Refusal Guide in 1979, and has issued a revised edition or a supplement to the book each year since.

At the same time, interest was increasing in historically pacifist churches. The General Conference Mennonite Church had been considering the issue for years, beginning in its forum newsletter God and Caesar in 1975. The issue became a major one for the New Call to Peacemaking (NCP) a joint effort by Mennonites, Quakers and Brethren to revitalize their peace witness. At the first NCP national conference in October 1978, the gathering called upon individual church members to "seriously consider refusal to pay the military portion of their federal taxes as a response to Christ's call to radical discipleship." It further called "on our denominations, congregations, and meetings to give high priority to the study and promotion of war tax resistance in our own circles and be-

yond." This strong stand received considerable publicity in the mass media. Particularly among Mennonites and Quakers, greatly increased consideration of the issue has resulted and many more individual members are engaging in war tax resistance. A second NCP conference in 1980 reaffirmed the 1978 position.



In 1979, Long Island peace activist Ed Pearson and others active in the World Peace Tax Fund movement launched a new national campaign to focus mass war tax resistance on passage of the bill. The Conscience and Military Tax Campaign seeks 100,000 people to sign a Resolution stating that they are either now resisting the payment of war taxes or will do so by the time 100,000 have signed. An Escrow Account of refused military taxes is maintained, to be turned over to IRS after enactment of the World Peace Tax Fund bill.

On June 12, 1981, Catholic Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen of Seattle spoke to a regional Lutheran gathering sharing "a vision of....a sizeable number of people...refusing to pay 50 percent of their taxes in nonviolent resistance to nuclear murder and suicide." Although he later stated in a pastoral letter that this was a secondary aspect of the speech, his vision received considerable national publicity and sparked many Catholics and other mainstream Christians to consider seriously war tax refusal for the first time.

There is now a growing war tax resistance movement which has begun to reach Americans in the mainstream. This movement has the potential of becoming a major component of a large and influential campaign to halt the arms race.



Bill Samuel, a Quaker, has been working on war-tax resistance for years.

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# A QUICK LOOK AT MILITARY TAX RESISTANCE IN ST. LOUIS

By Patrick G. Coy

The contemporary military-tax resistance movement in St. Louis has its genesis in the desire of a small group of people to bring together a support community whose existence would help make military-tax resistance both easier to engage in and more meaningful. In the late summer of 1981, these six people met to discuss how to establish such a group.

They were of the belief that far too much of the federal budget was devoted to matters military, that very real human needs were not being met as a result, and that to willingly cooperate in this injustice by unquestioningly paying their federal income tax would be to violate their consciences. The organizing tool eventually chosen by this group was that of a "covenant." They wrote up a covenant on military-tax resistance, publicized and distributed it, and on October 15, 1981 issued "a call to the St. Louis community to covenant around the issue of military-tax resistance." Thus, the St. Louis Covenant Community of War-Tax Resisters was born (the resultant acronym, SLCWTR, is affectionately pronounced "Slick-Water").

One of the four main points of the covenant (reproduced elsewhere in this journal) called for the establishment of an alternative use fund--wherein resisted tax monies could be deposited and "be available as a source of loans or grants for the enhancement of the common good." Consequently, two funds were established at an alternatively oriented neighborhood savings institution: an escrow account to house resisted tax monies and other deposits, the interest of which would be earmarked for the "alternative use fund," and from which no-interest loans would be made to individuals and community groups; an alternative use fund, from which SLCWTR would give gifts and grants to social service groups who should be receiving the tax monies in the first place.

At the following monthly meetings, a set of by-laws governing the use of the funds was drawn up, the organizational structure of the group was decided upon, personal histories and stories were shared,

and the covenant was written in calligraphic form on a large scroll of parchment. At the January 15, 1982 monthly meeting, a ritualized "signing of the covenant" was held, followed by the popping of champagne corks and a festive party!

On Tax Day, April 15, 1982, SLCWTR invited a member of the Plowshares Eight, mother and grandmother Holly Rush, to be the keynote speaker at an inter-faith service. The service also included many moving personal testimonies by local resisters who explained the reasons for their tax resistance and read their letters of refusal they had sent to the IRS. Two \$350 gifts of resisted tax monies were given; one to the Coalition for Sensible and Humane Solutions and the other to Lutheran Family and Childrens' Services' housing program. The evening service was then adjourned to the Post Office in time for picketing, praying, singing and leafletting as droves of local citizens made their last-minute pilgrimage to the altar of Caesar.

This scene was repeated on April 15, 1983, with another inter-faith service at which Marion and Ernest Bromley, long-time tax resisters and members of the Peacemaker movement, were the keynote speakers. This service was also adjourned to the Post Office to once again provide an alternative witness, but not before \$300 of resisted tax monies was presented each to the Abused Women's Shelter and the Sanctuary Program of the Inter-Faith Committee on Latin America.

Besides this activity, SLCWTR's escrow account has given a \$3000 loan to the local Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, a \$4000 loan to the Witness for Peace to be used along the border of Nicaragua and Honduras, and a \$1000 loan to a local college student who has refused to register for the draft and has therefore had his student financial aid cut off. All of these loans have been granted at no-interest.

More recently, in November of 1983, after repeated attempts by the IRS to collect over \$800 in 1982 resisted taxes directly from me failed, the IRS placed a levy on my salary at St. Louis University. While they were, in fact, successful in

(continued on page 12)

# WHAT WOULD YOU



## Instructions for preparing Fo

Department of the Treasury / Internal Re

This year, as you prepare  
consider what your money

WHAT WOULD YOU DO WITH \$

You could give every  
You could fix up old  
You could feed the  
You could make jobs

OR

You could buy bombs  
You build World Hea  
corporations.



Well? T

# DO WITH \$200 BILLION?

By Frank Bleckman

## m 1040

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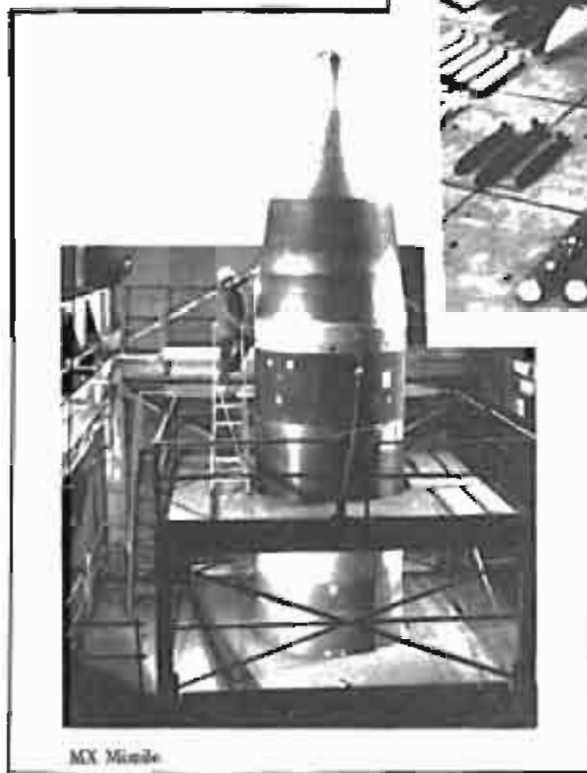
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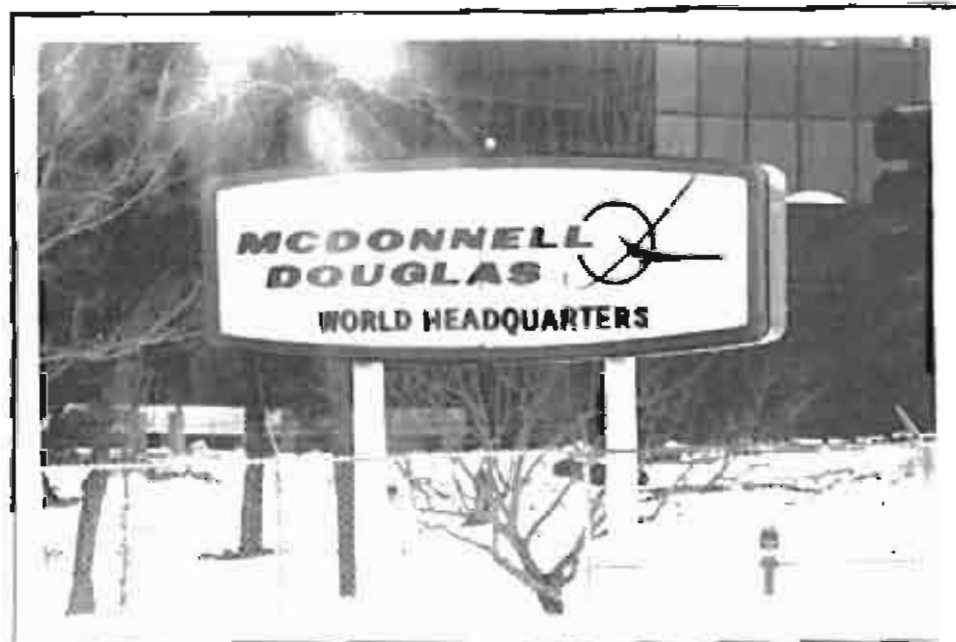
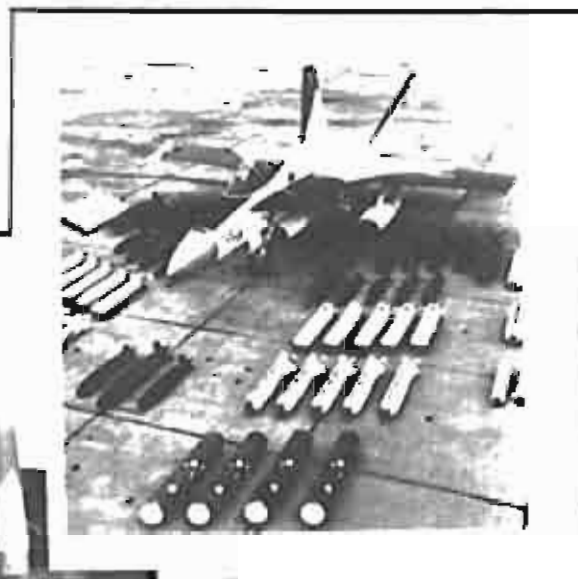
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choice is yours.



MX Missile





collecting the money through a salary garnishment, SLCCWTR used the event to good educational advantage. A well-attended and reported press conference was held at the university where the connections between the bloated military budget and drastic cuts in educational and student financial aid programs were exposed, and where a \$500 scholarship fund was established by SLCCWTR for a black student in financial need.

SLCCWTR has been involved in other models of educational outreach as well, including offering "how-to" workshops on tax resistance and presentations on the history and philosophy of military-tax resistance to church and community groups (see the enclosed flyer for the most recent educational event).

SLCCWTR is just one local manifestation of a much larger and burgeoning national movement. At the National War-Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC)

meeting I attended on behalf of SLCCWTR in Atlanta last month, plans were laid to launch a new national telephone excise tax campaign and to do outreach to the constituencies of existing peace groups, a national action conference was called for Memorial Day weekend, 1984, and a system was devised for the new NWTRCC office in New Jersey to coordinate national publicity for the hundreds of actions planned around the country for the week of April 15, 1984.

SLCCWTR meets on the 15th of every month at 3721 Westminster at 7:30 PM. Telephone inquiries can be directed to Rich Willms at 863-6019, or Mark Scheu at 241-5008. If we have learned anything together over these past 2½ years, it is that there is more than one way to free a conscience held hostage by the paralyzing mythology that cloaks the IRS. We invite you to come explore those creative possibilities with us.



### FOR THE SAKE OF ALL LIFE We Must Abolish Nuclear Weapons

#### A COVENANT

We come together because we live with the knowledge that even now the arms race is killing the poor, and is moving inexorably toward annihilating all life on our earth.

We believe that the arms race proceeds only as a consequence of our collective consent. The pervasive network of violence in our society is directly related to our intent to use nuclear weapons. Silence in the face of the arms race amounts to consent, as does paying for the weapons with our taxes.

We see war-tax resistance as a way of withdrawing our consent to our government's determination to both build and use nuclear weapons. Our refusal to pay for the arms race is the most direct way for us to proclaim that our ultimate security does not lie in weapons.

We come together, too, because we know that our non-violent war-tax resistance is overwhelmingly difficult. The Spirit that invites us to resist also invites us into a community of love, challenge and support as sisters and brothers.

Therefore, we pledge and covenant:

1. To select and carry out a form of war-tax resistance and/or to support those who are actively resisting.
2. To support each other's tax resistance.
3. To establish an alternative use fund for monies not being paid as taxes.
4. To educate and encourage others to withhold their consent to our government's determination to build and use nuclear weapons.

Wherefore, in the hope of peace and justice, and in honor of the poor who are being destroyed by nuclear weapons, we affix our signatures.

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# Reviewing Military Tax Resistance Literature

By Mark Scheu

It may surprise some to discover that guides devoted to military tax resistance have been regularly published for several years. Anyone familiar with Henry David Thoreau will acknowledge that an unwillingness to pay for war is not new to the American scene. Yet since the Second World War, which established firmly the "Pax Americana" and the corresponding on-going extension of inflated wartime budgets, such tax resistance is no longer an isolated event. The post-World War II world is denoted by the cold war, the nuclear arms race, third world intervention, and the permanent war economy. As war-making became less dependent on human power and more dependent on taxes to finance the increasingly expensive technology of modern weaponry, war tax resistance became a singularly apposite way to resist this militarization. War tax resisters are now numerous, widespread, and organized, and war tax resistance has taken on the dimensions of a national peace movement. One consequence of this growth is the availability of literature on the subject.

If one comes from a Christian perspective and has more concern with the "why" than the "how" of tax resistance, a satisfactory summary of the Biblical basis of such resistance can be found in Donald D. Kaufman's What Belongs to Caesar, published by Herald Press. That such a book was written by a Mennonite and published by a Mennonite press is quite fitting. The Anabaptists have had a long history of refusing to shirk the consequences of the overriding Christian allegiance to the Kingdom of God, despite the conflicts which ensue with the kingdoms of this world. Accordingly, at the "Bethlehem '83" joint conference of Mennonite churches, it was agreed that the Church, in violation of the law, would decline to withhold taxes from the wages of those employees who chose to resist taxes. Such a decision should serve as an inspiration to other churches in matters of church-state relations.

What Belongs to Caesar consists primarily of an exegesis of scripture relating to tax resistance, couched between a chapter on the history of taxation itself and a chapter on the experiences of war tax resisters. Kaufmann argues that "those who are willing to refuse the government their 'warm bodies' but nevertheless volunteer their 'cold cash' for war taxes are failing to make the choice of discipleship where it counts." Published in 1969, the examples of tax resistance related by Kaufman are somewhat dated. However, the scholarship of the work is evident both in its text and in its extensive bibliography. It is an essential source for those who need a full exposition on the Biblical basis of tax resistance.

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Those who ... volunteer

their "cold cash" for war taxes

are failing to make the choice of discipleship

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The mechanics of military tax resistance are most fully detailed in either of two separate guides. One is published by the War Resisters League and entitled simply Guide to War Tax Resistance. It is revised regularly and may be obtained for \$6 by writing the War Resisters League at 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. This guide is the more systematic of the two and often preferred by those who are interested in a well-organized, point-by-point discussion of tax resistance. The

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Mark Scheu, Karen House member and folk music aficionado, seems to have had troubles getting his car started this winter.

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ease in finding specific information which it offers is further enhanced by marginal notes on each page. Although it has only a brief discussion of the philosophy of war tax resistance, it does contain an excellent section on military spending in U.S. history and present federal outlays by function. It uniquely provides a separate overview of anarchist, feminist, right wing and legal tax resistance as well. To give the history of tax resistance a more personal flavor and to bolster the courage of those contemplating such a step, the guide also contains several personal histories, including Ernest Bromley, Karl Meyer, Martha Tranquilli, and Bruce Chrisman.

**1040A**

Department of the Treasury—Internal Revenue Service  
U.S. Individual Income Tax Return

- 7 Wages, salaries, tips, etc. (Attach Forms W-2.
- 8 Interest income (See pages 3 and 10 of instructions)
- 9a Dividends \_\_\_\_\_ (See pages 3 and 10 of instructions)
- 10a Unemployment compensation (insurance). Total
- b Taxable amount, if any, from worksheet on page
- 11 Adjusted gross income (add lines 7, 8, 9c, and instructions on "Earned Income Credit" . . . . .)
- 12a Credit for contributions to candidates for pul

Another excellent guide to tax resistance is written by William Durland and issued for \$4.50 by the Center on Law and Pacifism at P.O. Box 1584, Colorado Springs, CO 80901. It is appropriately called People Pay for Peace, a title which aptly conveys the counter-cultural spirit of the Center. William Durland is a constitutional lawyer, a Biblical theologian, and coordinator of the Center on Law and Pacifism. This Center is a clearinghouse for information and guidance in matters of civil disobedience and tax resistance. The Center also issues a monthly news journal called Center Peace. This publication is the best source for current information on war tax resistance.

The Center founded by Durland is an avowedly radical religious pacifist organization, and this is manifest in the guide to tax resistance. Those sections devoted to theological and philosophical questions are more elaborate than in WRL's guide, and reference to these considerations re-emerge throughout the work. There is an animated spirit which informs this guide and lends

**It is time**

**to set aside delusions**

it an exceptionally inspirational and entertaining air. For example, numerous quotations excerpted from a wonderful variety of sources are strategically scattered throughout the text, including short pieces by John Schuchardt, Peter Ediger and Pope John XXIII. Like the WRL guide, People Pay for Peace provides detailed information on how to resist war taxes, as well as on the expected response from the IRS. Due to its verbosity, however, it can be more difficult to locate the individual item that is needed. A large segment of the guide is given over to the issue of conscience and constitutional law.

The decision to resist military taxes is a personal one. There is no set course for all to follow. Yet no one in good conscience can any longer avoid coming to grips with the issue. It is time to set aside delusions. The Beast of Revelation has taken a formidable and awesome shape in our age. To pretend that such evil does not exist is to deny the distinction between good and evil. To deny the existence of such evil is also to deny the alternative of redemption. To refuse to undertake the cost of discipleship is to forfeit the Kingdom of God.





# WITNESSING FOR PEACE IN NICARAGUA

By Mary Dutcher

Fourteen of us from around the U.S. spent the early part of December in Managua and Jalapa, Nicaragua, to stand with the people and share in some small way their sufferings. They face the prospect of a U.S. sponsored invasion, the effects of the terrorist raids by the U.S. financed "contras", and the shortages of food staples caused by the U.S. economic blockade.

We were impressed that over half the population is 15 years of age or younger. We were probably most impressed, though, by the warmth and love shown to us by the people of Nicaragua. Although they are well aware of the hostility of the U.S. government and suffer daily from its effects, they are willing to distinguish between the government and the people of the United States. They respond with gratitude and hospitality to those "norteamericanos" who travel to their country to see for themselves "la realidad" (the reality) of their situation.

Before the revolution in 1979, the Nicaraguan people suffered under an extremely high infant mortality rate--25% of all children under five years of age. Since the revolution, that has been reduced to two percent, and the Sandinista government has received an award from the World Health Organization honoring this achievement. Consequently, the vast majority of people are happy with the changes since 1979 and are confused by the hostility of the United States government.

They cannot understand why the U.S. would support the contras, who kidnap, torture and mutilate members of their families as well as destroy their crops and farm animals. The town of Jalapa is swollen to three times its usual size by refugees fleeing the terrorism of the contras in the countryside. The people asked us to come back and tell the truth of what is happening, believing that the people of the United States would not countenance the immoral acts being financed in our name by the U.S. government.

I spoke with one woman, a refugee from Teotecacinte, whose 25 year old brother was kidnapped by the contras about this time last year. She thinks he has been killed, perhaps forced to fight with the contra army. Another told of how four men in her family were taken out of the house and shot after the contras came to the door and said they only wanted to ask them a few questions outside. As we were leaving the refugee camp, someone pointed to a grove of trees and said that 17 bodies had been discovered there last summer, so badly mutilated that one could not distinguish whether they were male or female.

**The people asked us to come back and**

**tell the truth of what is happening, believing**

**in the goodness of the people of the U.S.**

The government of Nicaragua is not without its faults. But, As Moravian Bishop John Wilson, a Miskito Indian himself, said to us, "Please allow Nicaraguans to settle their own problems without U.S. interference." Most of the Miskito Indians are not Spanish-speaking. The majority are of the Moravian church, while over 90% of the rest of the population is Roman Catholic. The Miskitos are darker skinned, which caused me to wonder if an analogy with the social situation in the United States between blacks and whites would be accurate. I asked Bishop Wilson about this and he said, "Absolutely." He has found the Sandinista government open to being challenged about its insensitivities to the Miskitos. He had just finished arranging a general amnesty for around 300 Miskitos who had been involved in the "Red Christmas" plot to overthrow the Sandinista government in 1981. "So please leave us to work out our own difficulties," he said.

On the following page is a poem by David Gracie, a member of our team.



Mary Dutcher, Karen House member, was a member of the first Witness for Peace team in December. She has also been the heretofore unacknowledged guiding light behind The Round Table the past few years.

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# NO CONTRADICTION

By David Gracie

A thousand roosters' echoed chants  
Awaken me to Nicaragua  
"Patria libre o morir!"  
Patria libre o morir!"  
and "Viva María!"

Holy Mary, Mother of God  
and mother of this people,  
Pray for them, the humble and meek,  
who shout  
"Between Christianity and the Revolution  
there is no contradiction!"

Gloria of the milita, red rose in your hand,  
*Children's nurse and handmaid of the Lord,*  
Like the multi-colored lilies--"bandera"--of the border,  
you silently proclaim:  
"Between beauty and the Revolution,  
there is no contradiction!"

Isaac, precocious, dark-eyed, long-lashed village child,  
At 13 you can crow, you know the line.  
But it contains so much truth about your threatened life,  
I'd join you in a chant:  
"Between youth and the Revolution,  
there is no contradiction!"

Melodious blackbirds explode in comic sound,  
Behind us some parrot pokes fun.  
Sergio--regional governor at 32--  
you joke about the "contras" and our journey down the road.  
Your easy smiles swell the save of humor  
that has carried us this far.  
"Between laughter and the Revolution,  
there is no contradiction!"

Dogs of Jalapa, alarmed by gunshots,  
howl in the night,  
Echoing like roosters  
Sounding like sirens calling to the courtyard trenches.

Holy Mary, Mother of God,  
pray for these people, now and in the hour of their deaths.

Pray for Gloria,  
Pray for Isaac and Sergio,  
Pray for "the mothers of the heroes and the martyrs."  
For all who touched us, embraced us,  
who exchanged the peace of Christ,  
and proved,  
"Between tenderness and the Revolution,  
there is no contradiction!"



David Gracie, an Episcopal priest from Philadelphia, was a member of the first temporary team of the Witness for Peace in Nicaragua. This poem is a reflection upon that experience.

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# From Little House

By Mary Ann McGivern, S.L.

The mother of a high school volunteer at the Catholic Worker told her friend who told me that the boy was disillusioned by his work with us. He now thinks the poor who stay with us are loafers, taking advantage of our hospitality. He came to do some painting and said the guests just sat around and ate soda and chips and smoked while the kids worked. So now the boy (and perhaps his mother and her friend) believe Edward Meese, that there really aren't any hungry children in the U.S. and that they just come to soup lines and shelters because it's easier than cooking at home.

Such second- and third-hand reports about volunteers' feelings are not unusual, though a first-hand reflection about the volunteer's or worker's own negative feelings is rare. It seems that there are some obvious responses, but also some elements of truth that I, at least, have had to think about long and hard to be able to name.

I'll begin with the obvious. The high school and college teachers and campus ministers who bring students to the Worker to volunteer do try to help them evaluate their experiences afterwards. We'd do better to ensure much more of that reflection for everyone; however, a crisis often intervenes--a flat tire, dinner burned, a sick child...or we're tired.

Secondly, when we hear the story weeks or months later, we cannot reconstruct the situation. We don't know if it was one guest or even other volunteers or somebody's company which caused the negative feelings. Perhaps it was guests who'd been working earlier and were resting now, or held jobs outside the house and were using their free time to play with their children, or were psychologically disturbed and incapable of work, or were, in fact, just plain lazy.

The third obvious point is that people come prepared to see what they expect. We humans sentimentalize the poor or blame them much more readily than we let go of our expectations and meet them one by one. If I expect to see loafers, I'll probably see them.

On to the less obvious. My father was fond of a second-hand quote from Dorothy Day by way of some priest's sermon. I've never found the source, but it runs, "The poor are difficult to work with," or maybe just "The poor are difficult." My father could have made it up by himself, because it certainly summed up his reflections on his experience. He saw women so beaten down they couldn't respond to him at all.



He repeatedly asked me what had happened to children he'd met who seemed to have no future. He saw Don Cress's hopelessness and witnessed a woman moving out of Karen House, deeply angry with us all for not meeting her needs. These are men and women with problems we can't solve and values we don't share, but who desperately need help. My father always thought it was very funny we got so much advice from outsiders on how to run the house. I think the reason he respected the Worker so much is that we try to hang in there with difficult people and for the most part reject the frequently given advice from guests, volunteers, police and friends: "Throw the bums out."

There is yet another possible explanation why the women sat and watched high school students paint the house--we didn't want their help. They might not be as careful as middle-class kids--or as willing to clean up their spatters. Or, having painted the house, they might claim ownership and be difficult to give direction to or move on out of the house. I haven't always wanted the help of guests who wanted to cook because I've been angry that they criticized my cooking and afraid that when they cooked a good meal (using good ingredients of course and not the leftovers) I'd never hear the end of it. One of the demonstrators who gave bread away at General Dynamics said she found it much easier to give to the poor than to the rich. I also find it difficult to receive from the poor. Even at the Catholic Worker where we have so many ideals about changing society, it is easier to give the poor food or a painted house than it is to give them work.



We are all well at the Little House. Bill has moved into his own apartment. Though BJ is allergic to cats, all those in the neighborhood have read "sucker" on her forehead and in the bitter cold come to our door for food as soon as her car pulls up from work. Sharon, Paul and Elijha have a new nephew, born on Thanksgiving. To my sorrow, Paul is quitting

school and looking for a job, but I agree he's ready for some independence. Sharon's teeth are still infected, but she's on the mend and looking for work. She and Elijha made gourmet pancakes over Christmas. Elijha is committed to wrestling as an art form and ridding the world of nuclear weapons.



## Pete's Letter Home to Karen House from Honduras

This is an excerpt from a letter the Karen House community received from Pete Rick, who has been sharing her nursing skills at a rural health clinic in Honduras since early October. We look forward to her homecoming in early February.

On Tuesday, one of the villages we went to was a lumbering town. There was no school, so we gathered at an open air meeting place that had 3 benches covered by a trellis of vines. The people were as nice as could be. Jeanne went off to knock on doors, so to speak, to announce our arrival. In the meantime, I gave the injections of medicine to those who came. Jeanne returned in about a half hour carrying sugar cane, squash and a live chicken--all gifts to us. (One of our neighbors is now fattening up the "pollo"). The little kids were very charming and were excited to get in a picture with me. It was supposed to be only "ninas", but one little boy joined us.

His name was Wilmer. To our surprise, he was carried by his grandmother to the clinic in Friday AM--during the late afternoon rain storm on Thursday, a heavy tree branch had fallen on his lower back. He could barely stand up even with support and was in great pain. We sent him to the hospital. We found out this morning that he died.

I have been stunned at the news and am only now letting the sadness of it penetrate me. I am touched remembering his making me welcome in his village--glad he did join the group photo after all--remembering his elderly grandparents having carried him for over a two hour walk to be seen at the clinic--scrounging for money to get him a ride to the hospital. I don't know medically "why" he died--but I have a hunch he was another victim

of what we would consider to be sub-standard health care services. Wilmer was a victim who bit the dust--there are so many who are survivors with chronic illnesses. It's astonishing to see ten year old kids with white tongues from chronic anemia and to know we won't have vitamins and iron tablets for at least a month, and a limited supply at that. How does this boy have the energy to walk the many miles to be seen by us? How does he make it through a school day? How does he carry that water, wood, working in the fields? They know suffering--unlike myself--from an early age.

And death is more visible and ritualized than I've seen before. We would call it superstition, perhaps, but it is much more a known part of their "life style", learned from early on. I saw how they didn't celebrate Halloween or All Saints Day here--but the big day was All Souls Day--people asking off work to go to the cemetery... processions, too. And on All Saints Day six people died in Morazan, who were then buried on their day to celebrate the dead.

And so, my brief encounter with Wilmer and Wilmer's brief experience with life, have caused me to celebrate, to mourn, to wonder, to be angry, to consider the things I can or cannot change. Isn't it much like the binds and obstacles the guests at Karen House have to go through or are up against? God helps us all. I feel like our worlds are really not that much different after all. ✝

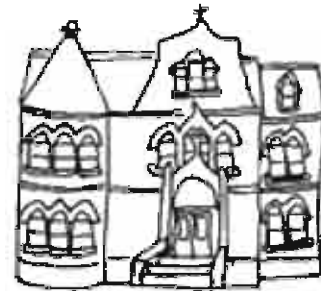
# From Karen House

By Teka Childress

It's harder to turn people away during the wintertime. I get a picture in my mind of those we turn away--in the park, unsafe, and literally out in the cold. Yet we try to keep in balance two things: the needs of people to shelter and the needs of people to a home, to a place that offers some peace of mind as well as warmth and safety. But even with the best of reasons for not taking someone, it is still not easy to say no. I always hope that someone else will take them in. Of course, in sub-zero weather we must make sure people have places.

Besides having to make hard decisions about whether people can come or not, we periodically have to make tough decisions about having people leave. One occasion remains particularly vivid in my memory. The woman, (I'll call her "Jane") is in her seventies and has stayed with us time and time again. She has continually had difficulty in handling her money. Every month when she gets her check, her grown son and she use it up within the first week of having it. They go out to eat. She buys him shoes and other clothes. Additionally, she simply gives him money which he drinks away. Her poor handling of money leaves her without a place to stay three weeks out of a month. It was because of such behavior that Jane was with us once again. After seeing this pattern for over a year, we could no longer bear it. We told Jane she had to save her check this month, absolutely, or she would have to go. Well, Jane did not save her check; so we told her she had to leave. Being mostly soft touches at heart, we helped her find another shelter to which she could go. I and another community member drove her to the shelter. The other community member wanted to come along because she had been one of the most adamant that Jane go, so she wanted to help in the effort of getting her settled. While we were waiting outside the door of the other shelter for someone to open the door, we were shivering. It was much colder than we had expected, and we had not dressed warmly enough. The

Teka Childress, member of Karen House, was once described by another community member as exhibiting "unrelenting kindness"--except when bargaining for use of a house car!



only one prepared was Jane. She was wearing her coat. When she noticed that the other community member, the adamant one, was particularly poorly dressed for the weather, she took her coat off and put it on the other community member and said, "Here, you keep warm now." My friend looked up at me with an agonized expression and said, "This is purgatory." I knew exactly what she meant. Our guest, our friend, had offered us compassion even in the midst of our making her leave. Yet, I remember the event with such joy, thinking of the kindness of that woman.

In thinking about having to make hard decisions, and always being unable to do all we would like, it is easy to get discouraged. I've certainly been learning over the years here that "love in practice is a harsh and dreadful thing compared to love in dreams." But love in dreams is not real. It takes no search for God. It takes no painful search of the soul, no conscious decision to turn toward another and for another, no faith (because in dreams, decisions of love always seem so clear-cut, whereas in life they're most often unclear).

Love in dreams does not give one bit of food to the hungry or shelter to the homeless. But love in reality does, even if imperfectly. So let us be grateful for the love we are able to bear. Let us rejoice that we really do love when we get up at night to take someone to the hospital, even if we are grumpier about it than we'd like to be; or when we make efforts to help Jane, even if we don't do it perfectly, or she doesn't change to the way we'd like her to be. We must believe that God directs our efforts of love beyond our imagination and our understanding.




# From Cass House

By Janet Gray McKennis

During these last weeks of Advent as we have all watched and waited for our brother and Savior Jesus, we at Cass House have experienced another sort of anxious waiting and yearning for wholeness. Our brother Zack spent two days in an intensive care unit after what was first feared to have been a heart attack. After being ignored along with other sick people in the emergency room at City Hospital, Zack was admitted to Incarnate Word Hospital, despite the fact that he had no insurance.

Zack came back to us the Tuesday before Christmas, having been admonished to take more account of his own needs and the limits of any body, but otherwise pronounced "healthy." We are most thankful and happy to have him back as we finish waiting for our Lord.

Bobbie and the kids are still waiting to move. The plan now is for them to move into the new place during the last two weeks of January. Bill Hodel and all the rest of you who have worked at Bobbie's new apartment have earned her heartfelt thanks. Though we'll really miss Bobbie and the kids, we agree with her that they will be happy in their new home.

 Janet Gray McKennis, Cass House member, is busy sewing her wedding dress and preparing to return to school to study Greek.

Eddie is nearly done with his latest project. In January he will become a certified nurse's assistant. We are all very proud of him and are excited with him to see his hard work bearing fruit.

Michael McIntyre and I are awaiting our marriage, now ten weeks away. We will have been engaged to be married for eleven months when March 4 rolls around.



The holiday season is such a hard time to be dependent upon a shelter. I've almost been dreading these last days before Christmas as much as I've looked forward to them. I know that we will be family to one another, and that the children's excitement will become infectious, and those are also worth waiting for. Still, it's so easy not to catch hold of the Incarnation. Instead one becomes lost in the celebration that only casts human misery in a more appalling light. My prayer for all of us at Cass House is also what I pray for you: may we each catch hold of that for which we have been waiting and pray that God binds us to Her. +

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St. Louis Catholic Worker News

## the ROUND TABLE

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