

THE Round Table

Autumn

1987

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

NEXT STOP



ST. LOUIS

WHY THIS ISSUE?



I predict that this issue will bring tears to your eyes. It is filled with data about our first-strike nuclear weapons and about the trains which steadily rattle and lumber across our land, in fact right through our city, laden with the fuel and the parts for these weapons. Bob Aldridge details the chilling facts of the D-5, explaining what this first-strike missile can do, how many we have and how many we will build. Jim McGinnis relates the story of Ground Zero's campaign against these missiles and the nuclear submarines which carry them. Jim Douglass, a participant in that Seattle-based campaign, recently spoke with us in St. Louis about tracking the trains which carry this lethal cargo to their respective submarine bases. He reflects upon the living martyrdom of Brian Willson. Brian also confronted a train transporting weapons, this one destined for Central America, and paid a severe price.

The trains are the common thread that run through these articles. Whereas trains have always brought destruction in their wake for such as the Native Americans, for the immigrants to this land they have also been a romantic symbol of the struggle to unify the vast and lonely reaches of our continent. Once again the trains bring death and destruction, and once again they are uniting our land. From Poulsbo, Washington through St. Louis to King's Bay, Georgia, communities such as Ground Zero and others respond to the death rattle of the trains with the active love of nonviolence described by Jim Douglass.

The tears came for me in reading of the loving actions of both the people on the tracks blockading the trains and the people in the trains operating them. The violence and viciousness of our weapons and our intent to kill with and for them has neither triumphed nor had the final word. We hope this issue will serve to scatter the seeds of this campaign into whatever wind is blowing in the wake of the stealthy night-time passage of the nuclear train.

As always we included our house articles. The Cass House article appears for the final time with the community reflecting upon their past and future. We lament the closing of our sister shelter, yet greet the future with renewed hope in doing the works of mercy and resisting the works of war. +

*Cover drawing by
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BUT WHAT IS THE QUESTION?

by

Jim Douglass

Shelley and I have often driven by a church with a neon sign that says, "CHRIST IS THE ANSWER." Our response has been: "But what is the question?"

I believe the question in the nuclear age is evil -- organized, systemic evil which is destroying human beings on a massive scale, evil which is on the verge of ending the human race. The question is evil. That has always been the question. But the question of evil has become today the question of life itself. In terms of our lives, the question is: How can human beings change -- how can we ourselves change -- deeply enough for life to continue?

To respond to the question of evil, now a question of life itself, we need witnesses to life -- in other words, martyrs. The word "martyr" means literally a witness, a witness to life. A martyr chooses to testify to God's power in life, and as a result, receives the gift of witnessing that power in a deeper way. The martyr offers his or her life. Through that offer a deeper vision of life is opened up to all of us. The martyr is in every way a living witness, not a dead one.

I believe the martyrdom of Brian Willson by a U.S. Navy weapons train at the Concord Naval Weapons Station offers us a way of entering the question of evil and our own transformation.

When the veterans Brian Willson, Duncan Murphy, and David Duncombe chose with others to stay on the Concord tracks in a forty-day fast beginning September 1, 1987, what they were saying was crystal

clear: This evil has to stop, and we offer our lives to stop it. Before Brian knelt down in front of the train that ran over him, he said he was prepared to give his life to stop the suffering and killing in Central America.

The train ran over Brian, but I believe Brian stopped the train, and that we need to understand that. It's critical that we understand the transforming power of what has happened and is happening at Concord. Because of Brian's, Duncan's, and David's witness and the continuing witness at the tracks, people from Concord to Nicaragua are experiencing life, transformation, a resurrection. Brian stopped the train. Since that first overwhelming encounter at Concord, the train has been stopped every time it moved.

Approximately every other day at Concord, a new munitions train like the train that ran over Brian Willson continues to shuttle from one side of the base to the other. Because the tracks cross public land, the resistance community camped outside Concord would continue to block these shipments with their bodies were it not for a new factor introduced by the Navy: now whenever the munitions train prepares to move, 150 Marine security guards line the tracks for an hour at parade rest. This solid Marine barrier to the tracks is a surrender to nonviolence, a recognition by the Navy that the train is powerless against the nonviolent force it met on September 1st and would meet again if the tracks were accessible to the resisters. But the train is in truth meeting that force again, in another form.

Jim Douglass, a founder of the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, is the author of three books on the theology of nonviolence. His newest book is due out next year, published by Orbis Press. Jim carries his Rand McNally Handy Road Atlas most everywhere he goes.

Nonviolence doesn't depend on bodies on the tracks in order to stop the trains.

When the Marines block access to the tracks, they themselves become accessible. As a result, U.S. veterans from World War II, Korea, and Vietnam are able to explain quietly to the young Marines why the vets have chosen now to resist weapons going to Central America. The Marines make no reply. But they listen. Some are seen to cry. Others have begun to talk in other contexts with the peacemaking veterans. Lives are changing. A mutual trust is growing. The train is being stopped.



Pat Coy

*Jim Douglass round table discussion at
Cass House, Bill Miller singing*

The Navy knows this, perhaps even better than the resisters do. The Navy is suddenly threatening to condemn the little townsite of Clyde, where three hundred people live, just to eliminate the public land where a nonviolent presence is growing between the two sides of the Concord base. The Navy recognizes that a nonviolent leaven can go a long way. Hopefully that leaven will work in Clyde, bringing townspeople and resisters together in a new community.

The weapons trains at Concord are moved by a larger purpose: to impose the logic of violence on people. The system behind the trains wants to impose the logic of violence on the Marines who guard the trains, on the community at the tracks and in Clyde, and on the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador targeted by the bombs. The logic of violence is the presumed ability of sheer power to impose its will on the physically, socially, or militarily less powerful. Violence is the assumed logic of

nation-states. It is the logic of the U.S. government's mercenaries in Central America and the logic of the Soviet Union's troops in Afghanistan. The logic of violence can work only to the extent that it is met by violence. Against nonviolence like that of the veterans at Concord the logic of violence is powerless.

Nonviolence meets the logic of violence with unyielding freedom, the decision to resist illegitimate power by active love no matter what the consequences. Violence is powerless against active love. Running over a nonviolent opponent is as futile as trying to protect the train from a further encounter with the same opponent. The spirit of nonviolence has a thousand ways to stop the train, both on off the tracks.

The train ran over Brian, but Brian stopped the train through his love. He stopped the train again in his first meeting with reporters after he had lost both his legs. Brian told the reporters:

"I'd like to say that I have compassion for the train crew. I know they have a soul and they have a heart and I can't believe that they would have wanted to run over me or anyone else. I feel no ill will toward the people who were on that train."

The transforming power of nonviolence is in those words, just as it was in the men on the tracks in front of the train. Nonviolence means offering our lives in resistance to evil, and loving the opponent through that process, no matter what the opponent does to us. In nonviolence we give our lives in loving resistance, doing everything we can to resist evil and to affirm the lives of those who run us down, because they like we are human, children of the same Nonviolent God. In that sense the neon sign is right: "Christ is the answer," the Nonviolent Christ whose wounds are the wounds of the poor. Brian has been given the same wounds as the poor in Nicaragua whose limbs have been taken by the bombs carried in the trains. Until we reflect those wounds in our own lives, we cannot hope to stop the evil behind them.

"Christ is the answer," but what is the question?

Once we understand that the question is evil and suffering, and how to respond to that suffering, it is true that the Nonviolent Christ is the answer -- as is the Nonviolent Yahweh, Allah, and Buddha. The answer is a transforming, nonviolent presence at the heart of our lives. The



Nuclear train being met by resisters in Tupelo, MS

further question is how to understand that ongoing transformation. What this recent martyrdom or witness suggests is that transformation is the process of responding to suffering by taking it on in our own lives.

What we can learn, I think, from Brian Willson and the Veteran's Fast for Live is that we have to seek out evil with love. Three days after he was hit by the train, Brian said, "Our actions and expressions are what is needed, not our whispers and our quiet dinner conversation."

Nonviolence is a disruption of evil. It is seldom recognized that Jesus is depicted in the Gospels as a constant nonviolent aggressor against evil. Nonviolence is, as Gandhi also taught, a constant state of active love. Nonviolence is a disruption of evil by love. But nonviolence acknowledges the subtle nature of evil. Injustice is dependent on our cooperation with it. Therefore nonviolence in disrupting evil must by the nature of things disrupt our own lives.

We must seek out the sources of the evil that is killing people. There are a thousand ways, especially in this culture, to avoid the responsibility of a revolutionary response to evil — a response which traces evil to its own lair, as at the Concord Naval Weapons Station, then blocks that evil with everything we have, namely with our own lives. There is a sense in which evil has to be attacked with the weapons of love.

But what we also learn from Brian's example is that evil takes that attack seriously. The evil that takes life in the jungles of Nicaragua, when pushed, will take life also on the Concord tracks. An evil system at its source is like a deadly beast in its cave: Enter the cave in darkness, approach the beast with love, and be prepared for serious consequences. Recognize that when nonviolent action goes to the heart of darkness, it takes on a power which threatens the power of death. And at that point, death responds with desperation.

Gandhi followed Jesus in realizing that to experiment in nonviolence is to experiment in the most powerful force in existence. The way Jesus put it was: The kingdom of God is at hand. Gandhi used the term satyagraha — truth-force, soul-force, love-force. Gandhi like Jesus understood that this kingdom, this reign or power of God, is no farther away than your and my hands. Like Gandhi and Jesus, we can experiment in the kingdom of God's power. That is what Brian Willson and the community at Concord continue to do, and why the community is deepening and widening.

The kingdom of God is nonviolence. It is a constant state of active love: seeking out evil with active love, offering our own lives, and supporting the lives of our opponents. What we begin to realize as we experiment in this power is that evil can be overcome only by a power

St JOHN Gualbert



forgiving his enemy

beyond power. The very process of nonviolence is inexhaustible. It is infinite. The process of nonviolence involves one profoundly in a new Reality. Nonviolence by engaging evil with love engages our own lives in an infinitely transforming process, whereby we and our opponents experience a mutual change we never anticipated and which has no limits.

A fundamental limit of violence is that none of us has the power to force another person to believe or live out our truth. In terms of truth, violence doesn't work. People will always believe what they choose to believe, not what we choose for them. They will react against any truth of ours imposed on them.

Better than any humans do, the reality of God respects that limit of human freedom. Reality recognizes we can't be forced to be good, and allows us to choose even evil. Perhaps Reality's nonviolence toward our rebellious freedom is the hidden key to evil's redemption.

In nonviolent action, we say not my will but the will of the Spirit be done. Nonviolence is prayer in action. It is the openness to God's will being lived out. If a nonviolent action is not open to the Spirit, it is a more subtle violence under the form of nonviolence.

Nonviolent action is therefore love in action which in faith awaits a transforming Reality's coming into the world. Carried through in love of the enemy and

forgiveness of injury, nonviolent action is itself the coming of God into the world. That is because nonviolent action embodies in a beginning way what and who God is: at one with the poor and suffering, resisting injustice, loving enemies, and forgiving unforgiveable acts. So when we act in that way, we begin to give God an opening to the world. God uses those openings in ways we can only marvel at.

What is the question? The question is evil, and the answer is the nonviolence of God. We don't want to hear the question, and we find it hard to believe the answer. When we do hear and believe, when we experiment in the nonviolence of God, we begin to realize that a new Reality is at hand.

When we deepen in prayerful, nonviolent action, both evil and God take us seriously. We are given the faith and fate of the prophets. We are given the cross. It is truly a gift — a terrible, beautiful grace through which our lives and the world are transformed. +

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. . . This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

The Bill of Lading for the Trident II missile propellant which regularly passes through St. Louis was obtained by the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action through the Freedom of Information Act. We find it a chilling reminder of how very close to home lie the roots of nuclear holocaust. Nuclear evil requires our daily cooperation — its transformation requires our daily resistance.

U.S. GOVERNMENT-BILL-OF-LADING

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5. DESTINATION (Name, address and ZIP code) Eastern Test Range Cape Canaveral AFS, FL Titusville, Florida	6. SPLC (Dest.) 496130 7. SPLC (Orig.) 762958	8. ORIGIN (Name, address and ZIP code) Hercules Aerospace Company Aerospace Products Group for NAVPBRO (SSPO) Bacchus, Utah 84044	
9. CONSIGNEE (Name, address and ZIP code of installation) Commanding Officer Eastern Test Range Cape Canaveral AFS, FL 32920	10. GBLOC (Cont.) IOOI	11. SHIPPER (Name, address and ZIP code) Hercules Aerospace Company Aerospace Products Group for NAVPBRO (SSPO) Magna, Utah 84044	
12. APPROPRIATION CHARGEABLE RMP-7-NR10	13. BILL CHARGES TO (Dept./agency, bureau/office mailing address and ZIP code) Department of the Navy, Commanding Officer Navy Material Transportation Office, Code 021 Bldg. -Z-133-5 Naval Station, Norfolk, VA 23511		
14. VOICED BY (Name, address and ZIP code) DRGW - HERRINGTON, KS - ST LOUIS, MO CSXT - Jacksonville FL. - FEO - Destination			AGENCY LOC CODE

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THE AGAPE CAMPAIGN

by Jim McGinnis

"It's a campaign we are involved in, a nonviolent people's campaign; not a series of isolated actions against some trains." With these words Jim Douglass described the efforts of the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action to confront the Trident submarine program over the past thirteen years. Six years ago Jim and Shelley and their Ground Zero community began tracking the trains carrying the missile motors, the solid fuel propellant, and the nuclear warheads themselves from their points of origin in Salt Lake City and Amarillo, Texas to their Bangor, Washington destination. Now the Trident fuel propellant shipments are being tracked through St. Louis on their way to Kings Bay, Georgia and Cape Canaveral, Florida. Six years ago Jim and Shelley moved into their home along the tracks and immediately adjacent to the Bangor Naval Base in Kitsap County, Washington. It is there that they are literally shaken as the trains pass under their kitchen window on their way into the base. And it is there that a community gathers to pray, vigil and sit on the tracks in an effort to stop the trains and ultimately turn them around.

But it is probably more accurate to date the campaign's beginning fifteen years ago. It was in 1972 that Jim and Shelley first met Bob and Janet Aldridge. They were in Hawaii to support Jim in his trial for nonviolent direct action at the Hickam Air Force Base against the war in Indochina. When Bob listened to the testimonies of two Nuremberg prosecutors, he realized that he personally was guilty of war crimes because he was designing first-strike weapons as an engineer at the Lockheed Missiles and Space Corporation.

For sixteen years Bob had been designing missiles for U.S. nuclear submarines, first the Polaris, then the Poseidon, and finally the Trident missiles. He realized that the extreme accuracy of the Trident missiles was not needed for a retaliatory strike against empty Soviet missile silos, but could only be intended as a first-strike against these missiles themselves. At a family retreat later that year, Bob and Janet and their six children still living at home decided that Bob should resign his job at Lockheed and begin a life of resistance to this first strike weapon system.

Jim always starts his history of the Trident campaign with this transformation of Bob Aldridge, as an illustration of what he means by a people's campaign. Relationships are the key. The campaign against the Trident began with the designer of the Trident missiles. In a people's campaign, the resisters commit themselves to work with the so-called "opposition" against the weapon system in which both are caught or implicated. The Trident workers, the base and county security personnel, and the train employees and guards are not the enemy. The weapon system, or more accurately the security and privileges that the weapon systems provide, are the enemy. The trains will not be stopped without the cooperation (or noncooperation) of the workers, the police, and the engineers.

Believing with Gandhi that no one is so caught in their complicity with evil that they cannot be reached by a nonviolent appeal to their conscience and heart, the Ground Zero community has leafletted workers weekly for nine years. They have

Jim McGinnis, a founder of the Institute for Peace and Justice, has written several books in the area of peace and justice. A dedicated Cardinals fan, rumor has it he pulled the strings to procure box seats for the National League playoff series.

dialogued with county police and railroad and base security regularly in preparation for each blocking of the train. In this reaching out to the so-called opposition, many strange alliances (conversions) have occurred. Jim sees their campaign as "an experiment in Truth," to use Gandhi's words. And in any such experiment, all kinds of unanticipated consequences occur.

One Bangor base worker who had been leafletted for years asked if he could join the leafletters. After several weeks of leafletting his fellow workers, he was urged by his superiors to stop. He refused to obey and eventually was given permission to arrive fifteen minutes late to work so that he could complete his leaf-

Subsequent meetings helped restore trust and resulted in the sheriff's willingness to allow the resisters to sit on the tracks until the train came to a halt. Reaching out together to the railroad management, Ground Zero and the sheriff were able to convince the railroad to stop the train.

It is the train crew who most immediately stop the train. The nonviolent discipline and convictions of the resisters in subsequent actions on the tracks apparently broke through to one train crew member. On an especially hot day in August 1986, when dozens of resisters were being arrested for blocking the train, the brakeman left his cab and took water to



Bill Wann

Resisters meet the train at the Bangor Trident Base

letting task with his shift entering the base. Ultimately he resigned his base job and joined the Ground Zero community more fully.

The Kitsap County sheriff has become one of Ground Zero's strongest admirers, although he does not support their opposition to the arms race. Years of dialogue have generated mutual respect. When a 1984 demonstration broke down with some resisters rushing the train, jeopardizing the safety of the police protecting the train, Jim Douglass publicly stated that the police were more nonviolent than the resisters. This honest confession cost some support with the peace community but earned the admiration and subsequently increased cooperation from the sheriff

each of the persons still sitting alongside the tracks. Several times he had to retrace his steps and refill his water container. When he came to the final resister, she said "I was thirsty and you gave me to drink," to which the engineer responded "amen."

It is not the resisters alone who will stop the trains and stop Trident. The community of nonviolent resisters can be the catalyst for a wider community to come forward, probably one at a time rather than in large numbers. To the degree that we as resisters are converted from our complicity with violence and the arms race (from paying taxes to acts of personal violence in our own lives) and from our writing off of the "opposition" as the

enemy, members of this opposition may also experience conversion. As Jim phrases it, "we try to think of each worker we leaflet as another Bob Aldridge."

Another major characteristic of a nonviolent people's campaign is community. Resistance is nurtured in community. It is a community which will stop the trains and ultimately stop Trident. Community means people bound together around a common pursuit caring for each other and for all who are related to or implicated in that pursuit. Calling themselves the "Agape Community," the Ground Zero community has linked with individuals and groups all along the tracks. Their links go more deeply than the phone calls that pass the word across the thousands of miles of tracks that the train is coming. The links are also spiritual. Members of the Agape Community are bound together by prayer, fasting, and caring for one another as well as for the poor who are the local victims of what the trains represent and carry. The Agape Community is gradually transforming the tracks themselves. Once solely the means by which nuclear destruction was transported across the country, the tracks have now become that which links the members of the Agape Community across the country. It is these links that provide the courage to begin and to persevere in nonviolent resistance. As Jim puts it:

As the ultimate first strike weapon for the end of humankind, Trident is at the heart of darkness. . . . Trident's darkness is our cooperation with it. Trident's power reflects our unwillingness to seek first the Kingdom of God in ever-deepening resistance to it. Trident's evil is the absence of our commitment to God's will for peace. Through Trident's ultimate evil, God calls us to our redemption. When Trident will have been met at last by a collective, Spirit-filled noncooperation with its evil, Trident will suddenly collapse.

What is this "collective, Spirit-filled noncooperation" that will ultimately overcome the evil of Trident? It is the willingness to say "no" to that evil even when (or especially when) that "no" threatens our own lives. It is the willingness of resisters to suffer the consequences of the evil they are resisting that will break through the consciousness

of others and invite them to join in noncooperation with that evil. As Gandhi put it:

. . . things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings; war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening their ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason. . . . The appeal of reason is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in us.

Brian Willson understood this message when he chose to kneel before a train carrying weapons to Central America in the Concord Naval Air Station near San Francisco. On September 1, 1987, Brian lost his legs and nearly his life as the train ran over him. This amputee who had such empathy for the amputees of Nicaragua will stop many trains. The engineer who ran over him is bound to be touched by Brian's public forgiveness. "I bear them no malice," he said at a press conference only days after almost losing his life. Every engineer of every nuclear train confronted by nonviolent resisters and aware of Brian's witness will think more deeply about stopping the train. If we and others join in public witness in front of or alongside these trains, Brian's witness will deepen the meaning and impact of our actions. The moral crisis -- a crisis of conscience -- will grow across the land.

Gandhi has shown us what persevering nonviolent direct action can accomplish over the long haul. To be effective, such action must be filled with the integrity and honesty illustrated in Jim Douglass' willingness to acknowledge the violence of jeopardizing lives by rushing the train in 1984. We must learn how to reach out non-judgementally to those caught in the web of Trident's evil, the so-called opposition. We must be willing to risk our freedom (jail terms for civil disobedience), our security (putting our reputations and perhaps our jobs in jeopardy), and perhaps our lives as Brian Willson did. We must be willing to come together with others on the tracks in a community of prayer, sacrifice, and mutual caring. We must be willing and able to link our efforts to stop Trident and the arms race

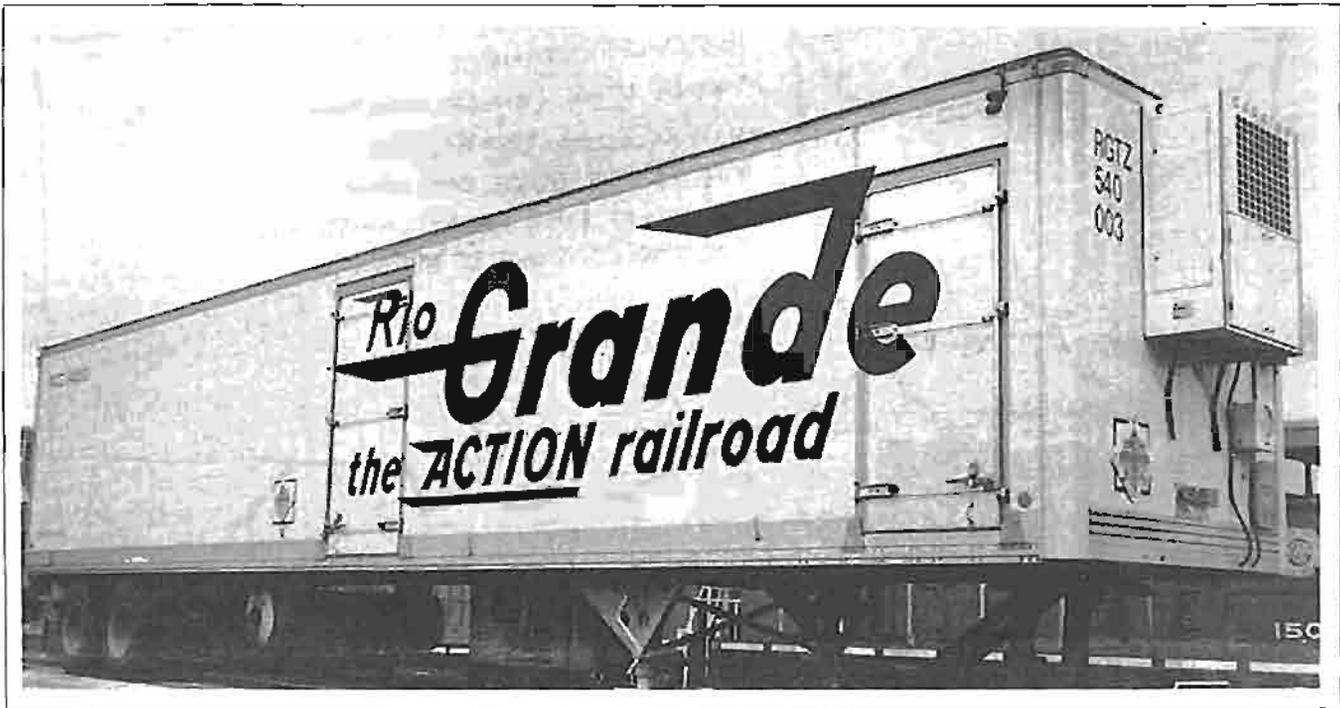
with the lives and concerns of its first victims, the poor in our own communities. If we can link more effectively with the poor and advocates for the poor and see personally and make visible for others the connections between poverty, racism, and the arms race, then united we can more effectively stop the trains, stop Trident, and reverse the arms race.

Thus we can make the "truth" of our experiment in nonviolent resistance become real in ever widening circles or ripples. And part of living more deeply at the point where we are has to do with personal integrity, compassionate service with those closest to us, and prayer.

Ultimately our effectiveness lies not in our own human power, no matter how extensive our coalitions are. It is the power of God working in and through those committed to an understanding of nonviolence as suffering love, "soul force" or "satyagraha" ("clinging to the truth"). Infused with the power of the Spirit -- "agape," the love of God operating in the

human heart -- we can be God's instruments in transforming the world ("building the Kingdom"). We are given this "agape." We are called to live this "agape." Perhaps joining with Jim and Shelley's Agape Community along the tracks is a next step in our responding to this call. †

Note: For those readers interested in Jim and Shelley's further reflections on the tracks campaign and nonviolent resistance in general, Jim's LIGHTENING EAST TO WEST book is an outstanding resource (available for \$8.00 from the Institute for Peace and Justice, 4144 Lindell Blvd., #122, St. Louis, MO 63108; 314-553-4445). For shorter pieces, subscribe to their GROUND ZERO quarterly newsletter (from Ground Zero, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370; 206-692-7053).



Trident II fuel propellant being held in E. St. Louis train yards

Local Organizing Meeting

*Monday November 30th
7:30 p.m. Busch Center Rm. 309
Grand & Laclede*

ALL WELCOME

Karen House Catholic Worker 314.621.4052

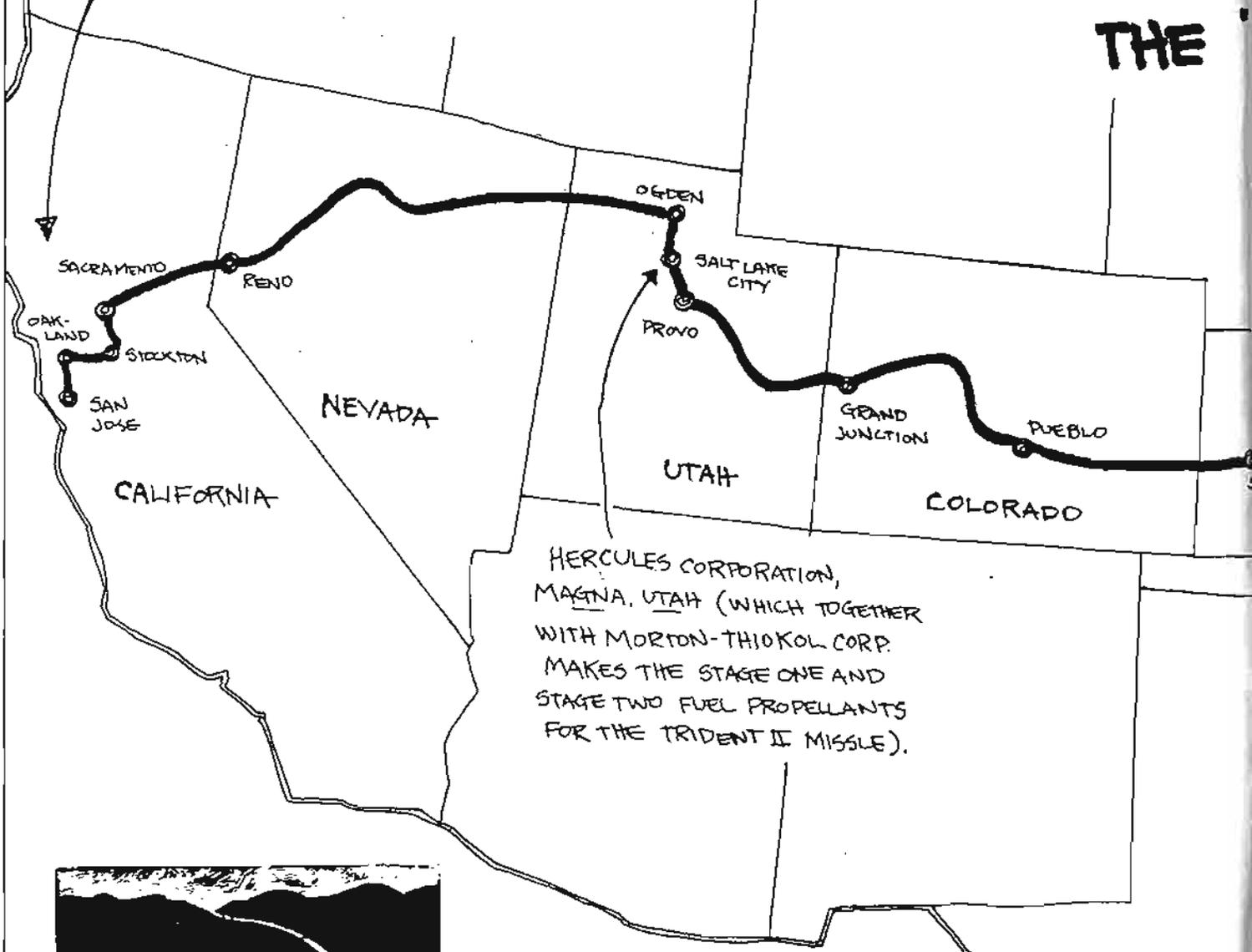
"The Arms Race Within"

*Video on National Tracks Campaign
at 6:30 p.m. for those interested*

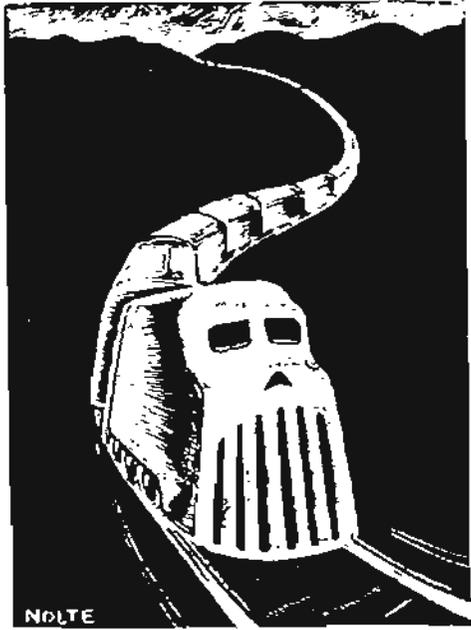
www.karenhousecw.org 1840 Hogan St. Louis, MO 63106

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UNITED TECHNOLOGIES, SAN JOSE, CA.,
(WHICH MAKES THE STAGE THREE FUEL
PROPELLANT FOR THE TRIDENT II MISSILE).

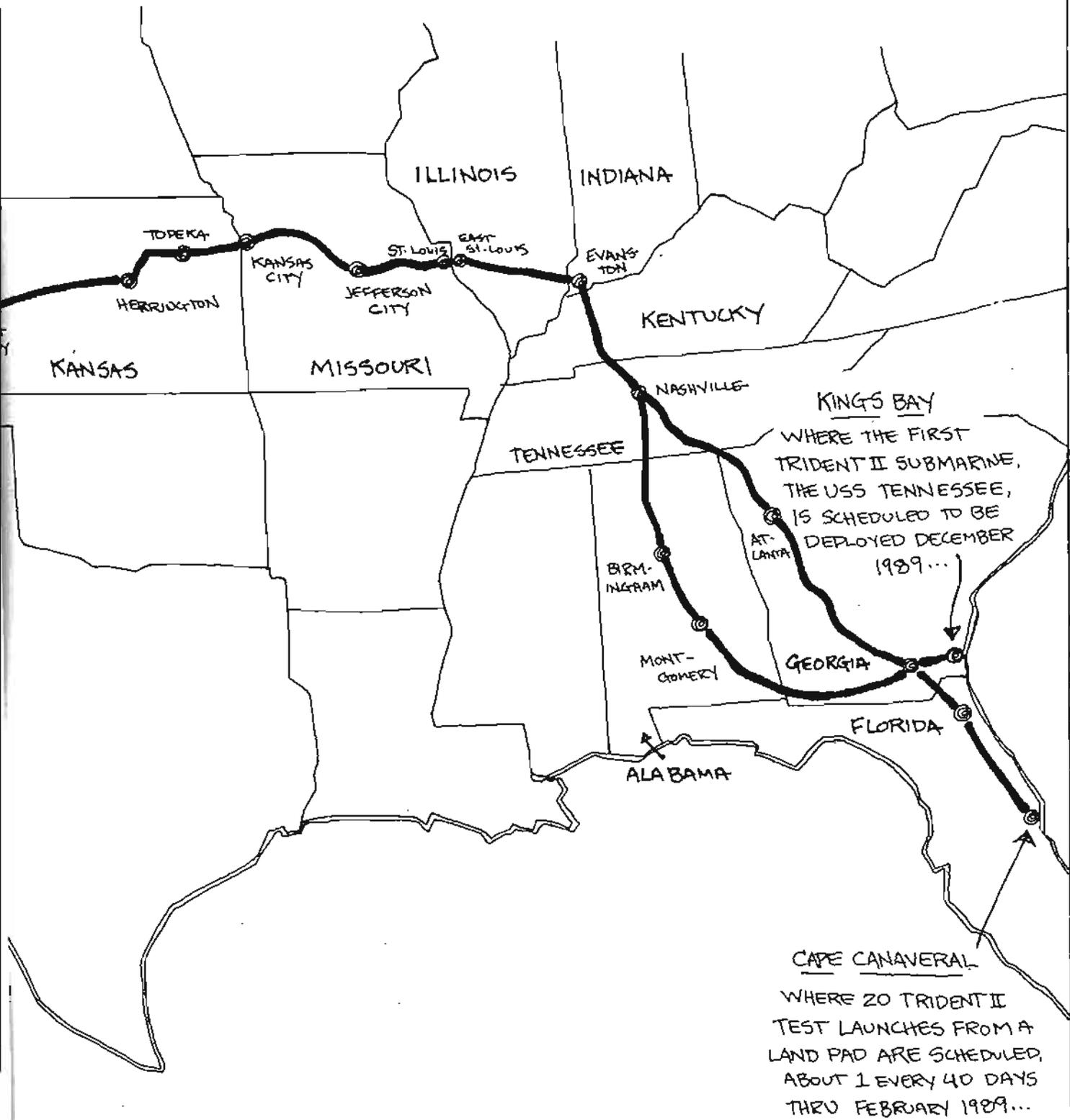


HERCULES CORPORATION,
MAGNA, UTAH (WHICH TOGETHER
WITH MORTON-THIOKOL CORP.
MAKES THE STAGE ONE AND
STAGE TWO FUEL PROPELLANTS
FOR THE TRIDENT II MISSILE).



Map drawn for THE ROUND TABLE by Larry Nolte

ONE-WAY SHIPPING ROUTES OF TRIDENT II NUCLEAR MISSILE



FIRST STRIKE! : THE TRIDENT - 2

by Robert Aldridge

"First strike is a political decision — any weapon can be used to strike first!" Many times I have heard that statement made to confuse understanding of aggressive weapons. First strike could be a political decision, true, but only if weapons are available to reduce retaliation to acceptable levels. The political decision-makers would need an adequate number of silo-killing weapons combined with a fine-tuned anti-submarine force and the ability to intercept or deter retaliation — all integrated by reliable command and control. That is a big order but Pentagon programs appear aimed at that goal. Not the least of these programs is Trident.

The Trident-2 submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM), also known as the D-5, entered full scale development and testing in October 1983. Flight testing began in January 1987. Initial deployment of twenty-four missiles will be on the ninth Trident submarine in December 1989, operating out of Kings Bay, Georgia. Deployment will continue through the 1990's. Also, in the early 1990's Trident-2 missiles will start being backfitted into the first eight Trident submarines currently operating out of Bangor, Washington. Sixteen submarines have now been authorized and the Navy has "tentative plans" for twenty. Those plans are confirmed by the capability of Kings Bay and Bangor to accommodate ten subs each.

The 130,000-pound D-5 missile is 44 feet long by 83 inches diameter. To put that into perspective, although Trident-2 is 16 feet shorter than the Minuteman-3 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM),

it is 26 percent greater in diameter and weighs 67 percent more. It will carry more and bigger bombs.

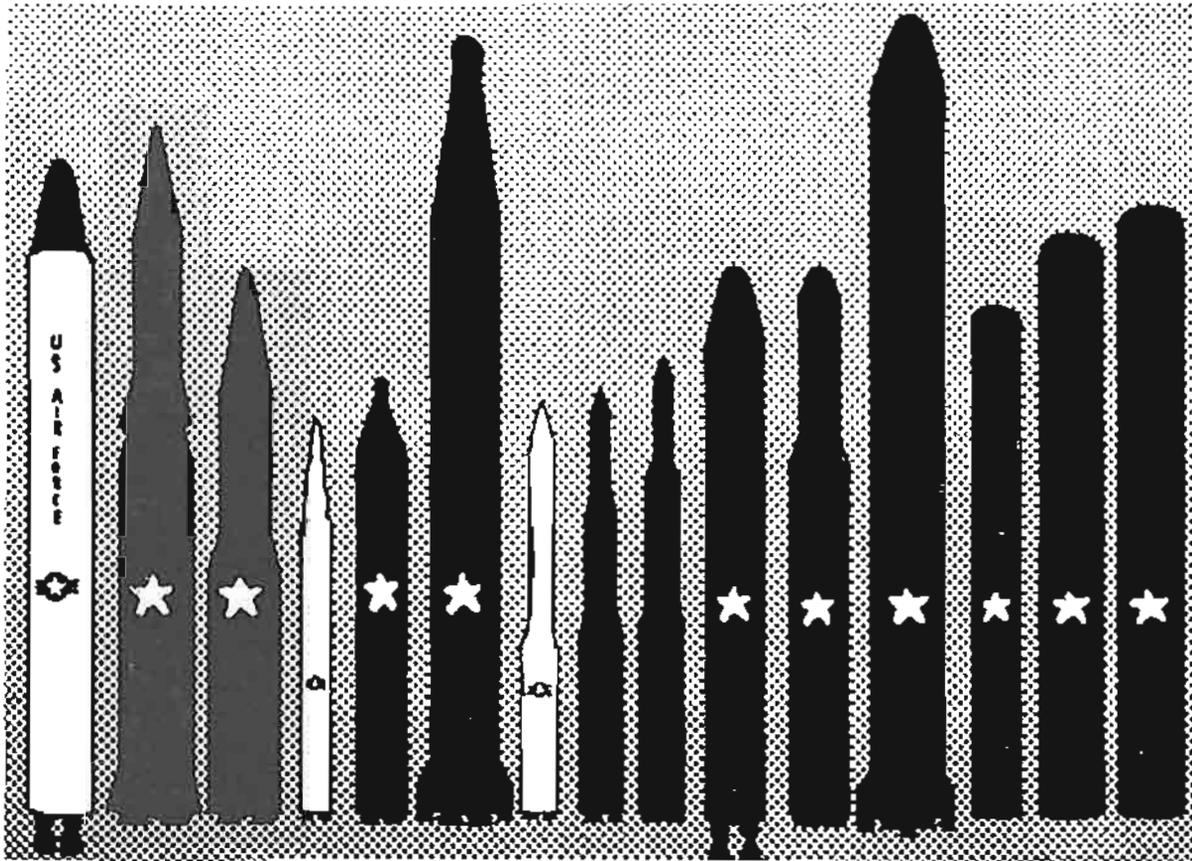
Range of Trident-2 is set for 4,230 nautical miles with a full load of eight independently-targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs) designated Mark-5. Each MIRV will hold a 475-kiloton hydrogen bomb. An alternative loading of perhaps fourteen Mark-4 MIRVs (the 100-kiloton warheads used on Trident-1) will allow Trident-2 missiles to more efficiently attack softer targets. Again relating to Minuteman-3, the D-5 will carry eight warheads (only three on MM-3) of 475 kilotons each (170-355 kilotons each on MM-3) to hit within 400-500 feet of missile silos (600 feet for MM-3).

According to a Congressional Budget Office report (TRIDENT-2 MISSILES: CAPABILITY, COSTS AND ALTERNATIVES, July 1986, p. 10) each Trident-2 warhead will have a 79 percent chance of destroying a Soviet missile silo. With the usual targeting doctrine of sending two warheads from different missiles to each target, two Trident-2/Mark-5 MIRVs would have over 95 percent probability of destroying a Soviet silo, making it a Class-1 hard target weapon.

The Trident-2 SLBM will be the ultimate first strike weapon. Its 400-500 foot accuracy with eight 475-kiloton bombs per missile, combined with a scant 10-15 minute flight time when launched close to Soviet shores, plus its ability to approach the Soviet Union from all directions, makes the D-5 even more potent and destabilizing than MX. Moreover, there will be enough Trident-2 warheads to

Robert Aldridge has devoted his time to speaking and writing on peace issues since his resignation from the Lockheed Corporation. His latest book on Gandhi and educating children for peace is due out soon by New Society Publishers.

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comprise a first strike force all by themselves.

This capability for a surprise disarming first strike not only provides the motivation for Soviet leaders to fire their missiles before they lose them, but gives them very little time to do that. It could cause the Kremlin to adopt the dreaded launch-on-warning strategy which might lead to accidental nuclear war if a false alarm is not instantly resolved. Or it could lead to a preemptive first strike by the Russians in crisis situations when they believe the U.S. is about to escalate to strategic weapons.

Closely associated with accidental and preemptive use is unauthorized use. It is dangerous to put so much destructive power in the hands of one submarine crew. The Navy's Congressional Liaison Office admitted that with the cooperation of only three other officers a Trident skipper could launch an unauthorized attack on the Soviet Union — an attack equal to 6,500 Hiroshimas. Given the confined environment and morbid atmosphere for each seventy-day-long submarine patrol, it is not hard to conjure up numerous scenarios where reality can become distorted. Congressman Ted Weiss described this potential four-man conspiracy as "frightening."

Acquisition costs for the Trident system are another matter for concern. The Navy estimates cost of the first fifteen submarines — eight equipped with Trident-1 missiles and seven with Trident-2 — and dedicated shore facilities at \$68.9 billion. Increasing the fleet to twenty subs will add another \$15 billion, and refitting Trident-2 missiles into the first eight boats will \$1.4 billion more. That adds up to a price tag of \$85.3 billion.

I have described three areas of concern regarding Trident-2 missiles: the tremendous cost which if redirected would eliminate hunger and common childhood diseases from this planet; the first strike threat which could actually motivate a nuclear attack by the Soviets, or cause one accidentally; and a serious potential for unauthorized use of this ultimate first strike weapon. Any one alone is justification for stopping the D-5 program. I hope that recognizing three will move the people of this nation to end devastating Trident plans. Then we can channel the available resources and talents into making life on this planet more worthwhile. That, in the long run, will be the investment which brings us the greatest security. †

FROM CASS HOUSE



OUR PLANS

The aim of the Catholic Worker is to work toward a new heaven and a new earth according to the precepts of Christ. Food for the body has been the primary focus at Cass House for the past eight years. The need to nourish the soul will now be the primary focus for the community, at least for the present.

The past two years have been difficult. Conflicts about Dorothy's vision sapped our energy. Community members moving on made it impossible to sustain the ministry of hospitality on a round-the-clock basis. Thus the decision to stop, rededicate and renew ourselves.

In the work of building a new society within the framework of the old, the Worker acknowledges a correlation between the material and the spiritual. We have become aware that we as a community need to be fed spiritually. Thus, we plan to gather with the Karen House community for liturgies on Tuesdays and at Little House on Fridays. We will be gathering monthly to pray and to celebrate our being as community and eventually we hope to dialogue with you, the broader community, about the possibility of renewing our commitment to the poor.

What follows are a few thoughts on our past, our memories, our thanks, and our needs. We invite you to walk this path with us as we commemorate the closing of Cass Catholic Worker House.

-- Barb Prosser

OUR HISTORY

A few weeks ago I learned that Cass Catholic Worker House was closing its doors. Although I haven't lived at Cass House for over four years, it has always been a significant part of my life and naturally I have many feelings about its closing.

I remember the beginnings of Cass C.W. as if they were yesterday. We had just opened Karen C.W. House in September of 1977 after a relatively short few months of planning. At Karen House we were inundated with a tremendous need for shelter, food and clothing. The Notre Dame convent that had originally held about twenty sisters was now pushed over its limit with close to sixty guests and volunteers — were were "into" cozy. When we realized that sixty was definitely more than we could handle, we decided we would have to limit our hospitality to around forty women and children. We did this by attrition.

While making one of our many trips down Cass Ave. I started to dream out loud with Luanne Schizel. I pointed out this building surrounded by a large red brick wall which sat well back from Cass Ave. I remember saying to Luanne, "Wouldn't that be an ideal home for the Catholic Worker?" My hope at that point was that we could offer hospitality not only for women and children but also for men and, who knows, maybe even do a soupline. Luanne and I talked about this off and on just kind of dreaming — not even really knowing who occupied the place.

I had met Hugh O'Donnell C.M. when he was the rector at Kenrick Seminary. After Hugh was elected the Vincentian Provincial, I learned that their offices and residence were located in this magnificent building on Cass and that they wanted to move their headquarters to a smaller building.

The possibility that our dream might become a reality excited us. We brought it up to the community at Karen House, but a dream that seemed so right for Luanne and me was met with great uncertainty by most of the others in the community. Since we were committed to consensus decision-making, we were in for months of rough meetings.

What we struggled with most at those meetings centered around the issue of

personalism. Crucial to the Catholic Worker philosophy is a warm caring for the individual person. Some feared that would be lost in a building the size of Cass. Those of us who wanted to give the building on Cass a chance were convinced that the size of a building doesn't dictate whether or not personalism exists in it. The soul searching continued and we finally resolved that there would be two sister Catholic Worker houses of hospitality.

The negotiations went smoothly with the Vincentians and they gave us full use of their building for what would become the Cass C.W. House. We started out pretty fast at Cass House too. We opened a soupline in October serving seven nights a week and usually had around 100 people — men, women and children. In November of 1979 we began overnight hospitality for about twenty men. A few months later we started our hospitality for women and children and took about forty-five.

In retrospect I do feel that it was the failure to give personalism its proper place in the house which ultimately forced Cass C.W. to close. The tasks of day-to-day survival became the priority. For a Catholic Worker house to endure the

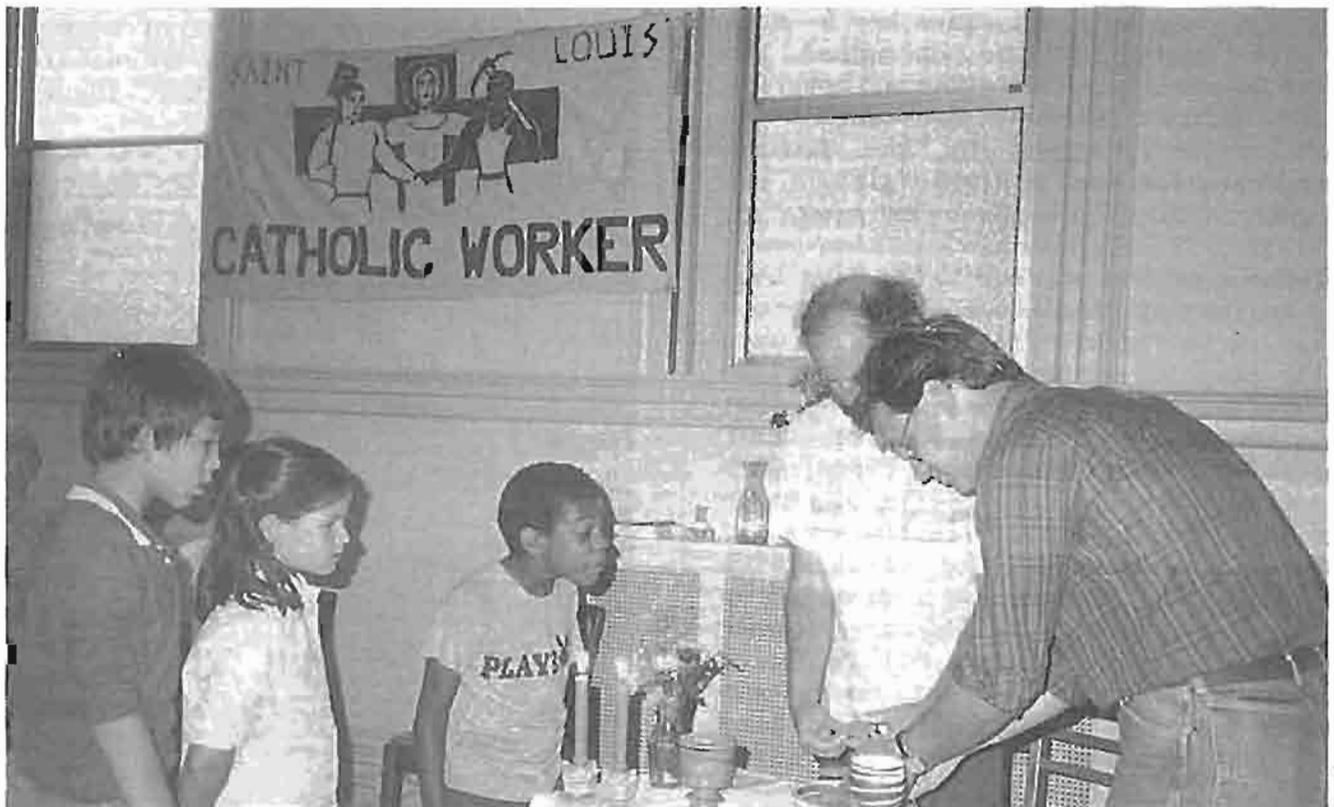
necessary ingredients in my experience are 1) prayer, community and individual 2) deep commitment to community 3) a personalism that will flow out of the combination of the first two.

I consider it a privilege to be part of the Catholic Worker movement for five years. I am reminded of a passage from the VELVETEEN RABBIT:

"What is Real?" asked the Rabbit.
"It doesn't happen all at once," said the Shin Horse. "You become. It takes a long time. That's why it doesn't often happen to people who break easy, or have sharp edges, or have to be carefully kept. Generally, by the time you are Real, most of your hair has been loved off, and your eyes drop out and you get loose in the joints and very shabby. But these things don't matter at all, because once you're Real you can't be ugly, except to people who don't understand."

I walked away a little more "Real" from having been touched by the hundreds of wonderful guests who have helped us learn what it means to be hospitable.

— Sue Lauritsen



St. Louis Catholic Worker Anniversary Mass

MORE FROM CASS HOUSE



TREASURED GLIMPSES OF THE PAST

— Christmas, when a young woman and her daughter came from an abusive situation. As Santa Claus gave the young girl a present she quickly unwrapped the gift and said, "Santa Claus, how did you know I needed a pair of socks?" The sincerity of such thanks melted my tired and troubled heart. Again Santa Claus gave her a gift and with great joy she unwrapped the present to exclaim, "Santa Claus, how did you know I loved puzzles?" And again I was brought closer to God by the genuine thanksgiving for such a simple gift.

— Zack Davisson

— Glimpses of Heaven, and Hell, have been given to me at the house. Heaven was visible in the grace-filled moments such as: the laughter of children; sharing time with volunteers; the realization that guests would allow us to be part of their lives in vulnerable moments — times when you could sense the possibility of God's reign on earth. I saw Hell in the acts of violence I witnessed; the destructive power of alcohol, drugs, and racism; times when we as a community failed one another and those we professed to want to help; moments when I would look into someone's eyes and see nothing but despair. If they were a child's eyes, the feeling of all our efforts being hopeless would overwhelm me. Where's the "gift" in all this? The realization that without God, we're lost.

— Mitch Magee

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OUR THANKS

For the time you listened to our frustrations in the kitchen.

For the times you enabled us to take days away.

For the many times you responded to our needs and even anticipated them.

For all of the financial support.

For all of the affirmation — often undeserved.

For the way you expressed compassion for our guests.

For your on-going faithfulness and enthusiasm.

For the countless new homes you helped to furnish.

For all the special home-cooked meals.

For all the anonymous and unseen gifts that were shared.

For forgiveness when we seemed ungrateful.

OUR NEEDS

We have shared where we have been, where we are and where we hope to go. We are still in need of your continuing prayers; financial support for Karen House and future dreams; staying in touch with us; continuation of a spirit of hospitality; and of course your work to sustain the vision of the Catholic Worker. Thank you and God bless you.



St. Louis Catholic Worker Anniversary party

FROM LITTLE HOUSE

by Mary Ann McGivern, S.L.



My friend and housemate Virginia has been back a year now from two years on the long-term team for Witness for Peace in Nicaragua. The long-termers and the short-term peace delegations that go for two-week tours are all committed to nonviolence. They place themselves in the war zones where the Contra are attacking. Virginia was on the boat that was kidnapped by the Contra two years ago.

Six months ago our house hosted two widows, their husbands killed by the Contra. They were touring small towns in Illinois and Missouri and rested a few days at our house in the middle and at the end of the tour. Just two days after Chanita got back to her home in Paiwas, the Contra boarded the local milk truck that serves as a bus, robbed the passengers, kidnapped and later killed two men, and asked for Chanita by name. They knew she'd been here in the States and they were looking for her. Chanita has five children still at home.

Living with Virginia this past year has taught me something about what it is like to live in a war zone, perpetually at risk. She and other long-termers who have returned dread travel. They were gathered for a retreat and several imagined they saw Contra hiding in the surrounding woods. Upon their return all of them faced disorientation and alienation from our society and our government that pays for the killing. They experienced the same delayed-stress syndrome Vietnam vets know. They grieve.

Virginia just went to a meeting in Chicago to work out a better plan to help returning long-term Witness for Peace workers. They say: have a support group to come home to for both emotional and financial support; don't make any life decisions for at least two months; have work to do that demands you function normally but also have a place where you can fall apart safely.

Virginia and I have talked some over the years about how taking on too much suffering is tempting God, pretending we can solve the world's problems alone. Yet putting the bodies of unarmed U.S. citizens between the Contra and the Nicaraguans is a creative peacemaking action, a sign that does what it signifies. The invitation is demanding and I believe Witness for Peace is bearing the fruit of justice and peace.

Still and all, the task is to become whole ourselves — to resist war, love one another, play together. Our fun is very simple. We laugh about whether I should be put out of the house when Fleetwood sits on the sofa because I encourage him. Virginia suspects we are both mildly dyslexic because we can't keep straight what direction rush hour travels in; and she's acquired my habit of not worrying about how we'll get to and from the airport in our travels.

Here are a couple of paragraphs Virginia wrote from Managua about ordinary living, just before she came home:

"In our yard there are banana and coconut palms, a poinsettia tree, mango and lemon trees, a cashew tree wrapped with a pitalla cactus with it's enormous, sweet-smelling white night flowers and a hot pink fruit that makes a magenta colored drink. I wash clothes by hand in the yard under the cashew tree. . . ."

"The soldiers. Compas, they are called here — companions. To see the troops here in formation is one of the funniest things I have ever seen. Maybe a dozen times, out in the countryside I've seen some lieutenant try to line up his troops, but they will not stand at attention, cannot stand still, look around to see who's watching, laugh, slouch, shift their weight. At Miraflores they goosestepped three steps forward and three steps back and the whole back line fell out laughing and walked off to their work. Once more and the front

Mary Ann McGivern not only reads mystery novels, she recently completed writing her own. When it will appear is a mystery, however.

line dissolved. So much for military display. . . ."

"Simple, humble people with smiles that break my heart quietly, daily making decisions to risk their lives to deliver lumber to a cooperative, to take a sick child to the hospital in the next town, to drive a group of crazy Americans down a mined road. Seventeen-year-old Francisco standing guard at Miraflores while we hoe potatoes. His sister and niece already killed and he once seriously wounded. He's not even in the military yet. This is just in the course of farming. . . ."

"How many times in moments of discouragement these 'atheist' Sandanistas have either gently or briskly told me I must have more faith."

That's some of what Virginia wrote a year ago and it remains true, especially the part about all of us needing more faith. Virginia gathers clothing donations for the Quest for Peace for Nicaragua. She gives talks. She translates. She hosts other speakers. She volunteers staff time to the regional Witness for Peace to help recruit workers and aid them in their reentry when they come home. This November she may go as translator on a two-week delegation. She works at Karen House and she doesn't pay federal taxes. In short, she's living the life of a resister, exercising her faith. †



FROM KAREN HOUSE

by Virginia Druhe

When Ann left in August to spend six weeks in Guatemala studying Spanish she asked me to write the house thank-you notes in her absence. It's a task I've done before and I happily agreed. I have always found it consoling to read over the list of people who have sent us money or gifts in any given month and become aware again of the immense and strong web of "invisible" goodness that supports the small visible presence of our house. It interests me to see where our money comes from and where it goes -- a sort of interfacing of the economy of grace with the economy of the world.

At least half of the donations that arrive at Karen House to support the Saint Louis Catholic Worker come from a group of about a dozen families and individuals who send a donation every month. Some of them have been supporting us every month for all of our ten years. A number of these donations are from families who have children in college or who have several growing children at home. Despite all the demands on their energies and resources they send us \$25 or \$50, month after month, year after year. Such a quiet faithfulness in their hearts and homes makes all the difference to us -- month after month, year after year.

Another group of regular donors that never fails to awe me are the retired and the elderly. There is an elderly woman from out-of-state who sends us \$20 from her pension each month. Another in south St. Louis manages \$10 each month. For years an older gentleman visited us each month with his donation. Now he must mail it, but it still arrives like clockwork. One elderly couple, to my unending amazement, sends us \$100 every month. Again, so quiet and hidden, these people after a lifetime of giving are still finding ways to share of whatever they have.

Every month we receive at least one very small donation from someone who has stayed at the house. There is always a note saying "I will never forget your being there when I needed you." Most months there is a series of donations in memory of someone whose family was kind enough to receive them, who is on their own loss.



Pat Coy

St. Louis Catholic Worker Anniversary Mass

There are always several donations from priests of the diocese, who as a group are some of our most reliable supporters. For years now we have appealed to them when funds run dangerously low and they have never failed us.

We also regularly receive one or two large donations from a parish, school, St. Vincent de Paul Society, or religious community. These people, as a group, make the difference for us, month after month, between getting by or not.

Where does all this generosity go? Appropriately, our largest monthly expense is sustaining the building itself. In a monthly budget of roughly \$2000, typically \$1000 would go to rent, utilities and insurance, varying by several hundred dollars from summer to winter. Another \$200 goes to trash pick-up, bug control, house and guest phones and small ongoing repairs. Food bought to supplement donations is regularly \$250 a month. Other supplies — soaps, detergents, toilet paper, trash bags — is another \$150 to \$200 a month. Postage and house laundry in the coin machines in the basement is \$50 a month, except when a Round Table is published, when printing and mailing are about \$1200. The house contributes \$75 a month to gas for two cars that the community maintains.

The other major monthly expense is guest stipends. A number of our guests have no income and legitimately need some cash for bus fare, medications, cigarettes or even an occasional soda. We feel it is more dignified for the guests (and for us!) for each guest with no income to

receive a \$10 stipend each week than for us to distribute 75 cents here and 35 cents there until we lose our minds. The community tithes \$75 a month to the guest stipends. Cost to the house is \$200 to \$300.

I dare not end without a bit of personal update on the guests and community. After a two week rest in August the house is open and full with three families and thirteen single women. Ann Manganaro returned from her time in Central America with plans to join the Jesuit Volunteers in El Salvador in January, providing medical care and education to internal refugees. We close our eyes and say it is a very good thing she is doing. Mary Dutcher spent a month this summer in D.C. working with the Christic Institute on a law suit against the "secret team" that has supplied the Contra in violation of U.S. law. In October she will return to D.C. to continue that work at least through the spring. A good lawyer is hard to find and we tell ourselves she is much needed there.

On September twenty-sixth we celebrated our tenth anniversary with food and friends, Eucharist and music. In early November a number of us will be joining Catholic Workers from around the country to celebrate Dorothy's ninetieth birthday at the Nevada Nuclear test site.

In all we trust in your prayer and support, in the constant grace of our guests' presence with us, and in the hidden grace of Christ in our church and world. "All will be well and all will be well and every kind of thing will be well." +

Virginia Druhe, a Karen House community member, is turning her journals from her stay in Nicaragua with Witness for Peace into a book. But it is her perseverance at coordinating the clothing room at Karen House which is her true work of mercy.

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FROM OUR MAILBAG



Dear friends,

Enclosed please find \$5.00 (U.S.) to help you with your work. I'm sorry it's so little, but I'm probably in the same boat as you as far as income — actually, we don't receive any salary in Madonna House, but people do give us some money for ourselves. So the least I can do is share it with you since you are so kind as to mail your newsletter to me over the miles when postal rates aren't cheap.

I enjoy reading of your doings, and find them a source of hope. There's all kinds of little pockets of light all over, but you have to look to find them. You are certainly one of those pockets of light.

May the Lord bless each of you and those you serve. By the way, concerning your struggles in making community, have you seen a book by M. Scott Peck called *THE DIFFERENT DRUM*? Has some solid ideas, and certainly true. And I just came across a few quick lines concerning the community of the Trinity in Nouwen's *BEHOLD THE BEAUTY OF THE LORD*. Kind of coming at the same thing from two different (almost) perspectives. Anyway, thank you for your dedication and perseverance.

Bless you all!

Elizabeth Holmes,
Alberta, Canada

Dear Teka and friends,

God's grace and peace be with us!

I wanted to say how much I appreciated the last issue of *RT* on Hospitality — excellent! Thought you might enjoy this enclosed article about how the Worker out here is hospitable even to those who have died! I've been spending days there and celebrating Mass with them on Wednesday evenings. I've also been trying my hand at cooking for the house there — and five out of six meals are edible (we won't comment on the cauliflower cobbler concoction).

Love,
Dennis Kennedy,
Denver, CO

Dear friends,

I read every word of your beautiful Spring *RT* on hospitality and loved it; even got Herbert to read some of it.

Have a good, blessed summer.

Love,
Eldora Spiegelberg,
St. Louis



Round Table Talk

by Mark Scheu

I recently heard on the radio an interview with a prominent U.S. Jewish leader on the Catholic Church's attitude toward the most significant Jewish, if not human, tragedy of the century -- the holocaust. John Paul II had asked to meet with Jewish leaders in order to demonstrate the Church's sensitivity in this matter, in view of his questionable meeting with the stigmatized Austrian President. The mollified Jewish leader was much impressed with the graciousness of the Pope and all was put right for the Papal visit to the U.S. Yet the reporter doggedly persisted in his line of questioning, asking why a public apology would not have been more satisfactory. The response was no -- "it is not in the nature of institutions of this kind to make public apologies."

I thought, yes, he's right, regardless of the need for the Church as a whole (and certainly for the Pope who often speaks for the Church) to confess publicly its guilt in anti-semitism, past and present, no such apology is forthcoming. It is indeed the very nature of the institution not to so apologize. But instead of finding this comforting, as did the Jewish spokesperson, it is the crux of my dissatisfaction with the Church.

The Church cannot as a corporate body walk the path of repentance because its very size and structure militates against it. Large, bureaucratic, hierarchical institutions develop lives of their own. In scripture they are referred to as the powers and principalities of the world. All human institutions, including the Church, are so disposed. As such it becomes preoccupied with self-perpetuation and self-aggrandizement. This process is independent of those who make up the institution or even those who officiate over it. No matter how personally gracious or pious the Pope is, the institution will be subject to sin as only a corporate body can. Just review the sordid side of Church history, including the treatment of women

(the injustice of which continues today).

Corporate sin is more than the sum of individual sin. An aggressive nation is far more dangerous than a group of angry individuals. The nation takes on a life of its own. In the end, its leaders do not control it, it controls them. They exist for its sake -- idolatry.

It is the nature of corporate sin to be more destructive than personal sin. I as an individual can do a limited amount of harm in the world, no matter how given over to evil. But call to mind, for example, the degree to which an international corporation can exploit the poor of the world. When Union Carbide or General Dynamics is caught in malfeasance they never publicly recant -- no, they resist every single disclosure, even though such behavior further damages their public image. Indeed, only because something can be gained would such an entity acknowledge wrong-doing, not because it is right to do so. Is this not reminiscent of the Church's reluctance to confess errors?

Accordingly, my concern with the structure of the Church causes me to welcome its rebirth in Latin America in small, grass-roots, decentralized, voluntaristic communities. This is what the Vatican really fears in Latin America, not liberation theology as such. Jesus founded a community of twelve, not an authoritarian institution ruled over by a supreme pontiff. The example given was one of small communities bound by selfless love, not an over-arching, hierarchical, dogmatic structure. The leaders of the early Church would have been quick to deny any association of the term "apostolic" with the meaning "hierarchical." Yes, the Church is different from other corporate entities, it is the Body of Christ. But it is not immune as a human institution to corporate sin, and I suggest that there is nothing holy about its present structure. The transformation of the Church through the growth of radical, Gospel-centered communities in Latin America and elsewhere is a sure sign that the Spirit of God will prevail.

Mark Scheu, a Karen House community member and lover of trees, has become quite proficient at his new hobby: tree identification. We hope he'll still be able to see the forest for the trees.

TRIDENT II NUCLEAR TRAIN PLANNING MEETING

Anyone interested in formulating a local response to the nuclear train passing through St. Louis is encouraged to come to this organizational meeting.

**Monday, Nov. 30, 7:30pm, at SLU's
Busch Ctr., Rm. 309**

THE ROUND TABLE is the quarterly journal of Catholic Worker life and thought in St. Louis. Although subscriptions are free, donations are gladly accepted to help us continue in this work. Please write to THE ROUND TABLE, 1840 Hogan, St. Louis, MO, 63106. People working on this issue include: Joe Angert, Margaret Boyer, Pat Coy, Angie Davidson, Virginia Druhe, Larry Nolte, Jim Plato, Barb Prosser, Ellen Rehg, and Mark Scheu.

See What Becomes Of The Dream

Commemoration of Martyrs
of Central America
Dec. 6, 1987

3:30 Gathering

4:00 Worship

5:00 Dinner --- \$5.00 adults
\$2.50 children

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Round Table Discussion

with Mev Puleo

"Base Communities: The Church in Brazil"

Friday, Dec. 11th, 7:30 p.m.
at Karen House

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