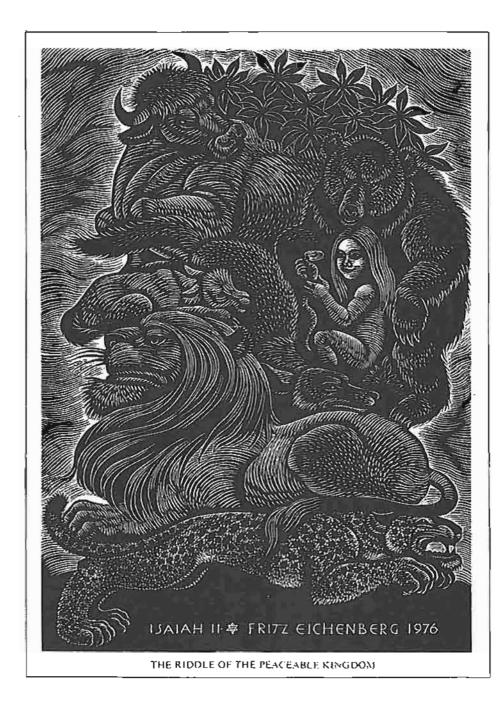
RoundTable

Autumn

1986

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



NONVIOLENCE

WHY THIS ISSUE?



From the beginning of my life as a Catholic Worker I have puzzled over our cherished ideal of nonviolence. Even though I have committed myself to a nonviolent life, I have never fully understood exactly what nonviolence is. The term is used in many contexts seemingly to signify different things. I have heard people argue that going limp upon arrest does violence to the police officer who has a fragile back, while others maintain that such passive resistance is a legitimate part of nonviolent actions. Or a heated and ugly exchange is characterized as violent even though physical force is absent, whereas a storm is called violent precisely because of its physical force — even though malevolence is obviously absent. A materialistic lifestyle is said to do violence to those oppressed in order to sustain such a lifestyle. On the other hand, sometimes our attempts to live simply or to pursue social justice complicate our lives to the extent that we do violence to ourselves.

It is significant that every contributor to this issue is a member of the Catholic Worker community, with the exception of Mev Puleo, who is a good friend and long-time supporter. This is appropriate given our claim that we value nonviolence and try to embody it in our lives. For if we who maintain this principle cannot explain it, whom should we expect to do so?

Virginia Druhe's article negates the assumption that nonviolence is merely a choice one makes at a specific moment in time when one must opt for force or surrender. As she points out, many of our life choices implicate us to varying degrees in the violence of our culture. Mev Puleo writes about the use of nonviolent resistance in the overthrow of the Duvalier regime in Haiti. In this case, nonviolence was not so much a choice as a last resort, not so much a lifestyle as a tactic. Her article sheds new light on Jesus' prediction that the powerless will inherit the earth.

Mark Scheu issues a cautionary note that we be careful not to idolize nonviolence. Any principle, as compelling as it may be, has value only insofar as it is rooted in Christ. Pat Coy writes about nonviolence as it operates in our houses of hospitality. While it is perhaps "cheap grace" for North Americans to be pacifists in the absence of war, our commitment to nonviolence is tested daily in our houses as we deal with our guests and each other. He points to the need for a deep sensitivity to others as an integral part of being nonviolent.

Each article reflects a dimension of nonviolence: as a way of life, as a political tactic, as a gospel value, and as a method of relating to one another. It is this call to a sensitivity to our nature as human persons which runs through each article and supplies the key to the meaning of nonviolence. Unless we assume that all people share a common humanity which is intrinsically valuable, it makes no sense to speak about nonviolence. For what is a violent act or choice violating if not one's very self? And what does the way of nonviolence respect but the common human hunger to be free and the universal desire to be loved?

Ellen Rehg

the St. Louis Catholic Worker Community

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CHOOSING NONVIOLENCE IN THE WESTERN WORLD

by Virginia Druhe

Many of us, perhaps most of the readers of <u>The Round Table</u>, have made a choice for nonviolence as central to the way we want to live in our world. It is valuable to try to examine what is at the heart of that choice and where we should expect it to lead us if we are faithful. I don't pretend to offer anything definitive here, only one reflection on our understanding and practice of nonviolence.

I propose that for many late twentieth century North Americans, our choice for nonviolence is based in our confrontation with our nation's nuclear arsenal. It may be nicer or holier if it were based in our faith in Christ or our reading of Scripture, but I suspect it is the immensity and absurdity of nuclear violence that leads to the choice of saying no to all violence, whenever we can, in whatever aspect of our lives. It is probably a bit absurd for me to write about ponviolence after a year and a half in Nicaragua and not even make reference to that beautiful war-torn land. But it was my experience that the issues of nonviolence in that culture are quite different from those that face us. I think that comparison would need another entire article, and for me it is perhaps too soon to write it.

It seems to me that when we choose to resist nuclear violence it quickly leads us to the stark realization that the existence of these weapons in our society is not an anomaly, but rather the final expression of a whole series of cultural

choices for violence. The choice to resist nuclear weapons can suddenly feel like quite a burden. But it can be valuable at those times to remember also our essential oneness with this culture that has formed us, and to remember and claim all its goodness and healthy traditions as well. There is much there to nourish us.

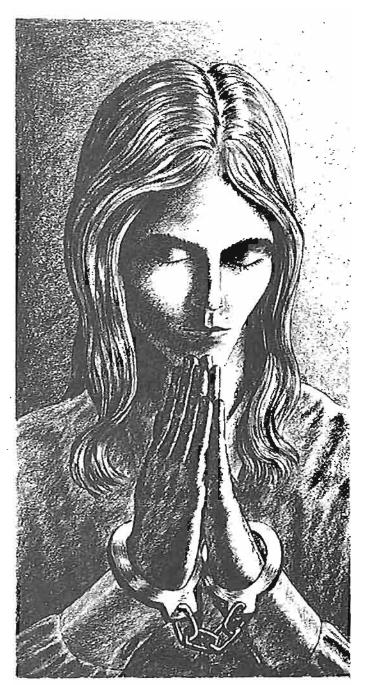
So what are we in fact resisting when we choose nonviolence? We are choosing to reject all the smaller attitudes and behaviors of Western industrial society that have made nuclear war thinkable and to rid our lives of those attitudes. There are, of course, many of these, but over a period of time several have become especially fruitful for me.

1. Coercion is an acceptable source of power. We accept that at least sometimes it is OK to force people to do things they don't agree to: minorities must obey the will of the majority, the stupid (and poor) must conform to the plans of the educated (and rich), children must be forced to learn what does not interest them, villages must be destroyed in order to be saved. We may agree with some of these and disagree with others, but it is nonetheless true that uncritical an acceptance of this aspect of how we as a culture function is an essential component of the choice to use nuclear weapons to coerce other nations to behave as we want.

2. Creation is a commodity to be used at our convenience, not a sacred expression of the nature of God. When we relate

Virginia Druhe has just returned from a year and a half in Nicaragua with the permanent team of Witness for Peace. A founding member of the St. Louis Catholic Worker nine years ago, we give thanks for her safe return to us. to nature in this way we make the destruction of much of the planet thinkable.

- 3. Some people are not really quite people. Underdeveloped people, the poor, the uneducated, or people of another color do not really need the same considerations as white Westerners. An African woman whose baby is starving does not really feel that in the way I would. I don't think it is only coincidence that we dropped nuclear weapons on people of color and not in Europe.
- 4. The individual is powerless, and its corollary, there is no hope of change. In the face of our national history and long tradition of faith in the power of the individual to change one's own life, it is incredible that we have become convinced of the opposite so quickly. Yet the passivity of the majority is crucial if the minority is to continue to create systems of immense violence.
- 5. Order is a value in and of itself, not a means to an end. It is our responsibility to establish world order, to "police" other nations.
- 6. There is reason for fear fear the Soviets, fear communists at home, fear the poor, fear any stranger. I have become convinced that fear nurtures violence even more than hatred does.
- 7. "Enemies" are not to be forgiven. This is behind much of our foreign and domestic policy. Those who have harmed us are never to be forgiven or trusted again. Even socially, there are few situations in our culture that are more embarrassing and difficult than to be sincerely asked to forgive another's wrong. The corollary to this attitude is that therefore one does not ask forgiveness of others. Instead, we create some sort of separation and go on "peacefully." Thus, we have the Iron Curtain, the Berlin Wall, and other, less immediately visible psychic walls.
- 8. Only #1 is good. If you are not first, you are nothing. You win or you lose, there is no middle ground. If we are not the most powerful nation on earth, we are defeated.
- 9. Bigger is always better. This attitude can lead to some very funny situations, some quintessential Americana: big cars, big people, big smiles, ten gallon hats. But because it remains so unexamined it is suffocating us. If it is good to destroy the Soviet Union once, it is better to destroy it five times. Even the disease that most threatens us is one of uncontrolled growth cancer.



Graphic by Bâl Livermore

10. It is painful, yet I think critical at this point, to note that many of attitudes and consequent behaviors ones that our culture has named as espeand has exalted. Nuclear cially "male" weapons have been conceived, designed, maintained and deployed almost tested, exclusively by men. This says something very serious about the violence we have done to ourselves by defining male and female rigidly and setting them against each other. In this, too, we must recover our wholeness. Yet I think we are unlikely to do that if we cannot imagine a God who is both male and female, and neither.

A serious choice for nonviolence in our lives must try to address each of these aspects of violence in our culture. Every time we do not let one of these attitudes rule our lives we have in a very real and immediate way reduced the violence in our world. We resist the arms race every time we forgive an injury done to us and every time we sincerely ask forgiveness of someone we have wronged.

I believe that every time we resist the temptation to present ourselves as best in some way and others as less than that, we have disarmed our world a bit. We resist violence every time we encourage others that they need only be good — not best.

We choose nonviolence when we refuse to let our lives be ruled by fear. Fear nurtures violence in us and calls it out of others. When we choose to act fearlessly - bot foolishly - in our relationships with friends and strangers we free ourselves of the need to respond to the unknown with violence or the threat of violence. I have seen many potentially violent situations defused by the fearless willingness of one person to address injustice. When someone faces me with fear, I find that lack of trust of me on their part roused in me a deep anger and capacity for violence. If people know that we will at least try to achieve justice, and if we have not dehumanized them by our fear, violence becomes unnecessary. It is significant that often in the New Testament Jesus actually heightens a conflict by bringing to light an injustice that had previously been hidden. Think how often he spoke to the scribes and pharisees in this way, how often one who wanted physical healing was first offered forgiveness of sins.

I believe we live nonviolence by knowing the earth as God created it. There is almost nothing else that can awaken us so deeply to the preciousness of life and a desire to protect it.

I believe we reduce violence when we accept that order is not the ultimate value in a situation and that we cannot control life with our systems and structures. Much as I hate it, chaos is also a source of life and deserves its space on the planet and in my heart. There are times when it is better to be inefficient and nonproductive.

I believe that we radically and directly resist violence when we insist that the person is the primary value, and that every person is more valuable than prop-

erty. We must seek ways to live that choice. This means that our right to possess ends in the face of another's need. It means refusing to be consumers in a hungry world. It means living simply, meeting only our needs, and consciously those reducing needs. We eliminate violence by not accepting the bigger and better that is always available to us. We live nonviolence by being poor. We say clearly that people are the primary value by seeking out and loving the poor, the hopeless and the forgotten of our society.



This value of personalism needs to be applied to our lives on a structural level as well. We need to examine our relationships to a violent economic system that largely values profits over people. We need to examine our jobs, investments and institutions to see if we are in fact supporting our way of life at the expense of another individual or group. We need to ask to what extent our taxes are used in the service of human needs and how much in the service of violence. In facing these issues and reforming these relationships we will certainly become poorer — and freer.

In my experience these are not problems we can resolve as individuals. They are communal problems and require communal response. They will require consistent, organized, public resistance. In addition,

Nonviolence is a way of answering evil and injustice with truth, and hate with love... It is a spirit and a method.

- Adolfo Perez Esquival

Nonviolence is not a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart, and it must be an inseparable part of our very being.

-- Gandhi



our other choices for nonviolence will very likely lead us to participating in this aspect of nonviolence.

We reduce violence by refusing to participate in power systems that are coercive, and by creating instead ways of living together that are models of interdependence, community and consensus. As the saying goes, we must show not that our goal is peace, but that peace is the only way to proceed. Thus we can offer our too sad world a real and vital hope that there is another way.

We create nonviolence by wondering, wasting time, asking questions. psychologist Robert Coles studied children of wealthy families. In The Privileged Ones he tells a of family who's seven year old daughter had become interested in the cemetery across the street from her house. Her parents became so concerned by this that they took the child to a doctor. black maid offered this reflection on the situation: The little girl "is wondering about life and what it's about and what the end of this will be. That's good. But she's stopping now. That's what they want; no looking, no staring, no peeking at life. No questions. They don't

questions. They go to church a couple of times a year and no one asks them any questions there. No one asks them questions any place they go...I'm poor, but at least I know I should ask myself every day: what's your destination and are you going there or are you getting sidetracked?"

Thus, we live nonviolence by praying and seeking God. When we know the inner source of our life we are not powerless. When we have experienced that our life is in and for the world, but not of it, we know that we are truly a people of God. When we become a church we truly have an alternative to violence, a deep and broad and durable basis for living nonviolence.

The choice for nonviolence leads us to the Gospel values of hope, faith, forgiveness, community, communion with the poor, and humility. I believe that the challenge to nonviolence is a call to us from Christ himself. I believe that the struggle to respond is our salvation as North American Christians. It is this call that will make us most fully and deeply the Church Christ's love would have us be.



Nonviolence is not for power but for truth. It is not pragmatic but prophetic. It is not simed at immediate political results but at the manifestation of fundamental and crucially important truth.

— Thomas Merton

In nonviolent struggle, we seek to hold in mind both contradiction and commonality. We refuse to cooperate with that which is in contradiction to our deep needs; and we speak to that commonality linking us all which, if remembered, can inhibit the impulse to destroy.

-- Barbara Deming

A NONVIOLENT PILGRIMAGE

by Patrick G. Coy

Nonviolence, like so much else in our lives, is easier to theorize about than to practice. The French existentialist Jean Paul Sartre believed that humankind's greatest sin lies in making abstract that which is concrete. In matters of nonviolence, there has been little danger of Sartre's greatest sin occurring in Catholic Worker houses. The reasons have precious little to do with our own moral purity however; they stem rather from the concrete reality of our houses of hospitality.

Our gospel-based commitment to nonviolence is challenged daily by the hustle and bustle of our houses — houses filled with tired, temporary, and often angry guests, many of whom are used to the hard life on the street where violence reigns as the final arbiter. Human brokenness and blockage abound; situations of verbal or physical abuse stemming from frustration, anger, psychosis, or the effects of alcohol and drugs are often the backdrop for our modest experiment in nonviolence.

Like all experiments, our results have been mixed: nonviolence has worked and not worked: we have both failed and been successful. nonviolent Sometimes our interventions into fights or arguments have caused escalations in the level of violence, and people have been hurt. Other times our graced vulnerability in offering angry guests understanding, compassion, and the freedom to choose another way have defused and disarmed. But we have learned that on a deeper level, these categories of success and failure really don't apply. The sacramental nature of human encounters - the ever present grace of God mysteriously working in the human heart -- must be trusted to redeem even the most miserable of failures on the world's terms. Dorothy Day addressed this question often,

saying, "Day after day we accept our failure, but we accept because of our knowledge of the victory of the cross." It is, after all, a world marked by violence which insists on the evaluative categories of winner and loser, victor and vanquished. Gradually we have realized that the question is not, does nonviolence always work, but rather, is it true? Is it one of the hard teachings of Jesus?

We have learned much about ourselves in this experiment, and some about the dynamics of nonviolence as well. When we want to dominate, to win out over the hostile guest, or to look good, we tend to increase the level of hostility. When we want to control, our actions, tone of voice, posture, and general mannerisms make the other person feel degraded rather than like a sister or brother whose physical and spiritual health is tied to our own. When we make our own personal

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defense a priority, the other often feels threatened — even though they initiated the hostile situation. When we arm ourselves in attitude with revenge or kneejerk retaliation because a house rule was broken and we feel our control threatened, or when we arm ourselves in action with threatening body language or presumptuous uses of touch, we play into the fundamental thrust of violence toward escalation.

Pat Coy, Karen House member, was the local organizer for the recently concluded Mississippi Peace Cruise. He relates his experiences in the September issue of <u>Fellowship</u>.

Nonviolence is the natural state of the soul.

-- Vinoba Bhave

A test of our sincerity in the practice of nonviolence is this: are we willing to learn something from the adversary?

— Thomas Merton

In all these instances, and in many more like them, the possibility of the other person perceiving us as a threat to their selfhood is increased. The end result: we tear down the relational dynamic so central to nonviolence rather than building it up.

Some years ago we had a guest at Karen House who happened to be about five months pregnant. She also happened to be loud, angry, and prone to arguments. We repeatedly explained to her that violence was not allowed in the house, and that if problems arose with other guests, please ask a community member to help mediate the dispute.

One Friday afternoon while I was on house Susan was in the dining room in the middle of a loud three-way argument with two other guests. It was escalating quickly. When I arrived on the scene, Susan and another guest were velling obscenities and flailing at each other with punches, slaps, and scratching. I pushed myself between them, trying to keep them out of striking distance of each other. But each time they calmed down and stopped trying to rush at each other through my outstretched arms, Susan would fly off on the attack again and the predictable cycle of violence resumed. Finally, another community member arrived and the two of us kept backing Susan up until we had her out the door and in the hallway.

This time we did not listen much to her and moved quickly to a judgement that she would have to leave — now. Susan's response: a loud, theatrical refusal which she carried throughout the first floor. But we were equally insistent. She finally headed upstairs toward her room, no longer either openly refusing or agreeing to leave. I eventually followed her upstairs, and in her bedroom doorway I continued to insist on her departure. She warned me not

to touch her, which I told her I had no intention of doing at the moment. But when I told her again that she had no choice and would have to leave, she coiled up her short and pregnant body, making ready to deliver her response to my ill-timed ultimatum. Before I knew it, her clinched fist landed directly under my left eye, and she immediately disappeared behind her bedroom door.

I was the rather sheepish owner of my first black eye since playing tackle football on the grade school playground some twenty years earlier. What went wrong?



A number of nonviolent dynamics were present in this one encounter. Personal space is often an important issue. When we move uninvited into someone's space by standing too closely or, as I did, pursuing Susan to her bedroom hostility is often increased. The question of invitation is especially crucial, since it ultimately has to do with respect, and control over one's destiny. Perhaps if I had asked Susan if I could help her gather her things her reaction would have been different. The point of her leaving would have been reinforced, but she would have been given a choice, and retained some personal control over her leaving.

When we first intervened in the fight, followed by our immediate determination that Susan would be put out, we allowed no calwing down period for either her or us. Dialogue was thwarted as a judgement — a pronunciation of right and wrong — was quickly issued. Susan was forced into a more defensive position and her ability to disarm was thereby lessened.

While expressions of fear and anger are normally healthy, control of one's fear and anger is an important element in nonviolence. This control often seems to arrive solely on the wings of grace, especially when it has to do with fear. But it can be equally hard to stay cool in the middle of other people's anger; anger likes company. I was angry with Susan, tired and angry. My patience had taken flight and I was unable or unwilling to hear her out. If we bring anger or fear to a violent situation we are much more likely to increase the spiral of violence than if we exhibit a firm, but calm resoluteness. Hasty accusations follow in the wake of anger, and the laying of blame does little to disarm.

Our nonviolent interventions have often broken the cycle of violence, creating a space in the turmoil for the adversaries to regain some control of themselves and their actions. Sometimes this is done by simply creating distractions through a surprising gesture or statement which redirects a guest's attention away from their object of anger. Other times this means that a Worker must absorb some of the violent energy which was originally directed elsewhere, hoping it will dissipate through expression. Often as not, this violent energy is expressed verbally, but sometimes physically as well.

We have learned that the practice of nonviolence minimally involves a spirit of openness, a willingness to give ground in order that a graced space can be found upon which all can stand - if only for the moment. Maximally it involves voluntarily taking on suffering out of a love for the full humanity of all involved. This suffering love is what Jesus taught by the whole of his life; and it is what King, Gandhi, and Day have experimented with in their own particular cultures and situations. Consequently, we learn nonviolence as we learn love - day by day, little by little, risking and trusting. Something like a pilgrimage results.



PROPHETS OF NON-VIOLENCE
(Day • King • Gandhi)

We have also learned that techniques which work in one situation may not work in another. It is as if we are dancing our way through the pilgrimage. The rhythm is the thing. The steps, however, may change with the partners. We must be sensitive, ready to adjust our steps according to the partner. But it is the rhythm which keeps us going, which we all know and can't get out of our heads. That rhythm is the spirit of God residing and resonating within each of us, inviting us to dance lovingly.

Pacifism does not mean to stand by and do nothing. It means to do something: to use the strongest weapon, spiritual force, rather than the weaker weapon, violence.

-- Ammon Hennacy

By way of introduction, I cannot tell of the nonviolent revolution in Haiti without addressing the underlying violence that triggered it. The recently overthrown Duvalier regime has been responsible for maintaining a violent state of misery in Haiti for the past twenty-nine years. "President-for-life" Francois Duvalier ("Papa Doc") rose to power in 1957 and was succeeded by his son Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc"), who ruled from 1971 until early this year.

The spiral of violence in Haiti begins with the greed and power abuse of such regimes. The resulting state of poverty

oppression and creates a bed unrest and disaffection. The subsequent government reprisals are as barsh as the initial violence. Amnesty International has documented flagrant human rights violations under both Duvaliers, such arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearances and extrajudicial executions. Sadly, this violence of oppression is not

new to Haiti. The Duvaliers are only the most recent — but hopefully the last — in a long line of regimes which abuse Haitian people and squander Haitian wealth.

So, where does violence begin? In Haiti it is clear that it begins with cruel injustice that deals out poverty death. Haiti is known as the poorest country in the Western hemisphere. richest one percent of the population monopolizes forty-four percent of national income. Meanwhile, most of other five million Haitians survive on about one hundred dollars a year. beautiful land of Haiti is scarred by fifty percent unemployment, ninety percent twelve percent illiteracy and infant mortality. Fifty percent of Haitian children die before they reach the age of five. These statistics translate into a violent misery for millions of human persons who live day after day in the clutches of hunger, sickness, exhaustion and despair.

The ugly violence of misery begs an end to all violence. The impetus to act for this end comes about when physical hunger is equalled by hunger for human freedom. This is what happened in Haiti as the mounting despair of the people spilled over into the brute hope of those willing to die for freedom. As one young Haitian stated, "There's nothing to live for in Haiti, we may as well die in the streets."

And it was precisely the young of Haiti

that took to streets and triggered the process leading to the end of the Duvalier regime. Trapped in reality of a bleak future, the youth of Haiti decided to take present into the their own hands. That their struggle nonviolent is traceable to a lack of other means and to widespread the influence ٥f the Catholic Church --

HAITI AND SPIRITUAL HUNGER

by
Mev Puleo

the lone voice for justice in an unjust land.

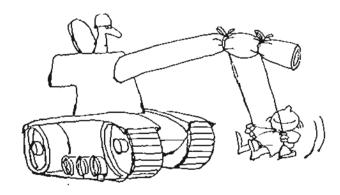
On November 27, 1985, the army opened fire on students peacefully demonstrating against fuel and food shortages. Three students were killed. To end any spiral of violence a group must finally stand up and say: "It stops here." The youth of Haiti were ready. They chose to stop supporting the machinery that was killing them. They chose to reclaim their power — power the dictatorship had for too long considered its own. School strikes were called, which sparked similar actions in the public transport and small business sectors. Soon the whole country poured into the streets, demanding an end to the Duvalier regime. On February 7, 1986, the government fell, only thirty-two days after the protests began -- protests led by unarmed youth twelve to twenty years of age.

Mev Puleo's photojournalism has appeared widely in a number of national publications. She took a group of high school students to Haiti last year over the semester break.

A liberation movement that is nonviolent sets the oppressor free as well as the oppressed.

— Barbara Deming

What can we learn from this amazing experience? I have long studied the ideas and strategies of Gandhi and nonviolent theorist Gene Sharp, but the vital substance of their philosophies has finally taken hold of me. I now know that nonviolence can work. How sobering and inspiring to see people spontaneously acting out that which I merely study and strategize!



After all, the change in Haiti was not the result of a neatly organized "overthrow" with a chosen tactic, but was more of a spontaneous "undertow" where the masses united and withdrew cooperation, thereby undermining a system. What I try to carefully appropriate in my mind, the youth of Haiti at once embodied in their very cry and action.

Similarly, I am struck by the issue of necessity -- the necessity of revolt in order to live, the necessity of nonviolence for lack of other means. I wonder if the comparatively subtle mediations of injustice in our society dilute response to it. It seems that we face so many complex issues that no one problem is clear and compelling enough to invoke a unified, mass response. For example, I am personally so removed from the reality of Rawlings Sports Company victimizing Haitian factory workers that I'm under no immediate compulsion to fight it. It's frustrating to take on Rawlings -- or General Dynamics, the IRS, the Pentagon, the Reagan administration! Besides, what can I do anyway -- write a letter? stage a protest? organize a boycott? However I respond, my life goes on basically the same.

I also wonder if our own plethora of options actually numbs our action. There may be tens of thousands of committed people in our own city, but there is also a profuse number of peace and justice groups to join — each with various task forces, projects and strategies. We crave visible results. Too often our energies dissipate. Too soon we tire. Too many of us then retire into our private lives.

Reflecting deeper along these lives, I am drawn to the horror and mystery of hunger. I ponder the hunger of the Haitian poor that spills from stomach to mind to soul. Hunger for food, liberty, dignity. Hunger that drives one to risk death for the possibility of life. I wonder if we suffer from living in a society where our physical hunger is met and our inner hunger is muted. Does not this cause a different kind of death? A death of the spirit?

I ask this because is it not Christ's hunger for God's will that endures the violence of the cross and leads to the resurrection? Is it not our own hunger for God — no matter what else we call it — that once unleashed allows us to die to militant self—interest and rise to living union with our neighbor?

I do not wish us or anyone to suffer from physical hunger — for that is a sin against God and humanity. But I urge that in our listening to the cry of the poor, we might hear the echo of our own cry, which is also for liberation. It is this deepest desire within that will lead us to loving action for freedom. I believe that in this very hunger is our truest source of hope.

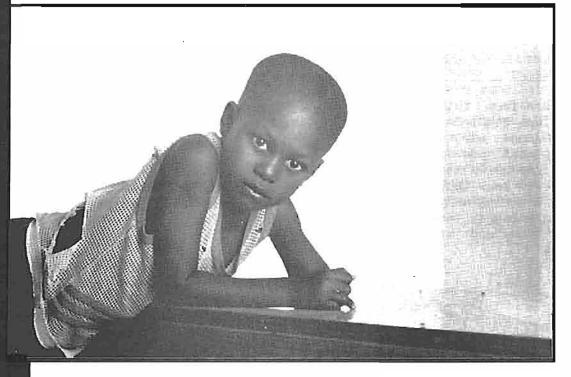


Nonviolent means of resistance to evil deserve much more study and consideration than they have thus far received.

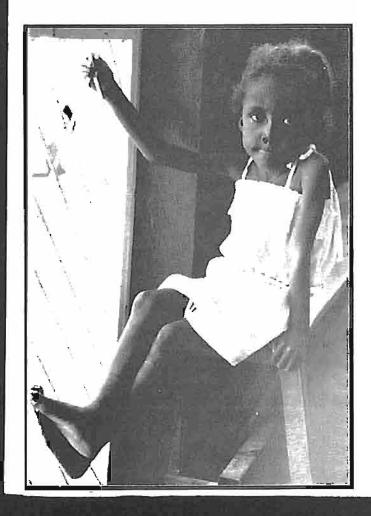
- U.S. Catholic Bishops

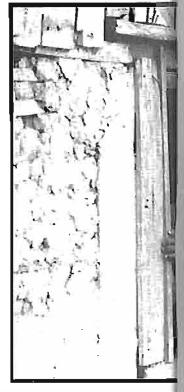
It is organized violence on top which creates individual violence on bottom.

-- Kuma Goldman







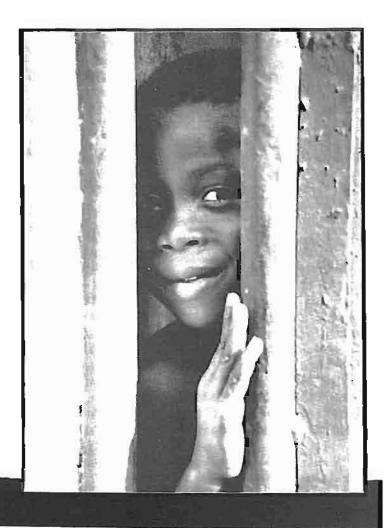


Haiti by Mev Puleo









AGAINST THE IDOLATRY OF IDEAS

bу

Mark Scheu

Recently I have felt the need examine from a particular critical perspective some "ideas" which are dear to me. I do so not on account of the ideas themselves, but because of what they can become. This has proven difficult because I am very much a person of ideas, of concepts — as we all are. We regard life in symbolic, abstract terms; this is a mark of our being human. But my personality is such that I am often caught up in the lure of ideas. They have been instrumental in my gaining a foothold in an unstable and disturbing world. I have found security in the understanding that ideas lend to a reality that is often frightening and meaningless. The major turning points in my life have revolved the cognitive process. instance, it was primarily through reading the thoughts of Dorothy Day, Jim Douglass, and John Kavanaugh that I decided to join the Catholic Worker. Others I know have been brought to the Worker by contact with the poor, or by a desire to serve, or by a need for community. Maritain spoke for me when he wrote that "a single idea, if it is right, saves us the labor of an infinity of experiences."

Perhaps for this reason I am peculiarly aware of the dangers that preoccupation with concepts can bring. It probably elicited this reaction to an issue of the RT devoted to the concept of nonviolence. I knew I wanted to raise a voice of warning. With all the attention given to ideas and strategies such as nonviolence in the peace and justice movement in this country, it is appropriate to assess the dangers of the enticement of ideas.

I have become acutely aware of this in our community, as many of us spend much

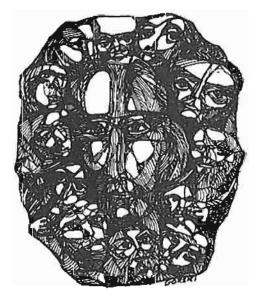
time discussing the relative significance and meaning of various key concepts. Nonviolence is one such concept, but there are other contenders, such as anarchism (personalism), voluntary poverty, feminism. Several of us tend to stake out a territory — a cherished idea approach - and uphold and defend it as if it was the ultimate solution to problems of the world. There is a tendency to vie with one another for space. Three or four of us have become associated with one of these concepts (at least in my eyes) as its apologist (myself included). The claim is made for each cherished ideal in turn that it embraces that which is of value in the others, although they must remain subordinate to this one - the ultimate solution. And so each of us reveals our individual histories prejudices, insights and blind spots. At times our adherence to these ideas tends to divide instead of unite us. What, then, does bring us together as a community? Surely none of these ideas, but our shared vision of the Gospel, our faith in Jesus Christ as Lord.

My concern is that our allegiance to Christ may be usurped by our adherence to and promotion of these ideas -- not simply in my community, but among all who encounter these ideas consistently in their struggle to live out their faith. "In the abstracting of an idea one may lose the very humanity of it." (Ben Shahn) We must always bear in mind, and in our hearts, that no concept, no idea, no strategy, no ideology, can save or redeem this world. Nothing can approximate the truth that is revealed to us in Christ Jesus. We must take care not to pay homage at the alter of any concept, no matter how central to the Gospel.

Mark Scheu, a Karen House member who loves folk music, recently made his premiere public performance on the concertina at a Karen House liturgy.

We are most prone to do this with nonviolence. At this point I must affirm my conviction that nonviolence is indeed at the heart of the Gospel. None of the admonitions and reservations that follow are intended to deny this fundamental truth. Yet nonviolence must never substitute for the Gospel.

There is a tendency to attribute to nonviolence other positive qualities and yet subsume them all under the concept of Nonviolence. Compassion, a desire justice, personal empowerment, decentralization, feminism, all of these sometimes conveyed as aspects of Nonviolence. If one wishes to attribute all these qualities to Nonviolence, very well, but it is no longer nonviolence one speaks of, but an approximation of that which one holds most valuable — perhaps even that which one worships. The prudent possess an idea, but are not possessed by it. As William Stringfellow has indicated.



Consts

idolatry enters into our lives when we enshrine our abstract notion as if it were our God. It becomes an imposter of God, and we find ourselves looking to this idea for value and meaning instead of to God.

A more sober approach is to define nonviolence, as does William Robert Miller in his classic work on the subject, as refraining from violence in response to a conflict of some kind. Nonviolence is only ennobled and fulfilled by love — agape. It is not my intention to "idealize" agape, but to demonstrate that nonviolence of itself is incomplete. Agape represents active concern for others, a pouring out

"The only people on earth who do not see Christ and his teachings as nonviolent are Christians."

-- Gandhi

of oneself in solidarity with others. Nonviolence can allow scope for agape, but is no substitute for it.

For example, nonviolence could conceivably be used for evil. A group of embittered white parents could withdraw their children from a recently integrated school in protest, thus using a legitimate nonviolent tactic to oppose a generally recognized good — an integrated society where the races respect one another and wish to come to know one enother.

Love as we know it in Jesus Christ is never violent in spirit, but it is misguided to say it will absolutely never sanction violence. After all, God does not deny him(her)self to sinners, and the power of love is not confined to those who renounce violence. No one of us, especially we in the Western world, has any special claim on nonviolence. We all lead lives of violence, we all are implicated in the fall, we all are collectively guilty of the violence in the world. We were all present at the crucifixion, and we all participated in the nailing of Jesus to the Cross.

As important as it may be to commit oneself to nonviolence, let us avoid any self-righteous claim to have chosen a holier path. Nonviolence is not a panacea, and it is wrong to suggest that violence in all circumstances will have an ill effect. To raise nonviolence to an absolute truth and to stemp the Gospel accordingly is to ideologize it. When the Gospel is reduced to any such idea, any action which contradicts this definition of the Gospel becomes contrary to the will of God. Yet life is not so simple, nor are there any such recipes for redemption. Is nonviolence always categorically right and violence always wrong? Neither Gandhi nor Merton would tolerate such a claim.

No one has an infallible, a priori knowledge of the will of God, not even pacifists! Each decision we make is at best an approximation of the will of God. None can justify their activity based on their personal intimacy with the meaning of the Gospel. We cannot know how God will judge an act of violence. God finds a redeeming way to act in all aspects of

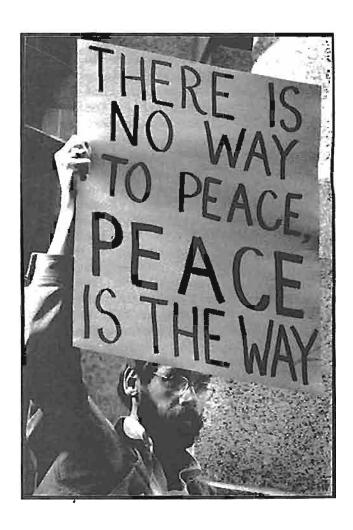
human affairs. God was present at and overcame evil through the crucifixion. Without renouncing the truth that violence is of the Fall and nonviolence is of the Gospel, we are in no position to enter into judgement over those who resort to violence. Otherwise we put ourselves in God's place, we reduce the Gospel to a set of doctrines, we sever ourselves from the grace of God.

It is significant that Dorothy Day rarely wrote of nonviolence per se. commitment to nonviolence was always a derivative of her faith in Jesus Christ. Dorothy seldom used the term "nonviolence." She did not proclaim nonviolence as a doctrine, but proclaimed Jesus Christ as Savior. When Dorothy tenaciously upheld the pacifism of the Catholic Worker during the Second World War, she did not do so because of any abstract attachment nonviolence, but because Jesus commanded us to love our enemies, to do the works of mercy, to see God in the least of these our brothers and sisters. Her faith was the foundation from which her pacifism sprung, and it is to this source that we must return when we are in need of inspiration, guidance, and nourishment.

Indeed, I am much more drawn to the concept of compassion than nonviolence when trying to characterize the love of God as revealed to us in Christ Jesus. find nonviolence to be too neutral a term. Compassion means sharing the suffering of another in order to overcome that suffering. How could we better depict the Incarnation itself than as an act of profound compassion. Compassion is not act of masochism, but a means to liberate all from suffering and anguish. Jesus is the compassion of God. One can identify the root causes of oppression and violence as a lack of compassion. It is the mystery of our faith that compassion destroys suffering by suffering with and on behalf of those who suffer - the crucifixion.

Why then does nonviolence receive such attention? It does so because in an age so characterized by violence one must consciously embrace nonviolence in order to follow Christ. For our faith to be alive it must have relevance in our own age. Thus all the concepts bandied about in my community, not only nonviolence, come into play.

Anarchism (personalism) is a Gospel value, especially in a world where corporate entities such as the state have taken



on demonic dimensions whereby they demand homage and usurp all other allegiances, thus becoming the chief source of violence in our age.

Solidarity with the poor is indeed at the heart of the Gospel in a world where so many who have so little are exploited for the sake of so few who have so much.

Feminism is now a Gospel value in a world where we have finally been made conscious that half the world's people are living in oppression and denied their full humanity because of their sex.

And finally, nonviolence <u>is</u> at the center of the Gospel, especially in a world where death and violence are omnipresent.

Each of these is fundamental to the Gospel in our age, but none, in any combination, can substitute <u>for</u> the Gospel.

It is essential that we live our faith according to the signs of the time, or else our faith exists in a vacuum — it will not be heard or known. It has no real existence. Middle class U.S. Christians need to be liberated from a privatized,

anemic, complacent religious practice which has no applicability to life. Thus the Catholic Bishops have issued several pastoral letters on such diverse "secular" concerns as war/peace and the economy. Nonetheless, one must also take care not to allow these applications of the faith to substitute for the faith.

Although we all need periodically to reexamine our faith in light of the world around us, those who integrate their faith more fully into their lives must be wary of the opposite extreme. The temptation to proclaim the applications as the Gospel must be denied. No application of the Gospel should be absolutized, whether it be nonviolence, feminism, or whatever. After all, if only pacifists can bear the name of Christians, we exclude most of the Church. None of these ideas is the touchstone of our faith. There is only one absolute: God as known to us in Christ Jesus, as proclaimed by the Church, as witnessed in scripture, as revealed in the breaking of the bread. In contrast to any such concept, the Word of God is very real, personal — and yes, very human.

Paul wrote of this in I Corinthians:
"After all, Christ sent me ... to preach
the Gospel; and not by means of wisdom of

language, wise words which would make the cross of Christ pointless. The message of the Cross is folly for those who are on the road to ruin, but for those of us who are on the road to salvation it is the power of God. Where are the philosophers? Where are the experts? And where are the debaters of this age? Do you not see how God has shown up human wisdom as folly? ... We are preaching a crucified Christ. ... so that no human being might feel boastful before God. It is by God that you exist in Christ Jesus, who for us was made wisdom from God, and saving justice and holiness and redemption."

Secular ideologies cannot substitute for the Gospel, which remains essentially a mystery. This is not to say that it is an act of magic, any more than the miracles of Jesus were acts of magic. It means that the full revelation of God, indeed the reign of God, is beyond our comprehension, beyond our grasp. It cannot be realized without the direct intervention of God through the grace of Jesus Christ. The irenic scene depicted on the front cover of this issue is not to be brought about by nonviolence or any other concept, but by the consummation of God's love.



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.

FROM LITTLE HOUSE



by Mary Ann McGivern, S.L.

Those of us who belong to justice and peace communities sometimes argue and engry, even bitter and acrimonious. we feel guilty. We think peace groups should be able to resolve conflict — so we hide our failures. We don't talk about our internal conflicts and so we don't learn much from our mistakes. We don't learn which conflicts are inevitable and even good, stimulating us to find new solutions of old problems. And we don't learn how to recognize the conflicts that cannot be resolved, where participants must either live with disagreement or withdraw from the group.

There have been severe conflicts in the St. Louis Worker, St. Louis CALC, Denver Worker, Denver coalition of peace groups to stop trains to Rocky Flats, Witness for Peace, Connecticut AFSC/Resistance community, National Freeze, and Connecticut efforts to stop the Trident. In all the above I have good friends in at least two camps of the dispute who were deeply distressed and felt an impasse had been reached.

It's a shock to a community to reach such a point. If those of us who are dedicated to peaceful resolution conflict can't do it, what is our hope for the globe? Yet an impasse is not a choice for violence. It is not a rejection of nonviolence. An impasse is a pause; it can bear fruit, though perhaps not for several seasons. I believe public discussion of our conflicts in the resistance community will help us all better understand how to live out our commitment to nonviolence. In order to promote this discussion, I offer a few behavioral measures for your consideration.

l. Consensus is a tool, not an absolute value. In my experience in a Worker house, consensus is essential. I can't refuse shelter to a drunken old woman unless I assented wholeheartedly to the decision to keep her out. But in my experience as an arrestee, it turned out not to make much difference to global disarmament or our local work whether we achieved bail bond solidarity and stood trial together or took different routes once the police halted the action.

However, if one or a few people deliberately subvert the group process, whatever it is, that behavior can destroy the group.

Have a clear decision-making process. Use it.

2. An individual who is mentally ill or seeking personal power can wreak havor in a community. So can two people competing with one another for power. It takes a long time for the rest of the community to reach a common analysis of what is going on. Some may keep their mouths shut for years because they feel their thoughts are uncharitable. I'm talking about severe disorders, not personality clashes. The latter friction may cause every one periodic discomfort but it doesn't disrupt the life of the community.

Talk together about what might be causing community disruptions. Is there a pattern? Evaluate regularly. Speak your mind but listen for points of agreement and be willing to modify your view.

3. When a community short cuts its own established process in order to get on with the work, the members are begging for trouble. If they accept new live-in required members without the probation/reflection period, if they evaluation of a past action before getting on with the new, if they let business edge personal sharing out of the agenda, if they don't bother to do nonviolent training or form affinity groups -they are saying the end is more important than the means.

Often we join groups in order to end injustice, not to create community. But I am convinced that to accomplish our hopes and dreams, we must live now the way we want everyone to live in the future. There are no short cuts.

Mary Ann McGivern's radio commentary may be heard every Monday at 7:50 a.m. on KMMU, FM 91. The big news at Little House though is that Virginia Druhe has moved in.

4. Finally, I do believe we are up against evil, the powers and principalities Paul talks about in Ephesians. Discord, imputing motives, judging rashly, discouragement, can all be products of our sinfulness and/or the evil that's loose in the world. That's why Paul tells us to stand firm our ground wearing the helmet of faith and the breastplate of salvation and the shoes of the Gospel of Peace.



Stand firm your ground, Paul says. Hold it fast. Simone Weil says when you know you have a bit of truth, cling to it tooth and nail. The truths we cling to and the ground we are trying to hold are large: killing is wrong. Wealth juxtaposed to destitution is wrong. Hating our enemies is wrong.

The principalities we often wrangle over are not such absolutes. The personal is not necessarily better than the institutional. One style of offering hospitality is not more authentic than another ... Going to jail and not going to jail are both good options. Paying taxes may not be as highly principled in the abstract as tax resistance; but tax resistance limits other family and work choices. We tend to confuse relative moral stances with the absolute truths. Debate about them may grow hot, but if it grows bitter, look deeper. Consider whether the real source of the dissension can be found in any of the four behavior modes I named above. The capitalist structure solves disputes by naming someone boss and paying him (rarely her) more money to fire anyone who obstructs production. When we work for low pay and agree to share decision-making about our work, we are choosing a more complex process and accepting responsibility to search out the roots of our conflicts.

This essay was born of a real conflict. During the past six months, the St. Louis Catholic Worker has faced some internal dissension, and sixteen of us asked two other members to leave.

Since there has been quite a bit of coming and going this past half year, we hope our supporters do not engage in needless and uncharitable speculation about this conflict. On the other hand, some of you have experienced skepticism toward and resistance to Worker tradition by some staff. You have a right to know that we all felt the dissension and prayed and talked together about what we could live with and what we needed to resolve.

So what did the St. Louis Worker community do wrong this time? Too few people took on too much work. We relinquished community and we waived the process by which new members joined. When the new members disagreed with Worker tradition and themselves ignored community structures for membership decision-making, we reached an impasse. Our exhaustion and lack of compassion and charity all played a role. essentially we violated points two and three: we didn't evaluate regularly and we took short cuts.

Our community is being restored now with humility. We know we have limits — but we can't name them until we come up against them. We want to do the work — but we don't have a clear sense of how to do it differently this time. We just learned again, painfully, that we are seekers, not possessors of the truth. We cling tooth and nail to that one bit of truth we do all hold: everyone has a right to a home. It is our knowledge of the needs of the homeless and our own need to serve them that impels us to try again.



The pacifist technique is not a recipe to live forever, but it is a way of life, that if lived, goes from victory to victory rather than from defeat to defeat.

— Ammon Hennacy

FROM CASS HOUSE



by Tim Pekarek

It is now six o'clock in the morning and I've been up for an hour and a half already. I've been fretting over this article for the RT for some time now, as I am already two weeks late.

It has been hard for me to write of Cass House this time simply because it has been a very odd, confused, and distressful period of time here since the last RT. Elsewhere in this issue Mary Ann has some words on the problems that we've had along the way, and I don't really want to enter into that further at this time. Largely due to these deep divisions within our community we have been unable to provide hospitality now for three months. Much of what has been happening here more recently has been in the nature of rebuilding community — which has mostly been good but it is not something that I can easily report on in this column.

Even though we have been closed for three months, as we make preparations to get going again we have discovered something remarkable. After all of this time the support of our volunteers is still solid as a rock. After a lapse of this long we expected to have heard from some that their energy would be given elsewhere, but that has not been the case. What tremendous faith! I want to thank everyone who will be staying with us, especially Mitch and Jean for their gentle nudging all along the way.

Suffice it to say that those of us remaining at Cass Catholic Worker have come through this summer a little worn, but relieved that things are working out. Now we are all strongly feeling the need to get back to the works of mercy. That is what will happen on October 13th when we will open again.

Kathy Barton has been a part of the Cass House group for the past several years. Even after she moved out of the house a couple of years ago she continued to help run the kitchen (by the way she had this trick with banana bread that would just send you). A little more than a month ago Kathy packed up in a rush and left for a new job teaching on an Indian reservation in western New Mexico. By the way, Kathy, a letter to the RT would be in order.



About the time that Kathy left Virginia Druhe returned from more than a year in Niceragua. Though she has been busy since returning and we've not seen too much of her here around the house, she too has been helping to prepare the house to open.

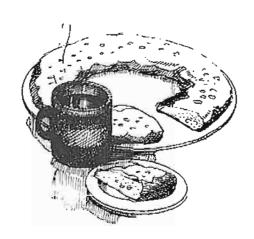
We are all looking forward to October 13th and beginning again. Please circle October 25th on your calendar, as that is when we are going to have a liturgy and social gathering here at Cass House. Details aren't final, so if you don't hear about this again and need more information call the house at 621-3085 near that date for the particulars.

Tim Pekarek, Cass House member, now also works at Visitation Child Development Center.

FROM KAREN HOUSE



by Lee Carter



Since our last paper there have been several changes at the house. Most importantly, Clare and Joe, who have been with us for years, are leaving the community and will be moving out soon. We will miss them very much. Yet there is some compensation in that we also have two new members, Jim Plato and Angie Davidson. Their timely arrival will help soften the blow of losing Clare and Joe.

We have several new volunteers this fall as well. We welcome Charlotte, Katrina, and Patty. I doubt if there would be a Karen House if it was not for our volunteers, not to mention our donors. I don't think anyone ever fully realizes how much we have to be thankful for.

There has been much activity at the house. Vivian Womble's theater group came recently and entertained us with a short play and poetry. It was enjoyed by all of

us. Thank you Eileen Tidwell. Thanks to Danny our plumbing is all in working order — which is very unusual. Several of our former guests have stopped by for a visit. It makes you feel good when old friends call just to say hello.

I've been baking banana bread and chocolate chip cookies. The cookies don't last long. In fact they have a way of disappearing before I am finished baking them! Oh well, that's what they're for — to eat. I'm now the proud owner of a parakeet. He doesn't seem to want to talk, but he sure can jabber. He came as a birthday present from Chuck and Linda, two of our long-term volunteers.

Just looking out the window it looks so gloomy and dismal. I guess winter is not too far away. I think of all the people that have no home. I pray that the coming year will bring peace for all.

Lee Carter, Karen House member, was recently discovered talking to a bird in the food storage room. We are still pondering the significance of this.

Nonviolence is not love; nor is it a method for resolving conflict. It is a way of waging social conflict that is compatible with love. It does a minimum of damage and holds the door open to creative, constructive possibilities. But it has no intrinsic power to heal and to build anew. For this we must look beyond nonviolence to active, agapic love and reconciliation.

-- William Robert Miller

FROM OUR MAILBAG

Dear Editors:

Congratulations on the excellent "humor" issue of The Round Table (Spring/-Summer 1986). Janet Zajek of the New York Worker brought me an issue. Perhaps you met her in Milwaukee this summer at the gethering of many Catholic Workers from throughout the country.

I owe Dorothy and Peter...well, I am a dropout from being a cradle Catholic way back around 1941 or 1942. Hardly knowing basic catechism, I was told to look up the Catholic Worker in New York. I have received much of God's graces between then and now thanks to Dorothy and Peter's example and the wonderful lives and friendships of so many in the CW movement. I'm 72 now, with 32 years in the priesthood (all that not important).

I discovered that Jesus laughed at a workshop of the Franciscan Sisters of Wheaton, IL some years ago and have been distributing pictures of a laughing Jesus since then.

Fraternally in laughing Jesus, Martin (Jim) Clarke OFMCap. New York, NY



Dorothy Day in the 1930's



Dear friends:

Abundant and abiding thanks for treatise on humor — the one gift St. Paul left out of his list of gifts given by the Spirit. I enjoyed it as much as any CW feast I ever consumed. Keep up the good work of being fools for Christ. I am looking forward to many more surprises that you pull out of the magic hat. Now I must get back to the exceedingly boring work of weeding the carrots and killing potato bugs. As Dorothy once wrote: "As farmers we are ridiculous."

With prayers of gratitude, Michael Harank Noonday CW Farm, MA

Violence is now mainly organized and governmental.

— Bertrand Russell

War is peace. Freedom is slavery. Ignorance is strength. 'Violence is benign(?)'

-- Guess Who

The victory sought by nonviolence is not a victory over one's opponent but rather the victory of truth... Real truth is not our side victorious in any sense, but the mutual victory of both opponents over the conflict between them.

-- James Douglass

Round Table Talk

by Barb Prosser

I wonder how many times this past week — these past years — I've been asked where I live. I wonder how many times I've replied "the near north side of the city" only to elicit a shocked look followed by "aren't you afraid to live down there?" and concluding with all sorts of offers to help me relocate.

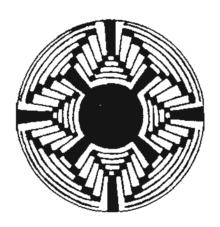
What strikes me as odd throughout this initial reaction is that I live in a neighborhood that we expect others to live in. We can assume that men, women, and children of all ages make their home in the neighborhood...but not a young woman such as myself.

I smile as I think of the times I've answered forms requiring a hospital preference with "City Hospital" (now Regional) because I am among the uninsured. When I would comment on the times I waited hours in a city clinic, others would wonder why I would bother with such inadequate facilities. Yet once again I



would remind them that this is what our city and its people refer to as its viable health care system for a large number of men, women, and children of all ages... just not a young women such as myself.

Now that I work full time in a Medicaid/Medicare skilled nursing facility I am often asked how a young person such as myself can stay with such depressing work. Yet our facility fills its 220 beds, so it is clear we expect someone to do the work...just not a young woman such as myself.



So with every aspect of my life -place of residence, options in health
care, occupation -- people forget that
these are choices I make.

I choose to live in my neighborhood (though I, unlike many, have the option of hopping in my generic, white Tempo to leave when I desire). I may choose to support Courtney City Clinic because after my hours of being run around and made to wait I will see a doctor I have a lot of respect for — and I know her end of this health care system is no less of a hassle than mine. I will choose to work with the indigent, sick and elderly because I wish to support a facility that will provide quality care in a society that is often, at best, indifferent to our aged.

I am reminded of a remark of Cardinal Suhard. "To be a witness does not consist in engaging in propaganda nor even in stirring people up, but in being a living mystery. It means to live in such a way that one's life would not make sense if God did not exist."

I choose to stay with it all for very selfish reasons. It keeps me surrounded by and focused on a world of people that does indeed exist, that does need attention, and that I fear I would all too easily forget were it not a part of my everyday life.

Barb Prosser, Cass House member, is on the Board of Directors of a metropolitan group working on Alzheimer disease.

A ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION



"NICARAGUA & THE ROLE OF THE

CHURCH IN SOCIETY"

with VIRGINIA DRUHE

Virginia Druhe has lived in Nicaragua for the past two years as member of the permanent team Witness for Peace. She has recently returned to the St. Louis Catholic Worker. In keeping with our cofounder Peter Maurin's injunction to hold round table discussions, we invite you to join us for this important clarification of thought and action. Food and refreshments will be served after the discussion.

Karen House, Friday, Dec. 6, 7:30pm

Thank you! Thank you! Your generosity has enabled us to

continue in our work with the poor.

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 Rogen, St. Louis, MO, 63106. People working on this issue include: Pat Coy, Angie Davidson, Barb Prosser, Ellen Rehg, and Mark Scheu.



THE ROUND TABLE

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