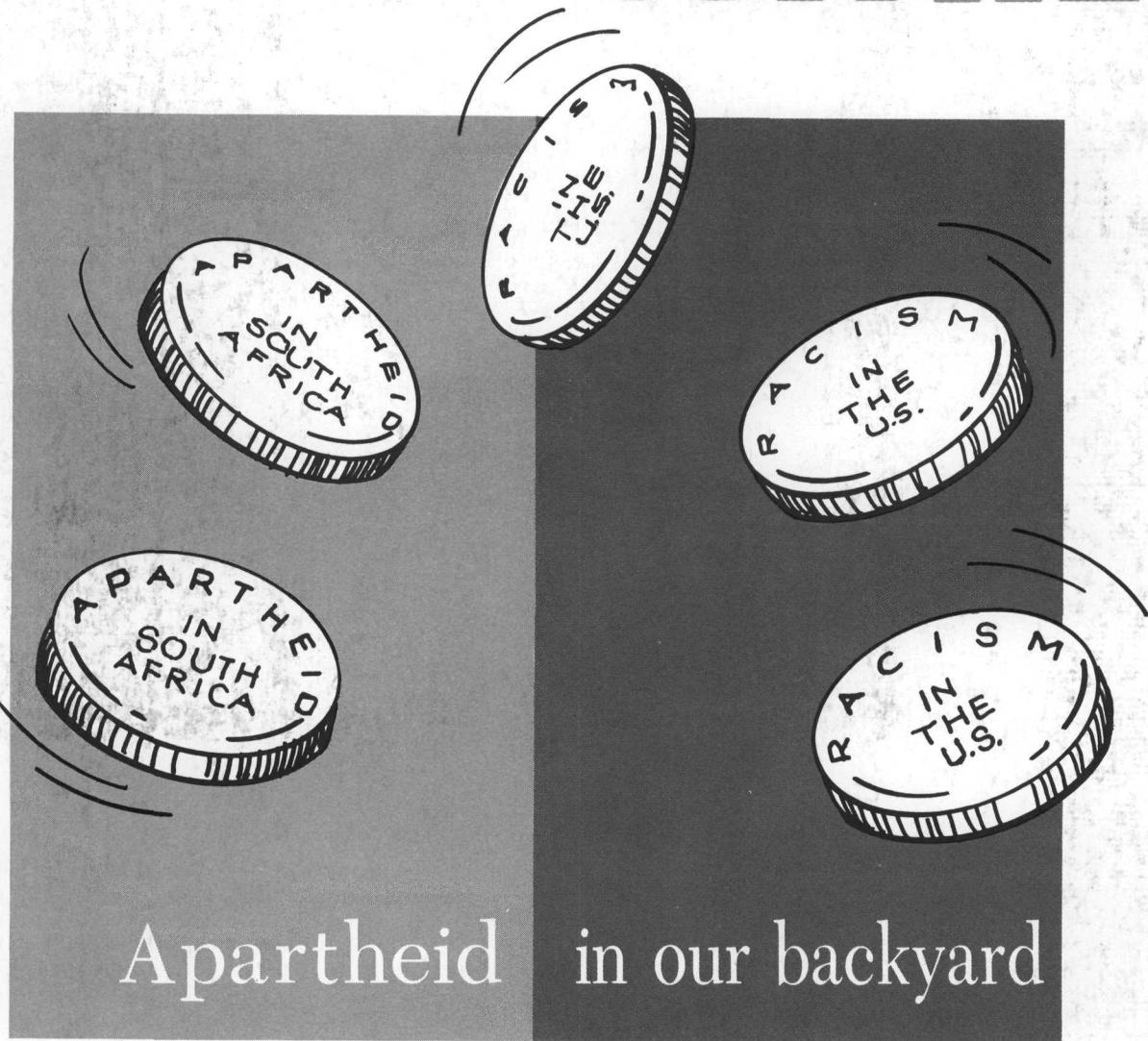


VOLUME • 70 NUMBER • 5 MAY 1987

THE WITNESS



Jacqueline Williams
on South African Youth

Malcolm Boyd
Edmond L. Browning
and Pauli Murray's
autobiography



Letters

Reality of dying

Thank you for publishing Charles Meyer's excellent article "Eleven Myths About Death". I encounter these myths repeatedly in my pastoral work, and it is astonishing that so many people have confused their cultural beliefs and understandings with theological truth. It's good to have in print such a lucid and clear explanation about the reality we all face in dying.

**The Rev. E. Francis Morgan, Jr.
Athens, Ohio**

Helped family at death

For the past 13 years, I have worked in long term care, the professional name for what used to be termed "homes for the aged." Never, in all those years, have I read an article as excellent and realistic as "Eleven myths about death" by Charles Meyer in your March issue. I cannot thank you and the author enough for the truth, the liberation, that the article has given me and some of the employees of the Church Home here. But the gratitude does not stop there.

At the same time that I was digesting the article, a long time resident of the Church Home became critically ill. This member was a close friend. You cannot work with people for a length of time without beginning to feel that they are family. In my case, I feel that I have many grandparents and the residents another grandson.

My friend's family faithfully came to the home to see their mother over the next few days, but it was not long before she died. In that short period of time, the family had to agonize over decisions that were not outlined in their mother's living will. Daily I would see them, and feel their pain as if it were my mother and I was making decisions and living with the seemingly endless wait that accompanies terminal illness.

I was able to share the article in THE

WITNESS with them before their mother died. The relief that I saw in them was a sight to behold.

After their mother died, they came to the Home to arrange her funeral with our administrator/chaplain. I will not be able to attend the funeral, and most likely will not see this family again. However, I was able to have a few words with them before they left. Their final words to me were words of gratitude — for the help that this amazing article ministered to them at their time of need, then and now.

**T. Bruce Robson
Director of Foodservice
The Church Home (Episcopal)
Chicago, Ill.**

To aid grieving parents

I have just finished reading "Eleven Myths About Death" by the Rev. Charles Meyer in the March WITNESS. As facilitator of a support group consisting of parents who have had a child die in our hospital I think the article would speak to these people and that it should be made available to them.

The group called "Parents Grief Discussion Group" meets for eight weekly sessions and we usually organize three different groups a year. Consequently we would like your permission to make copies of the article for distribution now and for future groups.

**The Rev. Anne P. Baltzell
Minneapolis Children's
Medical Center**

Wants three more

Enclosed is a check for three additional copies of the March issue. It is one of the best ever. Charles Meyer's article on myths about death is superb. I want to share it with friends and relatives, some of whom are involved in hospital ministries.

The article by Bernard E. McGoldrick,

"The great American TV ad scam," expresses a problem of our society which too many of us want to ignore: the power of TV over the minds of Americans on so many levels. Also, I enjoyed the article by Glenda Hope on fasting since I have in the past attempted to encourage fasting and prayers as a discipline for Christians. This inspires me to incorporate it into my life once more.

**Judy Yeakel
Langley, Wash.**

For Contadora articles

I found the story by Lucy Phillips-Edwards to be deeply moving. The work she and her husband are doing is a profound witness for peace.

But we also need group action, such as the work of the "Beyond War" movement, which sponsored the closed TV program featuring the presidents of four Contadora countries and their work in seeking a new agreement among the Central American countries. Such a movement needs our support in spite of our government's refusal to cooperate. I hope that THE WITNESS will feature some articles on "Beyond War" and the Contadora movement.

**Randolph Crump Miller
Yale Divinity School**

(For the record: Lucy and Jim Phillips-Edwards are in Nicaragua as part of a group, now a growing movement, called Witness for Peace. In less than three years, WFP has sent more than 2,000 U.S. citizens from every state, in delegations of 20, to Nicaragua. Delegations go down monthly, paying their own way and back. They live and work with the people, visit sites of Contra attacks, and interview victims. Thus did Lucy document and photograph the Contra ambush described in the February WITNESS. The Claymore mine cited by Lucy, which claimed six lives, has been used in many other instances against

Nicaraguan civilians, and is made in the United States. Some 50 million people have read over 1,000 articles, interviews and op-ed pieces by WFP volunteers in local and regional papers, exposing U.S. aggression in Nicaragua. And 400,000 people have heard over 8,000 WFP presentations to church and community groups. WITNESS readers who wish to volunteer — short or long term — for WFP should contact Witness for Peace, 198 Broadway, Room 302, New York, N.Y. 10038. Future issues will carry news on the Contadora process.—Ed.)

Editorial hits home

The extracts from Gregory Bergman's "The 1920s and the 1980s" in your February editorial brought back many memories for one who lived through the decades.

I was one who was making less than one-third of the basic annual income for necessities. I saw farmers and workers — union and non-union — excluded from the somewhat false prosperity of the 1920s; I lost a close young friend in that early invasion of Nicaragua. My parents, grandparents and I lived through that glorious (?) 12 years of Republican rule from 1920-32 losing our home, moving from one rental to another, although never starving. The Ku Klux Klan flourished in my state of Indiana, until their Grand Dragon was convicted of murder and given a life sentence. Perhaps today's resurgence may be somewhat curtailed by the recent court award in Alabama; but the controversies of the Scopes trial in 1925 seem now to be repeated in that area of the country.

All of these events would indicate that history has an uncanny way of repeating itself. It seems to go in cycles; both good and ill. Hopefully this recounting of our history may be more than a nostalgia trip. However, if we can't learn from the mistakes of the

past, then they may well be repeated. As the editorial states, it is imperative that those of us who do profess a serious faith in a God of justice and peace, do have one major moral and civic duty, not only this year, but in every year of our lives when the national priorities at home and abroad are acting against, and not for, the common good. I only hope that THE WITNESS editorial strikes deep into the hearts and minds of many, and thus directs their efforts along the lines suggested.

**Charles D. Corwin
Colonial Beach, Va.**

Retrieved Spofford issues

I noted with interest your intent to highlight the 70th anniversary of THE WITNESS in your Advent letter to subscribers. That reminded me of a project of mine in 1974. I had the job of deciding what was worth retrieving from Bill Spofford's old printing plant in Tunkhannock, Pa. I spent two days in the cold sorting through the disordered remnants. In the process I laboriously put together a full file, lacking a very few issues, of THE WITNESS from the beginning of the Spofford years.

Somewhere in Ambler they are all tied in bundles. Maybe they are of some use, and, since it has been some time, you may not even know they exist.

**The Rev. John F. Stevens
League City, Tex.**

(We found the bundles referred to by former staff member John Stevens in our basement in Ambler. These, along with early volumes from Bishop Irving Peake Johnson's day, forwarded by the Rt. Rev. John Hines, former chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, have provided a wealth of research materials for our 70th anniversary series. We are grateful to Stevens for his frigid two days in Tunkhannock.—Ed.)

Spirit unfolding

I particularly like the historical ruminations you're doing for the 70th anniversary of the magazine. As a people and a church we are generally so ignorant of our history that we not only make the same mistakes time and again but also breed a peculiar chronological chauvinism — thinking we can solve all those problems our ancestors muffed and bring in the Kingdom *now*. The tricky part about studying history is avoiding hopelessness on discovering that women and men have been grappling with the same issues since, apparently, time began — or at least since THE WITNESS started publication! But I begin to think that once we can turn humble enough to recognize that our age is not the first to have been graced with insight, then in fact we can begin to see that through all those cycles and struggles there has been movement, growth, a continuous if often hidden unfolding of the Spirit among us. Then we can bear witness.

**Pamela W. Darling
General Theological Seminary
New York, N.Y.**

Brought up on Spofford

My warmest wishes go to all the gallant staff of THE WITNESS. Twas a shocker to be reminded in your Advent letter of our mean military presence in Nicaragua back in '28. (And we speak of the challenge of CHANGE?? The challenge of NOT-changing is greater!)

I was brought up on "dear ol' Bill Spofford" as my father, the Rev. Rollin D. Malany, used to call him, and attended Antioch College with a daughter of his. THE WITNESS has shaped my thinking and my life in important ways, and indeed, continues to!

**Virginia S. Malany-Meloney
Syracuse, N.Y.**

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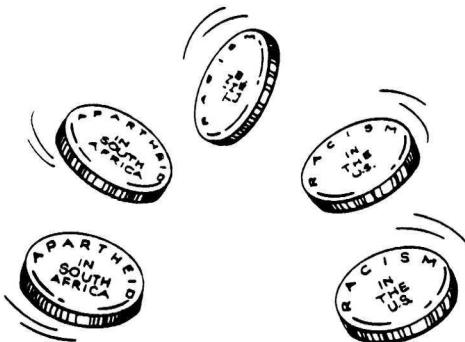


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Editorial

Two sides of the same coin

Prexy Nesbitt, in a recent monograph entitled *Apartheid in Our Living Rooms*, points out that apartheid — pronounced apart-hate — literally means “apartness” in Afrikaans, but does not merely mean “segregation.” He explains:

Apartheid cannot be reduced to a series of unjust laws and a situation wherein the Black majority is denied its civil rights as guaranteed by a constitutional framework. Nor can apartheid adequately be projected by the statistics we can easily summarize:

- 87% of the land mass is reserved for Whites; 13% of the land for Blacks;
- 8.5 million Black South Africans denaturalized since 1976;
- 136 Black children, on the average, die from hunger each day in South Africa;
- 3,372,900 Black South Africans have been removed from areas designated “White” between 1960 and 1982;
- during 1983 alone, there were 262,908 pass law arrests for violations of the passbook, which all Africans over 16 must carry and which specifies one's color . . . the equivalent of 720 arrests a day or 30 an hour . . . ;

While these horrendous facts are indictments of an evil system, Nesbitt emphasizes, statistics do not breathe

and bleed. People do. And apartheid is “a highly organized and sophisticated system in which a minority population systematically strips and then wilfully exploits a majority population.”

To give a flesh and blood example, it is this system which threatens the life of Anglican youth worker Jacqueline Williams, if she returns to her homeland after a U.S. lecture tour. (See page 6.)

A chronology of U.S. involvement with South Africa shamefully implicates this country in the box accompanying Williams' interview.

But the U.S. connection goes further. The Reagan Administration's foreign policy as it affects South Africa can be regarded as a logical extension of its oppressive attitude toward domestic race relations.

A hard won three decades of progress in school desegregation and employment have deteriorated as Reagan has effectively dismantled the Civil Rights Commission and his Administration has opposed fair housing laws, extension of the Voting Rights Act, and affirmative action to create the permissive atmosphere that racism is in fashion again. As Nesbitt's monograph title indicates, we have come full circle

to face “Apartheid in Our Living Rooms.”

Excerpts in this issue from our 70-year history reveal that THE WITNESS took on reporting of racism as a priority in the days when lynching was in vogue and Jim Crow was institutionalized. We now view with similar urgency the exposure, in coming months, of racism in its hydra-headed forms.

In his monograph, Nesbitt quotes a representative of the African National Congress:

South Africa is like a man who owned a house besieged by a cyclone. When he closed the front door, the wind blew in the back. When he shut the windows, the roof blew off. And when he tried to build a temporary covering, the walls caved in.

THE WITNESS joins Nesbitt in his conclusion: “The cyclone is blowing, too, in the United States, and it affects us all.”

Resources: *Apartheid in Our Living Rooms*: U.S. Foreign Policy and South Africa, Midwest Research, 343 S. Dearborn St. Room 1505, Chicago, Ill. 60604, \$4.00. [ANC quote from Jennifer Davis, “South Africa: The Cyclone is Coming,” *The Progressive*, February 1985.]

South African Jacqueline Williams:

'Reality for us is war, jail'

by Marshall Hoagland

Jacqueline Williams is a 29-year-old Black South African with a message reminiscent of Moses calling out to pharaoh to "... let my people go!"

The message she has been sharing with the American public during the last seven months highlights the struggle in South Africa as it applies to Black women, to the inferior educational system for non-Whites, to the suffering caused by the uprooting of families when the wives and children are moved to the homelands, and, especially, as it applies to the youth in South Africa, both Black and White.

As Williams describes the current situation to university groups, anti-apartheid rallies and church groups, she stresses that the young people of South Africa have gone through a harrowing formative period during the past 10 years.

"I joined in my first demonstration when I was 13. We grow up at a very early age in South Africa and become politically involved at an age when most youth are still being nurtured and cared for by the adults around them. The reality for us is war and jail.

"In most countries, when a young child is asked to draw a picture, it would be of a house, or flowers, or animals. This is not true of children in my country. They would probably draw a picture of a policeman chasing a Black person."

Williams recalls vividly one en-

Marshall Hoagland is a free-lance writer based in Suffern, NY who also works as bookstore supervisor for the national headquarters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.



Jacqueline Williams

were found guilty and would have been put in jail, but our parents paid a fine, over our objections, so that we could stay in school."

The most painful part of this experience, for Ms. Williams, was the disillusionment she felt stemming from the actions of a young White policeman with whom she had been acquainted in her Anglican youth group.

"He was one of the White boys that I especially liked. When he was conscripted, he became a policeman instead of a soldier. When we got arrested, there he was helping the other side to punish us. It really opened my eyes because I found out what his commitments were. When it came to making decisions, he was against us in this time when my sister and I were suffering. We tried to discuss this in the youth group afterwards, but they didn't want to hear us; so we just gave up."

As a child, Ms. Williams lived in the Eastern Cape section of South Africa which she describes as the most politically active area in the country in the struggle to get rid of apartheid. She had also attended the Anglican church regularly and, at the age of 16, decided that she wanted to have a close relationship with God. This exposure to political and religious activities influenced her decision to put her faith into action during her last year of high school. She joined a special volunteer program started by the Anglican Church in South Africa to bring youths of all races together in a desegregated youth ministry called NYLTP (National Youth Leadership Training Program).

After a training period in basic human

counter she had with the police at age 18.

"It was in June 1976, the time of the first national boycotts in honor of Soweto Day. Our high school had organized a demonstration in solidarity with Soweto. As we marched, the police surrounded and detained about 250 of us, but they singled out my older sister and me and a friend and arrested just the three of us and put us on trial. We

relations, these "Nomads," as they called themselves, traveled throughout the Black, White, Colored, and Indian parishes in teams of two, one White and one non-White. While staying together in private homes within the parish where they were working, they started youth groups and looked for new leaders. Williams noted that it was difficult to find housing in both the Black and the White areas. Few Black homes had enough room for two more people and there was tremendous social pressure against Whites who would have a Black person in their home who was not a servant. Consequently, they often had to stay with the priest.

During the first months of this program, an incident occurred which had a profound influence on Ms. Williams.

"One day we heard that one of the Black members of our group was jailed by the police. A few days later, he was dead, supposedly from jumping out of a barred fifth story window. We were shocked as it was the first indication by the government that they really didn't like what we were doing. I was only 19 and I didn't realize the danger nor the intensity of the government's dislike of our ministry. I didn't think of myself as a radical at that time — I just thought of this activity as visionary of what was right for all persons. It was a very exciting two years in NYLTP but also very depressing because you never knew when it was your turn."

It was later learned that there was an informer planted by the government in the group, Williams said. During the next few years she broadened her horizons with a degree in theology from St. Paul's Theological College in Grahamstone, South Africa and through travel in Europe under the auspices of the Anglican Church and the South African Council of Churches. She also became more outspoken in publicizing the evils of apartheid.

"I'm being subversive, according to

Chronology: U.S. involvement in S. Africa

1905-1910—Ford Motor Company and Otis Elevator initiate American Corporate investment in South Africa. California goldminers help open South African gold fields.

Dec., 1952—U.S. abstains on first U.N. resolution condemning apartheid.

1954—South Africa joins the U.S., Britain, and European states in forming the International Atomic Energy Board.

1955—Simonstown Naval Cooperation Agreement guarantees the United States access to South African naval and air facilities in time of war, whether or not South Africa is a belligerent.

1957—U.S. and South Africa sign a 20 year agreement providing for cooperation in the field of nuclear research.

March, 1960—After Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, the U.S. steps up its verbal condemnation of South Africa's policies and joins a unanimous U.N. resolution condemning apartheid as a threat to world peace.

June, 1962—An agreement is announced between Washington and Pretoria whereby the U.S. is allowed to set up a military space-tracking station in South Africa in return for agreeing to sell South Africa arms "for use against Communist aggression."

1969—Kissinger writes National Security Study Memo #39, placing economic and strategic interests in South Africa above human rights concerns.

Oct., 1977—U.S. vetoes U.N. motion to impose general economic sanctions against South Africa.

Nov., 1977—U.S. supports arms embargo against South Africa.

Dec., 1979—U.N. adopts by large majority 17 anti-apartheid resolutions. U.S. votes no on 8, abstains on 3.

June, 1980—U.N. Security Council calls for full implementation of the arms embargo. U.S. abstains from vote.

Jan., 1981—Two weeks before Reagan's inauguration, his ex-campaign manager, John Sears, registers with the Justice Department as a paid foreign agent of the South African Government. His fee is \$500,000 per year.

Feb., 1982—Reagan relaxes export controls, allowing trade of computers, helicopters, and airplanes with the South Africa military and police.

Jan., 1984—American Friends Service Committee report asserts that the Reagan Administration has allowed more commercial military sales (\$28 million) than in the last 30 years combined.

Sept., 1985—Public and congressional pressure forces President Reagan to impose an executive order forbidding bank loans to the SAG and limiting computer and nuclear trade with South Africa.

Feb., 1986—The Reagan administration commences a covert military aid program to the anti-government rebels in Angola known as UNITA.

June 18, 1986—The House of Representatives approves by voice vote HR 997, demanding total disinvestment of U.S. companies and a complete trade embargo against South Africa.

Aug. 15, 1986—The Senate approves 84-14 a selective sanctions bill against South Africa.

Source: Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy (Washington, D.C.)

the laws of my country, when I try to get others to go against the apartheid system instituted by the South African government; and I may be jailed for it when I return," she said. "I left home just two days before the last state of emergency was declared, and I've been told that government officials have come to my office and have taken some of my papers."

The focus of her struggle has narrowed over the years as she has become convinced that the majority of South African Whites are not able or ready to listen to her message.

"I almost feel silly about the beliefs that I had earlier — that I could change the attitudes of White South Africans. Now I feel that these people have made a decision not to change.

"The Whites have co-opted a few of us into the White educational system, and they think that's good — as long as we are trained to be 'good Blacks' — that is, ones who will accept their educational system which makes us masters, too, and doesn't deal with the whole idea of equality for everyone.

"Freedom, justice and liberation is the end goal for each person. Each human being should experience this. It's not just something for a certain kind of person; it's the will of God for all people. I relate this to Christ's teaching when He said, 'I came that you may have life and have it more abundantly' — not just ordinary life but abundant life.

"Since oppression is something that is organized, we need to become just as organized and work hard if we want to be liberated. We need to avoid distractions and not be satisfied with half a loaf. We must not be content with mere reform. We will only be happy when we are really free."

As she considers the future, Williams indicates her strong desire to work more closely with non-White parishes and young people who are receptive to

change.

"I worked among White adults and youth for six years and they had many opportunities to change. Few, if any, showed any lasting change; but in a Colored parish where I worked the young people there have become leaders in trying to change the system. How do I explain that? Do I kid myself and say that Whites are changing when they really aren't?

"I've become very suspicious of super-spiritual people who believe in healing but not justice. In my late teens I was already disgusted with the White people's hypocrisy and their view of God.

"My idea of religion is to be conscious and compassionate about the needs of people and, at the same time, to feel powerful through the presence of a higher power as we fight for life in the true sense. I'm feeling powerful as a South African with a vision of true life even in the face of death. We are experiencing

a living death under the present circumstances; so we would rather die than continue this kind of life. Every day, when I walked to work down the street in Johannesburg I was told in all sorts of ways that I was not a worthy person. I was violated in every possible way."

She also believes that, in order for White people in South Africa to change, they will have to feel some of the deprivation of the non-Whites — that they will have to feel robbed to understand how they have robbed the Blacks. Explaining that this did not mean she was advocating a violent revolution, she does not rule out the possibility of violence on both sides in the future.

"Bishop Tutu and Beyers Naude are from an older generation," she said, "but the younger Blacks are not as willing to try to work out a compromise within the present system. The youth are saying 'We want liberation now — not for our grandchildren!' And because the government is trying to impose an inferior Bantu education on us, the cry is, 'Liberation — then, education.' That's why the young people are boycotting the schools."

Ms. Williams message is clear and unequivocal:

"The South African State is greedy for my land, my energy, and my person. I come from a situation where we are ruled by a group of thugs. I don't want to work with the present government; I want to get rid of it. South African President Botha must go. Black youth are preoccupied with the question of what system can be put in place of the present one. We want to institute a process that will be more humane for everyone."

Jacqueline Williams' tour of the U.S. has officially ended. It was sponsored by the South Africa Linkage Program, based in Nyack, N.Y. Williams has not yet decided whether to return to South Africa at this time. Her family fears she will be jailed immediately upon her return. M.H.

A Luta Continua

— the struggle
continues

by Barbara C. Harris



Racism & the radical religious right

The dismaying level of bigotry-motivated violence during 1986 and the early months of this year is a grim reminder, if indeed we needed one, that blatant racism is again on the rise in this nation. Forsyth County, Georgia, and the Howard Beach section of New York cannot be written off as islands of bigotry in a sea of tolerance. In truth, no region of the country, rural or urban, was exempt from racial violence over the past year.

Incidents ranging from deadly assaults on minority motorists and pedestrians to firebombings of the homes of Blacks, Asians and Hispanics and a string of robberies to finance even more assaults, assassinations and paramilitary activities of White supremacist groups have been chronicled by the Center for Democratic Renewal in a recent issue of its publication, *The Monitor*. Add to this the fact that radical bias on college campuses is re-emerging at an alarming rate. At both elite private northern colleges and large state universities, incidents of racial violence and intimidation rival anything seen at Ole Miss and other southern schools during the 1960s.

The root of much of this violence can be traced directly to the radical religious right. The rapid, unchecked emergence of movements such as Christian Identity, also known as Kingdom Identity, Kingdom Message or,

simply Identity, theologically and politically undergirds White supremacy. It lends a cloak of respectability to such organized groups as the Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan and the Posse Comitatus, as well as to scores of individual followers who pass on their racist beliefs to family, friends and neighbors.

Christian Identity contends that the people of Northern Europe — white Anglo-Saxons — are the Lost Tribes of Israel. Jews, on the other hand, are considered to be Children of Satan while Blacks and other people of color are judged to be “pre-Adamic” or some lower form of species than that of White people. The movement includes self-defined ministries that consist primarily of tape and booklet sales, but there are “ministers” who regularly broadcast on AM radio stations all over the country, seemingly undeterred by the Federal Communications Commission.

Some of Identity’s major tenets, thoroughly examined in a new booklet published by the National Council of Churches, reveal a racial view of the Covenant between God and God’s people. To wit: problems besetting the United States are the result of “race mixing” and interfaith cooperation between Christians and Jews — both sins; mainstream Christian clergy are “Satanic agents,” and the United States is defined by the Constitution as a

“Christian Republic,” opposed to both communism and democracy.

By wrapping racism in religion, these far (out) right groups seek to enlist God in the cause of bigotry and proffer a “Christian rationale” for denying the rights of Jews and people of color. Meanwhile, well known media evangelists of the New Right bring the same intolerance — albeit more implicit than explicit — into the homes of millions of viewers. Their beliefs, draped in the red, white and blue bunting of Christian patriotism, amount to a kind of constitutional fundamentalism.

Unfortunately, mainstream Christians — especially those of a more liberal bent — tend to dismiss this spiritual orientation as a marginal phenomenon, unconnected to the issues of the day. It represents a clear and present danger, however, especially when so many domestic and foreign policies of the central government would seem to legitimate abuses of minorities. Rather than shrug off the radical religious right as harmless fanatics or simply “kooks,” mainline churches would do well to appropriate some of their vast resources to some effective electronic and print media counter programming. How about a TV return to an honest to God “Old Time Gospel Hour” that exposes the racism of these religious scalawags and carpetbaggers? ■

New minimum wage essential

by Manning Marable

Good news on the political front is that the Iran-Contra scandal has hurt Ronald Reagan so severely that the conservative administration may be forced to capitulate to Democratic Party and AFL-CIO demands to raise the minimum wage. Since the Reaganites came to power in 1981, the federal minimum wage, set at \$3.35 per hour, has remained the same.

At that level, the 7 million people earning the minimum wage or less earn at most \$6,968 per year. When a full-time worker earns less than \$7,000 annually, it's almost impossible to provide the essentials of a decent life for one's family. The federal poverty level for a family of four is currently \$10,989; for a two-person household, it is \$6,998. Today's minimum wage rate would have to be increased to \$4.61 per hour to

make up for the deterioration in inflation since 1981.

Senator Majority Leader Robert Byrd has predicted that Congress would hike the minimum wage rate. Senator Ted Kennedy, head of the Senate's Labor and Human Resources Committee, has accurately stated: "The minimum wage is not a living wage, and it is not a decent wage in which a fulltime job means a lifetime of poverty." Democratic Representative Mario Biaggi has proposed legislation which would elevate the current minimum level to \$5.05 by 1991, and index the rate to one-half the average hourly earnings level. Currently, the minimum wage is only 38% of the average hourly wage.

On the defensive, the administration now lacks the political muscle to eliminate the demands for higher minimum wages. In previous years, Labor Secretary William Brock has deplored and ridiculed calls for hiking the minimum wage. But at the AFL-CIO's winter meeting in Florida, Brock insisted to

reporters that the administration had not "made any decision" regarding the minimum wage. "We haven't even addressed it at the Cabinet level."

Regrettably but predictably, the ideologues of the ultra-right are attempting to hold-the-line on wage increases to the working poor. Prominent conservative journalists and economists alike — most of whom earn salaries in excess of \$50,000 — are pretending to advocate the interests of poor folk and the unemployed by keeping the lid on their wages.

Chicago Tribune columnist Stephen Chapman recently charged that higher wages for the working poor would force thousands of businesses to "transfer their operations overseas to take advantage of cheaper labor," or simply to "go out of business." Chapman insisted: "Raise the price of oil, and people use less of it; raise the cost of unskilled workers, and companies will employ fewer of them. Raising the minimum wage helps workers who keep their jobs

Dr. Manning Marable teaches political science and sociology at Purdue University and is a contributing editor of THE WITNESS magazine.



Workers who tote pushcarts in New York's garment center are mostly Black and Latin, without a union



Pieceworker in a men's suit factory

Minimum wage history, stats

The minimum wage was established in 1938 by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), which also mandated the 40-hour workweek. The FLSA was a key piece of the New Deal legislation which developed as a response to the economic crisis of the Great Depression. At the time, higher wages were seen as a safety net for the whole economy, not just for individual workers and their families.

New Dealers argued that a minimum wage would help to guarantee that households had enough purchasing power to keep the economy moving. Higher purchasing power would boost aggregate demand for goods and services, which in turn would stimulate economic growth and create more jobs.

Since 1938, Congress has voted to raise the minimum wage six times. The argument of minimum wage supporters that the wage floor be set at 50% of average non-supervisory wages was generally accepted by lawmakers. As a result, the real value of the minimum wage rose until 1968 and even held steady through the 1970s, despite high

inflation. But once Congress stopped increasing the minimum beginning in 1981, its real value started to fall. Today, the purchasing power of a minimum wage job is at its lowest level since 1955.

Of the 7 million minimum wage workers in the labor force today, almost half are part-time workers. Contrary to what is commonly believed, the majority of workers earning the minimum wage — 70% — are adults, not teenagers earning extra spending money. Of the 7 million who earn \$3.35 per hour, half are part-time workers and the majority are women. Three out of ten are heads of households.

Another 6 million workers earn between \$3.36 and \$4.00 per hour. (These figures probably underestimate the size of the low-wage labor market since they leave out undocumented workers and others who work in the underground economy — often for substantially less than the minimum wage.)

From *Dollars & Sense*, 4/87
and *Markup*, National Council
of Churches, 3/87

— at the expense of those who get laid off and those who are never hired, because their value is less than the cost of employing them."

One recent study by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago argues that a reduction in the hourly minimum wage for teenagers would greatly decrease youth joblessness. Bank economists assert that a 25% cut in wages for youth would increase the number of low-paying jobs by as much as 36%.

These arguments and other conservative apologetics for lower wages simply don't square with basic facts. It is true that higher labor costs can lead to higher prices, and many bosses tend to reduce the number of workers in response to increased wage rates. However, lower wages also contribute to increases in welfare rates, street hustling, petty crime and drug traffic, because

people frequently will resort to anti-social activities if that is the only way in which their children are going to eat and survive. If a working mother with several children cannot provide for housing, day-care, food, electricity, medical bills, clothing, etc., from the meagre wages she receives at a dead-end job, she'd be foolish *not* to resort to welfare. Higher wages give the working poor greater self-respect.

What's the hidden agenda of the Reaganites who want to cut the wages of young workers? Conservatives are not ignorant. By reducing wages for teens, youngsters will be given jobs which generally go to semi-skilled low waged adults. In the struggle to keep their jobs, adults will be forced to tighten their belts and take wage cuts as well. It's time to fight for a decent living wage for all. ■

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The dream can't die: Reflections

You can't kill a dream. It resists all the devised methods of killing. Attempts to murder a dream, in fact, vastly prolong its life.

The greatest dream is about freedom. The dream is cumulative. Dreamers are always dreaming other people's dreams as well as their own. No one knows where one dream ends and another begins, when each is part of the dream.

Martin Luther King's voice was heard around the world when he uttered his unforgettable words in the nation's capitol: "I have a dream." King and his dream were the theme of a recent cartoon by Paul Conrad, who portrayed a scene of urban decay populated by hungry, homeless people on a deserted street. The caption posed a poignant question: "Was Dr. King only a dream?"

What has happened to Martin Luther King's dream? It has suffered a serious setback, according to a Jan. 15 article in the *Los Angeles Times*: "Black America faces high unemployment, poverty, the erosion of past gains and 'a

Malcolm Boyd is writer-priest-in-residence at St. Augustine by-the-Sea Episcopal Church, Santa Monica, Cal. and president of the Los Angeles Center of PEN, the international association of writers. His two most recent books are *Half Laughing/Half Crying: Songs for Myself* and *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey*, both published by St. Martin's Press.

resurgence of raw racism' as a result of Reagan Administration social and economic policies, the head of a major civil rights group said. Releasing the National Urban League's annual report on the status of Blacks, John E. Jacob, president of the league, said Blacks have been the victims of 'morally unjust' national policies that have widened the gap between rich and poor, Black and White ... 'The result is a national climate of selfishness, and a failure of government to take a positive role in ending racism and disadvantage.'

It is essential that those of us who were part of the civil rights movement strive to keep that dream alive in our own generation, our own era. And, to cherish the roots of the dream in our past.

I remember a spring day in 1965.

Volunteer civil rights workers from different parts of the United States were crowded into Brown's Chapel in Selma, Ala. We listened to a combination of civil rights leaders, one after the other.

"They have used their tear gas and made us cry, but Blacks have cried for a long time," said the Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee spoke next. "Sunday afternoon I was beaten by

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning issued a strong call to combat racism during his address to the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church at the end of last year. Excerpts appear at right, pointing out that institutional racism is of grave concern to representatives of the Native American, Hispanic and Black communities.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company and THE WITNESS concur, and future issues of the magazine will monitor manifestations of racism — in society in general and in the church in particular — as social justice and peace constituencies work toward an agenda for General Convention.

'Struggle of apartheid not

I want to share with you that I have a sense coming out of all that I have experienced in the last 10 months that no greater challenge faces the church than that of racism. In my sermon at the recent meeting of the House of Bishops, I shared my growing awareness that we must not be tricked to think that the struggle of apartheid is limited to South Africa.

The struggle is with the pernicious evil of institutional racism. The greater

question before us is not, necessarily, how we support the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, but how will we confront the racism that pervades all human society? Are we prepared to work for a United States and a world where all people of every color are enabled to play an equal part or will we continue to view non-Whites as expendable at points of political and economic forces? The struggle against racism is dramatically engaged in

on the civil rights struggle

by Malcolm Boyd

a state trooper and knocked down. Quite a few other people are still in the hospital with broken legs and arms, fractures of the skull and other injuries. The march to Montgomery is a legitimate form of nonviolent protest to demonstrate to the nation that Blacks in the Black Belt are denied constitutional rights. We don't have clubs or guns but we have our bodies."

Wearing blue jeans, James Forman spoke intensely and quietly, and set a different mood. "I think we have to get ready for the long haul. We have paid our dues. When we say that we want the right to vote, we're not begging. We are demanding our political birthright."

The crowd in Brown's Chapel was aroused by the Rev. James Bevel: "The price of killing niggers is going up. There comes a time when the prophets have to preach. There comes a time when Jesus has to face Pilate. Today is that time. I'll tell you one thing: There never has been a resurrection without a crucifixion. Those of us who have been enslaved know that the price of freedom is going up."

It was very late when Martin Luther King came into the pulpit. He looked tired but confident and assured.

"Pilate's greatest sin wasn't that he didn't know what was right but that he lacked the moral courage to stand up for



From right: The Revs. Earl Neil, Malcolm Boyd, Quinland Gordon and an unidentified priest at bombed Black church in McComb, Miss., 1964.

'Limited to South Africa'

South Africa, no question about it, but it is being fought around the world: in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, in Sri Lanka, Central America, and as we know even in many parts of this country.

The issue of institutional racism keeps coming forward as I travel and as I meet with churchpeople in this country and representatives from abroad. When I met with the national leadership of the National Commission on Indian Work and other repre-

sentatives of the Native American community, the issue of racism was one of their greatest concerns. When I met with members of the representatives of the Hispanic community in the Southwest, the issue was racism. When I met on several different occasions with the Union of Black Episcopalians, the issue was racism. I am sure that when I meet with the leadership of the Asian-American community the issue will be the same. The issue is

— Edmond L. Browning

racism but and often that issue is translated into different means: Quality education, medical care, employment, housing, social services.

In the Episcopal Church we must practice what we preach and teach. Indeed, there is no more effective way of preaching and teaching. We must find more effective ways for the Episcopal Church to influence public policy regarding institutional racism through the force of our own example

right," he told us. "We have known the long night of police brutality. We must let it be known all over the world that we won't take it anymore. I would rather die on the highways of Alabama than make a butchery of my conscience."

I watched him closely from the front row. "It's better to go through life with a scarred body than a scarred soul." Ideals *were* possibilities, he was saying, and pragmatic ones. He roused my weary body and soul to renewed action. He stirred impulses that warred against my narrow self-interest and fear of an involvement that could be costly.

It is extremely dangerous that a majority of Americans probably do not know what the civil rights movement was about; are not aware of what has been lost because they do not understand what was previously gained, or how.

Blacks were denied the right to vote. Schools were segregated. Blacks and Whites could not sit at a lunch counter together, or use the same public restroom facilities. Churches were segregated; jobs in the workplace were generally open to Blacks only at the lowest levels of pay and opportunity. There were few Black role models in politics, religion, the media, society in general.

For a few of us who voluntarily became involved in the civil rights struggle, it was a mystifying experience, something like Marco Polo's, or going to the moon.

I was afraid

*standing guard in the shadows
a freedom house in McComb, Mississippi
3 A.M. October 1, 1964
night watch
17 hate calls, 8 death threats
16 bombings rocked McComb this summer*

and the credibility of the teaching process itself. I was struck by a recent interview in *The New York Times*, with the Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Brooklyn. Bishop Joseph M. Sullivan said: "The major problem the church has is internal. How do we teach? As much as I think we're responsible for advocating public policy issues, our primary responsibility is to teach our own people. We haven't done that. We're asking politicians to do what we haven't done effectively ourselves." I cannot agree more with that statement.

In 1982 the 67th General Convention requested every diocese and local congregation to create a Committee on Racism, with assisting material to be provided by the staff of the Episcopal Church Center. Let me recall the agenda identified by that Convention:

- To study, identify and confront the root cause of racism in all people, systems and institutions; to produce educational programs and to advocate economic and political reforms, working with religious and other groups in

*no arrests made
tense when I heard a sound
footsteps, a car, a dog*

I was afraid

*bunking with a Black freedom rider
in a Black home in an Alabama town
wrong side of the tracks
listen to the stillness of the night outside
wind blows through leaves like paper
moonlight shines through heavy foliage
shadows move across the window
my heart pounds
will they torture us when they drag our bodies
out underneath the trees?*

I was afraid

*driving at midnight through rural Mississippi
only White in a car filled with Blacks
suddenly, a car looms up behind us
lights blinding
see only white faces
we are civil rights workers
who are they?
car stays behind us, abruptly speeds past,
vanishes into the night
but at a fork in the road,
there it is again
lights turned off
waiting
now it follows
along deserted, eerie road
pass through ghostlike towns*

the community;

- To lend support for truly desegregated communities, schools, and houses of worship;
- To encourage, recruit and deploy minority people in all professions on a non-discriminatory basis, particularly within the church;
- To apply a collective imagination for the creation of new jobs, including training programs in job skills and work discipline, that are characterized

*lights of TV sets
flash behind half-closed windows
fear local police
as much as danger on the dark road*

Voter registration was a basic issue in McComb, Miss. in 1964. I was present at a Black community meeting when Mrs. Alyene Quin said: "The only thing I'm asking you who haven't registered to vote is, please, go down to register. I'm asking 200 people to register, I have gone down three times but I haven't passed the tests. But I'll go every month until I pass."

Few Blacks were registered in Pike County, Miss., and its largest town of McComb. The psychological hazard of registering was formidable. It meant getting dressed up in Sunday best clothes, then traveling to Magnolia eight miles away, and entering its county courthouse. The courthouse was a holy of holies of the segregated way of life, with its creed of White supremacy, and color bars as sacraments. A would-be voter, seeking to register, had to face police cars, cops with walkie-talkies, and even a paddy wagon crowded onto the scene. All this, before getting near the casuistically-tricky registration test itself.

"We are just captives and can't move at all," a Black woman in nearby Jackson told me, as we sat in a home which had been bombed the night before. "Discrimination goes on around here by law. The people who come in to open up the situation give us moral support, and then the whole world hears about it."

Racial hatred and discrimination were by no means confined to the southern part of the United States. They were found virtually everywhere. In the summer of 1965 I

by equality of opportunity — from top to bottom.

The action of the 1985 General Convention moved the intention of this resolution further in Resolution A140a by advocating Affirmative Action procedures throughout the Church. This resolution requested that the dioceses report "annually their participation in such procedures to the Executive for Administration and to the Committee on the State of the Church, using a form prepared by the Personnel Com-

mittee and Department of the Executive Council."

As a mark of my intention to address the issue of institutional racism and to have the Episcopal Church set an example, I promise immediate implementation of these resolutions. I am pleased to report that according to our affirmative action report of Sept. 15 — and we still have a long way to go — the over-all Church Center staff of 211 is now 56% female and 44% male — a shift of slightly more than 2% toward the female side. Both exempt and non-

was standing on a street of fire-gutted buildings, shattered glass and strewn debris in Watts, the Black poverty ghetto of Los Angeles. Soldiers stood nearby, tensely holding their guns ready. "Pretty soon I'll be 30," a young Black woman told me. "I don't want to sweep floors all my life." A young Black man told me: "I don't know what to do about the future. I don't know what to tell Whites they should do. I'm not sure it can make any difference anymore." But he concluded: "I wish Whites would listen. I wish Whites could hear."

I remember that Martin Luther King once said: "People often hate each other because they fear each other; they fear each other because they do not know each other; they do not know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated." *This is apartheid*, whether in South Africa or the United States. This is the separation one can find between the inner-city and suburbia, in schools and on campuses, in virtually every level of American life.

Is there a solution, a way out of the maddening dilemma? It can be discovered only (King said) "in persistent trying, perpetual experimentation, persevering togetherness."

We mourn the death of beloved dreamers. We are grateful to them for sharing the dream with us. But we, too, must be dreamers — giving new life to the dream by our own commitments and lives.

The dream has become a heritage that we, as a people, hold in common. Our task is to mold a lifestyle which speaks stronger than words, awakening new dreamers from self-preoccupation into the great mutual involvement of the dream.

The dream can't die.

■
exempt staffs now show this change. Of the exempt staff, 60% are now lay-people. By the end of 1987, we will have completed an extensive training-educational program on institutional racism and its behavioral manifestation for all members of the Episcopal Church Center staff.

It would be precipitous for me to establish unilaterally a program and agenda to address institutional racism. I do think that it is appropriate for me to state that this is a priority for the months ahead.

Perfecting our strategy

by Pauli Murray

One day during class discussion, in a flash of poetic insight, I advanced a radical approach that few legal scholars considered viable in 1944 — namely, that the time had come to make a frontal assault on the constitutionality of segregation per se instead of continuing to acquiesce in the *Plessy* [“separate but equal”] doctrine while nibbling away at its underpinnings on a case-by-case basis and having to show in each case that the facility in question was in fact *unequal*. In essence I was challenging the traditional NAACP tactic of concentrating on the *equal* side of the *Plessy* equation.

One would have thought I had proposed that we attempt to tear down the Washington Monument or the Statue of Liberty. First astonishment, then hoots of derisive laughter, greeted what seemed to me to be an obvious solution. My approach was considered too visionary, one likely to precipitate an unfavorable decision of the Supreme Court, thus strengthening rather than destroying the force of the *Plessy* case. Spottswood Robinson, the young Bills and Notes professor, who had graduated several years earlier with the highest academic record in the history of the law school and whose encyclopedic knowledge of case law inspired awe among students, not only pooh-poohed my idea but good-naturedly accepted my wager of \$10 that *Plessy* would be overruled within 25 years. None of us dreamed that the Supreme Court would deliver a death blow to the *Plessy* doctrine, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, not 25 but only 10 years later.

Opposition to an idea I cared deeply about always aroused my latent mule-headedness, and I chose for my seminar paper the ambitious topic “Should the *Civil Rights Cases* and *Plessy v. Ferguson* Be Overruled?” An inexperienced third-year law student was hardly equipped to deal adequately with an enormously complex constitutional problem which would later tax the best efforts of scores of legal scholars, but Andy Ransom, delighting in what he must have thought of as my naive audacity, egged me on and even extended the deadline for my paper to the end of the summer following graduation.

As I wrestled with the legal aspects of segregation that spring, the Howard Chapter of the NAACP, again sparked by Ruth Powell, decided to renew its “non-violent direct action” campaign against Jim Crow, this time at downtown Washington restaurants. Local groups like the NAACP, the Minorities Workshop, and the Institute of

Race Relations had lobbied for the District of Columbia civil rights bill during the fall and winter, with discouraging results. The House bill was bottled up in committee and only 15 signatures had been obtained on a discharge petition. The Senate version was virtually certain to die in the District of Columbia Committee, chaired by Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, the most rabid anti-Negro voice in Congress. The student activists, having tasted victory the previous spring, were impatient with delays, and warm weather brought another upsurge of restless energy. They were determined to dramatize the issue by demonstrating the technique that had worked at the Little Palace.

This time the campaign was directed against one of the three local cafeterias in the John R. Thompson Company chain, specifically the one located at 11th St. and Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. Thompson’s was selected because of its convenient location, its moderately priced food, and the fact that service was maintained on a 24-hour basis. If Thompson’s Jim Crow policy could be broken down, it would be of special benefit to thousands of Negro government workers during the hours when government cafeterias were closed.

Once again I was asked to serve as student adviser. Our preparation was more rigorous than it had been the previous year, because now we were entering “foreign territory,” outside a Negro neighborhood, and we did not know what hostilities we might encounter. In our literature we stressed that “intelligent showmanship and an attitude of good will on the part of the demonstrators is calculated to minimize antagonism and to ‘swing the crowd on our side.’” Student participants not only were instructed in picketing and public decorum but also were required to sign a written pledge accepting the philosophy and discipline of the Civil Rights Committee. Volunteers who felt they might not be able to maintain self-control under provocation were assigned to tasks, such as making signs and posters, that would not expose them to confrontations with the police or the public. The pledge declared in part:

I oppose . . . discrimination . . . particularly where such exclusion is not sanctioned by laws, as contrary to the principles for which the present World War is being fought . . .

I conceive the effort to eliminate discrimination against any person because of race or color to be a patriotic duty and an act of faith in the American boys who are fighting for the Four Freedoms in foreign lands, and who have every right to expect a fuller share of these freedoms when they return home . . .

I understand the aims of the Civil Rights campaign to be the opening up of places to Negroes through the art of persuasion and good will, and the developing of public

From the book, *Song in a Weary Throat* by Pauli Murray. Copyright © 1987 by the estate of Pauli Murray. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

opinion to extend the privilege of service to all members of the population. I understand further that there is no law enforcing segregation in Washington, D.C., and that I may enter any public place and remain there so long as I conduct myself in a lawful and proper manner.

I therefore pledge to serve in whatever capacity I am best fitted — whether picketing, "sitting in" restaurants, making posters and signs, handing out leaflets, or speaking.

I further pledge to abide by the rules and regulations of the Civil Rights Committee in carrying out this campaign; to do nothing to antagonize members of the public or the management of public places; to look my best wherever I act as a representative of the committee; to use dignity and restraint at all times; to refrain from boisterous or offensive language or conduct no matter what the provocation; and to do or say *nothing* which will embarrass the committee or the university.

The demonstration began at 4 p.m. on Saturday April 22, 1944. Following the pattern of the previous year, we began to stroll into Thompson's in twos and threes, separated by 10-minute intervals. When we were refused service, we carried our empty trays to vacant tables, maintaining strict silence; students had been instructed not to be drawn into verbal harangues and all questions were referred to a designated representative. Three white participants polled the customers inside the cafeteria and found that of ten people questioned, seven favored serving Negroes and only three objected. Outside, we set up a picket line, walking in single file far enough apart not to block the sidewalk and carrying signs, one of which read: "Are You for HITLER'S Way (Race Supremacy) or the AMERICAN Way (Equality)? Make Up Your Mind!"

Our picket line quickly attracted a large crowd, heavily sprinkled with men and women in uniform. Most of the onlookers were white. Although some of the soldiers yelled catcalls and one woman spat as the pickets passed, others, including some Wacs and Waves, cheered and called out words of sympathy. Neither jeers nor cheers brought any outward response from our pickets. Several police officers stood by, watchful but not openly hostile.

A dramatic moment occurred when six unidentified Negro soldiers, smartly dressed and wearing corporals' and sergeants' stripes, filed into the restaurant, requested service, were refused, took seats at empty tables, pulled out *PM* newspapers, and began to read. At nearby tables a dozen or more white soldiers and sailors were eating. The Negro soldiers had no connection with our student group, but their act of solidarity was the high point of our demonstration, underscoring the message of one of our signs outside: "We Die Together. Why Can't We Eat Together?"

Within an hour, 56 demonstrators, including the six

Song in a Weary Throat

**Pauli Murray's
autobiography**



What would you give to spend a weekend in the challenging presence of a pioneer Civil Rights activist and feminist, who achieved heady heights from the unlikely starting point of being born the granddaughter of a slave?

That adventure can be yours by acquiring the late Pauli Murray's autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat*, just out from Harper & Row (hardback \$23.95).

Pauli Murray was, indeed is, a national treasure. Widely revered in Episcopal circles as the first woman of color to become a priest, she had, during her lifetime, fought Jim Crow and later, as a feminist, Jim's cousin, Jane Crow. Poet, attorney, frequent visitor with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, co-founder of the National Organization for Women, Pauli Murray was from her student days a Civil Rights activist.

She and several women students from Howard University organized the first sit-in that successfully desegregated the Little Palace, a small diner in Washington, D.C. in 1943. It was one of the earliest uses of the non-violent tactics that Martin Luther King, Jr., was later to employ.

In the accompanying excerpt from her book, Pauli Murray describes how the strategy at the Little Palace was perfected to desegregate a restaurant in a busy, downtown area in the District of Columbia, escalating the use of non-violence as a viable method to achieve social justice.

Pauli Murray died in July of 1985. She had previously been informed that the Episcopal Church Publishing Company had named her the recipient of its Vida Scudder Award. It was presented, posthumously, at an awards dinner during the 1985 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, and accepted by her nephew, Michael Murray — the last of many honors she was to receive during her lifetime.

Negro soldiers, were occupying tables. From time to time the manager approached members of the group, pleading with them to leave. The student representatives were polite but firm in their refusal to go without being served. Later the district supervisor of the Thompson chain arrived, but his bluster was equally unsuccessful. Then two white MP's entered the restaurant and asked the Negro soldiers to leave. The soldiers replied that they were waiting for service. When the MP's were unable to dislodge the Negro GI's, they left and returned shortly with a white lieutenant wearing an MP armband, who apologetically asked the Negro soldiers to leave "as a personal favor so the Army won't be embarrassed in case of an incident." As the designated representative of the demonstrators, I pointed out to the lieutenant that if the Army was afraid of being embarrassed, it should request *all* military personnel to leave. We won a small victory when the MP's cleared the restaurant of all men in uniform.

Within four hours Thompson's trade had dropped 50%. The management put in frantic calls to its main office in Chicago and finally, at 8:30 p.m., was ordered to serve us.

They were so anxious to be relieved of our presence that when two waitresses balked, the manager and district supervisor quickly took their places.

It is difficult to describe the exhilaration of that brief moment of victory. So far as we knew, nothing like it had happened before in the city of Washington. As a Civil Rights Committee representative declared: "With this technique we hope to tear down some of the stereotyped impressions in the minds of our white fellow citizens and to evoke their respect. We want to demonstrate our good will, but at the same time we are equally determined to secure our rights."

The most abiding gain, however, was in our own self-respect; unfortunately, our weeks of planning and tremendous effort created scarcely a ripple beyond 11th St. and Pennsylvania Ave. For all the excitement of that Saturday afternoon in the heart of downtown Washington, a few blocks from the White House, the local metropolitan press ignored our exploit. The only mention I saw of the incident in a white newspaper was in I. F. Stone's *PM* column a week later . . . ■

Disabled monitor 'civil rights'

by Cyndi Jones

The month of May marks the 10th anniversary of what has come to be known as the Civil Rights laws for disabled citizens. And since the legislation has yet to be fully implemented, progress, or the lack of it, over the next years will be closely monitored by the disabled community.

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, together with its sister legislation, Public Law 94-142 — the Education of All Handicapped Children Act — did not become law without struggle. It took four years, three presidents, and a determined national organization — the American Coalition of Citizens With Disabilities — to get the regu-

lations signed after the Rehabilitation Act passed in 1973.

Joseph Califano agreed to issue the regulations after a 22-day sit-in at the San Francisco offices of Health, Education and Welfare, along with sit-ins in eight other regional HEW offices. The regulations were published May 5, 1977.

Section 504 stated that no otherwise qualified handicapped person will be denied access to federal programs because of their disability. PL 94-142, otherwise known as "mainstreaming," said that handicapped children must be educated in the "least restrictive environment" or mainstreamed. Just because a child happened to be disabled, did not mean that the child automatically needed to be in a "special" school. This legislation is to the disabled community what the *Brown vs.*

Board of Education decision — ending segregation in schools — is to other minorities.

But to understand the issue, one really has to understand what it was like before. Disabled children were routinely bused across their city to go to segregated "special" schools. Many of these schools were no more than glorified babysitting services. This resulted in disabled children graduating, after 12 years of "education," without an elementary education and no marketable skills.

The mainstreaming legislation was intended to insure a quality education for handicapped children. But what it accomplished was much more. It helped change the way disabled individuals see themselves. Disabled individuals weren't expected to lead independent productive lives. Disabled adults did

Cyndi Jones of San Diego is publisher of *Mainstream*, a national journal by and about handicapped people.

not have access to public transportation and most frequently did not have a quality education so finding a job was difficult. Many federal, state and local government offices were inaccessible as well, denying disabled individuals access to their elected officials, so we couldn't even complain about the poor education, the lack of public transportation or the inaccessible polling places.

Over the last decade and a half, in conjunction with the passage of these two pieces of legislation, major changes have made life easier and, in fact, livable for persons with disabilities. Modern medical technology is making it possible for individuals to survive serious injury or illness. The development of the motorized wheelchair and lift-equipped vans have rapidly changed the self-perception of many disabled individuals. Imagine the sense of freedom experienced when changing from literally being pushed around, to having the ability to go wherever you want to go, whenever you want to go. Most people take this for granted, but for disabled individuals it was a major breakthrough. Also, the space technology created increased opportunities for severely disabled individuals to lead independent lives, such as the ability to drive highly specialized vehicles, and the providing of computerized environmental control systems for their homes so that they could answer the phone, or turn on the radio without assistance.

Of course, nothing happens in a vacuum. This newfound independence for disabled individuals meant new demands on the outside social system. What good is the freedom offered by a motorized vehicle if every street corner has a built-in barrier, commonly called a curb? Thus began the push for curb cuts. It also became apparent that public transit was non-existent if one was disabled. Thus began the push for accessible public transportation.

To people who are not familiar with the disabled experience, it is a different world. So many things that are taken for granted, are either not available to disabled individuals, or have a high price, either financially, physically, emotionally or spiritually.

The trick is to get your needs met and at the same time maintain your dignity, to participate in mainstream activities, and yet not have to give up your independence in order to join in.

For example, friends ask you to go to church with them on Sunday, not thinking about how someone in a wheel-



chair gets in the church. Is the front door accessible or do you need to use the back door? What about the seating arrangement — does the wheelchair user sit in the aisle or the back or the front of the church? Where does their ambulatory friend sit — next to them or behind them? How do they receive communion? Do they go forward, is the altar rail accessible? Are there bathroom facilities or should you refrain from liquids until you get home? What about the coffee hour?

All these questions are not just a problem on Sunday, but are a way of life for the individual who has a disability. They apply whether you are

shopping, or going to college; if you are going to the theater or a friend's house for dinner. It is no wonder that many disabled people just stay home. The logistics alone are enough to drive you crazy, and just when you think you've got it covered there is the person who parks his or her car so close to your van that you cannot use your lift.

But the church has some unique issues to deal with. Instead of only seeing disabled individuals as recipients of ministry, the church needs to incorporate disabled communicants as partners in ministry. Everyone has gifts to be shared, and the job of the church is to utilize these varied gifts. In our church, St. David's, San Diego, disabled people are chalice bearers, lay readers, Sunday school teachers, vestry persons. They go on retreats, and do out-reach ministry at mental health facilities and convalescent homes. They work on the budget and capital fund drives. Basically, they participate in all aspects of church life.

When we have meetings, we "think access." We try to take the burden of access off the disabled person, and put it in the planning process where it belongs. Access is the issue of the convenor, not the attendee.

But let's get back to the initial purpose of mainstreaming — remember those handicapped kids? The ones who are being educated in "regular" school? It has been 10 years now and some of these kids are graduating from high school or soon will be. These kids have different expectations from us "old" folks. They *expect* to have access. They expect to be allowed admittance to wherever they want to go, or, at least, not to be discriminated against on the basis of their disability. These next few years are going to be exciting as 40 million disabled Americans await the real outcome of PL 94-142 and Section 504 — and seek tangible results from mainstreaming. ■



In the early 1930s, the United States and, indeed, most of the world, was deep in the grip of a devastating economic depression. The Great Crash of '29 had wreaked havoc on American society. Millions were out of work. In 1932, the average monthly wage was 60% of the average wage in 1929. That same year, some 12 million were unemployed in the United States and 30 million were out of work worldwide; starvation was reaching disastrous proportions in the U.S.S.R. Farm foreclosures, bank and business failures continued at a rapid rate in the United States as the Depression hit bottom.

Times were desperate and revolution from either the right or the left seemed a possibility. THE WITNESS was among the social forces which believed that capitalism, which had brought so much misery on the world, would be replaced by a new social order that combined Socialist, Christian and Democratic principles. It was a courageous stand to adopt at the time, when reactionary groups like the

Ku Klux Klan and even the American Legion were actively, and in the case of the Klan, violently opposed to such "Red" ideas.

When Franklin Roosevelt assumed the Presidency in 1933, he inherited a battered and confused country badly in need of social reform. Blacks and working people were still terribly oppressed. THE WITNESS kept a constant and outraged record of lynchings each year and called continuously for government and church leaders to condemn the practice. The bitter coal strikes in Kentucky were carefully documented by THE WITNESS and in its pages, readers were asked to send aid to the beleaguered miners.

Roosevelt's rapid reforms through the National Relief Act, the Works Project Administration and other social programs gave Americans hope that the country would recover peacefully from the turmoil of the Depression. But while many people were enthralled by Tarzan and little Shirley Temple at the movies, ominous events were taking

Re Lehigh Valley wages

The Rev. Paul Cotton is the chairman of the code committee of the Bethlehem unemployed citizens' league. He recently revealed the following figures about workers in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania. For sanding a radio cabinet a worker receives 1½¢; for doing a whole bedroom suite they receive \$1.50. He presented the record of one worker who labored from 11½ to 12 hours a day, six days a week, with 8 hours on Sunday and received \$3.50 a week, and a room, with the boss owing him two months' wages. (12/28/33)

Of war and profits

In support of the recent legislation to keep the United States neutral in the event of another war, Senators Nye and Clark cited hitherto unpublished correspondence between President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing. The correspondence is further proof that

we entered the conflict for financial reasons.

The Allies had made great purchases of war materials. The loaning of money to belligerents had been considered inconsistent with our policy of neutrality, but neutrality was not permitted to stand in the way of economic interests, the Senators point out. The President finally acquiesced in "the necessity of floating government loans for the belligerent nations, which are purchasing such great quantities of goods in this country, in order to avoid a serious financial situation which will not only affect them but this country as well."

McAdoo, Lansing and Wilson agreed with the big bankers that if loans were not made to the Allies, not only would Americans lose business but there would be a depression. The first loan of the House of Morgan, amounting to \$500,000,000, followed within a month. Commenting on these loans, Andre

Tardieu declared that "from that time on the victory of the Allies had become essential to the United States," and President Wilson, who "had kept us out of war," and had been re-elected largely on that issue, found good moral reasons for getting us into it.

(William B. Spofford 9/12/35)

Worst year for lynching

The year just closed was the worst year in the crusade against lynching since 1922, according to a statement just issued by the Federal Council of Churches. The total number of victims were twenty-eight, 12 more than in 1927, 17 more than in 1928, 18 more than in 1929, 7 more than in 1930, 15 more than in 1931 and 20 more than in 1932. There are but five states that never have had a lynching: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, while there is no record of a lynching having taken place in Maine

The gathering clouds of war

by Susan E. Pierce

place overseas.

In Nicaragua, the United States withdrew its occupation forces, but only after installing Antonio Somoza as head of the National Guard, which gave Somoza the chance to execute Augusto Sandino in 1934. Britain suppressed colonial protest in India by jailing Mohandas Gandhi. And the most frightening and disturbing signs that the fragile world peace might be ending was the increasing aggression by Germany and Japan.

Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reichstag or Parliament in 1933, his Nazi party having won a majority the year before. By 1933, the Nazis had built Dachau, the first concentration camp, and were burning books by Jewish authors and ruthlessly attacking Jews, leftists and labor unions. Japan, having invaded Manchuria in China in 1932, withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, and by 1936, was openly conquering China.

As the situation grew worse in Europe and Asia, THE

or New Jersey since 1886.

The statement concludes by pointing to the federal anti-lynching bill now before Congress, President Roosevelt's scathing arraignment of lynchers, and the protests of newspapers, church groups and women's organizations against the evil, as an indication that the public conscience has been stirred afresh by this national menace. (3/1/34)

Fighting Jim Crow

Bishop William Manning of New York has entered the Battle of Harlem and shares the hero's toga with the rector of All Souls', the Rev. Rollin Dodd, who has refused to make of his parish church a Jim Crow affair.

Seven of the 12 vestrymen did not want to have Negroes allowed at the services. They told the rector so. He told them that he was there to minister to the community and that there was no place for racial discrimination in

the Church of Christ. The majority of the vestry cut off the rector's salary. That failed to do the trick so they closed the church and padlocked the doors, announcing to the world that it was for the purpose of making repairs. One Sunday the service had to be held in a hired hall.

But last Sunday Bishop Manning marched up to the door of the church. He couldn't get in. Dodd asked him if the door should be forced. The reply came in a loud voice, "Certainly." So the door was forced, in spite of threats of the vestry that they would call for the arrest of anyone who forced their way in. The service was held, with Bishop Manning preaching the sermon and literally reading the law to the vestrymen. (William B. Spofford 11/3/32)

Mrs. Frothingham vs. Einstein

If it was the idea of Mrs. Randolph Frothingham, of the Beacon Hill

WITNESS steadfastly continued to call for peace and condemned each new outbreak of belligerence, such as the Italian invasion and annexation of Ethiopia in 1935-36. And when civil war broke out in Spain, THE WITNESS staunchly supported the elected government, even though it was accused of being "communist" and "atheistic."

But by 1936, even THE WITNESS, as strong for peace as ever, was beginning to surrender its optimism. Germany, having repudiated the Versailles Treaty, invaded the Rhineland and formed the Rome-Berlin Axis with Italy. In the Dec. 31, 1936 issue, editor Spofford wrote, "War is said to be unavoidable by the smart people," but he could not refrain from adding a small note of hope: "It is encouraging to learn that Premier Leon Blum of France told the head of the United Press the other day that a general war in Europe can be avoided if the three democracies, Great Britain, France and the United States, work together to prevent it." Excerpts from THE WITNESS appear below:

Frothinghams, to make her country ridiculous she has succeeded. She was the lady who informed the State Department in Washington that Albert Einstein, eminent scientist, should not be admitted to this country, even though he was invited here to carry on his research. He was, so she said, "affiliated with more communist organizations than Josef Stalin himself." So the State Department instructed our representatives in foreign countries to question him carefully before giving him a visa to enter the United States.

He refused to be questioned. Instead he informed the world that if he did not receive his visa within 24 hours he would not come to our shores. In less time than that the State Department issued a statement to the effect that Mr. Einstein had been questioned as to his opinions, that he was deemed a suitable person to mingle with us, and that

the visa has been granted.

Thus does Mrs. Frothingham, with apparently the hearty cooperation of our State Department, make us look very silly indeed. The whole trouble started of course many years ago. Had the Indians who inhabited the rock-bound coast of New England only boasted a properly organized State Department the Beacon Hill Frothinghams never would have been allowed to land. We would then have been saved, not only this present embarrassment, but also the embarrassment of the D.A.R. black list for which this lady was largely responsible, upon which was engraved as undesirable citizens such people as Jane Addams, Bishop Brewster of Maine, Bishop Parsons of California and others equally eminent. (WITNESS Editorial, 12/15/32)

Orientals in the U.S.

That there are approximately 300,000 people of Oriental birth or parentage living in continental United States, and other interesting facts regarding Orientals residing in this country, is revealed in a study which has been prepared in connection with the General Convention. Of this total Oriental population, 80,000 are Chinese, the majority of whom live in the region of San Francisco Bay, the men outnumbering the women eight to one. There are 140,000 Japanese, more than half of whom, the study shows, are American born. Here, too, the men outnumber the women, but not nearly in the same proportion as the Chinese. The Japanese centre of population is Los Angeles. There are about 65,000 Filipinos, nearly all of them young men.

The Japanese live in town and country; the Chinese are mostly city dwellers; the Filipinos are a migratory group who follow seasonal occupations or work in domestic service or in hotels.

Discussing living conditions among these groups, and excluding the few Chinese and Japanese of the higher class who are profitably engaged in business, Bishop Bartlett, executive secretary of the department of Home Missions, and bishop of North Dakota, who directed the study says: "In the cities the Orientals are almost invariably compelled to live by themselves in the worst sections, constantly surrounded by evil influences. Even if they resist evil, they have nowhere to turn for decent recreation, much less for religious help." (8/23/34)

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For those who would engage in serious study about whether some investments are morally intolerable, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company has prepared a study packet entitled *The Case for Divestment*.

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"The Case for Divestment" by Manning Marable; the exchange of correspondence between a reluctant Church Pension Fund and the Diocese of Newark, committed to divestment; backgrounders on the situation in South Africa, and a rich supply of resources. The packet was designed for study and *action*.



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Short Takes

1 of 4 functionally illiterate

Jonathan Kozol in *Illiterate America* wrote that between 1640 and 1700 the Puritan literacy rate was between 89 and 90%. They wanted to read their bible! Today, in some cities, 40% of the adult population is functionally illiterate. In the American population generally, Kozol estimates that one of four individuals is functionally illiterate. One million teenagers between 12 and 17 can't read above the third grade level.

Every year high schools across the country graduate 700,000 functionally illiterate students—and another 700,000 drop out every year. A study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress found that only two out of five students across the country could draw correct inferences from a set of facts. Only one out of seven could write a good essay. The problem, according to this study, cuts across the board from poor kids in inner-city schools to affluent children in suburban schools.

The Evangelical Outlook Vol. 24 #1
Evangelical Education Society

The church is near but the road is all ice; the tavern is far but I'll walk very carefully.
— Russian proverb

Youth camp in Holy Land

A four-week ecumenical camp experience in the Holy Land for English-speaking youth aged 14 to 20 is scheduled July 2-Aug. 2, with St. Margaret's Hostel, on the mountain overlooking the City of Nazareth, as home base.

Campers will explore the rich and varied cultures of communities residing in the Holy Land. Activities include sightseeing at traditional holy sites; visits to a Bedouin camp and an archaeological dig; a kibbutz camp-out; and volunteer programs including planting on a farm, helping in a refugee camp, working in Christian institutions. Sports, music and dance round out the events. An interfaith dialog with Christian, Muslim and Jewish youth will end the program.

Fee for U.S. youth, including airfare and insurance, is \$2100 from New York. Brochures are available from the Rev. Canon Riah Abu El-Assal, rector, Christ Evangelical Episcopal Church, P.O. Box 75, Nazareth, 16100, Israel.



All Under One Roof

Sen. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut will open the Under One Roof Conference with an address on "Politics, Religion and the Constitution" Thursday, June 4, at the Clarion Hotel, St. Louis. The conference, to run through June 7, will bring together Episcopal networks covering a wide range of social justice and specialized ministries.

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning will celebrate and preach at the closing Eucharist. Sixteen Episcopal groups—including members of The Consultation and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company—are sponsoring the event, which will provide an opportunity to get a "snapshot" of new program ideas, current social and political issues, models of ministry or particular skills.

Registration fee is \$50. For further information and a registration brochure, contact Nancy Deppen, Public Policy Network, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Not like the South

"The South African story is very dramatic. Many people think that it's like the civil-rights struggle in the United States, but it's not. Racism and white supremacy are so entwined in government doctrine there. There's no question about human rights because there's nothing that guarantees human rights. There's no room for a nonviolent struggle there, as there was in the South here."

Ora Mendels

Author, *Mandela's Children*
Quoted in *Phila. Inquirer* 2/10/87

Woman bishop? Here's how

I recall a significant moment during the process of episcopal elections in our denomination when the probability of electing a woman to the position of bishop appeared absolutely nil. Nevertheless, in our jurisdiction the clergywomen gathered for prayer each night. We experienced the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in our midst.

We saw our movement from the perspective of the nature of the church of Jesus Christ and its witness. It was far more than an individual "winning a race." Women of faith had reached out across the country, convincing men to join them in order to express the need for the church of a resurrected Christ to be absolutely and completely inclusive in all areas of its life in the world. This movement should acknowledge the call, gifts, and graces of all persons, regardless of sex, race, or culture, to serve with authenticity. We felt we were about the business of newness of Spirit, calling the church to renewal of witness.

A young male minister who had joined us on one evening is said to have reported, "Don't worry about the women. They are no problem. They are just having a prayer meeting."

It is because of such prayer meetings that I am now a bishop of the United Methodist Church. As a Black woman, I long ago learned of the faith of a people enslaved, who dared to believe in a resurrected Jesus.

Bishop Leontine Kelly
Sojourners 4/87

Quote of note

Some women wait for something to change and nothing does change, so they change themselves.

Audrey Lorde

Help yourself

Extra commas can cause problems of their own, as the news service of the Anglican diocese in Canterbury, United Kingdom, recently illustrated.

"Look out, here he comes!" was the headline the news service gave to an excerpt from an article in the *Southwark News*: "Afterwards, the bishop walked among the crowds, eating their picnic lunches."

One World 3/87

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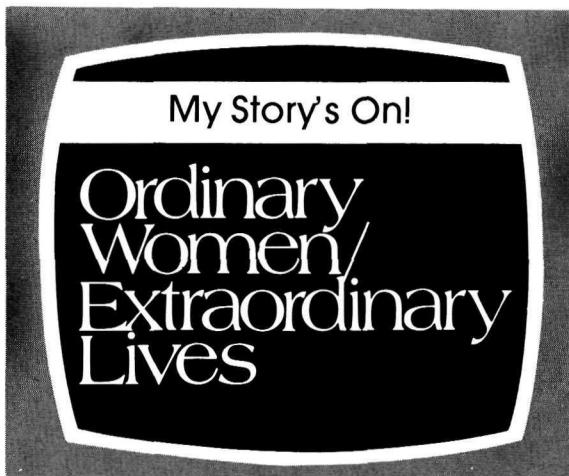
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