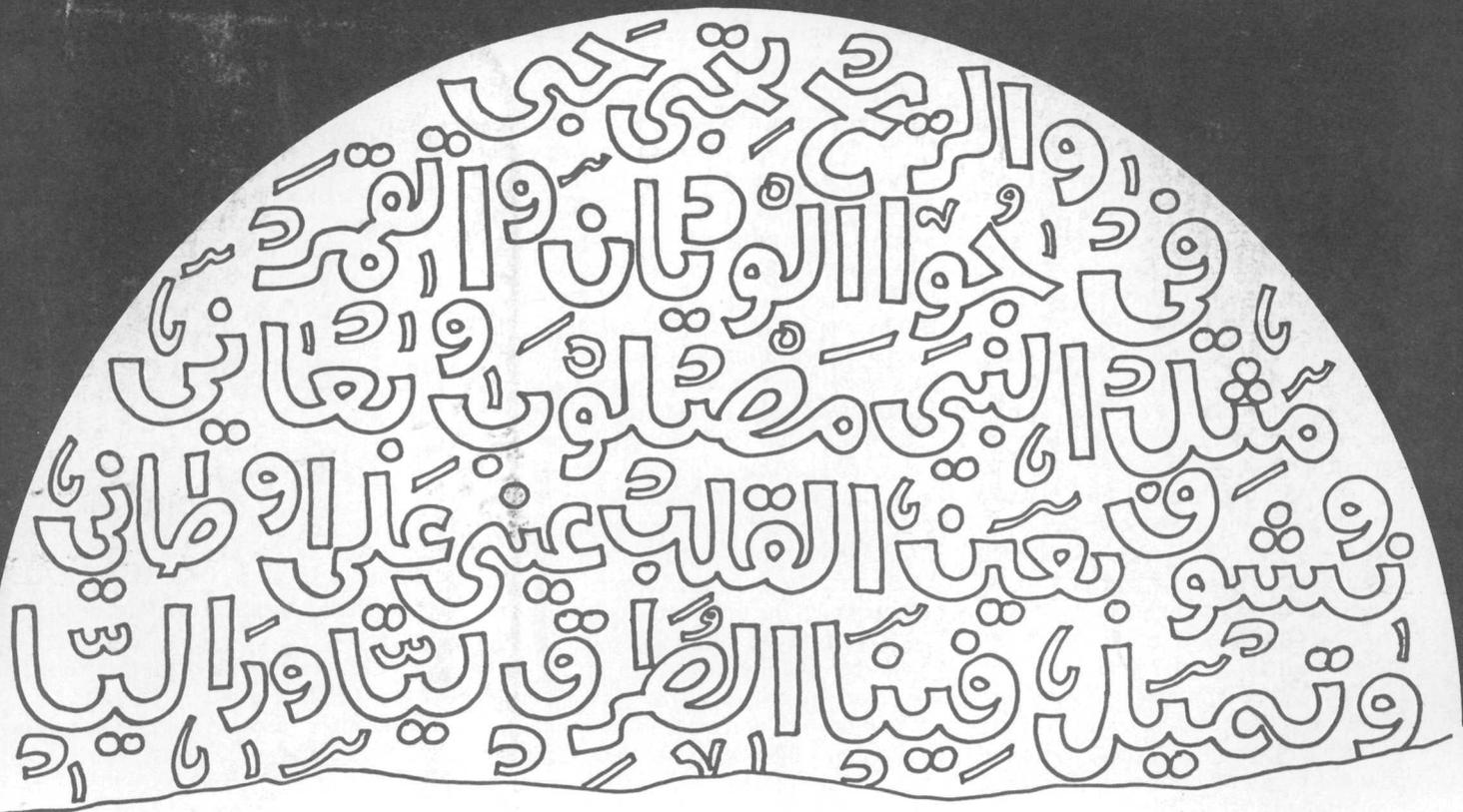


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NOVEMBER 1987

THE WITNESS



**Arab-Israeli conflict:
"Moon Red as Blood"**

JAMES LEWIS

Racism in Paradise • SHELLEY WONG

S. African Students Fight Apartheid

JOHN STUBBS

Letters

Report disappoints

As a participant in the Public Policy Network's Under One Roof Conference in St. Louis, I am puzzled and disappointed with Susan Pierce's report in the July/August WITNESS.

Puzzled, because her introduction chooses to understand the Public Policy Network in all its cooperative diversity as simply "the institutional church," whereas her conclusion faults it for not from the start planning to produce forceful General Convention resolutions to transform the church. Her words in between seem to admit that this last was never the intention.

Disappointed, because Pierce, hoping like many of us for some bold policy statement from the Presiding Bishop, did not apparently recognize that the bottom line for the moment was likely to be given us by George McGonigle, his senior administrator. In one workshop hour between flights out and back from New York, McGonigle admittedly attempted nothing bold or incisive, but his summary of progress to date was wholly workmanlike and specified the PB's five resultant priorities, in formulations I found relevant then and worth pondering since.

As Susan Pierce says, the idea was to bring together all the various service and justice ministries working for social change. Many of us believed the purpose was a modest one of strengthening the "community of Episcopalians who can support each other in working to transform the church." This took concrete reality at innumerable moments as each of us shared special experiences and learned from another's. From this standpoint, the conference seemed to me and others a solid success.

Paul L. Ward
Alexandria, Va.

Sexuality needs forum

Susan E. Pierce, in her commentary on Under one Roof, said several things that needed to be said, not the least of which was decrying the paucity of discussion of justice issues with respect to lesbians and gay men and sexuality in general. The failure to include these issues on the agenda caused several Integrity members to stay away from St. Louis, but we nevertheless had the largest delegation of all the sponsoring networks. Our numbers and forthrightness, moreover, made lesbian and gay concerns a focus of many Connector Group meetings and introduced the topic in many workshops, including the one on non-traditional families which had initially ignored us. Integrity also sponsored an additional workshop on blessings of lesbian/gay marriages, which was filled beyond capacity.

The failure to include lesbian and gay concerns in the program was Integrity's responsibility. I know that most of the organizers of the conference are supportive of Integrity's goals, but our concerns are not foremost in their minds. Just as in 1985 when the first draft of The Consultation's position statement for General Convention completely ignored heterosexism, Integrity has to continually remind our friends that lesbians and gay men must be fully part of the agenda for justice in the Episcopal Church.

Edgar K. Byham
New York, N.Y.

'Business as usual'

Thanks to THE WITNESS for pointing out the non-effect, ultimately, of the Under One Roof meeting in St. Louis.

When I first arrived I was proud of the large numbers that had gathered for the event, and excited about the poten-

tial this created. But after the closing Eucharist I was disappointed.

While a great deal of information-sharing took place, in the end, in spite of the gathering of many, no united prophetic vision emerged, no social justice strategies for the church-at-large.

I admire Susan Pierce's eloquent analysis and reportorial skill in cutting through the morass to get to the painful point.

The liturgy, of course, was magnificent but we Episcopalians are known for doing that well. I agree with Byron Rushing — the feast of Pentecost presented a unique opportunity for the Presiding Bishop to talk about a new church and a new Pentecost, but we just settled for "business as usual."

The Rev. Floyd Naters-Gamarra
Philadelphia, Pa.

'Roof' lost Constitution

Re the Under One Roof Conference (July/August WITNESS): I am disturbed by one factor — the theme of the plenary sessions, "Politics, Religion and the Constitution," seemed inadequately carried throughout.

Ms. Pamela Chinnis, one of the panelists, explained to me that the original intent had not been to include the Constitution, that it had been included in deference to Sen. Lowell Weicker who gave the keynote address. However, I was disturbed that Weicker's speech seemed a pep rally for a Constitution I feel to be fundamentally flawed. I suspect that I may have been the only person at the conference who attended especially to discuss the Constitution.

During the second plenary session the panelists talked about how our country is divided along racial lines and between the sexes, and they noted how the basis of such division seems to be fear. They went

on to talk of the need to confront such fears.

The Under One Roof Conference was—at least in part—an attempt to confront our fears of each other and heal the divisions within our denomination. However, our nation as a whole seems to be running from each other at an increasing pace.

During the discussion period following I spoke of the need for a constitutional amendment dividing the power in our country along racial and sexual lines and in proportion to population. Needless to say the response was underwhelming.

I was amused when the third session ended—without discussing the role of the Constitution—with one panel member asking if anyone knew of some structural change which might help in the squabble for funds by the various groups.

The panel moderator opened the discussion period by announcing, “No statements; just questions!” Then she managed to turn herself in such a way as not to notice my hand. I really don’t blame her much: Nobody actually wanted to talk about the Constitution anyway.

I would expect that Mr. Weicker might have a pep rally mentality when it comes to the Constitution. After all he is a white male, and I suspect, wealthy. The Constitution is designed to serve exactly such folk!

In effect, what the planning committee for the plenary sessions had done was to construct a “half debate”—it provided for the pro but not the con of the Constitution.

John Kavanaugh
Detroit, Mich.

September rich issue

We just finished reading the September WITNESS and wanted to thank you for this particularly rich issue. Charles Willie’s “Constitutional wrongs” should

have wide reading; Michael Hamilton’s “An Irish sickness” is deeply moving and helpful; and William Spofford’s “Remembering ‘the Old Man’” brings back so many memories which are precious to us of people we knew and cherished through THE WITNESS and later “in the flesh.”

It was Hans Beaver, sexton in our first parish at St. John’s, Portage, Wisc., in 1925, who out of love and appreciation circulated THE WITNESS on foot each week and so built up the social awareness of the congregation. Our congratulations and thanks to you and to the above.

Elizabeth and Daniel Corrigan
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Had similar experiences

I promptly read the July/August issue with special interest in Marianne Micks’ “Forty years in the wilderness” because Bishop Stephen Bayne often referred to her writings and saw that I had copies. I had earlier ordered her book, “The Joy of Worship,” and look forward to reading it. I well understand her feelings expressed in the article, for I have had many similar ones!

Congratulations on the awards THE WITNESS has received—a great tribute to your imagination and determination as well as your sense of mission.

Dr. Ruth Jenkins
La Jolla, Cal.

Focus on battered earth

No words can express my deep gratitude for Bishop John Spong’s article, “The twilight of patriotism,” in your September issue. Thank God someone in the church is addressing the most important topic of our day: The potential destruction of life on earth for the short

term selfish gain that may be accrued.

We are destroying our planet at a rate so alarming that scientists predict we may suffer the greatest mass extinction in the history of the earth. Tropical rain forests are being cut down at the rate of 35 to 50 acres per hour. Species of animal, insect and plant life are being exterminated at an estimated rate of one per hour. Soil erosion turns arable soil into desert; pollution of our lakes, rivers, and oceans by toxic chemicals kills the life therein at unprecedented rates; acid rain is destroying forests in Europe and America.

It all adds up to the same grim fact: We who have been given “dominion” over the earth act as though we were mindless, vicious destroyers of life rather than as its faithful, loving stewards. Some people who ravage, pillage and destroy think the harm wrought won’t be realized until far into the future, and they “won’t be around to see it when it happens.” How foolish! It is happening right now.

Bishop Spong’s article is a delight to see in THE WITNESS, because we read and hear so little from the church about our relationship to all life, our need to love all life, to realize that God created all things and found them all good.

Richard A. Boggs
Los Angeles, Cal.

Correction

A typographical transposition appeared in the article, “Constitutional wrongs” by Charles V. Willie in the September issue on p. 11. The sentence should read, “The Supreme Court ruled in the *Plessy* decision of 1896 that racial groups in this nation could be required to use separate public facilities including those that were supported with common tax funds” . . . not 1986.

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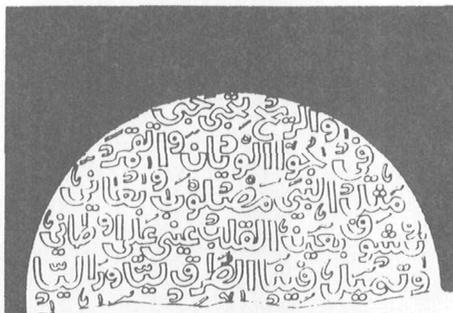


Table of Contents

-
- 6** Israeli-Arab conflict: Dire omens
James Lewis
-
- 9** Short fuse in Fiji
Layton P. Zimmer
-
- 12** Racism in paradise
Shelley Wong
-
- 14** Black students fight apartheid
John Stubbs
-
- 18** Broken treaties, broken faith
Cindy Darcey, Owanah Anderson, Ralph Scissons
-

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The PLO and the First Amendment

In a flagrant violation of First Amendment Rights, the U.S. State Department ordered the Palestine Liberation Organization to shut down its Information Office in Washington, D.C. Sept. 15. And legislation pending in Congress threatens to close the PLO's New York Office as well. The latter operates in connection with activities at the United Nations, where the PLO has observer status. Rep. Jack Kemp and Sen. Charles Grassley have introduced the bill under the "Anti-Terrorist Act of 1987."

Jewish leaders have hailed the State Department's decision as "a crucial symbolic victory in their campaign to deligitimize the PLO in the Mideast equation," according to *Washington Jewish Week*.

But there has been less rejoicing elsewhere. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* took editorial positions in protest. The *Times* noted that the Administration

said it acted because of "terrorism committed and supported by organizations and individuals associated with the PLO." But State conceded that it had no evidence of such terrorism here. "Closing down information offices," said the *Times*, "is a gesture suitable to closed societies."

The Washington Post pointed out that George Shultz, himself, opposes the bill in Congress, and State officials were divided internally over the issue. Shultz wrote legislators months ago that "so long as an office regularly files reports with the Department of Justice on its activities as an agent of a foreign organization, complies with all other relevant U.S. laws and is staffed by Americans or legal resident aliens, it is entitled to operate under the protection provided by the First Amendment to the Constitution."

Finally, the American Civil Lib-

erties Union, labeling the action "an unconstitutional assault on the fundamental liberties of free speech," continued, "this is not yet Robert Bork's America where majoritarian views on foreign policy are allowed to silence the advocacy of competing positions."

The whole sordid incident reveals how one-sided is the information we receive about the plight of Palestinians in the Israeli-Palestine conflict. It also dims the hopes for an international peace conference, to focus on the concerns of the Middle East.

And it also warns that during an election year, even the more liberal members of Congress will be tempted to violate the Constitution rather than jeopardize votes from sizeable bloc constituencies. It will be our duty to convince them otherwise. ■

Israeli-Arab conflict:

'Moon red as blood,' dire omens

by James Lewis

"The sun turned black as a funeral pall and the moon all red as blood, and the stars in the sky fell to the earth like unripe figs shaken by a great wind."

Revelation 6:13

When I was in the Middle East the headlines in the Jerusalem newspapers spoke of the Lavi decision and the Vanunu trial. The Lavi is the state-of-the-art jet fighter being developed by Israel. The United States has put \$1.5 billion into it. While we were in Jerusalem, Israel decided to scrap the project. Good news for back home. Now Israel will purchase F-16s from the U.S. aerospace industry.

The other big story was about Mordecai Vanunu. Vanunu had worked at the nuclear reactor in Dimona, a remote area in the Negev. That is, until he flew to London to tell Israel's nuclear story to the *Sunday Times*. The copy confirmed longtime suspicions. Dimona, says Vanunu, is the center for nuclear weaponry. Israel has over 200 nuclear warheads.

Because Vanunu spilled the beans, he was kidnaped by Israel and flown back to Jerusalem for trial. The trial opened under heavy security and press censorship. Some of Vanunu's letters and tapes were published. He had important things to say to us:

"The citizens of Israel are unaware of the threat of nuclear weapons. There are people trying to diffuse this issue. I believe that nuclear arms in the Middle East are especially dangerous — to say nothing of their danger

to the world at large — because there are wars here all the time and some madman could use them. Even though Israel is democratic, it would act like a mad state because of fear and the threat to its existence."

My trip through the Middle East as part of a United States Jewish-Christian delegation showed me that the U.S. peace movement must wake up to the grave global implications of the Israeli-Arab conflict. I believe it is a serious mistake for peace activists to focus only on reduction of nuclear arms in Europe while ignoring Israel's growing nuclear arsenal.

We stayed at the East Jerusalem YMCA. From the top floor, I could see a soccer game played across the street. Ammiel Alkalay, a Sephardic poet, had met with us earlier. He told a story about how two enemies found a way to talk to one another. An aide to Pales-



Editor visits Mid East

The Rev. James Lewis, contributing editor of THE WITNESS and director of Christian Social Ministries for the Diocese of North Carolina, was one of 10 Christians and Jews who participated in a trip to the Middle East under the aegis of the Resource Center for Non-Violence, Santa Cruz, Cal. His itinerary took him to Jordan, Israel, and Tunisia where he interviewed scores of grassroots activists and high-level officials, including PLO leader Yasir Arafat, the latter during a middle-of-the night visit to a secret headquarters.

In this issue, Lewis begins a two-part analysis of his travels.

tine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat and a Zionist soccer coach from the Likud party shared their ardent love for soccer. They found common ground beyond their mutual hatred.

Alkalay is wise. What is needed in the region is a new context for the issues. The old context has failed. He said something simple, yet profound: "The population will be living another reality long before the solution."

We've learned the truth of that statement in another arena, Central America. I believe that U.S. foreign policy toward Nicaragua is being changed at an official level because thousands of

people have been living out a peace agenda daily between the United States and Nicaragua. Through countless work trips, visitations, exchanges and personal encounters, U.S. citizens have experienced another reality prior to any governmental solution. Political entities always react better to a flesh and blood fait accompli. Living peace is the only way to make it. Foreign policy, like a meandering child, will tag along.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict needs a new context, which Jews and Christians must help create. Pressure will have to be brought to bear on our own governments to support an international peace conference with Russia present. And we must insist upon having the PLO at the table. The PLO exists as legitimate leadership, and Israel and the United States will have to acknowledge that fact.

One evening, four of us wandered over to the International Conference for Palestinian Folklore.

Various Palestinian folkgroups were singing and dancing. I felt like I was attending a West Virginia folk festival. Appalachian dialect was replaced by Arabic. I felt something wonderfully subversive was happening. The words that were sung were cryptic. Like Black spirituals, they camouflaged a message of liberation available only to the initiated.

I was given a souvenir poster, advertising April Moon, one of the singing groups. It depicts an orange moon, sliced in half, set against a black background. Arabic is sprinkled across the entire sheet. Later, someone translated it:

"You, dear moon, who witness us leaving our homeland, shine upon us until we come back to our homeland. The winds blow slowly in the valley and the moon is like the prophet, suffering and crucified. We see with the eye of our heart, our homeland. The

way is unclear and the people are running after one another. Usthra's face is like the morning and her eyelashes are songs. The song says that she is coming back and her lover will kiss her."

Tekoa, not far from Jerusalem, was the home of the prophet Amos. It is now one of the many areas in the West Bank where settlements have been built since the Six Day War, fought 20 years ago.

These settlements ring the hillsides around Jerusalem and appear with more and more regularity throughout the heavily Palestinian regions of the West Bank. Since 1967, it is estimated that some 60,000 Jewish settlers have moved in among the 1.5 million Palestinians. Enormous numbers of Palestinians have been uprooted, their lands confiscated.

One settler in Tekoa, originally from the United States, told us that the community is open to many people. White South Africans helped settle it and he pointed to a couple of Russians, his neighbors, working to complete a unit behind his.

He considered himself a pioneer; "I want to be able to say, in 20 years, that I came here when there was nothing and now there is something . . ."

He was a classic pioneer, who always sees himself as first. *Creatio ex nihilo*. Like a god, he creates from nothing — or so he thinks. His motto is: History Begins With Me.

I remember the historical lie I learned in childhood: How the White man came to the American shores to discover the country and created something from nothing. It was as if Native Americans never occupied the land and their culture, civilization and values didn't exist.

Just prior to Tekoa, we worked in the Palestinian village of Beit Fajjar, near Bethlehem. On a hillside half a mile from town, we moved fieldstone

to build a wall for a Palestinian family. Israeli military officials told the family that the land would be confiscated if it were not used. The man, his wife and children worked with us. The land would be used to plant grapes.

While lifting rocks, I heard the sound of rifles firing from a nearby settlement firing range — Israelis taking target practice. They were armed and ready to defend the land. In contrast, Palestinians are unarmed, by law, and fearful that their land will continue to be taken from them.

Later, I read a newspaper report from the West Bank. It quoted Israeli Housing Minister David Levy, who pledged to increase the Jewish presence in the occupied territories. More settlements will be built.

Over food, a Palestinian friend smiled while telling me his "big secret." According to him, settlers are moving away. It has become more difficult to entice prospective settlement dwellers, even with government loans and subsidies. "What's more," he said, "we will outnumber them with more babies, more Palestinians. From our loins, we will conquer them. It's just a matter of time."

It was a new experience for me to see the Arab side of the conflict in Israel. I grew up in Baltimore. Film director Barry Levinson re-created my 1950s neighborhood in his movies, *Diner* and *Tin Men*. The rowhouses on my street, Jonquil Avenue, were loaded with mailboxes marked Cohen, Shapiro and Smelkinson. Kosher food and Christmas trees marked the area as a mixed neighborhood.

Hearing stories of the Holocaust, I developed a genuine bias in favor of Jewish people. In my neighborhood, you did not speak unkindly of Jews. They had suffered enough for being Jewish.

It wasn't until the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon that I finally had to

face a side of the truth I had neglected — the Arab side. The terrible stereotypes of Arab people I had learned as a child were challenged and my romantic view of Israel was shaken. My culture had given me a very unforgiving portrait of Arab people. They had been portrayed as thieving, dirty, violent, lazy, and sexually aggressive — all the marks of a racist view.

A copy of the *Al Fajr* paper I picked up carried a story about the Heisman Trophy-winning football player, Doug Flutie, an Arab-American. Growing up in Baltimore, I never saw a positive image of an Arab in newspapers or textbooks. In the Middle East I met hundreds of beautiful Palestinian people. Former “enemies” have become my friends. I think often about this mysterious encounter between enemies. Understanding the love/hate relationship between enemies is crucial if individuals and societies are to be whole.

Jacobo Timerman, a Jew, disillusioned by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, confronted the ancient alienation of Jew and Arab in his book, *The Longest War*. He wrote, “Rarely do we, the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, reach that culminating moment in the encounter of two enemies when they mutually confess their crimes, their terrors, and their inevitable need for each other.”

Half of our delegation was Jewish. I felt like I was back on Jonquil Avenue, back in touch with my neighborhood. This time, however, I understood more fully how complicated it is to be Jewish, how painful it can be.

Midway in our trip, we heard that Yasir Arafat might meet with us in Tunis. There was a ripple of excitement, but a deep anxiety emerged from some of our Jewish contingent. The question surfaced: Would we allow photographs to be taken of us with Arafat?

Beneath the discussion, there was a deeper issue. The Jews were worried about what this would mean when they got back home. They were fearful of what relatives would say and how other Jews would react. They feared being cut off from their community for talking with the enemy. One of our members recalled how, as a child, he gave money to plant trees in Israel. Now he saw that Palestinians had been uprooted from their land, on which these trees are deeply rooted. He worried that his honest criticism about Israeli policies would cause him to be labeled as an enemy.

In Ibillin we met with the Rev. Elias Chacour, pastor of a Melkite church. His home was once destroyed by Israeli policy. Nevertheless, he works towards a non-violent solution to the conflict between Arab and Jew. He charged the Jews in our group to go back home and tell other Jews to change the U.S. foreign policy which supports Israeli denial of land and human rights to Palestinians.

We visited Neve Shalom, a small community of Jews and Palestinians who conduct camps and workshops where Jews and Palestinians can meet, confront one another and develop new ways to see each other. This community provided another new context for peace.

The five Jews who discussed a photo session with Arafat came back to the United States with a different task — how to create a new context for discussion of the old hostilities, which are nurtured by certain Jewish special interest groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

Edward Tivnan, in his book, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy*, summed up in one paragraph what lay beneath the photo debate. He wrote, “American Jews no longer have to prove that they care about Israel. They do, however,

have to prove that they care enough to listen to all sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The debate must begin anew, in public. Only then will the interest of Israel, American Jewish, and U.S. foreign policy be served.”

But upon my return to the United States, what anxieties would I carry with me? If I did speak out about the growing Israeli nuclear power, would I be threatened? Would I be punished for pointing to the abusive way Israelis are treating Palestinians? Could I say that Israel is comparable to South Africa in many of its repressive actions? Would it be possible to keep having my picture taken with old Jewish friends while trying to pressure my government to get Israel to sit down at a table with Arafat?

I know my fear. I don’t want to be called “anti-Semitic.” I am held back by my liberal guilt. Liberal Christians have stood with powerless, homeless Jews in search of land. Now we are hesitant to criticize a powerful, landed Israel whose policies, backed by U.S. support, have created powerless, homeless Palestinians. The guilt that motivates such fear is ironic and unjust. The Israeli and American Jewish community are not beyond criticism. Episcopalians like myself, with historic ties to Jewish people, must move beyond our fear of being labeled anti-Semitic. We must question the oppressive state that has been created with billions of dollars’ worth of U.S. aid over the past decade. We have to learn to fear the injustice being done by that state more than the smear campaigns of a few zealous special interest groups.

Scott Kennedy and I visited Bishop Jim Pike’s grave in Jaffa, just south of Tel Aviv. Pike’s wife Diane (Scott’s sister), went with Jim into the desert wilderness where he died. Pike was a

Continued on page 22

Short fuse in Fiji

by Layton Zimmer

It was just a small revolution in May, a bloodless coup. One officer and 11 soldiers rushed noisily into a meeting of the Fijian Parliament, arrested the recently elected Prime Minister, Timoci Bavadra, his Cabinet and 12 of his staunchest followers.

The revolutionaries took their hostages to secret but comfortable confinement. Their leader, dissident Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, was sworn in as head of the Council of Ministers, an interim government. The whole thing was hardly noticed by Americans focused on "Iran/Contra-gate" and the televangelical "Pearly-gate." But the May coup and a second, more recent coup in September, are the result of serious racial and political tensions that threaten the future of peace in that part of the world.

Fiji is a tiny South Pacific nation. A former British colony, it became independent in 1970 and is a member of the British Commonwealth. All of Fiji's 400 plus islands put together would equal a bit more land than Hawaii. Most of the Fiji Islands are tiny and uninhabited, and the total population — slightly over 700,000 people — is less than the total population of the island of Oahu alone.

From my days with the U.S. Peace Corps there, I remember the Fiji Islands as gorgeous. The largest and most developed island, Viti Levu, contains Suva, the capital city. Vanua Levu is the second largest, followed

by Kadavu. The rest of the Fijian archipelago consists of coral atolls and volcano tips which dot thousands of square miles of the South Pacific.

American money invested in Fiji consists mostly of investments by airline pilots, international entrepreneurs, and bankers in resorts, real estate development and vacation homes. Actor Raymond Burr bought one of the smaller islands lock, stock and barrel — complete with a village — for his personal use.

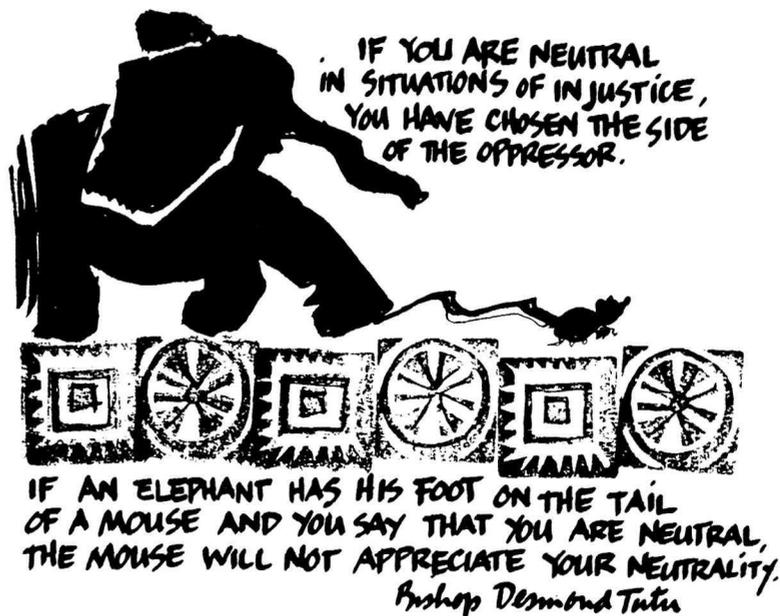
But the most prominent group, in terms of American impact, image and investment, is the Peace Corps, which has been in Fiji since 1967.

For example, on one of the most remote islands, there is a small village school named after Dan Dworkin, a

much-loved Peace Corps volunteer teacher there. But Dan's draft board decided that Peace Corps service was no way to dodge the draft during the Vietnam War. They yanked him out of class in midterm and sent him to Vietnam, where he was shot dead on his first patrol.

There is also an American embassy in Suva, the official American presence in Fiji and just about everywhere else in the South Pacific. Australia and New Zealand are large enough, valuable, and currently contentious enough to "deserve" their own embassies.

Approximately 360,000 Fijians live scattered out on the islands, along with 50,000 Aussies, Kiwis, Brits, Asians and a few Yanks. But it's the 400,000 Asian Indians, imported by the British



The Rev. Layton Zimmer, longtime peace activist, is rector of St. Aidan's Church, Albuquerque, N.M.

colonialists almost 100 years ago as indentured labor for the sugar cane fields, who actually outnumber the Fijians in Fiji.

Almost all the Indians live on the two largest islands, where the sugar cane grows. They have become the islands' businesspeople, no longer just field laborers doing miserable work for the colonial masters.

Years ago, roving about the Fiji Islands by sailboat, dugout canoe, Land Rover and on foot for the Peace Corps, I remember the pure joy of being welcomed into both native Fijian and Indian homes. But the tension was clearly there even then, whispered with significant glances deep into my eyes.

"We don't want them."

"They don't want us."

There are stereotypes associated with Indians and Fijians: Indians play soccer; Fijians play rugby. Indians staff the offices and shops of the resorts; Fijians run the recreational activities, keep bar, do the ethnic shows for the tourists and take visitors home with them to drink *kava* until dawn.

Everyone loves Fijians. Indians are treated as the outcasts of the islands. Fijians and Indians traditionally have had little affection for, or trust in, each other.

Despite the fact Indians were bought and coerced into coming to Fiji, which is the only home they have known for four generations, and throughout contemporary Fijian history have contributed muscle, mind, imagination, organization, patience, loyalty and humility, they still cannot own land for a home or business. All they have — thanks to the guilty conscience of the White masters who imported and stranded them there — is a constitutional guarantee of one-person, one-vote, just like the native Fijians.

Fijians have taken more and more leadership in government, either by

appointment or by carefully gerrymandered elections to a Legislative Council. Indians were elected to the Council too, but as minority party.

The British constructed a splendid Constitution that embodied all the best standards of Western democratic idealism. It was fair to the mistreated, maligned Indians and its fairness insured that native Fijians would inevitably lose control of their land as they annually lost the "birthrate race" to their unwanted neighbors.

Like indigenous peoples all over the world, from the Inuits in the Arctic to the Australian Aborigines, Fijians now know that beneath all the ideals and trinkets of Westernization, their White colonial friends have bequeathed them a ticking doomsday time bomb. Fijians may either choose ethnic and cultural decline, or they may repress and, when they see fit, exterminate the unwanted immigrants.

Fiji can never again be what it once was. Nor can it ever become what the White man wanted it to be. Fiji has never been and can never be just a peaceful tourist haven built on an acquiescent, Westernized multi-ethnic society.

U.S. role feared in Fiji

The United States may have played a major role in the May 14 military coup in Fiji, according to some Asian analysts.

Of major concern to many in the region was the presence of Vernon Walters, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (and former CIA deputy director) who visited Fiji in late April. During his visit, he told the Fiji press that the United States "has a duty to protect South Pacific interests." Five members of the World Anti-Communist League are also reported to have been in the country just before the coup. Deposed Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra said that the Reagan administration may have secretly arranged the coup to protect U.S. nuclear interests in Fiji.

— THE OTHER SIDE 10/87

"FIJI — THE WAY THE WORLD SHOULD BE" read the travel posters. Instead, Fiji is becoming the way the rest of the world already is: divided, rancorous, suspicious and volatile.

Lt. Col. Rabuka, leader of the coup in May, also led the more recent coup. He seized power Sept. 25 from Governor General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, who was in the process of forming a bipartisan caretaker government made up of both Indians and native Fijians. Rabuka declared Fiji a republic under his own rule.

A native Fijian, Rabuka served as commander of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces' Fiji Battalion in Lebanon. He must have raged and wept at the loss of his men's lives as they went unarmed into certain ambush, slaughtered for the sake of peace. He knows what civil war is like. Apparently he decided that anything, even betrayal of his military oath of obedience, was preferable to watching his country torn apart in a civil war.

A crisis was indeed imminent. In May, the native Fijian Alliance Party's Prime Minister of almost three decades, Ratu Sir Kamaisese Mara, had lost the election to Dr. Timoci Bavadra, a native Fijian who headed a new coalition of Indians and native Fijians. Foreign observers were optimistic about the smooth transition from native Fijian to Indian power, but there were signs of trouble. Native Fijian crowds gathered on corners, stood sullenly in streets, debated in the villages. Indians who stayed out too long or strayed too far were threatened and beaten.

Rabuka announced after the second coup that a new constitution would be drawn up guaranteeing native Fijians dominance in government and more control over the nation's economy.

The Indians will most surely lose the right to one-person, one-vote. And if

the Indians accept their loss of effective voting leverage, there is little possibility for equitable multi-ethnicity in Fiji. Frustration and fear will reign, and the volatility level will go up several more notches. The bloodless revolution might turn out to be the time of flexing muscles and sharpening cane knives.

All this is set in the context of other problems that darken Fiji's future. There is endemic malnutrition in Fiji. Overpopulation burgeons throughout the islands. Arable land is in increasingly short supply. Unemployment stalks villagers who escape to the few large towns where jobs are scarce.

Alcoholism is still the number one social problem, but drug addiction is growing fast, as is the crime rate. In the small societies of the South Pacific, these problems represent rootlessness, despair and profound societal distress.

In addition to these internal weaknesses, the exploitive pushing and pulling of the world's superpowers further increases the turmoil in this sensitive region.

Fiji's revolution may keep it aligned with the United States. Rabuka feared the coalition government might lead Fiji to the left and, along with New Zealand, to reject the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Now it seems possible that Fiji will back off from supporting the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ).

Was the CIA involved in the conservative take-over? Despite protestations of regret and disavowals of involvement, the Reagan Administration's policies are clearly enhanced by Fiji's removal from SPNFZ. And Rabuka's regime is turning to the United States for approval, arms and support as no leadership in Fiji has ever done. It is as if Rabuka is redirecting his country from being a former British colony struggling for democracy to begin

anew as a fascist state and an American dependency. This will sound familiar to many — like a rerun of what we've seen before in Vietnam, Central America, Chile, the Philippines.

I remember celebrating Eucharist at a little church in Samabula, a suburb of Suva, assisted by native Fijians and Indians, as well as "vavalangis," which in Fijian means, "all others." I remember thinking, praying and hoping that the experience of at-oneness we shared then might somehow be a precursor of things to come. It wasn't; at least not yet.

In this island nation of many deeply-felt faiths, it may well be spiritual gifts that accomplish what colonialism and political power brokering have failed to do. I feel the role of the churches in Fiji is to be guardians and guides of the souls of their believers, and put spiritual restraints on the awesome potential for violence and brutality that lies so close to the surface.

But it is crucial that Christian churches do not seize the right to assume a modern version of the White, Christian, male "burden" of protecting "primitives" from the "worst" in themselves, which is what we vavalangis tend to see as anything inconsistent with our way of ordering and doing things. The gospel of Jesus Christ does not call anyone to be conservators of any government, especially one imposed from outside.

The word "vavalangi" was coined to refer to the explorers, colonialists, traders, slavers and missionaries who came on sailing ships. "Vava" means "wood" and "langi" means "heaven." The "wood reaching to heaven" was the tall masts of the sailing ships, which were majestic and awesome beyond anything the ancient Fijians had ever seen.

How sad, how unutterably tragic that the people whose masts reached to heaven brought so much hell to Fiji. ■

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Racism in paradise

by Shelley Wong

*But your forefathers came to our shores
they brought with them
the Cross and the Flag
and disease
and alcohol
and despair
and greed
and shame for what we were — “lowly heathens.”*

— *Women of the Waianae Coast
Church Women United liturgy*

We sat in a circle — 20 or more of us from the Racial Justice Working Group of the National Council of Churches during a fact-finding trip to Hawaii earlier this year — partaking in talk-story with Native Hawaiians. Hayden Burgess, Native Hawaiian attorney, who not too long ago had risked imprisonment and disbarment for refusing to recognize the authority of the U.S. federal court, addressed us. Barefoot, dressed in shorts, he stood in the center of our circle and told the story of how U.S. intervention has changed the destiny of this Pacific paradise.

Hawaii was a sovereign nation until Jan. 17, 1893, when she was illegally annexed to the United States, her lands taken and her citizenship denied. Hayden pointed out that before annexation Hawaii had trade relations with countries all over the world, had been a member of the Universal Postal Union, and had established approximately 100 diplomatic and consular posts worldwide.

Missionaries came to Hawaii in 1820 and were welcomed into Hawaiian society. Soon their sons and daughters entered business and politics on the island and prospered. Within a few decades a “missionary party” was formed to press for the developing sugar plantation interests.

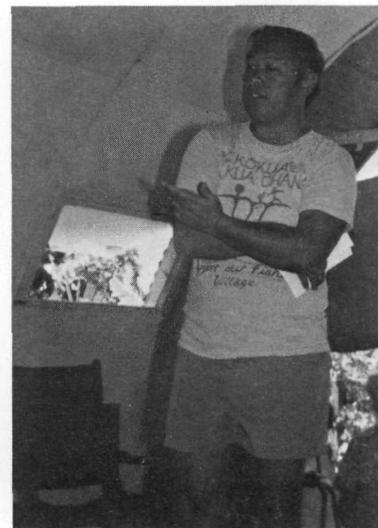
The new business interests transformed the dynamics of land ownership. Native Hawaiians had no concept of “private property.” As one of the Waianae women put it, “In

ancient times, the Hawaiians practiced conservation. When they went to pick the *limu*, they didn’t grab it roots and all. They grabbed it at the top, they cleaned it in the water, put it in their bags and took it home. They didn’t catch all the fish in sight for miles around, because they couldn’t use it. They practiced conservation.”

Over a period of 40 years after the missionaries came, more than 50,000 Hawaiians died of diseases brought in from outside. Native Hawaiians would not work under slave labor conditions, so plantation owners imported massive numbers of Asian immigrants for cheap labor — first from China, then Japan, and then the Philippines. The missionary party then pressed for Hawaii’s annexation to the United States. If Hawaii were annexed, plantation owners could be assured of a market for their sugar and would not have to worry about tariff restrictions.

The plantation interests conspired to overthrow the Kingdom of Hawaii.

On Jan. 16, 1893, more than 160 U.S. Marines landed in Honolulu with cannons. Queen Liliuokalani, who was to be the island’s last monarch, sent a message to the ship that the landing was a breach of treaty and international law, but it was to no avail. A group of conspirators proclaimed themselves a “Provisional Government” and selected Sanford B. Dole, son of missionary Daniel Dole, as their president. They pressed for Liliuokalani’s surrender and Hawaii’s annexation to the United States.



Hayden Burgess explains native Hawaiian rights struggle to visiting NCC team.

Shelley Wong is a teacher of English as a Second Language in New York City and a Ph.D. candidate in Applied Linguistics at Columbia University Teachers College. She is a member of the Racial Justice Working Group of the National Council of Churches and is active in Asian and Pacific community affairs.

Liliuokalani, not wanting any bloodshed, and trusting in the system of American democracy and justice, surrendered. She believed the United States would conduct an investigation. However, the gunboats stayed in the harbor, protecting the conspirators, and within four years, Hawaii became a United States territory.

Native Hawaiians were stripped of their Queen, their citizenship, their land and their way of life. Today Native Hawaiians are at the bottom of every social, political and economic rank on the island. A once proud and independent people, their ranks now fill the prisons. And the gunboats are still there — Hawaii serves as a military fortress for U.S. interests in the Pacific. One-quarter of Oahu, the most populous island, is controlled by the military. A few years ago, Native Hawaiians fought to keep the island of Kahoolawe, whose grounds were sacred, from being used by the military exclusively for bombing and training, but the military prevailed.

Since tourism has become the number-one industry on Hawaii, the land — previously the source of food, spiritual strength and the Native Hawaiian way of life — has been the victim of a land-grabbing free-for-all.

Kawehi Kanui-Gil, President of Kahea, Inc., a Native Hawaiian organization, took some of us around the island to see Native Hawaiian lands whose ownership has been under dispute. The land is so beautiful that we could see why the business interests wanted it. As we climbed out of our cars at Waimanalo, the beauty took our breath away; white sands, jagged rocks, clean blue waters and palm trees.

Each year, for as long as she could remember, Kawehi and her family would go to these beaches to live for the summer. But the local Chamber of Commerce claimed that the makeshift Hawaiian homes were an “eyesore” marring the beauty for the tourists. Kawehi and her family and other Hawaiian families were arrested and dragged away.

Kahea, Inc. was formed in 1980 to address this injustice. Waimanalo was heavily populated by Native Hawaiians. Its beaches were on Hawaiian Homelands set aside by the U.S. Congress in 1920 as reparation to Native Hawaiians for the annexation of their land and nation. Because of this, the city’s jurisdiction was challenged and the Hawaiians were found not guilty.

Kawehi explained that the beaches of Waimanalo were part of 200,000 acres set aside by Congress to enable Hawaiians to be self-sufficient, independent and to preserve their culture. But Kawehi quickly added that since 1920 only 3,500 families have been settled on Hawaiian Homelands. Some 13,000 families have applied to the govern-

ment for land and are still waiting. While these lands were set aside for Hawaiians to use, often they have been rented very cheaply to non-Hawaiians or opened for tourism. She showed us a quarry on Hawaiian Homelands where coral is mined. The mining company pays pennies to rent the land. Kahea, Inc. believes that a more just disposition of potential revenue from the mines could go to a building fund for Native Hawaiians who have been granted land, but have no money to buy materials to build on it.

Kahea, Inc. was the first Native Hawaiian group to win land through the Hawaiian Homes Act. The group won 12 acres on the island of Kauai and intends to build a Native Hawaiian cultural center. With no formal training, group members did much of the legal research which helped them obtain the land. We met Harold Jin, of whom Kawehi whispered proudly, “Harold knows more about the Hawaiian Homes Act than the Department of Hawaiian Homelands itself!” Self-educated and seasoned in demonstrating and negotiating, Harold explained that he wanted to do something for the generations to come: “If we can obtain our land and teach other Native Hawaiians to obtain their land throughout the state, then we have begun a process of education.”

Kahea, Inc. believes that legal knowledge is a powerful weapon. Hearing about their modest success in winning the 12 acres, our NCC Racial Justice Group also found hope in these small beginnings.

Resources

For further information about the Native Hawaiian story contact: Hayden F. Burgess, 86-120 Farrington Highway, Waianae, Hawaii 96792-2491. Burgess has prepared a detailed legal brief concerning his potential disbarment which summarizes the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government and the seizure of Hawaiian lands.

A Time for Sharing: Women’s Stories from the Waianae Coast is available for \$7.50 plus postage and handling from:

Ho’oipo De Cambra
The Women’s Support Group of the Waianae Coast
84-766 Lahaina St.
Waianae, Hawaii 96792

For information about Native Hawaiian land struggles contact:

Kawehi Kanui-Gil, President
Kahea, Inc.
41-169 Poliala St.
Waimanalo, Hawaii 96795

Nothing to lose, a future to gain:

Black students fight apartheid

The Botha regime in South Africa has escalated its war against Black youth. But despite the most oppressive conditions in years, neither police detention, brutality, nor even torture have succeeded in paralyzing the student movement. Rather, Black South African youth have become a force to be reckoned with; they feel they have nothing to lose and a future to gain.

Attempts by the government to crush their militancy and organization have failed, as students have adapted to meet the challenge of the present State of Emergency.

Over the past decade, the Black South African student movement has played a key role in preparing a generation of students committed to resistance. For example, the training that students received in that movement, and their subsequent experience of torture and repression, produced organizers of the recent Black Miners Strike — the largest labor-management conflict in South African history.

Cyril Ramaphosa, 33, General Secretary of the National Union of Mine-workers, was a product of the movement, as well as:

- Popo Molefe, 35, General Secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF) who joined the student movement in 1973. He was at Naledi High in Soweto and a member of the Soweto Students' Representative

Council when the student uprising began in June, 1976. He later joined the Allied Workers' Union and has spent a total of three years behind bars without having been convicted of any offense.

- Stone Sizane, 30, UDF Eastern Cape publicity secretary who works at a Port Elizabeth factory, also first became active during the '76 uprisings, as did Mkhuseleli Jack, 28, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress president and Eastern Cape consumer boycott leader.

Thousands of others might be added as illustrations — and the birthing of student leaders continues.

What is it that transforms these high school students into militants and leads to such determined resistance?

Consider the experience of Xolani Zungu, who was born in the Black residential area of KwaMashu near Durban, South Africa, in 1970. Beginning in 11th grade, he participated in a student protest movement against the use of Afrikaans, the language associated with apartheid; against the lack of teachers, and the enslaving nature of apartheid's "Bantu education."

On a Saturday in February, 1986, some 1,000 students from six schools gathered for a flag bearing, peaceful protest march. They were set upon by the police, who seized about 70 of the group. They were taken in, and 20 at a time, herded into bare, 15 by 20 foot cells. They received no food or bedding for the duration of their detention, and were permitted to use the toilet only after the second day.

The students were taken one by one into an office where six officials interrogated them intensely for about 30 minutes. One official was assigned to

beat the student about the face and body with his fists or with the *sjambok* (a stiff whip), or hold a lighted candle under the palms of the student. The others shouted questions about their identity and the identity of their leaders, or hurled the student to and fro between them. Detainees who gave information were released.

Interrogation was resumed at 8 a.m. on Sunday. This time one official was assigned the role of friendly inquirer and the questioning was shortened to about 10 minutes. Five students from Xolani's cell were released that day. Heated whispered arguments about informing students were silenced by the prison staff, and they waited through the day.

On the third day, the officials took the school's leader out and interrogated him for two hours. When he returned, he was severely bruised and bleeding and weeping uncontrollably. The other students were herded into trucks and taken back to a Durban taxi stand, where they waited until sympathetic cabbies returned them to their homes, some 15 miles away.

The students stayed away from school that week, meeting from time to time. Aware of day and night police searches and re-arrests, many slept in the bushes. The following Sunday the students met at the sports stadium and resolved on a Tuesday march to the Board of Education to renew their protest and demands. The march was joined by children from lower primary to high school ages from 15 schools.

About one mile from their destination they came up against a police blockade. Bullhorns warned them to

The Rev. John Stubbs is assistant to the rector at Church of the Heavenly Rest, New York, N.Y. A native of Johannesburg, he is married to Nomso Ngodwane of Mdantsane. They came to the United States in 1980, and have three children.

despite torture, prison

by John Stubbs

disperse. Tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition were subsequently unleashed on the students and two of Xolani's classmates, Sipo and Mandla, fell dead.

Asked about the future, Xolani, while a member of the Children of War group (who call for peaceful resolution to the world's conflicts) does not feel that those "peaceful measures" used in the last 77 years of organized (African National Congress) Black resistance have accomplished anything in South Africa. He concludes that although violence destroys lives, it seems to be almost the only avenue left. With quiet determination, he says that his life will be committed to the struggle for freedom.

Prime Minister P.W. Botha's "Reform" has meant very little in concrete improvement of living conditions for Black townships. And youth have been one of the main targets of repression. About 30% of the 30,000 emergency detainees and many victims of vigilante attacks and assassinations were youth. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee say that 72% of them have been tortured and some have died as a result of rape and torture of various kinds, including application of boiling water and burning plastic. According to the Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok, even after the May, 1987 releases, at least 1,200 youth under 18 are still in detention.

According to *The Guardian*, "The Security Police — well aware that South African law defines torture strictly in terms of physical injury — have become masters at covering their tracks.

"Wet rags wrapped between skin and electrodes prevent scarring after shock treatment. Near suffocation leaves no traces. And, most characteristically, severe beatings administered on the first days of confinement leave few signs for the state employed district surgeons performing mandatory physical examinations at fortnightly intervals. Robert Dyer of Natal Medical School cites the case of one high-profile UDF activist, an eloquent speaker who emerged from eight weeks in detention scarcely able to address a small group of people, and of a 16-year-old boy who wakes repeatedly at night, screaming and drenched in sweat. During 10 weeks of detention, he had been made to shower prior to having electrodes applied to his wet skin."

Arrests and torture continue unabated. Amnesty International reported

*Often enough
their bodies are
broken
but nothing can
now break their
spirit.*

FROM THE
KAIROS DOCUMENT



that on the night of Aug. 13 of this year, 22 children and young people, most of whom are believed to be about 14, were arrested in the small town of Petrus Steyn, Orange Free State. Parents of the children heard screams coming from the building.

The International Commission of Jurists, after a three week mission by four lawyers to South Africa, said in a report published this summer: "In police stations and prisons, physical abuse of children, including torture, is widespread. Beatings and assaults with *sjamboks* are commonly reported and we saw photographs of children bearing scars, evidently the result of violent attacks. The police have virtually unlimited powers to arrest and detain and have little to fear from the courts."

Despite everything, the government is certainly not winning in its attempt to co-opt Black leadership. The ANC and the United Democratic Front retain mass support, and even tortured children continue resisting. Says Mrs. Farieda Omar, "the children are very disoriented and confused when they come out. They are distant and alienated, but underneath they are hardened

and radical and very much more open about their militancy."

Since 1982, youth organizations have been initiating action on specific issues; e.g., rent increases and evictions. They organized themselves in a decentralized way in street or block committees, factory groups, etc. They appeal to the ANC Freedom Charter as a statement of philosophy.

A case in point was Port Alfred. Following the consumer boycott, White employers fired Black workers, precipitating a desperate situation for the Black community. Youth and community organizations worked together to transform house yards into a community market garden, the beer hall was bought and deployed as a community market; a pre-school program and a financial, legal and medical clinic was operated with the aid of the Molly Blackburn and the Black Sash groups.

However, the entire structure was suppressed by the State of Emergency operatives — police and army.

The top secret launching of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) in Cape Town by 200 delegates from nine regions in April of this

year marked the welding together of the youth into what is the largest and one of the most powerful UDF affiliates. There is an estimated membership of over half a million and active support of over 2 million South African youth.

With respect to youth in detention, SAYCO issued a call: Turn the disadvantage of imprisonment into an advantage. Let all prisons become schools of liberation!"

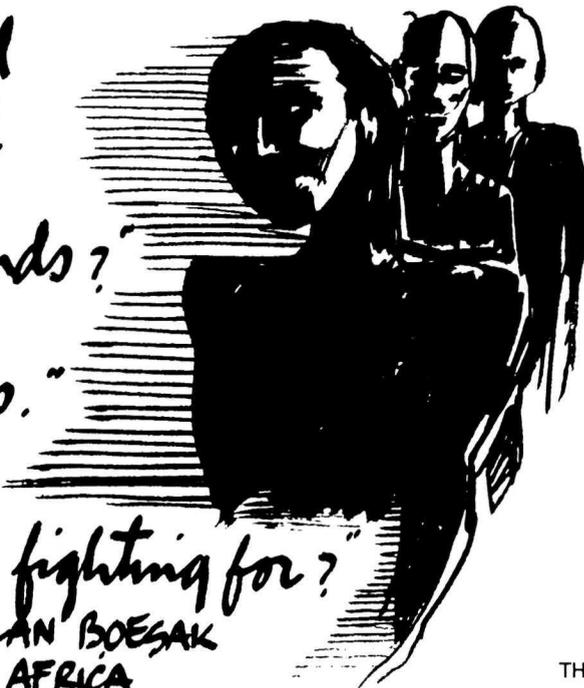
Resources

Parish Action Sheet. The author of the above article has prepared two pages of suggestions on how parishioners at the grass roots level can effectively protest the illegal detention and torture of South African youth. Send request and 22¢ postage stamp to the Rev. John Stubbs, Church of the Heavenly Rest, 2 East 90th St., New York, N.Y. 10128 (212-289-3400).

Two Dogs and Freedom/Black Children of South Africa Speak Out, Rosset & Co., New York, N.Y. A collection of observations, thoughts and dreams by South African Black children asked to describe the issues affecting their lives. In their own words and pictures, they give vivid accounts of police brutality.

we will go before God
to be judged, and God
will ask us,
"where are your wounds?"
And we will say,
"we have no wounds."
And God will ask,
"was nothing worth fighting for?"

REV. ALLAN BOESAK
SOUTH AFRICA





Finding room to talk

Confession is not only good for the soul, it sometimes helps beget a column. So I confess a fair amount of cynicism and a sense of *deja vu* as I sat through most of the recent Interim Meeting of the House of Bishops, held this year in the sylvan setting of a resort hotel near Chicago. Just about the time somnolence was taking over, I became aware that among the voices being raised in that august body, a few, thankfully, were saying something new and different, if not terribly exciting.

To wit: A "Statement of Concern and an Invitation" in support of ordained women was introduced by the Rt. Rev. William Burrill of Rochester. Its brief and pointed text is worth citing because, given the flap it engendered, it may not appear outside the annals of that House.

"Despite the request of bishops at Lambeth 1978, that the several provinces of the Anglican Communion exercise openness to and hospitality towards those whose conscience may differ on the ordination of women, some provinces have not yet made provision for women priests, ordained in other provinces, to exercise their full eucharistic ministry in those provinces which have not permitted ordination of women.

"Priests ordained in other provinces of the Anglican Communion, whatever their position on the ordination of women, have been welcome to celebrate the Eucharist within the Episcopal Church in the USA. We, the undersigned bishops, expect the same hospitality to be extended to priests of this church.

"Thus, we express our intention to convey to our brothers at Lambeth our concern about this matter; and to earnestly re-

quest all provinces to recognize the ordination of women ordained in other provinces, and to offer to them the privilege of celebrating the Eucharist; and as a sign of our solidarity with and support for ordained women in the Communion, we declare our intent, whenever possible, to refrain from exercising presiding functions during our sojourn in England (except any which are a part of the Lambeth conference itself)."

Some saw the statement as confrontation rather than consultation. Interestingly, the House, which enthusiastically adopted a conscience clause a decade ago, stopped just short of trying to censure the consciences of the statement's signers, who finally numbered 50.

Even while rattling some Anglican cages, the statement may send a more telling message to Lambeth than the official report of the Committee to Study Women in the Episcopate. The latter, originally a fair piece of work designed to explain the Episcopal Church's experience with women's ordination, was re-edited and amended *ad nauseum* before winning approval and commendation "in principle" as "a statement of the mind of a majority of the members" of the House. It was further resolved that a minority report accompany the document to assure that those who wish to re-open the whole dreary theological debate on women's ordination have their day in court.

I also woke up for the interim report on the Commission on Human Affairs and Health, which had been asked to study issues raised by a resolution on sexual morality proposed to the House

at its 1986 meeting. Presented by Bishop George N. Hunt of Rhode Island, the report dealt largely with concerns of human sexuality. It called for a "compassionate acting out" of the 1976 General Convention resolution which acknowledged "that homosexual persons are children of God who have a full and equal claim with all other persons upon the love, acceptance and pastoral care and concern of the church."

Noting "informed estimates suggest that as many as one in ten males (and a slightly lesser percentage of females) are homosexual in orientation," the report suggested the mathematical probability that 12 to 15 members of the House have discovered themselves to be homosexual persons along with perhaps as many as 1,200 clergy and 200,000 to 300,000 lay Episcopalians. The Commission challenged the bishops to suspend "ancient judgement" against homosexual Episcopalians and "simply open to them a process that will allow them to tell us the stories of their lives." The report stated: "This is not just a matter of 'coming out' or 'staying in' the closet. It is matter of finding another room in which we can talk."

The report did not purport to represent unanimity of the Commission. It did, however, indicate a willingness to at least grapple with the nitty-gritty. Who knows, next year's meeting of the House might even be "in order." ■

Broken treaties, broken faith

The words *treaty* and *treaty rights* bring to mind volumes of U.S. court decisions and the full weight of international law and international relations. Aside from these formidable legalities, to American Indian people the word *treaty* is the linchpin of their history, culture, and survival as peoples. Treaty rights undergird the powers of tribal governments as well as the history of relations between the Federal Government and Indian nations.

The Constitution recognizes several of the basic principles of treaty rights and Indian law. The Constitution established treaty-making as a prerogative of the federal government: "The President. . . shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

The Constitution acknowledged the governmental powers of foreign nations, the states and Indian tribes, and assigned to the U.S. Congress authority to "regulate commerce with the Indian tribes."

Responsibilities, then, for making treaties and for fulfilling treaty obligations, and in other ways conducting relations with Indian nations, is given in the Constitution to the Federal Government.

Article 6 states: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States. . . and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be *the supreme law of the land* (emphasis added); and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." As the "supreme law of the land," treaties are en-

titled to equal respect given to federal laws, and therefore are superior to state laws in a conflict, according to the Supreme Court.

Approximately 400 Indian tribes and nations occupied what was to become the United States at the time of European arrival. Indian nations made treaties with the young American republic just as they had entered into formal agreements with each other long before the colonies were established, and as they did with other European powers. Tribes were recognized as independent, sovereign, separate nations, and treaties made with them were like contracts made with any other foreign nation: They were negotiated as *between equals*. As the Supreme Court stated in 1832, "The words 'treaty' and 'nation' understood meaning. We have

applied them to Indians as we have applied them to other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense."

Vine Deloria, a principal commentator on Indian laws and affairs, writes that "the Indian understanding of the treaty was as a sacred covenant between two nations." Tribes viewed treaties as moral statements which could not be broken unless by mutual consent. Treaties, both on the part of the tribes and the United States, represented the "word of the nation" and the "sanctity of the public faith."

The purpose of these intergovernmental contracts or treaties was not to give rights to the Indians, rights which as sovereign nations they already possessed, but to *remove* rights from them. In treaty-making, tribes were the grantors and the United States the grantee, and rights were granted to the United States *by* or *from* Indian nations. The courts have also held that treaties limited only the external sovereign powers of Indian tribes — tribes agreed, for example, not to exercise their right to make treaties with other foreign nations. But treaties did not affect internal or self-governing powers of Indian nations.

Federal policy later dictated that, through treaties, Indian tribes be confined to small areas of land which tribes *reserved* for themselves. Because these reservations were too small and too poor to support the basic necessities of tribal communities, tribes reserved the right to hunting, fishing and trapping grounds in order to ensure their communities' survival. Under what is known as the "reserved rights doctrine," the courts have held

JSAC report available

Perhaps the best overview and analysis of treaty rights of Native Americans, and the bleak history of how the United States has dealt with these rights, appeared earlier this year in *Grapevine*, a publication of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, Inc.

The study was put together by Cindy Darcey, legislative advocate for the Native American Advocacy Project, housed at the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington, D.C. She was assisted by Owanah Anderson, staff officer for Indian Work at the Episcopal Church Center; Ralph Scissons, Indian ministries, Presbyterian Church USA; and other members of the JSAC Task Force. This article, excerpted from the study, is reprinted with permission from JSAC, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. For further information about bulk reprints, contact JSAC.

by Cindy Darcey et al

that those rights — to land, water, hunting, government, etc. — which were not expressly granted away by tribes in a treaty or taken away by a later federal statute were reserved by that tribe. This is much the same as a landowner selling the surface of his land while retaining rights to the subsurface in order, for example, to drill for oil or gas.

While the total number of treaties is not known exactly, approximately 371 treaties were signed by all parties and ratified by Congress, and roughly an equal number of treaties signed but not ratified.

Historically, treaty-making may be divided into several stages. From 1600-1776 there were the *colonial treaties*. Made at a time when the Indian tribes were superior numerically, economically and militarily, those contracts were mutually advantageous, dealing primarily with peace and friendship, delineation of boundaries between the lands of the Indian nations and the colonies, and trade relations. Treaties also provided for citizen protection, and recognized the Indian nations' right to punish violators of tribal laws.

Treaties of alliance were made between 1778 and 1810. Under these treaties, tribes promised not to join military forces against the United States during its wars with Britain.

The first treaty of the Continental Congress, concluded in 1778, was with the Delaware Nation. The treaty read, in part: "The United States do engage to guarantee to the aforesaid nation of the Delawares, and their heirs, all their territorial rights in the fullest and most ample manner. . . as long as they shall

abide by and hold fast the chain of friendship now entered into."

Overlapping these treaties of peace and alliance were *treaties of land cession*, made from 1784 to 1817, as non-Indian settlers moved into the territory northwest of the Ohio River. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was a kind of "bill of rights" for Indian tribes in the face of this expansion (an ironic one, in hindsight). It read, in part: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

The bulk of treaties made between the United States and Indian nations were not mutually negotiated treaties of peace and friendship, but treaties of land and cession. Under *treaties of removal*, made between 1817 and 1846, entire Indian nations were moved off lands secured to those tribes by treaties, in order to allow non-Indian settlement. Under the removal policy, tribes in the southeast and Great Lakes regions were forced to exchange their homelands east of the Mississippi River for lands west in "Indian Territory," in Missouri, Arkansas, and then Oklahoma.

After the tribes of the southeast had been removed to lands west of the Mississippi, the same problem recurred: White settlers continued to



want more land. *Reservation treaties* made with tribes west of the Mississippi from 1846 to 1864 implemented a new federal policy of confining Indi-

ans to small, clearly defined areas of lands which the tribes reserved. The treaties promised that the United States would never disturb the tribes on these reservation lands, and that the tribes could continue to use these lands.

Many treaties provided for monetary payments or services, such as education, health care, food, etc. from the Federal Government in order to encourage tribes to sign them. An example of this provision may be found in the 1858 treaty with the Ponca tribe: "In consideration of the foregoing (land) cession. . . the United States agrees to establish and to maintain for 10 years, one or more manual labor schools for the education and training of the Ponca youth in letters, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and housewifery."

The years 1865-1868 were the time of the ironically named "*Great Peace Commission*" treaties. Treaty commissioners negotiated treaties with a view to assimilate Indians into the mainstream of agrarian, Christian, White society. As during the removal era, Indians signed treaties out of fear of military reprisals if they refused, or under the threat of the withholding of treaty-guaranteed payments of food. These treaties, which often were not ratified by Congress later, required tribes of upper Great Plains, southwest, and northwest to settle on reservations.

The last treaty was made with the Nez Perce in 1868, and removed the tribe from its homeland in Oregon to a reservation in Idaho. In 1871 Congress enacted legislation which brought an end to treaty-making. Treaties had become an unconscionable mockery — a mechanism for stripping tribes of their land base. In the Pacific Northwest, for example, in less than one year in the 1850s, tribes ceded 64 million acres to the United States, at a cost of less than

two cents per acre in promised services from the Federal Government. Such abuses of the treaty process produced calls from many sections of society to end treaty-making.

After 1871, instead of treaties, the Federal Government has enacted agreements, statutes and executive orders in its dealings with tribal governments. Treaties made prior to 1871, however, were not affected: "No obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March 3, 1871, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired."

Tribes had no concept of land ownership like the European idea that lands could be sold or traded on a piece of parchment; nor did they settle political or territorial disputes through a written agreement. In addition, treaties were negotiated and written in English, or in a trade language with limited vocabulary, so that Indians were never sure of what they were signing.

In its consideration of treaty rights cases over the years, the courts have sought to inject some justice into this situation of inequality by developing a series of rules used in the interpretation of treaties. These "canons of treaty construction," which have been applied to a number of Indian law cases, hold that: Ambiguous expressions in treaties, agreements and statutes must be resolved in favor of the Indians; treaties must be interpreted as the Indians themselves would have understood them; and treaties must be liberally construed in favor of the Indians. In *Menominee Tribe vs. United State*, 1968, the Supreme Court also said that treaties cannot be abrogated "in a backhanded way," but that there must be clear and explicit language to abrogate Indian rights.

The Supreme Court has rendered perhaps more decisions in Indian law than in any other field, and has on nu-

merous occasions upheld the Federal Government's responsibility to honor treaty obligations. In adverse decisions, the courts have also ruled that Congress has authority to limit rights promised to Indian nations in treaties. One of these cases was *Lone Wolf vs. Hitchcock*, decided in 1903. In this case the Supreme Court interpreted the Commerce Clause of the Constitution to give Congress sweeping or "plenary power" over Indian affairs. The court affirmed that treaties are afforded the same dignity as federal statutes. But the court went on to decide that since statutes may be amended by later statutes or may be repealed, treaties could likewise be amended or repealed. Therefore, under the "plenary power doctrine," the high court reasoned, Congress may break treaty promises and abrogate or abolish treaty rights.

Plenary power was extended to the taking of Indian land in the 1955 case, *Tee-Hit-Ton Indians vs. United States*. Here the court held that the United States could take Indian lands which were not protected by treaty or statute without due process of law, without just compensation, and without the requirement that such taking was for public purpose. While *Tee-Hit-Ton* held that Indian lands were protected by treaty, even treaty lands could be taken by the United States if Congress, using the *Lone Wolf* "plenary power doctrine," abrogated the treaty or statute reserving those lands to a particular tribe.

Clearly, court decisions surrounding treaty rights do not form a consistent whole, but continue to change and evolve. As Indian people turn to the judicial branch for the recognition of their rights, doctrines such as plenary power undermine the foundation of those rights. Although the Supreme Court has upheld the power of Congress to break treaties with Indian nations, under *international law*, treaties

may not be violated or amended unilaterally. Breaking the terms of a treaty does not necessarily revoke it, nor does U.S. violation of treaty provisions invalidate those treaties any more than committing a crime cancels out the law that makes such illegal.

Misunderstandings about treaty rights have led to moves in Congress to abrogate or end those rights. In 1964, for example, Rep. Magnuson of Washington introduced legislation under which the state would have bought out all off-reservation Indian fishing rights. In 1977, Rep. Cunningham of Washington introduced legislation calling upon the President to abrogate all treaties with Indian tribes. Also in 1977 Congress members from Michigan introduced measures that would have allowed the State Department of Natural Resources to regulate all Indian fishing. In 1985, a proposed addition to the Endangered Species Act would have prohibited the taking of endangered species by Native Americans (for religious purposes, in most cases). In 1981 and then again in 1985, some members of the Washington congressional delegation introduced legislation to declare steelhead trout a game fish, for sport only, thus preventing Indian fishers from harvesting the fish for economic, commercial, or religious purposes.

Fortunately, however, as Deputy Undersecretary of the Interior William Horn told a meeting of a Great Lakes anti-Indian organization in 1984: "No bill that even smacks of abrogation in recent years has even gotten past the hearing stage (in Congress). There has been no inclination anywhere in Congress to move anything that looks like abrogation."

Indian tribes have sought to dispel the myths and misinformation about treaty rights, and to point to the implications the abrogation of those rights



would have for non-Indian citizens as well.

Washington Indian fishers point to the fact that Northwest tribes have harvested annually some 18 million pounds of all species of fish using a variety of methods (trolling, spearing, netting) for thousands of years without harming the resource. Treaty rights are not the cause of declining fish runs. Instead, Indian fishers point to pollution, hydroelectric dams, and poor logging practices which destroy spawning grounds as the true culprits.

Another myth to be dispelled is the charge that "Indians who exercise fishing rights under old documents (i.e., treaties) should use old methods of fishing." But treaties protected and recognized rights, not methods. Rights that were reserved and not ceded remain held by tribes, and these rights do not diminish with the passage of time. Indians kept the right to adopt new technology or improve their fishing or hunting gear. One parallel example is with right-of-way. If one has the right-of-way across a field, one

may cross it driving a Model T or a bicycle or a John Deere tractor.

Here is another illustration of the Federal Government's moral and legal responsibility to honor commitments made in the treaties. If a buyer agrees to buy a car from a seller, and agrees to make payments for the car, but then does not make those payments, the seller may repossess the car. In treaty-making, Indian nations gave up two billion acres of land to the United States in return for the recognition of certain rights that were reserved, and for the promise of federal services. If the United States fails to make its "payments," Indian tribes retain residual rights to those lands until those promises are forthcoming.

The *Voigt* decision (1983) was initially portrayed by the media as giving tribes the right to unlimited hunting and fishing. As such misstatements led to a rise in racial violence by non-Indians, Wisconsin tribes have worked to expose statements as misinformation fed by fear. While tribes do have longer hunting and fishing seasons,

they are by no means “unlimited.” Tribal fisheries commissions, law enforcement officers, and tribal courts work to protect the resource. Regulations are enforced by tribal, state and federal conservation authorities, and, in the Great Lakes area, there are more enforcement officers for Indians than there are state officers for non-Indian sport and commercial fishers. Furthermore, tribes in Washington, Wisconsin, Michigan and elsewhere operate programs to protect watersheds, hatch fish, and in other ways enhance the resource.

Tribes have often taken fewer fish or deer than quotas allowed. In 1985, for example, a few hundred Chippewa hunters took a total of 634 deer, or less than 10% of their quota. In the same year, 280,000 deer were taken by non-Indian hunters. And not all Indians exercise treaty rights to hunting, fishing, trapping, or gathering to which, as members of a tribe, they are entitled. In 1983 and 1984, only 10 people exercised the Chippewas treaty right to ice fish.

American Indians became dual citizens when American citizenship was granted to them in 1924. The citizenship act recognized and preserved Indians’ relationship to their tribes or nations, and provided that the second citizenship, citizenship in the United States, would not affect treaty rights negotiated by the forebears: “All Non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States, provided that the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property.”

Another myth is that Indians do not pay taxes. But in fact all Indians do pay income and other federal taxes, and although Indians living on reserva-

tions do not pay state property taxes, Indians living off reservations pay all taxes that non-Indians pay.

Finally, any federal services in housing, education, health care, or job training provided to Native Americans are anything but “free.” These services have been paid for a thousand times in land — the source of tribes’ economic livelihood — given to and taken by the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Treaty rights are not “special rights” for treating Indian people differently. They are instead the fulfillment of contractual agreements, the continued existence of centuries-old rules of law which govern the relationship of Indian people and their governments (tribes) with non-Indian people and their governments. Because these contracts form the basis of U.S. property law, to abrogate treaty rights has implications for the property rights of non-Indian Americans. If Congress or the government can abrogate one contract — particularly a treaty considered the “supreme law of the land” — might another contract, the Bill of Rights, also be abrogated?

Indian law scholar Felix Cohen wrote, “Like the miner’s canary (sent into a mine shaft to test the air quality), the Indian marks the shift from fresh to poison air in our political atmosphere. . . Our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall of our democratic faith.”

Indian people today often confront racism and ignorance as they seek to exercise the unique property rights that are theirs as members of political units known as tribal governments. That is the Native Americans’ challenge. Before the American society is the challenge of keeping the faith, “our democratic faith,” to keep the word of our nation. ■

Continued from page 8

firm supporter of an Israeli state. If only he, an ally of the powerless, could see the wealth and power in Tel Aviv and the uprooting of Palestinians in Jaffa.

Jaffa is where the big fish swallowed Jonah, who was running from God’s call. Jonah could not bear the thought that his enemies from Ninevah might actually turn from their violent ways and repent. Poor Jonah was fearful that old enemies might, through God’s grace, become friends.

During my early morning jog along the Tel Aviv beach, I saw no Jonah belched up on the shore, only poor Palestinians recruited from Jaffa and Gaza. Bused into Tel Aviv, they pick up the trash on the beach. They are the pre-dawn advance guard, symbolic of hundreds of Palestinians recruited to do the 24-hour-a-day menial labor that keeps Israeli business alive.

Latif Dori, from the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, ate with us. He is considered to be a dangerous man who has been jailed by Israeli authorities for his radical beliefs. He supports the creation of a new context in which Israelis and Palestinians could meet and work for a two-state solution to the region’s problems. Such a solution must come eventually. Without two states, the violence will continue and neither side will benefit. The Palestinian hope for a homeland, as well as the Israeli desire for a democratic state, will both go down in the ruin of an occupied land.

Pike lay just behind me; Dori sat next to me. Tunis lay, unseen, across the Mediterranean in front of me. Tunis, headquarters for “The Chairman” Arafat, and the PLO.

(Part two of this article will include a description of the group’s encounter with Yasir Arafat — in the December WITNESS.)

Short Takes

Quotes of note

Blacks came to the shore of America in violence, came here against their will, in chains, in slave ships, packed like sardines . . . It has been conservatively estimated that 50 million Blacks died during the journey from Africa to American shores.

**Wilhelm Joseph, Co-Chair
National Conference
of Black Lawyers**

In my opinion, the truest test of any individual's commitment to human rights in our society — with all of its hopes, fears, love and hate — lies in the commitment to human rights for Palestinians.

**Ramsey Clark
Former U.S. Attorney General**

In the past, most of the legal immigration into the States came from European countries. In recent years, that has changed dramatically. In 1985, some 45% of all legal immigrants were from Asian countries, 40% from Spanish-speaking countries and only 5 to 7% from English-speaking countries. That, in my judgement, is what is bringing much of the hatred and violence to the front burner.

**Toney Anaya
Former Governor, New Mexico
— From 1987 Convention issue,
ADC Times**

Elites and priest-killers

Though leftists and Communists are widely supposed to be priest-killers, there is little evidence of this in Latin American history. On the contrary, virtually all martyrs of the Latin American church, from Bishop Antonio Valdivieso (who was assassinated in 1550 for his defense of the Amerindians) to Archbishop Oscar Romero, have been, as Jesus predicted, persecuted by wealthy elites for their allegiance to the poor and weak. Indeed, this persecu-



The Hopi grandmother — with the baby's paternal aunts — suggests a name for the child and blesses it with a perfectly formed ear of corn, dipped in water and corn meal; and thus the child is named. (Lino cut by Mary Jane Melish.)

tion has been assisted throughout by colonial overlords with the collusion of the mainstream of the institutional church. Thus in 1855, when a band of mercenaries under William Walker seized Nicaragua in order to add another slave state to the Union, Father Agustin Vigil, curate of Granada, removed 60 lbs. of silver adornment from his church for conversion into bullets for the invaders. He was rewarded with the ambassadorship to Washington. When U.S. Marines invaded Nicaragua for the second time in 1927, Bishop Canuto Reyes of Granada sprinkled holy water on their guns, blessing their war against Augusto Sandino. And when Anastasio Somoza Garcia was assassinated ("brought to justice" is how Nicaraguans put it) by poet Rigoberto Lopez Perez for his assassination of Sandino, the Catholic hierarchy buried Somoza as a "prince of the church."

**Andrew Reding
Monthly Review 8-9/87**

To the sewers

The worker who drains sewers to protect humanity from unhealthy miasmas is a very useful member of society, whereas the professor who teaches falsified history in the interests of the ruling class, or the theologian who seeks to befog the brain with supernatural, transcendental doctrines, is an extremely harmful individual . . . If we cannot do better than this theologian we should make all haste to become good drainers of sewers. Similarly, the professor of history — to the sewers with him also.

**Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics
Quoted in Faith & Justice Newsletter
Dayton, Ohio 7/87**

Watergate to Contragate

Author Seymour Hersh: If you consider Nixon's first term there's an obvious analogy with the first six years of the Reagan administration. Nixon was able to bomb Cambodia relentlessly for 14 months. He wiretapped 17 American citizens, including Marvin Kalb, Henry Brandon, members of his own administration and some of his own personal aides for as long as 21 months. He was able to sic the CIA on Salvador Allende in Chile and increase the number of CIA operatives involved in domestic spying. The White House "plumbers" — the precursor of the Ollie North operation — mounted illegal activities against Daniel Ellsberg.

If the press had been able to break any of these stories in 1971, we might have saved Nixon from himself. He might have been afraid to do some of the things he did in 1972, and this would have changed the course of history. But the press failed utterly to do anything during Nixon's first term, thereby making it easy for Nixon to walk into his own trap in Watergate.

Similarly, I think the media have failed to do real penetrating reporting with respect to Reagan. Consequently, Reagan's people thought they could get away with anything. It took a Beirut newspaper to break the story.

FAIR Newsletter 6/87



Birmingham, Selma, Montgomery — these Southern cities were some of the more famous battlegrounds in the increasingly bitter struggle for civil rights. The first half of the 1960s was shaped by events that would change the face of American society. “We shall overcome,” sang the civil rights activists, both Black and White, as they demonstrated together through the South, were dragged away in handcuffs from lunch counter sit-ins and Freedom Rides, and sat huddled together in jail cells.

The civil rights movement was the American dream at its best — people of all races and faiths joined together in the cause of freedom and justice. Even the dismal doctrines of the Reagan era have not dulled the brilliance of those early victories.

But each restaurant desegregated, each Black voter registered, each triumph, large or small, was paid for in suffering and blood. Blacks and their White supporters were harassed and viciously attacked. Murders were frequent — not a new situation to Southern Blacks but shocking to their White friends. The nation was horrified in 1963 when the Klan bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., killing four little girls attending Sunday School. THE WITNESS grieved for them, and for civil rights leader Medgar Evers, shot dead in his home in Jackson, Miss. In 1964, three young civil rights workers, two White, one Black, were murdered in Philadelphia, Miss. One of the Episcopal Church’s own, Jonathan Daniels, a young seminarian and volunteer civil rights worker, was killed in the summer of 1965 in Alabama.

But as much as THE WITNESS opposed the racist violence against the civil rights movement, the editors were equally as disgusted with the timid, proceed-with-caution attitude about equal rights that was prevalent in the Episcopal Church. The magazine repeatedly took the church hierarchy and church people to task for not being more involved in the fight for justice. It was a strong supporter of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), whose members demonstrated for civil rights in church and society.

Although society was in turmoil, science had made such strides that John Glenn could go up and circle the earth. It might have helped to send U.S. and Soviet leaders up in a space capsule together to get a different perspective on the

world situation, because during the nerve-wracking days of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the two superpowers seemed intent on using their new nuclear arsenals in a winner-take-nothing showdown. Young President Kennedy, urged on by advisors obsessed with the Russian bogeyman, was prepared to launch nuclear war to get Premier Khrushchev to move his missiles out of Cuba, America’s “backyard.” So while tanks moved into Key West, Fla. and Americans nervously restocked their bomb shelters, Soviet ships were eyeball-to-eyeball with the U.S. Navy blockade off Cuba. Finally, “cooler heads prevailed,” and the missiles were withdrawn. But the crisis was a terrifying warning that the Cold War could turn deadly hot at any minute.

But the nobler domestic battle waged on. Martin Luther King led massive marches all over the South. TV journalism had one of its finer hours when it unflinchingly showed Police Chief Bull Connor turn firehoses and dogs on peaceful marchers in the historic 1963 March on Birmingham, Ala. That summer, 200,000 people descended on Washington, D.C., to hear King deliver his “I have a dream” speech, a speech of incredible beauty and power that gave eloquent voice to the struggle for justice. But the forces of darkness had their own triumph that year, when President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas.

But even though the Klan and others continued their brutal violence, the civil rights movement persevered. King led another march in Alabama from Montgomery to Selma in 1965 in defiance of racist threats. That same year, another martyr was added to the list when a White civil rights worker, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, was shot and killed by the Klan in Alabama.

Kennedy left his successor, Lyndon Johnson, some fledgling social policies and a messy little war in Indochina. Johnson began to build his Great Society, a series of programs that recognized that the poor were with us and had needs, too. Johnson built a social safety net that has taken the Reagan Administration nearly eight years to unravel.

Towards the end of the first half of the ‘60s, while people saw the future at the 1964 World’s Fair, went wild over the British music sensation, The Beatles. and danced the Funky Chicken, change was coming explosively, often violently. Race riots erupted in New York’s Harlem and in neighborhoods of cities across the country. But the most volcanic of

Times they were a'changin'

by Susan Pierce

Black Americans' long-repressed rage and frustration were the 1965 riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles which resulted in 35 dead, 4,000 arrested and \$40 million in damages. Another blow to the Black community that year was the murder of Malcolm X, brilliant and charismatic leader of the separatist Black Muslims who had begun calling for reconciliation between the races.

Meanwhile, America's little Asian war was heating up. Restless hawks in the government in search of a good war pushed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution through Congress on April 6, 1964, declaring war on North Vietnam for firing on U.S. Navy ships, an incident which history has proved to have dubious origins. But the United States had been getting more and more involved in the Vietnam conflict since

the French pulled out in 1954. By 1965, 561 U.S. soldiers had died in the fighting in Vietnam.

The war juggernaut was out of control. U.S. planes carpeted North Vietnam with bombs on a regular basis. In 1965, the draft was doubled from 17,000 to 35,000 draftees a month. By June, 1966, there were 250,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. In one record September week, 142 were killed and 825 wounded. The technological wonders of TV brought the war into our living rooms and into our hearts and minds. In such troubled times, theologians and sociologists debated the question, "Is God dead?" But THE WITNESS continued to urge that its readers carry Christ's message of peace and justice to the world. Excerpts from THE WITNESS, 1962 to 1966, follow.

Rites for Jon Daniels

Episcopal churches in at least a dozen cities held memorial services for Jonathan Daniels, including at least one in a southern city — the Cathedral of St. Philip, Atlanta.

We were told, however, by an officer of the executive council that none would be held at St. Paul's, Selma. He said further that the Negro community there took it for granted — if for no other reason than because of the increased understanding between the rector, Frank Mathews, and the murdered seminarian. He did not know this to be a fact so he suggested that I check.

Several phone calls to Mathews got no answers so I called Bishop Charles Carpenter at his home in Birmingham and he was on the phone immediately. We have been on a first-name basis for years and I can report that he was genial and forthright, however irritated he might have been by my questions.

He told me there was great sadness over the death throughout his diocese but there would be no memorial service at St. Paul's, Selma, because "it

would be a demonstration and we don't like that sort of thing." I suggested that under the circumstance maybe a demonstration was called for. He disagreed, adding that "we are over the hump down here if we can be left alone. Leave us alone and we'll work things out — back to a quiet time."

So there was no memorial service at St. Paul's, but there was one on August 27 at Brown Chapel, the A.M.E. church where so many services and events were held during the crisis last spring. Bishop Hall of New Hampshire was the speaker.

Jon, we think, will like that better.

We talked too about the funeral of Matt H. Murphy, killed in an auto accident the same day Daniels was murdered. He was attorney for the KKK and defended one of the men accused of killing civil rights worker Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. During his summation in that trial, which ended with a hung jury, he yelled: "Never, never — we shall die before we lay down. Niggers are against every law God ever wrote."

His funeral was held at St. Mary's-

on-the-Highlands, Greensboro, Ala., and was attended by Klansmen from 15 states, including the three accused of killing Mrs. Liuzzo in March.

The service was brief, with nothing added to the Prayer Book rite except a poem by Tennyson.

There was nothing unusual about the service, except that some of the Klansmen wore robes.

Bishop Carpenter said he did not know that — which I took to mean he did not approve.

In any case the Episcopal Church is burying the dead — not quite impartially, but anyhow getting the job done. (William B. Spofford 9/2/65)

CORE hearings held

Twenty witnesses told Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and other members of a committee of inquiry stories of legal roadblocks, police harassment and torture of civil rights demonstrators.

The purpose of the hearing as explained by Carl Rachlin, counsel for the Congress of Racial Equality, was to "present a petition for redress of grievances where individual rights have been seriously abused. The Congressmen of these individuals are not

concerned with the problems we are presenting here." Testimony was offered by the witnesses to show that mass arrests have followed disciplined civil rights protests; that those arrested have faced spurious charges and prohibitive bonds and that there has been brutality in jails.

More than 5,000 persons have been arrested in sit-ins, kneel-ins, stand-ins, freedom rides, marches and other civil rights demonstrations throughout the South since February 1960, James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality said. Only 375 of these were freedom riders, according to the statistics compiled by the Southern Regional Council, he added.

Between \$2 million and \$3 million in bond money has been put up by organizations involved in the protest action, Farmer said. He had no indication of how many of the 5,000 were still jailed. (7/12/62)

Supreme Court and prayer

Justice Potter Stewart, Episcopalian, got his picture in the papers for being the lone dissenter in the historic decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that the recital of prayers in public schools is unconstitutional.

THE WITNESS in the last issue had a story based on the hearing held earlier in the year. We are giving even more space in this number to the decision itself, believing as we do that it will have far-reaching effects in decisions the Court will be required to make in days ahead — particularly decisions relating to federal aid to parochial schools.

Justice Stewart's statement that "I cannot see how an 'official religion' is established by letting those who want to say a prayer, say it" sounds reasonable enough. But it is our considered opinion that our fellow Episcopalian is wrong, since even the simple prayer authorized over 10 years ago by the board of regents of New York State, is the old camel getting his snout under the tent.

The majority opinion held in effect that it didn't matter how innocuous the prayer was or whether pupil observance of it was voluntary or not — it just was no business of government to get this far into religion. With that we agree. (WITNESS Editorial 7/12/62)

Peacemaking in Harlem

The violence that erupted on Harlem's streets on Saturday, July 18, has been reported fully and, for the most part, fairly by the mass media.

The oft-predicted "long, hot summer" of racial violence arrived in New York area with a bang, and it received the careful scrutiny and rapt attention that a family might give to a long-awaited baby.

Since that fateful day, the Rev. Lorentho Wooden, secretary to the bishop's advisory commission on church and race, has been in the street of Harlem day and night. Operating in and out of the New York CORE office on 125th Street, he has driven the injured to hospitals, ferried supplies to the CORE first-aid station (St. Luke's Hospital was a generous contributor), talked to angry people, tried to persuade teenagers to leave the streets, and generally helped the CORE volunteers in any way he could. (8/6/64)

S. African divestment: 1966

More than \$23 million is being withdrawn by individuals and organizations from Chase Manhattan and First National City Banks in New York to protest the banks' investments in the economy of South Africa, it was reported by the committee of conscience against apartheid.

A. Philip Randolph, a labor leader, chairman of the committee, which was launched by the American Committee on Africa and the University Christian Movement, announced the figure at a press conference.

The committee, which has a large number of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders among its members, is conducting a campaign to persuade depositors in the two banks to withdraw their funds on the grounds that the

financial institutions should not do business with a government practicing racial discrimination. (12/29/66)

War and children

War is hell said the man in the days before napalm and saturation bombing. Since General Sherman's time men at war have learned how to spread "hell" over a wider area, and, predictably, there are more accidental victims. To the world's sorrow, Vietnamese children are now among war's mutilated victims. The most gruesome instrument of their destruction is napalm, a jelly-gasoline substance dropped from military aircraft with the hope of destroying the enemy or intimidating the civilian population. Napalm clings to whatever it strikes, and it consumes enough oxygen so that one may die either from burns or by suffocation. For those who are only wounded by napalm there may be a doctor — there is about one Vietnamese doctor for every 100,000 civilians — or there may not. The doctor shortage is exacerbated by hospital conditions which two Dutch doctors report are "indescribable." In most population centers thousands of burn victims regularly arrive from the hinterlands, and are met by overcrowded hospitals, each of whose beds often contain three small patients. There are few nurses in many of these places, and none at all in others . . .

In addition to those children who have been orphaned by war, there are many who have been orphaned by society. These are the Amerasians, children of American servicemen and Vietnamese women, rejected by their fathers and usually shunned by most Vietnamese except their mothers. Even one year ago, according to authorized official sources, there were thousands of abandoned children — including 11,000 orphans — and thousands of undernourished children among the approximately 700,000 refugees . . .

Does it not seem that Americans have a responsibility towards the children maimed in this war? (William W. Rankin 12/29/66)

Israelis revoke pacifist's papers

(Dr. Mubarak Awad, who arranged the Middle East work experience for a visiting U.S. team described earlier by James Lewis, had his residence papers revoked Sept. 28 by the Israelis. Dr. Awad, director of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, had been interviewed for THE WITNESS by Robert Hirschfield, a New York free-lance writer, during the Palestinian's recent visit to the United States, as follows.)

Dr. Mubarak Awad was born in no-man's land between East and West Jerusalem in 1943 when the city was still under British rule. It was an appropriate beginning for a Palestinian disciple of Gandhi who operates quietly in the shadows of the Israeli army and the PLO on the West Bank.

In still small numbers, villagers come to him with their grievances, usually involving the militant Jewish settlers. They come to him because he offers direct action, and they are tired of legal action, which they regard as slow strangulation in the Israeli courts. But Dr. Awad's direct action contains an inhibiting set of instructions: No stone throwing, no carrying farm instruments that may be mistaken by the Israelis for weapons, no running away, and no resisting arrest.

A victim, like many other Palestinians, of dispossession, imprisonment and exile, the Christian psychologist, while still young, was steered away from violence towards nonviolence by his widowed mother. A Greek Orthodox church-member, she urged him never to kill, never to be a revenge-taker or a maker of other widows and orphans.

In 1969, after a stint in an Israeli prison for opposing occupation, he was exiled to America where he studied at a Mennonite college in Ohio. It was there that his ideas about Palestinian nonviolent struggle crystallized.

"Many times, when I was reading about Gandhi and Martin Luther King, I asked myself, 'Why can't the Palestinians do the same thing?'"

When Dr. Awad returned to the West Bank in 1983, after 14 years in America, his ideology was (and still is) regarded by many as the mad fantasy of a soft-hearted man.

In 1985, Dr. Awad founded the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. Shortly thereafter, his first major action occurred. Villagers from Tekoa came to him and complained that Jewish settlers had moved the settlement fence onto their land. The Gandhian proposed that they go together to take the fence down and move it back. After announcing the action in the newspapers, which brought out armed settlers to meet them, they did what they came to do and to their amazement the fence was left standing.

"It was the first time," said Dr. Awad, "that Palestinians took land back. A small piece of land, but it was a victory."

The nonviolence that stymied the settlers at Tekoa later

stymied the soldiers at Qatanna, a village not far from Jerusalem. There, villagers whose olive trees had been uprooted by Israelis from the Nature Preservation Society, appeared with Dr. Awad to plant new trees. With them was a group of Israeli supporters. As soon as a tree was planted, someone from Nature Preservation would uproot it, only to see it immediately replanted. The soldiers, while refusing at first to come to the aid of the villagers, refused also to harass or arrest them. Perhaps because of the presence of the Israelis, and maybe also because of the staunchly peaceful nature of the action, despite the provocation, the soldiers conducted themselves nonviolently. They even worked out an agreement with the planters allowing the trees to remain in place until a court could resolve the matter. The villagers expressed their gratitude by inviting the soldiers to eat with them. As amazing as the invitation itself, was that a few of the soldiers actually accepted it.

Jewish support has come from such groups as Ratz, a citizens' rights party with three seats in the Knesset, and the pacifist-oriented Fellowship of Reconciliation. Coming together has not been easy. On both sides there is fear. In the case of many villagers, said Dr. Awad, "The only time they see Israelis is when soldiers come with machine guns to destroy a house or take someone to jail." The Israelis, for their part, fear possible outbreaks of Palestinian violence in the villages. Before coming to Qatanna, some of them sought assurances from Dr. Awad that no harm would come to them. "I told them, 'I can't guarantee anything. You have to take the risk yourself.'"

To generate economic resistance to occupation Dr. Awad calls on Palestinians to eat and drink only local products (milk, yogurt, bread) on the first Monday of every month. Four to five thousand people, he estimates, comply. On another level, the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence is translating the writings of Gandhi into Arabic.

"I hope the PLO will adopt some of the things that I am doing," he remarked. He reminds people that when Yasir Arafat spoke at the United Nations, he proffered the olive branch as well as the gun.

In the hands of Dr. Awad, there is only the olive branch. ■

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