

**CTBI Networking Conference 2010**  
**Doing Justice in the Public Square**  
**Kathy Galloway**

On Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> April 1992, around 7000 people gathered in George Square, the principal public square of the city of Glasgow. It was an impromptu gathering, provoked by the result of the UK general election held two days before, in which the Conservative government had been re-elected, but in which Scotland had returned only one Conservative member, an increase of one on the 1987 election. The mood was somewhere between that of a wake and a call to action, between despair and determination. By this time, the notion of the 'democratic deficit' had been firmly established with regard to Scottish constitutional affairs, that is, that government without consent was now an established reality for Scotland, but one that could not continue.

From this gathering in George Square, a movement called 'Scotland United' emerged, a coalition of civic, cultural, church and trade union groups and individuals who gave popular authorization and support to the political campaigning which had already established the Scottish Constitutional Convention, and which eventually led to home rule for Scotland following a referendum, through the 1998 Scotland Act.

Bob has invited us in this conference to consider the Church in the Public Square, and has defined the public square for us as 'the wider world, outside the normal boundaries of church and ecumenical life. He suggests that the public square can encompass the realms of commerce, media, politics, education, science or society. He is of course, using the term 'public square' as a metaphor, and a helpful one. But I have something of a liking for going back to the concrete reality of a thing. When Third Isaiah uses the term in a vivid description of the sins of the people in Is 59, he's not speaking metaphorically, he's talking about Jerusalem. So I'd like you to join me in George Square, the public square in the city I live in.

### **The real public square**

George Square was laid out in 1781, part of the innovative Georgian central grid plan which reflected the growing rational influence of the Scottish Enlightenment. This masterplan was largely the work of the notable contemporary architects James and Robert Adam. For the first few years however it was little more than a muddy hollow, filled with dirty water and used for slaughtering horses. Between 1787 and the 1820s, the square was eventually opened up and lined with Georgian town houses at its east and west ends, as well as hotels. 1842 saw the opening of Queen St Railway Station. By 1850 the surrounding area had become a centre for mercantile activity, with the Merchants House moving to the square in 1877, and the square itself, which had been developed into a private garden for the surrounding town houses, became an established public space, after frequent disturbances and pulling down of railings by a disgruntled mob.

The square was named after George III, a statue of whom was originally intended to occupy the centre of the square, but the turmoil and anxiety caused to the city's Tobacco Lords by the American War of Independence in 1775 and eventual British defeat in 1783, coupled with his ever more frequent bouts of madness had created mixed feelings toward the Hanoverian and so it was decided instead to commemorate Sir Walter Scott.

Today the east side of the square is dominated by the ornate Glasgow City Chambers, headquarters of Glasgow City Council, which opened in 1888. On the south side are a number of buildings, including the former Glasgow Post Office, currently under redevelopment, a Chicago-style office building, dating from 1924 and the city's main Tourist Information Centre.

The north side consists of Queen St Station, the Millennium Hotel, and the offices of the international accountancy firm Ernst and Young (Arthur Young, one of its founders, was a Scot). The square's west side, features the city's Chamber of Commerce building, which is topped by a domed tower on which is perched a ship on a globe, a reminder of the importance of sea trade to Glasgow's prosperity. The

western side is also the location of the former Bank of Scotland building, which is now offices and a Wetherspoon's restaurant and bar.

The eastern side of the square itself is also the site of the city's Cenotaph. Many of Glasgow's public statues are situated around the square and include the only known equestrian statues of a young Queen Victoria and her consort Prince Albert, poets Robert Burns and Thomas Campbell, inventor James Watt, chemist Thomas Graham, Lord Clyde, General Sir John Moore, the victor of Corunna in the Peninsular Wars and politicians William Ewart Gladstone and Robert Peel.

The square has often been the scene of public meetings, political gatherings, riots, protests, celebrations, ceremonies, parades and concerts. Perhaps the most famous was the Black Friday 1919 rally, when campaigners for improved working conditions (particularly protesting a 56 hour working week in many of the city's factories) held an enormous rally, with at least 90,000 protesters filling the square and the surrounding streets. The meeting descended into violence between the protesters and the police, with the riot act being read. The city's radical reputation, and the raising of the red flag by some present, made the Liberal government fear a Bolshevik revolution was afoot. The government responded by deploying fully-armed troops and tanks into the square and the city's streets.

In more recent years, George Square has provided a home to political hustings and meetings of all sorts, protests and prayer vigils against the Poll Tax and Britain's various wars, (the 100,000 who marched against the Iraq War in Glasgow were too many to get into the Square, so skirted its edges on their way from Glasgow Green). It also sees annual Remembrance Day parades, an annual Art Fair, numerous jazz and rock concerts and has lately become the venue for the city's extensive Hogmanay celebrations. It has undoubtedly the gaudiest Christmas lights in the UK. In the midst of all this activity, Glaswegian workers and students from Strathclyde University eat their lunch, dodge the pigeons and meet their friends.

Over its more than two centuries of existence, this public square has indeed manifested the realms of commerce, media, politics, education, science and society. Nor has this been a purely local or even national manifestation. Indeed, the very architecture of the square tells its own story –

- its Enlightenment Georgian layout and buildings set it within the context of a European more than English philosophical movement;
- its ship on the globe on top of the Chamber of Commerce a reminder that globalisation is not a new phenomenon in a mercantile city;
- the angst of its Tobacco Lords, which substituted Walter Scott on the column for George III, a kind of code which hides the fact that their wealth and gentility was firmly founded on the produce of slavery;
- the Victorian municipal socialism which built the magnificent City Chambers with its marble floors and Glasgow Boys murals, a contradiction in an industrial city which became 'the second city of the Empire', taking its very unequally-shared prosperity from an imperial capitalism, built by the sweat of some of the most appallingly housed and paid workers in the world.

The built environment of George Square speaks of power, wealth and influence, then and now; the grand hotels and office buildings, the pub and restaurant chains, the accountancy firm one of the Big Four audit companies, with branches in 140 countries, the 10<sup>th</sup> largest private companies in the US and one of the most powerful multinationals in the world. But the public 'space' - ah, that's a different story. It's the space occupied by the disenfranchised and the dispossessed, the marginalised and the unnumbered. The story of the public square, certainly in Glasgow and I suspect in many, many places, is the story of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless.

### **The democratic deficit and the statues**

Let me at this point return to the democratic deficit, to government without the consent of the governed. Most of the built environment of George Square firmly represents the democratic deficit, because it was built before universal suffrage in Britain, and because it was built at the expense of

the majority of the population; the majority in Glasgow but also the majority in the tobacco plantations of Louisiana and Jamaica, the majority in the jute and cotton mills of India, the majority in the copper mines of Zambia and the gold mines of South Africa. But I want to talk about three areas where the democratic deficit was particularly evident. And they all show up in the statues! Statues are interesting; last year, thousands of people entered a lottery to stand for an hour on an empty plinth in Trafalgar Square. The George Square statues tell a story in stone about who is not included.

### The Protestant Statues

The first is a religious one. All our statues are of Protestants. Glasgow has a sorry history of sectarianism, which is intimately tied up with the history of Ireland. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was significant migration from Catholic Ireland into the West of Scotland, overwhelmingly as the result of poverty, particularly the potato famines. At around the same time, the Highland Clearances drove dispossessed Presbyterian Highland Scots and Lowlanders from the bonded labour mines of Ayrshire to the city of Glasgow, where they all became the labour that kept the engines of 'the workshop of the world' turning. They lived in the most appalling conditions of squalor, overcrowding and disease, racked by cholera and extreme poverty. In the context of competition for survival and scarce resources, what was essentially an economic problem became entangled with issues of religion, culture and identity. People who really had far more in common than what divided them entered a kind of war of attrition, played out on football fields, in factories and in neighbourhoods.

It would be good to be able to say that the churches played a reconciling role in this democratic deficit, given that both Catholic and Protestant laid claim to the title of Christian. But that claim has been equally contested. The Catholic church in the west of Scotland, fiercely discriminated against, battened down the hatches defensively, refused to marry Catholics to Protestants without numerous undertakings being laid on the Protestants and protected their own identity. In its turn, the Church of Scotland in its General Assemblies in the 1920s and 30s expressed what now appear as deeply racist anti-Irish, anti-Catholic sentiments, and recommended repatriation as a means of preserving Scotland's pure Presbyterian identity.

It was another movement that managed to unite Catholic and Protestant against the common enemy of oppressive poverty and attempted to close the democratic deficit. The formation of the Independent Labour Party, with its roots in Christian socialism, enabled the ecumenical partnership of such men as the evangelical lay-preacher Keir Hardie and the devout practising Catholic John Wheatley in pursuit of a wide-ranging social justice which incorporated many features we take for granted today. Wheatley opposed the First World War, campaigned against conscription, organised rent strikes, and is best remembered as an MP for a radical Housing Act in 1924, which saw a massive expansion of affordable municipal housing for the low-paid and unemployed. I am not sure what he would make of the current municipal housing proposals! Keir Hardie, from 1892 onwards campaigned for a graduated income tax, free schooling, pensions, the abolition of the Lords, votes for women, self-rule in India and the end of segregation in South Africa. Both Wheatley and Hardie were mocked and derided for their views at the time. But one might consider that history has vindicated them.

With increased prosperity and professional advancement among Glasgow's Catholics, this democratic deficit has largely closed today, certainly amongst the middle-classes. The Church of Scotland has both repudiated and apologised for its earlier sectarian statements. And last week, I spent some time, along with a colleague from SCIAF, the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund, organising a letter, signed by Cardinal Keith Patrick O'Brien, the Archbishop of Edinburgh and St Andrews, Bishop David Chillingworth, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, Shaykh Ruzwan, leading representative of the Glasgow Central Mosque and Rt Rev John Christie, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who will deliver the letter to the Prime Minister on behalf of these faith communities when he meets him in London next week. The letter concerns the Climate Change Summit in Cancun, Mexico, and is a strong plea for strong action.

*...it is vital that the UK government does everything it can to ensure agreeing a fair, ambitious and*

*legally binding global agreement on climate change is at the forefront of negotiations in Cancun. The final agreement must also include vastly improved greenhouse gas emission reduction targets for the wealthiest nations and greater financing for poor countries to help them cope with the challenges brought on by climate change. It is a moral outrage that as yet developed countries appear unwilling to find the money so urgently needed to deal with this issue.*

It is now common for churches to take action together on social justice issues; that was the second joint letter in a month. Nor have church leaders restricted themselves to statements and letters; they do get out and march - about poverty, about Trident, about asylum issues. They led the Wave in Scotland, the demonstration last December about climate change.

I'm not sure I agree with Bob that the public square is outside the normal boundaries of church and ecumenical life. It certainly isn't in Scotland, where churches are campaigning for much greater accountability and transparency by multinational companies on taxation, to prevent the huge democratic deficit whereby tax dodging by these companies denies poor countries their rightful tax revenues on profits made within their borders. Ernst and Young is one of the accountancy companies we have been lobbying for support in this campaign. It's probably well past the time for a statue of a Catholic in George Square. Perhaps it should be John Wheatley.

### **The statues of men**

Or perhaps it should be Eilish Angiolini, the Catholic Lord Advocate for Scotland. Because that would double the numbers of women commemorated in stone in the public square. All but one of our statues are men, and she's a monarch. In spite of an extremely active women's suffrage movement in Glasgow, much of it, as elsewhere in the world, led by Christian women; in spite of the impact of the Scottish parliament, with a proportion of women parliamentarians 12% higher than Westminster, the deficit is still there in a big way for women, especially for working-class women.

This is particularly marked with regard to violence against women. The statistics on rape in the UK are a national disgrace. In 2006, it is estimated that 85,000 women were raped. The conviction rate for rape in the UK is 6%, in Scotland it is just 2.9%, the lowest in Europe. Serious recent cases of multiple rapists being able to prey on women for years as a result of police negligence make it hard to conclude anything other than that men in this country can rape with impunity. We live in a culture which refuses to confront violence against women, which over-sexualises women and girls and which there is a profound failure by men to take responsibility for male violence.

If we look further afield, the picture is even bleaker. Violence against women is a global pandemic, recognized as a major health hazard to women everywhere. It takes many forms: domestic abuse, sexual harassment, rape and sexual violence, unrealistic and degrading representations of women in the media, trafficking in women, institutional gender violence, the use of rape as a weapon of war; and this is by no means an exhaustive list.

But there are other forms of violence of which women are disproportionately victims:

- 70% of the world's 1200 million poor are women
- 2/3 of those living on less than \$1 a day are women
- 66% of the world's illiterate people are women-in Asia and Africa, the figure reaches 70%
- 80% of the world's refugees and uprooted peoples are women
- the majority of people now testing HIV positive are women

The most obvious, comprehensive and pervasive global inequality is that based on gender. Women make up half the world's population, do 2/3 of the world's productive work, own 10% of the world's wealth and 1% of the world's land. According to the World Bank 'In no region of the world are women and men equal in legal, social or economic rights'. Women are still hugely disempowered and the more powerless you are, the easier it is for power to be wielded against you.

Two of the eight Millennium Development Goals address these huge challenges - *Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women* and *Goal 5: Improve maternal health*. Almost every indicator of human and community wellbeing depends on them being achieved. There has been a little progress

on one of the targets for Goal 3, on the elimination of gender disparity in education and that is to be welcomed. But the only other indicators for this goal, increasing women's share in waged non-agricultural employment and increasing the proportion of women holding seats in national parliaments show little sign of improvement (less than 20% of women worldwide are parliamentarians) and less sign of any actual coherent strategies for women's empowerment, crucial for their equality. As for Goal 5, the statistics for maternal health remain shocking and disgraceful. Its targets of reduced maternal mortality rates and universal access to reproductive health are the furthest behind of all the MDG outcomes.

Of course, the Millennium Development Goals are about more than just the interests and well-being of women. But their achievement would benefit women disproportionately, precisely because women suffer their absence disproportionately. All of them are about increasing security - of habitat, of livelihood, of health and education - all of which reduce the likelihood of war and conflict. They are also about creating sustainable communities, and they recognise the importance of women in that process to the extent that the empowerment of women is an explicit goal. It is increasingly recognised that global, sustainable development depends on women. That's not just because they do so much of the productive work. It's also because women are the primary carers, and the transmitters of knowledge through the generations and through communities, particularly with regard to health and education. But the capacity this represents will not be properly utilised without women's political, cultural and economic empowerment.

It's challenging to speculate about what the churches do in the public square that really makes a difference to women's political, cultural and economic empowerment. We don't have a great track record here; in no church are women anywhere nearly equally represented in leadership and decision-making. I do not forget that, as Monica Furlong rather acerbically said, if we had to wait for the churches to promote tertiary education for women, the Married Woman's Property Act, the franchise, entry to the professions, equal pay for equal work, the Sex Discrimination Act, and many other measures vital to women's health and wellbeing, we should still be waiting. Indeed, the churches frequently opposed such reforms.

The challenge that this represents will be increasingly acute, because it is becoming obvious that the Comprehensive Spending Review will disproportionately affect women. In Britain, it seems that we will follow the global trend, which is that the combination of economic globalization, climate change, resource and land wars and the displacement of whole populations has caused the feminization of poverty.

"The Comprehensive Spending Review, like the previous emergency budget, hits women hardest. It is women who will be the main losers as jobs are cut, public services are rolled back and benefits are slashed.

"The cuts are so deep and will hit women so hard that they risk more than women's financial security – they threaten hard-won progress on women's equality. The Chancellor's plans undermine the status of women as equal partners with men in the world of work, home and society as a whole.

"Of the half a million public sector workers facing unemployment, more than two thirds will be women. This is because 65 per cent of public sector workers are women, and more women work in the low paid, low grade and insecure work most likely to be hit. This comes on top of the 1 million women already unemployed in the UK – last month, 75 per cent more women signed on to unemployment benefit than men.

"The £18 billion a year cuts to the welfare budget will also see women bear the brunt as benefits typically make up one fifth of women's income as opposed to one tenth of men's. Taking Housing Benefit as just one example – a million more women claim this than men, and many of these will be lone parents facing poverty.

"Targeting local government is tantamount to singling out women for the hit – 75 per cent of local

government workers are women; cumulative cuts of 28 per cent in the budget for this sector will have a disastrous impact on women as both employees and service users.

“Rolling back public services hits women particularly hard not only because they tend to use services more frequently and more intensively than men, but also because of their sizeable caring responsibilities. Slashing at this aspect of the welfare state does more than reduce the support many women rely on, it also increases the burden they carry - many women with caring responsibilities for children and elderly relatives will find it harder to manage as the help they’ve thus far relied on dries up.

Women aren’t starting on an equal footing - women typically earn and own less than men, and are more likely to live in poverty. They do not have the same independence and financial security that men do, and they are under-represented in boardrooms, in politics and in public life generally. Making women bear the brunt of deficit cutting measures undermines the government’s claimed commitment to fairness.

### The statues of the rich

Well, you might have predicted this by reading the statues in George Square. All but one of them are of wealthy (or at least comfortable) men. The only poor person we honour is Robert Burns. Thank God for poetry!

The churches can make a real difference in challenging poverty in this country, as they have done and continue to do globally. This at least is an unequivocal and unambiguous calling for Christians. And yet I think we have to be very thoughtful about how we raise our voices in the public square.

*Our transgressions indeed are with us,  
and we know our iniquities:  
13 transgressing, and denying the Lord,  
and turning away from following our God,  
talking oppression and revolt,  
conceiving lying words and uttering them from the heart.  
14 Justice is turned back,  
and righteousness stands at a distance;  
for truth stumbles in the public square,  
and uprightness cannot enter.  
15 Truth is lacking,  
and whoever turns from evil is despoiled.*

*The Lord saw it, and it displeased him  
that there was no justice.  
16 He saw that there was no one,  
and was appalled that there was no one to intervene  
so his own arm brought him victory,  
and his righteousness upheld him.  
(from Isaiah 59, NRSV)*

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The prophets of the Old Testament did not appear out of nowhere, their critique was not an external one; they stood within a prophetic tradition and it was because of their belonging within the community that they understood so well the nature of the faith of Israel. They were not making high-sounding abstract generalisations of the 'justice and peace is a great idea and wouldn't it be great if more people did it' kind. Their call was historical, contextual, directed against specific concrete social and economic practices in a particular place at a particular time.

But although their interventions were political in nature, and had direct (and often for them unpleasant) consequences, their motivation lay elsewhere. It was rooted in a passionate belief that the covenant relationship of God with the people of Israel demanded that the relationships of the people with each other should reflect and replicate that covenant. To use a rather crude spatial analogy, the covenant was horizontal as well as vertical. And therefore the priests of the covenant were particularly culpable for suggesting that pious practices, religious rituals and sacrifices, visiting holy places or indeed any kind of formalism that left social morality unaffected could avert the awful reality of God's judgement. It was a dangerous illusion to suggest that no harm could befall a people chosen to receive the covenant. It was precisely because they were people who had been liberated by the Exodus, had received both the Law and the promise, that they were particularly under judgement. Of all people, they were the ones who should turn from oppressing and enslaving others.

By the authority of scripture, church and tradition, we stand in judgement on the world and find it wanting. But that judgement is a two-edged sword. For in confronting the world with our texts and dogmas, we are in turn confronted by the world, which shows us to ourself as church. Our ability to speak with authority in the public square is based not on what we say but on what we do; or rather, we are credible to the extent that we practice what we preach.

In this context, therefore, I find these words of Rowan Williams helpful:

*Christian identity is to belong in a place that Jesus defines for us. By living in that place, we come in some degree to share his identity, to bear his name and to be in the same relationships he has with God and with the world. Forget 'Christianity' for a moment – Christianity as a system of ideas competing with others in the market: concentrate on the place in the world that is the place of Jesus the anointed, and what it is that becomes possible in that place.*

*There is a difference between seeing the world as basically a territory where systems compete, where groups with different allegiances live at each other's expense, where rivalry is inescapable, and seeing the world as a territory where being in a particular place makes it possible for you to see, to say and to do certain things that aren't possible elsewhere. The claim of Christian belief is not first and foremost that it offers the only accurate system of thought, as against all other competitors; it is that, by standing in the place of Christ, it is possible to live in such intimacy with God that no fear or failure can ever break God's commitment to us, and to live in such a degree of mutual gift and understanding that no human conflict or division need bring us to uncontrollable violence and mutual damage. From here, you can see what you need to see to be at peace with God and with God's creation; and also what you need to be at peace with yourself, acknowledging your need of mercy and re-creation.*

*(Rowan Williams, speaking at the 9<sup>th</sup> WCC General Assembly in Porto Alegre, Brazil, 2005)*

To be in the public square is indeed to be in a territory where systems compete, where groups with different allegiances live at each other's expense, where rivalry is inescapable. But where else should Christians be? That is certainly where Jesus was. The history of my city is filled with people who knew that 'during his life here on earth, Jesus visited the towns and villages and saw with his own eyes the problems facing the people. He saw the poverty, the inequality, the religious and economic oppression, the unemployment, the depression, the physically ill and the socially unclean. His heart was filled with pity. He pronounced what his mission was all about: he came to preach the good news to the poor and to release those who are captives and give health to those who are ill. (Musimbi Kanyoro) They were people who had experienced in their own lives justice being turned back, truth stumbling in the market place, and who, with the Lord, were appalled that there was no one to

intervene. So, in fear and conviction, they took it upon themselves to stand in the place that Jesus the anointed defined for them and see from that place. There are no statues to them in George Square. But I see in them the true meaning of Jesus' mission, which is to go outside holiness, '*out to where soldiers gamble and thieves curse and nations clash at the crossroads of the world.*' (George MacLeod) Indeed, the notion that there is a normal bounded church life which is somehow not part of the rest of life is a very old heresy that has had shocking consequences.

For the world is still divided between those who live in comfortable contentment and those enslaved by the world's economic injustice, ideological violence and ecological destruction, who still suffer and die. Millions of people, including Christians, live daily in the midst of these realities. Meanwhile, millions of others in our Christian congregations live lives as inattentive to this suffering as those who worshipped God in the chapel above slave dungeons. This goes to the heart of our confession of faith. How can we say that we believe that Jesus Christ is the Lord of life, and not stand against all that denies the promise of fullness of life to the world?

Or is it perhaps that we are the enslaved ones as the divisions in the world between rich and poor, powerful and powerless, grow sharper, are characterised by increasing violence and insecurity and seek to isolate us from one another. Perhaps that's why it's easier to turn away from confronting all of that to bread and circuses, to chemically-induced oblivion, the X-Factor and royal weddings, or, if we are religious, to the huge threat to human society apparently posed by gay people.

But is it not the case that the spirit of Jesus requires and invites us to belong more deeply to one another, to challenge and overcome those divisions through that spirit? Is this not what the call to conversion, to transformation of life is all about? We are all born into complicity, part of an oppressive, dehumanising world order into which we have been born, and for which we did not give our permission. This is original sin, our separation from one another and from God. But by the grace and generosity of God, we are released, set free to be responsible; responsible for the complicity we do have a choice about. We can say, 'this is the way things are - but I beg to differ.'

Of course that's very hard, because it's not our default position, and it's always a minority position. But it's no harder than it was for the few people who started the campaign for an end to slavery, who were also up against powerful vested interest and the love of money. Or for the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland, who, in 1792, in a city whose whole prosperity was built on slavery, voted against their own interests for the abolition of the slave trade.

My Christian tradition is one that emphasises the importance of citizenship as an integral part of faith. It has always inhabited the public square quite comfortably, sometimes in the interest of its own pure and therefore sectarian identity, sometimes in a more enlightened 'do as you would be done by'. But it has always been at its most faithful when it has followed the anointed Jesus outside holiness into identification with the 'not-us', the minority, the supplicants, the dispossessed.

And in a world in which Facebook-users are the third largest nation after China and India, and the internet and new media in general represent a kind of extraordinary virtual public square, we have opportunities and threats in equal measure. And yet, whatever the public space, I think that some things remain the same and are ineradicable; the call to discipleship and engagement, to solidarity not just in word but in act with the dispossessed, and to Jesus himself, *displayed to the world as the public language of our God, placarded on the history of human suffering that stretches along the roadside.* (Rowan Williams).

On one edge of George Square, there is a small stone set into the ground. It's a memorial stone laid by Glasgow members of ATD Fourth World, a human rights movement of people living in poverty started by a French priest, father Joseph Wresinski. It honours the countless citizens of Glasgow over many centuries who died of poverty. They had to fight to get permission to lay it. It's not grand, it's not artistic, the stone-carving is worn. Most people don't notice it. But it's there. It's a memorial to the need and the struggle to do justice in the public square. It's a beginning!