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1963-1964.

*Challenge to Justice and Love*

NATIONAL  
CONFERENCE  
ON RELIGION  
AND RACE

Program

JANUARY 14-17, 1968 • CHICAGO





**Preparation for this Conference was assisted by grants from**  
Aquinas Fund Joseph P Kennedy Jr Foundation William J Kerby Foundation  
Irwin Sweeney Miller Foundation Rockefeller Brothers Fund

**A Chicago Host Committee** has been formed to facilitate arrangements for the conference and to maximize the contribution which the Conference can make to promote interracial justice and to improve interreligious relations in the Chicago area. Honorary co chairmen of this committee are Rabbi Ernst M Lorge President Chicago Board of Rabbis His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer Archbishop of Chicago Mr George F Sisler President Church Federation of Greater Chicago. The Executive Chairman is Honorable James B Parsons Federal Judge of the United States District Court of Northern Illinois.

Secretariat to the Chicago Host Committee is the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago  
Mr John A McDermott Executive Director

**Observer Delegates** from the Chicago Metropolitan area have special grey badges. The Chicago Host Committee has invited 500 special observers from this metropolitan area. These observer delegates are welcome to all sessions of the Conference except the small workgroup sessions which because of their size and function are restricted to regular delegates.

### **Race Challenge to Religion**

The major papers and findings of the National Conference on Religion and Race will be published March 15 1963 under the title of **Race Challenge to Religion**.

Publisher Henry Regnery Company 14 East Jackson Blvd Chicago 4 Illinois

Hardcover \$4.95 paperback \$1.65. Special bulk discounts are available from the publisher. See the section on general information for more details.

## CONVENERS

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches  
Social Action Commission  
Synagogue Council of America  
Social Action Department  
National Catholic Welfare Conference

## SECRETARIAT

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice  
21 West Superior Chicago 10 Illinois  
Executive Secretary Mr Mathew Ahmann  
Assistant Rev Gene Wesley Marshall

## PARTICIPATING GROUPS

African Methodist Episcopal Church  
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church  
American Baptist Convention Division of Christian Social Concern  
American Ethical Union  
American Friends Service Committee  
American Jewish Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
Anti Defamation League of Bnai B'rith  
Bnai B'rith  
Brethren Service Commission Church of the Brethren  
Central Conference of American Rabbis  
Christian Family Movement  
Christian Life Commission Southern Baptist Convention  
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church  
Diocese of the Armenian Church in America  
Disciples of Christ Department of Christian Action and Community Service United Christian Missionary Society  
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity  
Evangelical United Brethren Church  
Five Years Meeting of Friends  
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North & South America  
Hungarian Reformed Church in America  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Knights of Peter Claver  
Lutheran Human Relations Association of America  
Methodist Church  
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice  
National Catholic Social Action Conference  
National Catholic Youth Organization Federation  
National Community Relations Advisory Council  
National Conference of Friends on Race Relations  
National Conference of Synagogue Youth Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America  
National Council of Catholic Men  
National Council of Catholic Women  
National Council of Jewish Women

## OFFICERS OF THE MEETING

### CHAIRMAN

The Rev Dr Benjamin E Mays President  
Morehouse College Atlanta

### VICE CHAIRMEN

The Right Reverend Bishop Germanos of Synodon  
Bishop of the VII Archdiocesan District  
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North & South America  
Most Reverend Paul J Hallinan Archbishop of Atlanta  
Rabbi Ferdinand M Isserman Temple Israel St Louis  
Bishop B Julian Smith Presiding Bishop First Episcopal District  
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

National Council Protestant Episcopal Church  
National Federation of Catholic College Students  
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
National Federation of Temple Youth Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
National Lutheran Council  
National Newman Club Federation  
National Student Christian Federation  
National Women's League United Synagogue of America  
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Religious Society of Friends  
Polish National Catholic Church in America  
Presbyterian Church in the United States Division of Christian Action Board of Christian Education  
Progressive National Baptist Convention  
Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Reformed Church in America  
Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Third Order of St Francis Action for Interracial Understanding  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America  
Unitarian Universalist Association  
United Christian Youth Movement  
United Church of Christ  
United Church Women National Council of Churches  
United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America  
United Synagogue of America  
United Synagogue Youth United Synagogue of America  
Women's Branch Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America  
Young Christian Students  
Young Christian Workers  
Young Men's Christian Association  
Young Women's Christian Association  
Youth Department National Catholic Welfare Conference





## Program

MONDAY JANUARY 14 1963

- 10 00 A M** Registration PASSAGIO
- 12 30 P M** Orientation Luncheon for Target City Coordinators PARLOR B  
Chairman Mr A Harold Murray  
Director National Community Affairs Department American Jewish Committee  
Member of Follow Up Committee
- 1 00 P M** Orientation Session for Workgroup Chairmen LINCOLN ROOM  
Resource Leaders and Recorders  
Chairman Rabbi Marc H Tanenbaum The American Jewish Committee  
Chairman Conference Program Committee  
Consultant Mr Harold Hunton  
Chief Equal Employment Opportunity New York Air Force  
Contract Management District
- 3 30 P M** **OPENING PLENARY SESSION** EDGEWATER ROOM  
Chairman The Rev Dr Benjamin E Mays NORTH & CENTER  
President Morehouse College Atlanta Chairman of the Conference  
Invocation The Rev Ross Coggins  
Associate General Secretary Christian Life Commission  
Southern Baptist Convention  
Program Highlights Rabbi Marc H Tanenbaum  
The American Jewish Committee Chairman Conference Program Committee  
Address The Religious Basis of Equality of Opportunity  
Dr Abraham J Heschel  
Professor of Jewish Mysticism Jewish Theological Seminary of America  
Panel  
Mr William Stringfellow Attorney New York  
Mr Albert Vorspan Director Commission on Social Action  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Mr Philip Scharper Editor Sheed and Ward  
Mr Whitney M Young Jr Executive Director National Urban League  
Benediction Rev John LaFarge S J  
Honorary Chaplain National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
- 8 00 P M** **PLENARY SESSION** EDGEWATER ROOM  
Dr Benjamin E Mays  
Chairman Most Rev William E Cousins  
Chairman Social Action Department National Catholic Welfare Conference  
Archbishop of Milwaukee  
Invocation Dr Fred S Buschmeyer Secretary United Church of Christ  
Interracial Justice and Love Challenge to a Religious America  
Addresses by  
Rabbi Julius Mark President Synagogue Council of America  
Albert Cardinal Meyer  
Archbishop of Chicago  
Mr J Irwin Miller  
President National Council of Churches  
Benediction Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood  
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church  
Chairman of the Board National Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People





TUESDAY JANUARY 15 1963

**9 30 A M PLENARY SESSION**

EDGEWATER ROOM

Dr Benjamin E Mays

Chairman Rabbi Irwin M Blank

Chairman Social Action Commission Synagogue Council of America

Invocation Rt Rev John M Burgess

Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts

Address Religion and Race The Historical Perspective

Dr Franklin H Littell

Professor of Church History Chicago Theological Seminary

Benediction Rt Rev Msgr George C Higgins

Director Social Action Department National Catholic Welfare Conference

**10 30 A M FOUR SIMULTANEOUS FORUMS**

**FORUM I The Inner Life of the Church and Synagogue**

POLYNESIAN VILLAGE

Chairman Most Rev Paul J Hallinan Archbishop of Atlanta

Vice Chairman of the Conference

Invocation Rabbi Philip Hiat Executive Vice President Synagogue Council of America

Paper The Rev Will D Campbell

Executive Director Southern Project Department of Racial and Cultural Relations

National Council of Churches Nashville

Coordinator Donald Farrell Program Specialist National Council of Catholic Men

Benediction Bishop E P Murchison Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

**FORUM II The Responsibility of Church and  
Synagogue as Institutions in the Community**

EDGEWATER ROOM  
NORTH

Chairman Rabbi Ferdinand M Isserman Temple Israel St Louis

Vice Chairman of the Conference

Invocation Most Rev William G Connare Bishop of Greensburg

Paper Very Rev Msgr John J Egan

Director Archdiocesan Conservation Council Chicago

Coordinator Arnold Aronson Director of Program Planning & Evaluation

National Community Relations Advisory Council

Benediction Dr J Oscar Lee Executive Director

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations

National Council of Churches

**FORUM III The Role of Church and Synagogue  
in a Racially Changing Community**

CRYSTAL BALLROOM

Chairman The Right Reverend Bishop Germanos of Synodon

Bishop of the VII Archdiocesan District Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of

North and South America Detroit

Vice Chairman of the Conference

Invocation Rabbi Samuel E Karff Chicago Sinai Congregation

Paper Dr Dan W Dodson

Professor of Education New York University

Coordinator Mr Dennis Clark Executive Secretary

Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Benediction Rev John F Cronin SS Assistant Director

Social Action Department National Catholic Welfare Conference

**FORUM IV The Relation of Church and  
Synagogue to Other Community Forces**

MICHIGAN ROOM

Chairman Bishop B Julian Smith

Presiding Bishop of the First District Christian Methodist Episcopal Church Chicago

Vice Chairman of the Conference

Invocation Most Rev Leonard P Cowley Auxiliary Bishop of St Paul

Paper Rabbi Morris Adler

Congregation Shaarey Zedek Detroit

Coordinator Dr Galen R Weaver

Secretary Racial and Cultural Relations Council for Christian Social Action

United Church of Christ

Benediction Rabbi Benzion C Kaganoff Congregation Ezras Israel Chicago

**1 00 P M LUNCHEON SESSION**

EDGEWATER ROOM

Dr Benjamin E Mays

Chairman Honorable James B Parsons

Federal Judge of the United States District Court of Northern Illinois  
Executive Chairman Chicago Host Committee

Invocation Rabbi Ernst M Lorge President Chicago Board of Rabbis

Vocalist Miss Mahalia Jackson

Remarks The Honorable Richard J Daley Mayor of Chicago

The Honorable Otto J Kerner Governor of Illinois

Benediction Most Reverend Vincent S Waters Bishop of Raleigh

**2 45 P M**

**WORKGROUPS MEET** — See section on workgroups for leadership  
and room numbers for workgroups listed below

Delegates are asked to remain in the same workgroup throughout the Conference  
Workgroup and Forum assignments are typed on delegate badges

**Forum I The Inner Life of the Church and Synagogue**

WORKGROUP 1 a b c Racial Exclusion

WORKGROUP 2 a b c Religious Education on Moral Issues

WORKGROUP 3 a b c Use of Policy and Program in Desegregation

**Forum II The Responsibility of Church and Synagogue as Institutions  
in the Community**

WORKGROUP 4 a b c Religious Institutions as Employers

WORKGROUP 5 a b c Church and Synagogue as Administrators

WORKGROUP 6 a b c Educational Resources of Religious Institutions

**Forum III The Role of Church and Synagogue in a Racially Changing Community**

WORKGROUP 7 a b c Urban Neighborhoods

WORKGROUP 8 a b c Suburban Neighborhoods

WORKGROUP 9 a b c Rural Areas

**Forum IV The Relation of Church and Synagogue to Other Community Forces**

WORKGROUP 10 a b c Relation to Voluntary Civic Groups

WORKGROUP 11 a b c Relationship Between Religious Groups

WORKGROUP 12 a b c Relation to Governmental and Political Forces

**7 00 P M**

**BANQUET**

EDGEWATER ROOM

Dr Benjamin E Mays

Chairman Mr Raymond M Hilliard

Chairman National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Director Cook County Department of Public Aid

Invocation Rabbi Ralph Simon Congregation Rodfei Zedek Chicago

Speaker Mr Robert Sargent Shriver Jr

Director The Peace Corps

Benediction The Rt Rev Joseph Gomez

Bishop African Methodist Episcopal Church Cleveland

**WEDNESDAY JANUARY 16, 1963**

**8 30 A M**

Follow Up Committee Informal Coffee and Rolls

EAST LOUNGE

Reception for persons interested in information or in making  
suggestions re Conference follow up plans

Chairman The Rev Arthur E Walmsley Executive Secretary Christian Citizenship

Department of Christian Social Relations

National Council Protestant Episcopal Church

Chairman of Committee on Follow Up

**9 30 A M**

**WORKGROUPS MEET** — See Section on Workgroups for room numbers

**12 30 P M**

Luncheon Meeting of the Steering and Follow Up Committees

EAST LOUNGE

Chairman Dr J Oscar Lee

Executive Director Department of Racial and Cultural Relations

National Council of Churches

Chairman of Conference Steering Committee

**2 30 P M**     **WORKGROUPS MEET** — See Section on Workgroups for room numbers

**6 00 P M**     **RECEPTION SPONSORED BY CHICAGO HOST COMMITTEE**

EDGEWATER ROOM

**8 00 P M**     Meetings of Workgroup Chairmen with Forum Coordinators  
                 Workgroups Forum I  
                 Workgroups Forum II  
                 Workgroups Forum III  
                 Workgroups Forum IV

PARLOR A  
PARLOR B  
PARLOR C  
PARKVIEW ROOM

**8 30 P M**     Meeting of Drafting Committee Discussion on  
                 Draft Declaration of Conscience  
                 Chairman Very Rev Msgr Daniel M Cantwell  
                 Chaplain Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago  
                 Chairman of Drafting Committee

EAST LOUNGE



THURSDAY JANUARY 17 1963

**9 30 A M**     **PLENARY SESSION**

EDGEWATER ROOM

Dr Benjamin E Mays  
Chairman Most Rev John P Cody  
                 Archbishop and Apostolic Administrator Archdiocese of New Orleans  
Invocation Bishop W R Wilkes  
                 President Council of Bishops African Methodist Episcopal Church  
Reports on Workgroup Consensus by  
                 Forum I Donald Farrell Program Specialist  
                 National Council of Catholic Men  
                 Forum II Arnold Aronson Director of Program Planning & Evaluation  
                 National Community Relations Advisory Council  
                 Forum III Mr Dennis Clark Executive Secretary  
                 Catholic Interracial Council of New York  
                 Forum IV Dr Galen R Weaver Secretary Racial and Cultural Relations  
                 Council for Christian Social Action United Church of Christ  
Report of the Committee on Follow Up  
                 The Rev Arthur E Walmsley Executive Secretary Christian Citizenship  
                 Department of Christian Social Relations  
                 National Council Protestant Episcopal Church  
                 Chairman Follow Up Committee  
Benediction Rabbi Irving Rosenbaum Executive Vice President  
                 Chicago Board of Rabbis



**12 30 P M**     **LUNCHEON**

EDGEWATER ROOM

Dr Benjamin E Mays  
Chairman Rabbi Seymour J Cohen Vice President Synagogue Council of America  
Invocation The Rev May Yoho Ward Vice President  
                 United Christian Missionary Society Disciples of Christ Indianapolis  
Address A Challenge to the Churches and Synagogues  
                 Dr Martin Luther King Jr  
                 President Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Benediction Most Rev Victor J Reed Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa



**2 45 P M**     **CLOSING PLENARY SESSION**

EDGEWATER ROOM

Chairman Dr Benjamin E Mays Chairman of the Conference  
Invocation Rabbi Philip L Lipis North Suburban Synagogue Beth El Chicago  
Adoption of the Declaration of Conscience  
                 Very Rev Msgr Daniel M Cantwell  
                 Chaplain Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago  
                 Chairman of the Drafting Committee





## SEE THE FOLLOWING PAGES FOR

- I General Information
- II Churches and Synagogues in the vicinity of the  
Edgewater Beach Hotel, and Worship Rooms in the Hotel
- III Acknowledgements
- IV Results of the Conference



## Special Meetings

### MEETINGS OPEN TO ALL DELEGATES

Wednesday 8 30 a m	East Lounge	Follow Up Committee Informal Coffee and Rolls Reception for persons interested in information or in making suggestions re Conference follow up plans Chairman The Rev Arthur E Walmsley
Wednesday 8 30 p m	East Lounge	Drafting Committee Discussion on the Draft of the Declaration of Conscience Chairman Very Rev Monsignor Daniel M Cantwell

### MEETINGS FOR CONFERENCE LEADERS AND COMMITTEES

Monday 12 30 Luncheon	Parlor B	Orientation Session for Target City Coordinators Chairman Mr A Harold Murray
Monday 1 00 p m	Lincoln Room	Orientation Session for Workgroup Chairmen Resource Leaders and Recorders Chairman Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum Consultant Mr Harold Hunton
Wednesday 12 30 Luncheon	East Lounge	Meeting of the Steering and Follow Up Committees Chairman Dr J Oscar Lee
Wednesday 8 00 p m	Parlor A Parlor B Parlor C Parkview Room	Meetings of Workgroup Chairmen with Forum Coordinators Forum I Coordinator Mr Donald Farrell Forum II Coordinator Mr Arnold Aronson Forum III Coordinator Mr Dennis Clark Forum IV Coordinator Dr Galen R Weaver





## NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

Religious groups in the United States hold that racial discrimination and prejudice are moral problems at their roots. Racial segregation is one of the most crucial problems facing our religious institutions and our democracy.

The National Conference on Religion and Race was convened to provide an occasion for lay and clerical religious leaders to conduct a concrete examination of the role of churches and synagogues in meeting religious and civic racial problems.

The Conference provides a chance for religiously committed people to speak with one voice on racial issues to their fellow citizens and to the world. It can provide impetus for interreligious projects, on local and national levels, aimed at the elimination of remaining racial barriers from the life of our country, and at the creation of genuine human respect, understanding and acceptance.

It is fitting that this, the first national conference convened by the major faith groups in the United States, should center on improving the relationships of justice and love between man and man.

It is fitting, also, that as a commemoration of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, religious leaders should gather to cooperate in confronting the moral and social issue of race on which they stand united.

### GENERAL INFORMATION

#### Delegates to the Conference

Ordinary Registrants Delegates to the Conference are of two kinds. The main body of delegates was selected by the participating groups. These delegates or registrants are authorized to take part in the whole of the Conference, including workgroup sessions. Included among them are a limited number of people who received special invitations at the direction of the Steering Committee, or the Conveners, or who have other special reason to take part in the meeting. Several are special observers from religious groups not taking formal part in the Conference.

Observer Delegates The second large group of people taking part in the meeting consists of 500 "Observer Delegates" from the Chicago metropolitan area. These "Observer Delegates", whose badges carry this designation, are welcome to all sessions of the Conference except the small workgroup sessions, which because of their size and function, are restricted to the regular delegates.



## Catalogue of Resources

All Conference Registrants are being given a Catalogue of Resources prepared under the supervision of a special committee chaired by Miss Thelma Stevens of the Methodist Church. Major editing for this publication was assumed by Dr. Garry Oniki of the race relations staff of the United Church of Christ and Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Associate Director of the Social Action Commission of Reform Judaism.

The Committee has attempted to provide a major resource item for those sharing concern in the religion and race field, by collecting under one cover an annotated bibliography of some key works, and a highly selective listing of audio-visual materials, as well as a list of additional sources.

Only single copies of this Catalogue are presently available to Conference Registrants.

## Bookstore -- The Tower Room

The North Central Regional Center of the Methodist Publishing House has very kindly agreed to set up and staff a book store to service the meeting. The bookstore will carry titles authored by the speakers at the Conference, and titles on subjects related to the field of religion and race. Mr. William S. Sutton and Mr. Howard Wiebe are staffing the bookstore. The bookstore is also accepting advance orders for Race Challenge to Religion, the book of papers from the Conference which will be published, March 15.

## Available Literature

Many of the organizations participating in the Conference have made available literature which is either descriptive of the organizations, or of some program in the race relations field.

In addition, each registrant is being given a copy of the official statement on interracial justice adopted by the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America and the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States.

## Message Center

The Conference Secretariat has provided an information center and message desk in the registration area. This will be staffed throughout the Conference.

## Check Out Time

By special arrangement with the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Delegates have until 6 00 P.M. on Thursday to check out.

CHURCHES AND SYNAGOGUES IN THE  
VICINITY OF THE EDGEWATER BEACH HOTEL  
AND WORSHIP ROOMS IN THE HOTEL

The Edgewater Association of Clergy and Rabbis salutes and welcomes you! A unique fellowship of Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic Congregations, its Pastors, Priests and Rabbis rejoice over the auspicious circumstance which has placed this first National Conference on Race and Religion in our midst. As over the past few years in this our neighborhood, on this small scale, we have learned how to counsel and work with each other in harmony, so we pray that you the delegates of this historic gathering will address yourselves earnestly, patiently and devotedly to the solution of the grave issues before you. Then, once again, shall we know in the very depth of our being that using us as His agents God continues to work in history.

Rabbi Herman E. Schaalman, President  
Edgewater Association of Clergy and Rabbis

Worship Rooms in the Hotel

Jewish Chapel	American Room
Protestant Chapel	Illinois Room
Roman Catholic Chapel	Lincoln Room

Synagogues in the Vicinity

Agudath Achim North Shore Synagogue	5029 N. Kenmore Avenue
Emanuel Congregation	5959 N. Sheridan Road
Temple Beth Sholom	1233 W. Pratt Boulevard
Temple Ezra	5658 N. Winthrop

Roman Catholic Churches in the Vicinity

St. Ignatius	6559 N. Glenwood Avenue
St. Ita's	5500 Broadway
St. Thomas of Canterbury	4827 N. Kenmore Avenue

Protestant Churches in the Vicinity

Armenian Congregational Church	5430 N. Sheridan Road
Baptist, North Shore	1311 Berwyn Avenue
Church of Christ Scientist	5318 N. Kenmore Avenue
Edgewater Presbyterian Church	Kenmore & Bryn Mawr Avenues
Episcopal Church of the Atonement	5749 N. Kenmore Avenue
Epworth Church - Methodist	Kenmore & Berwyn Avenues
Evangelical Lutheran	Balmoral & Magnolia Avenues
Immanuel Lutheran Church	Elmdale & Greenview Avenues

Lutheran - Ebenezer	Foster Avenue at Paulina
North Side Christian Church	1507 Sunnyside Avenue
The Country Church of the City	Granville at Lakewood
Undenominational - North Shore	Wilson Avenue & Sheridan Road
Unitarian Peoples Church Uptown Temple	941 W. Lawrence Avenue

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It has been a great privilege for the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice to provide the administrative services for the National Conference on Religion and Race. Few meetings have been planned by such a devoted and congenial group of men and women.

Special appreciation is due the Chairmen and members of all the Conference committees. Each of them was a volunteer, in the sense that they added major responsibility for a part of the Conference on top of their regular work load.

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, Rabbi Philip Hiat, Executive Vice President of the Synagogue Council of America, Father John F. Cronin, S.S., Assistant Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference served as special representatives of the Conveners. Their constant continual flow of ideas, and constant attention to detail were key in organizing the Conference. The meeting would not be what it is, either, without the stimulation and energy Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, of the American Jewish Committee, provided as Chairman of the Program Committee.

The groups participating in the Conference owe a special debt of gratitude to the Ecumenical Institute of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, and more pointedly to the unique gifts of The Reverend Gene Wesley Marshall of their staff. Late in the organization of the meeting, he was released to work for the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice on plans for the Conference.

Many Chicagoans deserve special thanks Dr. Edgar Chandler of the Church Federation, Rabbi Irving Rosenbaum of the Board of Rabbis, Monsignor Daniel Cantwell and John McDermott of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, Miss Roberta Dzik, Miss Dolores Coleman, Miss Gloria Franchi, and the many part time staff people and volunteers who contributed their energy to Conference preparations, and during the meeting itself.

## RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE

A Conference such as this is as fruitful as the stimulation it provides for specific and concrete action in local communities around the nation. In addition to a general sharing of information and development of ideas by the registrants at the National Conference on Religion and Race, the Conference will be productive in several specific ways.

### Declaration of Conscience

A Drafting Committee has prepared a tentative Declaration of Conscience for the consideration of the delegates. The draft is not for quotation until finally considered and adopted by the delegates. Opportunity to discuss and contribute to the draft will be provided delegates at a special meeting Wednesday evening. The draft will be presented for consideration and adoption at the closing plenary session of the meeting.

### Workgroup Recommendations

In their workgroup consideration of specific topics and challenges facing religious groups and institutions in race relations, delegates are given every encouragement to share and develop specific and concrete recommendations for educational programs and action by religious and interreligious groups on the local and national levels. Recommendations phrased in the workgroups will be developed into a report for the Thursday morning plenary session. Plans have been proposed for future publication of these findings and recommendations.

### Recommendations of Follow Up Committee

For some months, a Committee on Follow Up has been developing ideas and proposals, which could make the Conference the kick off point for more extensive cooperative programs in race relations by religious groups in America. The report of this Committee will be considered by the Conference Steering Committee and presented to the delegates at the Thursday morning Plenary Session.

In addition to this report, the Secretariat and the Committee on Follow Up have taken steps to stimulate and encourage the organization of local interreligious committees in a number of target cities around the country. It has been the hope of the Committee that these local bodies would receive co-sponsorship by the official representative of the major church bodies in their locale, such as the sponsorship given the Chicago Host Committee for this Conference. With such top sponsorship and commitment, the local committees could sponsor meetings which could consider the findings of this Conference, and go on to develop and carry out cooperative action on the local level.

### Race Challenge to Religion

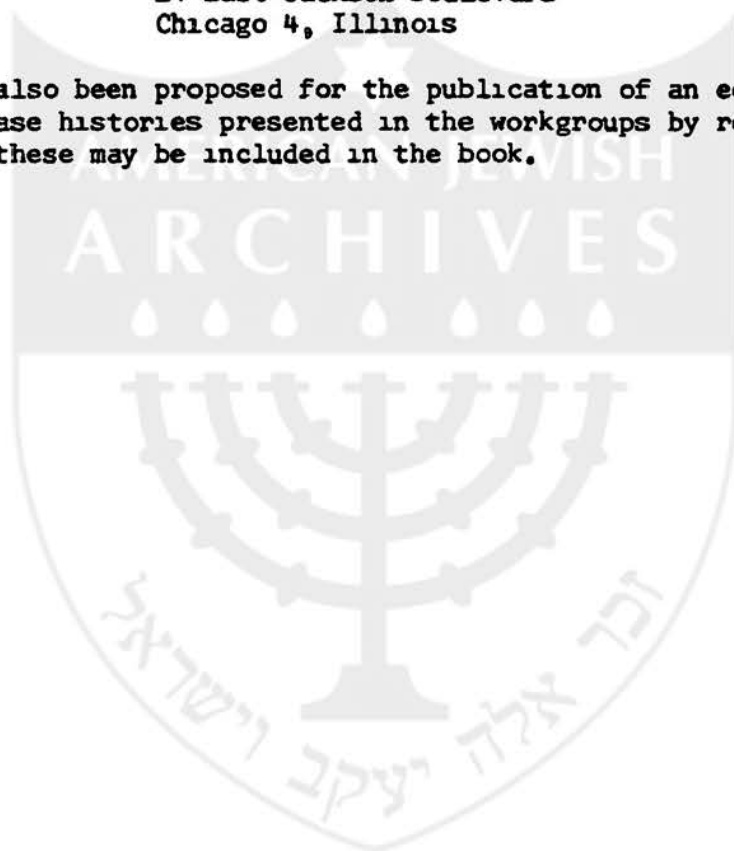
The major papers and results of the National Conference on Religion and Race will be published by Henry Regnery Company, under the title

Race Challenge to Religion. Publication date is March 15, 1963. The book will be available in both hardcover, \$4.95, and paperback form, \$1.65.

This early publication will enable the presentations at the Conference to be used by a variety of church and synagogal groups, and in local follow up around the country. Special discounts on the book are available to the religious and religiously identified groups taking part in the Conference. The publisher is willing to work with religious bodies in the development of special program aids to enable productive use to be made of the book. Representatives of the publisher are available for consultation at the Conference.

Contact     Mr. Lawrence Grow  
                 Henry Regnery Company  
                 14 East Jackson Boulevard  
                 Chicago 4, Illinois

Plans have also been proposed for the publication of an edited compilation of the 36 case histories presented in the workgroups by resource persons. Several of these may be included in the book.







## Workgroups

**Note** Workgroups are open only to regular delegates or registrants. Your workgroup assignment has been indicated on your registration envelope and on your name tag. Every effort has been made to assign registrants to their first workgroup choice, though in some cases, because of overconcentration of certain types of people — institutional administrators for example — or overcrowding, this has not been possible. Registrants are asked to stay in the same workgroup throughout the Conference.

If the National Conference on Religion and Race is to be fruitful, discussion in the workgroups will have to be conducted with candor and concreteness as well as charity. All workgroups have fewer than 25 persons.

The Program Committee has tried to devise workgroup topics which will encourage "coming down to earth to face problems realistically." Conference planners have secured the special assistance of over 100 discussion chairmen, resource leaders and recorders to make delegate discussion easier.

The workgroups are preceded by four concurrent forums. Workgroup subject matter derives from the forum topics. A major paper, given at the forums, will raise and outline some of the leading problems and conflicts religious groups have to come to grips with which are then to be considered in the workgroups. The forum papers are theoretical and analytical. Workgroups are to be concrete and specific. Discussion in the forums following the paper is to be limited to clarifying the problems and challenges raised in the paper and to matters of fact. Other discussion is relegated to the workgroups.

Workgroups are expected to plumb the problem area under consideration in terms of three broad questions:

1. What do we know about the area under discussion, what experiences have we had?
2. What do we need to know, or to learn?
3. What do we do?

Discussion in a particular workgroup may range beyond the specific topic — over the whole of a forum topic for example — but particular concentration is to be placed on the specific object of the workgroup.

Workgroups are encouraged to develop program ideas — both for particular kinds of religious groups, and to be carried out on an interreligious basis. Recommendations coming from the workgroups will be brought before a Conference Plenary Session on Thursday morning and later published.

Note All workgroup rooms are in the Main Wing of the hotel.

FORUM I THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE

Workgroup 1 RACIAL EXCLUSION

Racial Exclusion in congregations and denominations

1a Room 314

Chairman: Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary  
Women's Division of Christian Service  
Department of Christian Social Relations  
The Methodist Church, New York

Resource Mr. Henry Cabirac, Director  
Southern Field Service  
National Catholic Conference for Inter-  
racial Justice, New Orleans

Recorder Mr. James Mason  
Chicago City Missionary Society

1b Room 317

Chairman Rev. Peter J. Kenney, S.S.J.  
Professor of Sociology, St. Joseph's Seminary  
Washington, D.C.

Resource Dr. Lewis Deer, Executive Director  
Church and Community - Department of Christian  
Action and Community Service  
The United Christian Missionary Society  
Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis

Recorder. Mr. Waldemar Roebuck, National Co-Director  
Action for Interracial Understanding  
Third Order of St. Francis, New York

1c Room 329

Chairman. Rev. Lawrence Halvorson,  
Secretary for Human Relations  
Division of American Missions  
National Lutheran Council, Chicago

Resource Dr. Grover Bagby, Director  
Social Action and Human Relations  
The Methodist Church, Los Angeles

Recorder Miss Mary Dolan, Editor, Community  
Friendship House, Chicago

Workgroup 2

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ON MORAL ISSUES

Programs to educate members on the moral issues in race relations (worship and spiritual formation)

2a Room 332

Chairman Most Reverend Joseph H. Hodges  
Bishop of Wheeling

Resource Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Associate Director  
Social Action Commission of Reform Judaism  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations and  
Central Conference of American Rabbis  
New York

Recorder Mr. David Pomeroy, Youth Associate  
United Christian Youth Movement, New York

2b Room 344

Chairman Rabbi Solomon Bernards, Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
New York

Resource: Rev. Andrew Schulze, Executive Secretary  
Lutheran Human Relations Association of America  
Valparaiso

Recorder Mrs. Anna McGarry, Secretary  
National Catholic Conference for Interracial  
Justice, Philadelphia

2c Room 347

Chairman The Rev. Garry Oniki, Associate Secretary  
Racial and Cultural Relations  
Council for Social Action  
United Church of Christ, New York

Resource Rev. Gerard P. Weber, Assistant Pastor  
St. Carthage Parish, Chicago

Recorder Mr. Manheim Shapiro, Director  
Department of Jewish Communal Affairs  
American Jewish Committee, New York



Workgroup 3      USE OF POLICY AND PROGRAM IN DESEGREGATION

Use of national and local policy and programs to desegregate congregations

3a      Room 359

Chairman:    Rev. John Marion, Field Secretary  
Board of Education  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Nashville

Resource:    The Rev. A. Dudley Ward,  
Associate General Secretary  
Division of Human Relations & Economic Affairs  
General Board of Christian Social Concern  
The Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.

Recorder     Mr. William A. Osborne  
Assistant to the President  
St. John's University, Long Island

3b      Room 501

Chairman     Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Director  
Religious Action Center  
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism  
Washington, D.C.

Resource     Dr. Clifford Earle  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., New York

Recorder.    Rev. George Chauncey, First Presbyterian Church  
Danville, Kentucky

3c      Room 529

Chairman.    Rev. Edward J. Duff, S.J., Weston College  
Weston, Massachusetts

Resource     Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, Staff Consultant  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches, New York

Recorder:    Rev. John Hondras, Pastor  
St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church, Chicago

FORUM II      THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE AS INSTITUTIONS  
IN THE COMMUNITY

Workgroup 4      RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AS EMPLOYERS

Religious institutions as employers (hiring policies and  
non-discrimination clauses in construction contracts)

4a      Room 544

Chairman      The Rev. Frederick C. James, Director  
Commission on Social Action  
African Methodist Episcopal Church  
Sumpter, South Carolina

Resource.      Rev. Douglas Still  
Church Federation of Greater Chicago

Recorder:      Mr. Joseph Newman, Chairman  
Ohio Catholic Conference for Interracial  
Justice, Cleveland

4b      Room 547

Chairman:      Rt. Rv. Msgr. George G. Higgins, Director  
Social Action Department  
National Catholic Welfare Conference  
Washington, D.C.

Resource.      Mr. Emanuel Muravchick  
Jewish Labor Committee, New York

Recorder:      Miss Eleanor French, Director  
Christian Social Relations Program  
United Church Women, National Council of Churches  
New York

4c      Room 559

Chairman.      Mr. Harry Fleishman  
American Jewish Committee, New York

Resource      Mr. John Edward White, Staff Representative  
Civil Rights Department  
United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh

Recorder      Mr. Walter Ducey, Executive Director  
Fair Employment Practices Commission  
State of Illinois, Chicago

Workgroup 5      CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE AS ADMINISTRATORS

Church and synagogue as administrators (admission policies, use of purchasing power, use of welfare and other programs to advance equality of opportunity)

5a      Room 601

Chairman      Rev. Ross Coggins, Associate General Secretary  
Christian Life Commission  
Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville

Resource      Rt. Rev. Msgr. Clement H. Kern, Pastor  
Most Holy Trinity Parish, Detroit

Recorder      Rabbi H. Goren Perelmutter  
Temple Isaiah-Israel, Chicago

5b      Room 614

Chairman.      Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph E. Koch  
Director of Catholic Charities, Youngstown

Resource.      Rabbi Eugene Lipman  
Temple Sinai, Washington, D.C.

Recorder      Dr. Tollie L. Caution, Secretary  
Racial Minorities - Home Department  
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church  
New York

5c      Room 629

Chairman      Mr. Sydney C. Orlovsky, Vice President  
Jewish Community Relations Council, Philadelphia

Resource      Very Rev. Msgr. Leo J. Coady  
Director of Charities  
Archdiocese of Washington, D.C.

Recorder      Rev. Thomas Reese, Diocesan Director  
Catholic Charities, Wilmington

Workgroup 6      EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Educational resources of religious institutions (intergroup education in Sunday schools, youth groups, parochial schools, colleges, adult education, seminaries)

6a      Room 632

Chairman.      Dean Martin Harvey, Southern University  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Resource Rev. Eugene P. McManus, S.S.J.  
Specialist in Race Relations  
Josephite Fathers, New Orleans

Recorder Miss Judith Herschcopf, Interreligious Department  
American Jewish Committee, New York

6b Room 644

Chairman Rt. Rev. Msgr. William E. McManus, Superintendent  
Parochial Schools, Chicago

Resource Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, Director  
Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Project  
National Conference of Christians and Jews  
New York

Recorder The Rev. Chester L. Marcus, Secretary for Africa  
Board for World Ministries  
United Church of Christ, New York

6c Room 647

Chairman Mr. Abbot Rosen, Executive Director  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago

Resource Dr. Herman Wornom, General Secretary  
Religious Education Association, New York

Recorder Sister Rose Albert, O.P.  
Dominican College, Racine

FORUM III THE ROLE OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE IN A RACIALLY CHANGING  
COMMUNITY

Workgroup 7 URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Urban neighborhoods (inner city slums, racially changing  
neighborhoods, restricted areas)

7a Room 659

Chairman Rabbi Seymour Cohen, Vice President  
Synagogue Council of America, Chicago

Resource Mr. Floyd H. Agostinelli, Secretary  
Office of Urban Renewal  
Archdiocese of Washington, D.C.

Recorder Dr. Herman H. Long, Chairman  
Department of Race Relations  
Fisk University, Nashville

7b Room 701

Chairman Mr. Edward Marciniak, Executive Director  
Chicago Commission on Human Relations

Resource The Rev. Donald Benedict, General Director  
Chicago City Missionary Society

Recorder. Mr. Walter Zand, Executive Director  
American Jewish Committee, Chicago

7c Room 714

Chairman. Mr. James A. Tillman, Jr., Executive Director  
Greater Minneapolis Interfaith Housing Program

Resource Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein  
Temple KAM, Chicago

Recorder. Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F.  
Professor of Sociology, Alverno College  
Milwaukee

Workgroup 8 SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Suburban neighborhoods

8a Room 717

Chairman Rabbi Irwin M. Blank, Chairman  
Social Action Commission  
Synagogue Council of America, Tenafly, New Jersey

Resource Dr. Paul Mundy, Professor of Sociology  
Loyola University, Chicago

Recorder The Rev. J. Archie Hargraves, Secretary  
Division of Church Extension  
United Church of Christ, New York

8b Room 729

Chairman Mr. John Kearney, Executive Director  
Friendship House, Chicago

Resource Mrs. Stuart Meacham  
National Housing Representative  
American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia

Recorder Rabbi Karl Weiner  
Temple Judea, Skokie, Illinois

8c Room 732

Chairman Rev. John H. Wagner, Executive Director  
Department of Urban Church  
Division of Home Missions  
National Council of Churches, New York

Resource The Rev. William McConaghy, Pastor  
The First Presbyterian Church, Syracuse

Recorder. Dr. John J. O'Connor, Professor of History  
Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Workgroup 9 RURAL AREAS

Rural Areas (migrants, Southern rural areas)

9a Room 747

Chairman Very Rev. Msgr. William Quinn, Executive Secretary  
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers, Chicago

Resource Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Assistant  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Atlanta

Recorder Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Field Representative  
Office of Church and Society  
Board of Christian Education  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Nashville

9b Room 759

Chairman:

Resource Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Director  
National Catholic Rural Life Conference  
Washington, D.C.

Recorder. Rev. Robert Reicher  
Catholic Council on Working Life, Chicago

9c Room 801

Chairman Rabbi Charles Mantinband  
Congregation Bnai Israel, Hattiesburg, Miss.

Resource Dr. E. W. Mueller, Secretary  
Town & Country Office, National Lutheran Council  
Chicago

7b Room 701

Chairman Mr. Edward Marciniak, Executive Director  
Chicago Commission on Human Relations

Resource The Rev. Donald Benedict, General Director  
Chicago City Missionary Society

Recorder. Mr. Walter Zand, Executive Director  
American Jewish Committee, Chicago

7c Room 714

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Recorder Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F.  
Professor of Sociology, Alverno College  
Milwaukee

Workgroup 8 SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Suburban neighborhoods

8a Room 717

Chairman. Rabbi Irwin M. Blank, Chairman  
Social Action Commission  
Synagogue Council of America, Tenafly, New Jersey

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Division of Church Extension  
United Church of Christ, New York

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Chairman Mr. John Kearney, Executive Director  
Friendship House, Chicago

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National Housing Representative  
American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia

Recorder. Rabbi Karl Weiner  
Temple Judea, Skokie, Illinois

8c Room 732

Chairman Rev. John H. Wagner, Executive Director  
Department of Urban Church  
Division of Home Missions  
National Council of Churches, New York

Resource The Rev. William McConaghy, Pastor  
The First Presbyterian Church, Syracuse

Recorder Dr. John J. O'Connor, Professor of History  
Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Workgroup 9 RURAL AREAS

Rural Areas (migrants, Southern rural areas)

9a Room 747

Chairman Very Rev. Msgr. William Quinn, Executive Secretary  
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers, Chicago

Resource Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Assistant  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Atlanta

Recorder. Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Field Representative  
Office of Church and Society  
Board of Christian Education  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Nashville

9b Room 759

Chairman:

Resource Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Director  
National Catholic Rural Life Conference  
Washington, D.C.

Recorder Rev. Robert Reicher  
Catholic Council on Working Life, Chicago

9c Room 801

Chairman Rabbi Charles Mantinband  
Congregation Bnai Israel, Hattiesburg, Miss.

Resource. Dr. E. W. Mueller, Secretary  
Town & Country Office, National Lutheran Council  
Chicago



Recorder Rev. Ralph Duggan, Executive Assistant  
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers, Chicago

FORUM IV THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE TO OTHER COMMUNITY FORCES

Workgroup 10 RELATION TO VOLUNTARY CIVIC GROUPS

Relation to voluntary civic groups and movements (direct action movements, extremist groups, mass media, business groups, fraternal groups, organized labor, minority groups, civil rights organizations)

10a Room 829

Chairman. Rabbi Herman Schaalman  
Temple Emanuel, Chicago

Resource. Dr. Edgar J. Chandler, Executive Vice President  
Church Federation of Greater Chicago

Recorder. Mr. William E. Chiles, Relocation Director  
Office of Urban Renewal, City of Syracuse

10b Room 832

Chairman. Miss Peggy Roach, Social Action Director  
National Council of Catholic Women  
Washington, D.C.

Resource Rev. John Morris, Executive Director  
Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity  
Atlanta

Recorder. Dr. Hans Adler  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago

10c Room 859

Chairman. The Rev. Julian Keiser  
Minister of Social Action & Inner City Work  
Southern California & the Southwest Conference  
of the United Church of Christ, Pasadena

Resource Mr. Edwin Lukas, Director  
Department of National Affairs  
American Jewish Committee, New York

Recorder. Miss Jean Lee Luckey, Secretary  
Department of Christian Friendliness  
Home Mission Society  
American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge

Workgroup 11      RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Relationship between religious groups working for inter-racial justice

11a      Room 245

Chairman      Rev. Raymond Gibbons, Director  
Council for Christian Social Action  
United Church of Christ, New York

Resource      Mr. George Hunton, Executive Secretary Emeritus  
Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Recorder:      Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, Director  
Department of Intercultural Affairs  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York

11b      Room 247

Chairman      Miss Margaret Mealey, Executive Director  
National Council of Catholic Women  
Washington, D.C.

Resource      Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director  
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York

Recorder      Mr. Virgil Border, Executive Director  
National Conference of Christians and Jews  
St. Louis

11c      Room 232

Chairman      Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, Executive Director  
National Conference of Christians and Jews  
Greensboro, North Carolina

Resource      Rev. Edward J. Odom, Jr., Church Secretary  
National Association for the Advancement of  
Colored People, New York

Recorder:      Mr. John Kenna, Information Officer  
President's Commission on Youth Employment  
Washington, D.C.

Workgroup 12      RELATION TO GOVERNMENTAL AND POLITICAL FORCES

Relation of religious groups working for interracial  
justice to governmental and political forces

12a      Room 260

Chairman      Rev. H. Ben Sissel  
Secretary for National Affairs  
Board of Christian Education  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.  
Washington, D.C.

Resource      Mr. Nisson Gross  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago

Recorder      Mr. Clarence Laws, Regional Director  
National Association for the Advancement of  
Colored People, Dallas

12b      Room 301

Chairman      Mr. Morris Laub, Director  
Department of Social Action  
United Synagogue of America, New York

Resource      Mr. William Ryan, Michigan State Representative  
President, Detroit Catholic Labor Conference

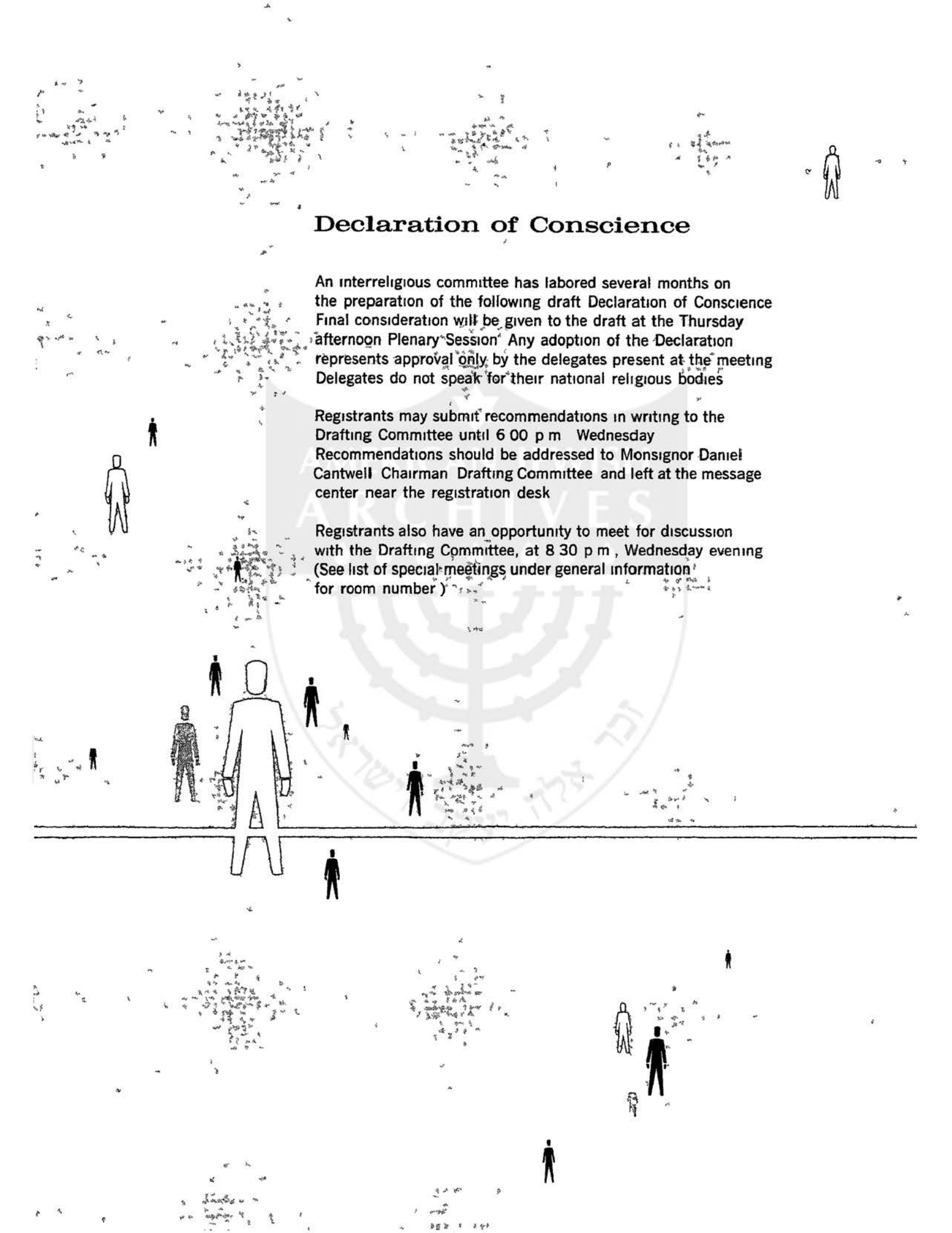
Recorder.      Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Associate Secretary  
Division of Christian Citizenship  
Department of Christian Social Relations  
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church  
Lynchburg, Virginia

12c      Room   Balmoral Room - Second Floor

Chairman      Rev. Eugene J. Boyle, Chaplain  
Catholic Interracial Council of San Francisco

Resource      Rev. James Hamilton, Director  
Washington Office, National Council of Churches

Recorder      Mr. Herbert Berman, Secretary  
Synagogue Council of America, New York

The background of the page features a large, faint watermark of a menorah, a traditional Jewish symbol, centered behind the text. Scattered throughout the page are numerous small, stylized human figures, some standing and some in groups, suggesting a large gathering or assembly. A horizontal line is drawn across the middle of the page, below the first paragraph.

## Declaration of Conscience

An interreligious committee has labored several months on the preparation of the following draft Declaration of Conscience. Final consideration will be given to the draft at the Thursday afternoon Plenary Session. Any adoption of the Declaration represents approval only by the delegates present at the meeting. Delegates do not speak for their national religious bodies.

Registrants may submit recommendations in writing to the Drafting Committee until 6 00 p m Wednesday. Recommendations should be addressed to Monsignor Daniel Cantwell, Chairman, Drafting Committee, and left at the message center near the registration desk.

Registrants also have an opportunity to meet for discussion with the Drafting Committee, at 8 30 p m, Wednesday evening. (See list of special meetings under general information for room number.)

DRAFT -- NOT FOR QUOTATION

RELIGION AND RACE    A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

We have met as members of the great Jewish and Christian faiths held by the majority of the American people, to counsel together concerning the tragic fact of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation in our society. These evils exist in the United States despite our own constitutional guarantees of equal justice under law and despite the imperatives of our Jewish and Christian faiths that God's love is to be extended through us to all men, called to be his children, regardless of race, color or national origin.

Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We desire to eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we have assembled. For this purpose we make our appeal to the consciences of the American people.

This evil has deep roots, it cannot be easily eradicated. While the Declaration of Independence of 1776 did declare "that all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," the Constitution of 1789 did not specifically guarantee all men their unalienable rights. Human slavery was permitted for almost a century, and, when it finally ended, compulsory racial segregation, with its degrading badge of racial inequality, found constitutional sanction even into our own time.

We rejoice over recent evidences of greater wisdom and courage in our national life - notably, the Supreme Court decisions declaring that separate facilities cannot be regarded as equal. However, entrenched patterns of segregation exist everywhere - North and South, East and West - and no one can pretend in the face of them that the spirit or the letter of our laws are practiced and upheld.

But our concern is for the laws of God. We are grieved that Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation constitute a practical denial of belief in God, Who is the Giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, Americans of all religious faiths have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social and private life. And worse still, even our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and fraternal organizations have failed our own religious commitments. We have plainly not lived by the teachings and promises of the faiths we represent.

We confess and repent our own failures. We seek the forgiveness of God our Father Whose supreme law of love we have broken. We seek the forgiveness of all human beings, our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended.

We desire the renewal of a religious conscience among our people as the most effective remedy for this basically moral evil.

We seek a reign of justice, so that voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed, so that public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all without racial barriers, so that equal education, hiring and promotion in industry, the professions and government, the purchase and rental of housing, medical and hospital care will be within reach of all without racial discrimination.

We seek a reign of love, so that the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones, so that racial barriers will be spontaneously eliminated by those who have the power to do so, so that the stranger will be sought and welcomed, so that to every truly religious man a brother in need will become my brother, his cause, my cause,

his rights, my rights, his prison, my prison, his lack of freedom, my lack of freedom.

We seek a reign of courage so that the people of God will make their faith in God their most binding commitment, so that their religious faith becomes the norm by which all human custom, civil law, legal precedent are judged and accepted. In the strength of God, our Father, to join those who suffer in the cause of justice and love becomes indeed blessed. We desire to see our churches and synagogues lead, not follow, to offer an example of justice, fair treatment, initiative and love to other areas of human life.

We seek a reign of interreligious fraternity, so that the kind of cooperation developed at this meeting sets a pattern and encourages similar undertakings in the cities and towns across the land.

We seek a reign of prayer, so that our God is praised as the Lord Whom we all worship, before Whom all human idols fall, Who gives us fraternity, Who communicates to us justice, to Whom we are all responsible no matter how high our position.

We solemnly declare our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men, our brothers, under the One God, our Father. We solemnly dedicate ourselves to cooperative action in making this commitment a vital factor in our civil, political, professional, commercial, social, private and religious lives - particularly in the critical areas of voting, education, employment, housing, hospitalization, recreation, relief and welfare services, and in all facilities and places of public necessity and accommodation, whether publicly or privately owned and operated.

We call upon all the American people to pray perseveringly and act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the



historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of our Father's name, to proceed with the zeal and freedom of the children of God, to make all things ready for the Day of the Lord.





## Committees of the Conference

POLICY COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

FOLLOW UP COMMITTEE

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

BIBLIOGRAPHIC, AUDIO VISUAL COMMITTEE

DRAFTING COMMITTEE

CHICAGO HOST COMMITTEE

FINANCE COMMITTEE

## POLICY COMMITTEE

The Conference Steering Committee has named this committee as the group responsible for the conduct of the actual meeting of the National Conference on Religion and Race. Decisions as to procedures and conduct of the meeting are theirs.

Chairman. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President  
Morehouse College, Atlanta

The Right Reverend Bishop Germanos of Synadon  
Bishop of the VII Archdiocesan District  
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America

Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan  
Archbishop of Atlanta

Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman  
Temple Israel, St. Louis

Bishop B. Julian Smith, Presiding Bishop  
First Episcopal District  
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Rabbi Philip Hiat, Executive Vice President  
Synagogue Council of America

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., Assistant Director  
Social Action Department  
National Catholic Welfare Conference

Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director  
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

## STEERING COMMITTEE

Representatives of each of the participating religious and religiously identified organizations attended several planning meetings. They approved the following Steering Committee to be more immediately responsible for the planning and conducting of the Conference.

Chairman. Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director  
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Arnold Aronson  
Director of Program Planning and Evaluation  
National Community Relations Advisory Council

Rabbi Solomon Bernards  
Director of Interreligious Department  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Rabbi Irwin M. Blank, Chairman  
Social Action Commission  
Synagogue Council of America

Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Associate Director  
Social Action Commission of Reformed Judaism  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of  
American Rabbis

The Rev. Will Campbell, Executive Director  
Southern Project  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell, Chaplain  
Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

Dennis Clark, Executive Secretary  
Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Fletcher Coates, Director  
Office of Information  
National Council of Churches

Rev. John F. Cronin, Assistant Director  
Social Action Department  
National Catholic Welfare Conference

Dr. Victor T. Glass, Associate Secretary  
Division of Missions  
Home Mission Board  
Southern Baptist Convention

Rabbi Philip Hiat, Executive Vice President  
Synagogue Council of America

Dr. Frederick C. James, Director  
Commission of Social Action  
The African Methodist Episcopal Church

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Alternate.  
The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker  
Executive Director  
Southern Christian Leadership  
Conference

Dr. Herman H. Long, Chairman  
Department of Race Relations  
Fisk University

Rev. John Morris, Executive Director  
Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity

Alternate  
William Stringfellow  
Ellis, Stringfellow & Patton  
New York

Dr. Julius Schatz  
Director of Community Service  
American Jewish Congress

Rev. H. B. Sissel  
Secretary for National Affairs  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary  
Women's Division of Christian Service  
Department of Christian Social Relations  
The Methodist Church

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department  
American Jewish Committee

Dr. Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary  
The Christian Life Commission  
Southern Baptist Convention

The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Executive Secretary  
Christian Citizenship  
Department of Christian Social Relations  
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church

Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Secretary  
Racial and Cultural Relations  
Council for Christian Social Action  
United Church of Christ

Representing Chicago Host Committee:

Honorable James B. Parsons, Executive Chairman  
Chicago Host Committee

Dr. Edgar J. Chandler, Executive Vice President  
Church Federation of Greater Chicago

John A. McDermott, Executive Director  
Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

Rabbi Irving Rosenbaum, Executive Director  
Chicago Board of Rabbis

#### Consultants

Mrs. Edith Macy, Director  
Religious Resources Program  
National Urban League

Rev. Edward J. Odom, Jr., Church Secretary  
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

#### PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The Program Committee has been responsible for thinking through the theme of the National Conference on Religion and Race, for the recommendation of personnel, and for the mechanics of the forum-workgroup process.

Chairman Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department  
American Jewish Committee

Arnold Aronson  
Director of Program Planning and Evaluation  
National Community Relations Advisory Council

Rabbi Solomon Bernards  
Director of Interreligious Department  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

The Rev. Will Campbell, Executive Director  
Southern Project  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Dennis Clark, Executive Secretary  
Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Donald Farrell  
National Council of Catholic Men

Rev. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J.  
Department of Sociology  
Fordham University

Dr. Eugene Fontinell  
Queens College

Rabbi Philip Hiat, Executive Vice President  
Synagogue Council of America

Harold T. Hunton, Chief  
Equal Employment Opportunity  
New York Air Force Contract Management District

Dr. Nathan Lander  
Synagogue Council of America

John Lassoe, Jr.  
Department of Christian Social Relations  
National Council of Episcopal Churches

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director  
Department of Racial And Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Secretary  
Racial and Cultural Relations  
Council for Christian Social Action  
United Church of Christ

#### Consultants

Henry Cabirac, Director  
Southern Field Service  
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director  
Southern Regional Council

Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President  
Potomac Institute, Inc.

#### FOLLOW UP COMMITTEE

How best to make the Conference of lasting effect, how to capitalize on the enthusiasm and ideas generated by the meeting, how to extend the impact of the discussions into local communities and local congregations these were the questions assigned to the Follow Up Committee. With the assistance of committee personnel efforts were launched to assist the organization of a dozen local city top-flight interreligious committees which would serve as pilot projects for interreligious cooperation on race relations based on the findings of the National Conference on Religion and Race. The committee has also developed a proposal for continued follow up which will be considered by the Steering Committee during the Conference, and reported to the Delegates on Thursday morning.

Chairman Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Executive Secretary  
Christian Citizenship  
Department of Christian Social Relations  
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church



Arnold Aronson  
Director of Program Planning and Evaluation  
National Community Relations Advisory Council

Rabbi Irwin M. Blank, Chairman  
Social Action Commission  
Synagogue Council of America

Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Assistant Director  
Social Action Commission of Reformed Judaism  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of  
American Rabbis

Dr. Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary  
Division of Christian Action  
Board of Christian Education  
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

The Rev. Will D. Campbell, Executive Director  
Southern Project  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Dennis Clark, Executive Secretary  
Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Dr. Victor T. Glass, Associate Secretary  
Division of Missions  
Home Mission Board  
Southern Baptist Convention

Rev. Lawrence W. Halvorson, Secretary  
Human Relations Department  
National Lutheran Council

Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Director  
Religious Action Center  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Dr. Alfred S. Kramer  
Staff Consultant  
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, Director  
Department of Intercultural Affairs  
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Rev. Jack M. MacLeod, Assistant Secretary  
Office of Information Services  
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

John A. McDermott, Executive Director  
Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

Rev. Philip Marquard, O.F.M., Executive Secretary  
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Council for Christian Social Action  
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Martin Work, Executive Director  
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Under the guidance, and with the assistance of the Public Relations Committee, an extensive program was developed to extend the impact of the meeting through the religious and secular public media of the United States. Through the good offices of the National Council of Churches, Chairman Mr. Fletcher Coates and two other staff members of the NCC Office of Information are helping to staff the Conference Press Room.

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Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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Staff to the Committee

Bernard Lyons  
Bernard Lyons Associates  
Public Relations Counsel to the Conference

Lee Feldman  
Public Relations Counsel to the Chicago Host Committee

Additional staff are being provided the Press Room, by religious agencies in Chicago.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC, AUDIO VISUAL COMMITTEE

The Bibliographic, Audio Visual Committee had the assignments of selecting and arranging appropriate exhibit materials, and of preparing a handbook of resources useful to religious leaders concerned with education and action to improve race relations.

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#### DRAFTING COMMITTEE

The task of the Drafting Committee was to prepare a draft of a Declaration of Conscience which might be considered by the delegates and registrants at the Conference.

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Synagogue Council of America

Rev. Joseph H. Evans, Moderator  
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Dr. Robert Nelson  
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#### CHICAGO HOST COMMITTEE

The Chicago Host Committee was formed to maximize the contribution which the Conference can make to promote interracial justice and to improve interreligious relations in the Chicago area. The Chicago Host Committee invited 500 lay and religious leaders from the Chicago Metropolitan area to attend Conference Plenary and Forum sessions. The special Wednesday night reception is sponsored by the Chicago Host Committee.

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## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES FINANCE COMMITTEE

Special appreciation is due two men who undertook to help the Conveners of the Conference meet the budget necessary for the National Conference on Religion and Race.

Donald Graham, Vice Chairman  
Board of Directors  
Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Company

Irving J. Fain, Chairman  
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference  
of American Rabbis

Mr. Graham also headed an effort to raise the funds necessary for special activities of the Chicago Host Committee.



BALDWIN: I'm talking now about the role of the Negro and what seems to me to be at stake is that somehow the Negro contains a key to something about America which no one has yet found out about — which no one has yet faced. Contains maybe the key to life. I don't know. I don't want to talk about it in such mythical terms.

My point is that there is a tremendous resistance on the part of the entire public to know whatever it is to deal with whatever this image means to them.

HENTOFF: I wonder how many doors that key unlocks.

Langston Hughes has mentioned the urge to whiteness among some Negro writers. This leads of course to assimilationist novels, but I wonder if it doesn't also lead, without complete realization on the part of some Negro writers, politicians, and others, to a desire for equality within the white value structure. Has there been enough questioning of this within Negro writing?

BALDWIN: I feel that there's been far too little.

HENTOFF: In other words, equal for what?

BALDWIN: Equal for what? Yes. You know, there's always been a very great question in my mind of why in the world — after all I'm living in this society and I've had a good look at it — what makes you think I want to be accepted?

MISS HANSBERRY: Into this.

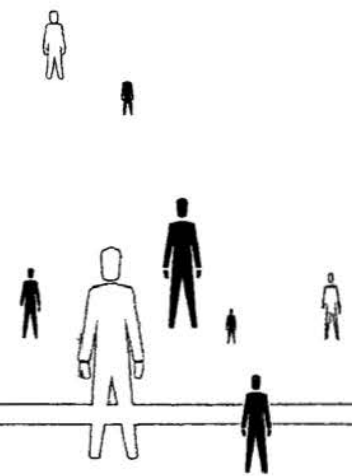
BALDWIN: Into this.

MISS HANSBERRY: Maybe something else.

BALDWIN: It's not a matter of acceptance or tolerance. We've got to sit down and rebuild this house.

MISS HANSBERRY: Yes, quickly.

BALDWIN: Very quickly, and we have to do it together.



—from a symposium broadcast from radio station WBAI FM in New York City and first printed in the summer 1961 issue of **Cross Currents**. The participants are Nat Hentoff, the moderator, a former editor of **Downbeat** and a writer on folk art; James Baldwin, novelist and essayist, author of **Nobody Knows My Name** (Dial), **Go Tell It on the Mountain** (Universal), **Notes of a Native Son** (Beacon); Lorraine Hansberry, playwright, author of **A Raisin in the Sun**.

A D V A N C E   T E X T

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE  
January 14-17, 1963  
Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE RACIALLY CHANGING COMMUNITY

by

DAN W. DODSON  
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I

The Nature of the Change

The most continuously significant confrontation to face organized religion on the domestic scene during the past two decades is undoubtedly that of the racially changing community. The last World War, the mechanization of agriculture, the use of rubber for transportation and the septic tank have produced a revolution in neighborhood design. Marginal populations have been drawn away from the farms and located in the heart of major cities. The suburbs have expanded enormously to accommodate the middle class, largely white population, which has been expelled from cities.

The need for cheap, unskilled labor, plus Castro's revolution, has accounted for the emigration of large numbers of Spanish-speaking peoples from both the Caribbean coasts and from Mexico. Like the Negro population of rural America which has been the principal source of domestic migration to the cities, these

newcomers have tended to settle in urban areas with the exception of those who are seasonally employed as migrant laborers on farms

The extent of the revolution brought about by these changes can be estimated when it is understood that between 1950 and 1960 the racial composition of the following states changed as follows:

Table I

Change in Negro Population of Select States 1950-1960

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Change</u>
New York	918,191	1,417,511	499,320
California	462,172	883,861	421,689
Michigan	442,296	717,581	275,285
Illinois	645,980	1,037,470	391,490
New Jersey	318,565	514,875	196,310
Ohio	513,072	786,097	273,025

New York State now has the largest Negro population of any of the fifty states, and Illinois is among the top five in rank of Negro inhabitants, exceeded only by New York, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana. The cities with the largest Negro concentrations by rank are New York City (1,087,931), Chicago (812,637), Philadelphia (529,240), Detroit (482,223), Washington, D C (411,737), Los Angeles (334,916), and Baltimore (326,589) So it is evident that marginal populations have moved away from rural into large metropolitan areas, and from the South to the North, West and East

Within the cities this indicates that the trend has been for the middle income whites to move to the suburbs leaving such vacancies to be replaced by an influx of Negroes and Spanish-speaking emigrants For the most part the former group is prominent because of distinctive color Consequently it is not possible for them to escape detection by learning the manners and customs of the dominant group as did the previous minorities. Neither is it possible to conceal the plight of such persons among them who suffer the trauma of slum shock and degradation



occasioned by the discrimination and prejudice evidenced toward them. The worst social problems America faces are now in the heart of her cities--the show places of the country. Social problems are no longer hidden on the plantations of the Mississippi Delta.

This transformation of the city has also led to rapid, and sometimes cataclysmic changes within neighborhoods. One settlement house with which this speaker worked was located in such an area. Its leadership thought there might be as many as ten percent Puerto Ricans within its environs. Our study indicated that actually it was already 45 percent, so rapidly had the change come about. In the suburbs the change in racial composition has been more diffuse, but nevertheless pronounced. As Negroes acquire middle class status, they tend to migrate suburbanward also. The disturbances in Levittown, Pennsylvania and Deerfield Park, Illinois indicate the kinds of resistance which has been shown to this avant garde

## II

### Issues in Community Change

An examination of the issues in change suggest some of the problems which confront churches in dealing with it. Among these are

(1) All communities are constantly changing. That is referred to here is either the rate of change or the nature of the change. Sometimes it is both.

(2) A community with a well regulated rate of change develops a power structure, norms of behavior are achieved and newcomers are assimilated into this milieu. This means that the community moves to solve its problems through integrative processes rather than through conflict. However, when a community changes quickly or the change is radical in nature, the power group arms to defend itself, with the consequence that new arrivals must necessarily move through conflict to make their voices heard in decision-making processes. This is thought to be un-Christian and disruptive in most instances.

(3) The established churches of the communities-in-change were built and are operated by the power or status groups. These frequently feel that their



institutions belong to the congregation rather than to God. Hence, the local congregation has difficulty in dealing with the confrontations which accompany new viewpoints. The denomination or faith formulates inspiring statements relating to equality and spiritual fraternity. But these statements are ideals in the abstract and are difficult to apply concretely when the community is in crisis. Too often significant religious leaders are reduced to the position of the pastors during the crisis in Little Rock, i e , to call a prayer meeting and to pray that God's Will be done. A study of one denomination indicated that the stronger the statement prepared by the hierarchy of the persuasion, the less it was subscribed to by parishioners'

(4) When neighborhoods begin to alter, it is generally those with children which are most affected. Families with children are first to leave, and families with children the first to arrive. This exchange has two significant implications. The first is that erroneous impressions about the extent of change are gathered, simply because children are out and about more than are adults. Peak demands are placed upon institutional facilities for service, thus sharpening the contrast between those who have access to services and those who do not. Secondly, the differential of change leaves in a community those who are least adaptable to change, and who possess institutional control to keep it from happening. Instances are numerous in which a church was not able to change its membership policies until some patriarch who was extremely influential was deceased. By this time, all too often, the institution had declined too far ever to be resurrected.

(5) Other things being equal, those populations who do not patronize public schools stay longer in a changing community than those who depend upon these facilities. In a dispute in the Bedford Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn concerning sending white children to school in an all-Negro neighborhood, the district superintendent of schools reported that there were more white children attending non-public schools within walking distance of the junior high school in dispute, than there were white children in all the public schools of the district. The

same pattern was discovered in New Rochelle's Washington and Columbus elementary schools. Whyte observed the same situation in the Rittenhouse Square section of Philadelphia and the Bolton Hill district of Baltimore. It is not that these religious and private schools discriminate against Negroes, but rather that new residents are either not religiously or economically attracted to them

(6) Another characteristic of rapid community change is that incoming groups bring their indigenous institutions with them. Great difficulty in sharing existing voluntary agencies, including the church, accompanies these attitudes. Many congregations have "opened their doors" and extended welcomes only to find that the incoming group was not attracted to their kind of fellowship. This has been a source of disappointment to many congregations. However, it should be no surprise. One of the problems of such incoming groups is their distrust of the motives of the dominant group. Too often proffered services and a welcome are really thinly veiled attempts to proselytize newcomers, using the resources of established services as "bait." Possibly, both evangelical faiths, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, serve as valid illustrations. For example, the Roman Catholic group, which in the East has fewer Negro adherents, makes an all-out drive for the Negroes and neglects its Spanish parishioners, for whom it has a larger responsibility. The Protestants on the other hand, appear anxious to serve the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, and neglect their major constituency, the Negroes. Be that as it may, many of both persuasions are in conflict concerning how best to fulfill their Christian mandate without having their efforts misunderstood as attempts at conversion.

(7) As neighborhoods become heterogeneous and the values of the dominant group become threatened, there is the tendency for such a group to withdraw. Some go to the suburbs. Others use voluntary associations as refuges in which to evade meaningful encounters with those of other races. Among these voluntary associations, the church has perhaps become the most respectable "escape" in America. It is not possible to equate such withdrawals or evasions with the moral and intellectual

demands of the present Space Age of which we are a part Suburban communities likewise attempt to shield themselves from newcomers whom they consider to be a threat Not only are Negroes, but others of different heritages, excluded from certain communities In this regard, Jesus Christ - himself a Jew, would not be a welcome citizen of communities such as Grosse Point, Michigan or Bronxville, New York This attempt to escape responsibilities relates again to the problems of involvement and basic values. Studies indicate that the vast majority of the middle class group in an average community will attempt to sit on the side lines when controversy arises and not implicate themselves unless forced to do so In fact, one of the most difficult problems in intergroup relations is how to maneuver such groups into positions where they must take a stand on controversial issues This was the major issue in Little Rock, and it is the greater issue in the race relations of the average community Tumin's study of Gaston County, North Carolina indicated clearly that there was a small group of whites which was very much opposed to integration and a comparable group which was very much in favor The vast middle group, however, was not about to get involved if it could avoid it.

It is easier to move on to the suburb, or hide in the church than it is to come to meaningful confrontation with differences, and make one's influence felt in the processes of conflict through which new relationships are forged

(8) Most communities in change feel that such change downgrades them. This is particularly true of suburban neighborhoods. Almost invariably the first settlers have more status than do the newcomers A consideration of almost any well-known suburb such as Scarsdale, New York, Shak-r Heights, Ohio or Westport, Connecticut reveals that when the Jews arrive, the neighborhood considers itself to be starting a downhill slide When the Negroes come, they are positive of it In past years the same arguments were used concerning those of Irish, Italian or Polish backgrounds

The core problem of the discriminatory aspects of race relations would seem to be contained in a single popular word - "snootiness." It is agreed that a community without a status ordering would flounder in dealing with its problems

However, this agreement leads us to pose the pertinent question, "What are the criteria for status in America?" We should examine such pedestrian values as implied by length of residence in a given community, religious affiliation, racial background or social class, and ask ourselves if service to a community should not be the real measure of worth. The substitution of service for "snootiness" could immeasurably enrich the lives of all community members, both those with deep roots in its affairs and those who have had time only to grow tap roots.

(9) The next of the issues posed is that of power. Most communities in change go through a power fight. In this writer's judgment this aspect of American life has been neglected. Could not evidence be gathered to support the hypothesis that it is impossible for a youth who is a member of a group which is powerless in a community to mature without some trauma to his individuality because of the anomalous position of his group in the community? Without power one feels himself of little worth. One of the great attractions of our religion is that it teaches the humblest that he has power because he is a child of God. Hence, regardless of how impotent he is otherwise, there is some self-respect left. However, Adler's theory that people who felt compromised in their potency tended to overcompensate by aggression in order to overcome their limitations is, perhaps, only half correct. They also resign in apathy. The mass apathy of the slum dwellers today is mute testimony to the powerlessness they feel.

It would not be hard to make a case that the great advances in race relations within the past two decades are not due to what we have done in the intergroup and religious fields, but rather due to the fact that Negroes have moved from the South and now hold a political balance of power in the states listed at the beginning of this statement. These are states in which the two political parties are about evenly divided and are key states in political elections. Hence the minority group holds veto power over who is going to capture and hold office. This is one way of securing leverages to power. Law is another. The great legal decisions have shored up civil rights, also. They have strengthened the recognition of the change of

power relations within the groups. If one believes, however, that people's rights are respected merely because they are human beings, but without power, he should look at the sad state of the migrant laborers. Without power, i.e., without the ballot, they are exploited and pushed from pillar to post. Residence laws discriminate against them in securing relief and harassment of them almost becomes the norm. Newburgh, New York is perhaps the outstanding symbol of this in the North. Numerous evidences of it abound in the Southwest and West.

It has already been indicated that the dominant group in a community tries to work through integrative processes. This integrative approach to the powerless in the past has been aimed at the more intelligent, alienating them in their sentiments and sympathies from the groups of which they were a part, getting them to take stock in the great mythologies of the American Dream, and making them ashamed of their heritage. Ultimately they were to be transmuted into so-called "Ideal Americans." This meant the constant siphoning off of the bright ones, still leaving the residual group to stew in its own problems. Slums are a monument to this kind of action. They stand as an institutionalized part of every great American city.

As another evidence of our great humanitarian motivations, we have moved out both at home and abroad to serve certain populations, reasoning that if they were sufficiently served in Egypt, as it were, they would not launch out in search of a Promised Land. But service creates dependency, and is in fact a tranquilizer. The great outpouring of service here and abroad is a dominant power group's way of trying to hold tenable its position, and at the same time indoctrinate the world with its value system.

With these vast concentrations of marginal population in the inner cities of the megalopolises, we are fast approaching the situation faced by many past civilizations. Today, there are estimated to be a million more people living in the city slums of America than on all of its farms. There are estimated to be a million more marginal people on farms who may yet migrate. Past civilizations



found it easier to keep these marginal people amused rather than to integrate them purposively into the common life of their society. The lesson of history should be illuminating to us. Such attrition of resources brought about their downfall. Our future is yet to be determined.

Integration into the common life of the community is different for the Negro and certain of the Spanish-speaking population than it was for past groups which have already been assimilated into American life. The difference is by color. When the intelligent Negro youth is caught up in these processes characterized, and is transmuted, his limits are still circumscribed, because his color stands out as a badge of identity. He finds himself rejected because of the way he looks, not because of what he is. For him other measures must be employed to take the place of this integrative process. One effective substitute lies in the process of taking power. It should be remembered that power has to be taken. It cannot be bestowed. Then the powerless take power, conflict is inevitable. This is anathema to most religiously-oriented people. Most of them believe that religion and love go together and that conflict is something evil. They find themselves to be ambivalent. They would like to see the "little man" succeed yet they fear the threat to their own preferential position if too much power is wrested from them.

The church is remiss in not making more demonstrable the fact that there is power in moral position, as well as in being a human being if based on thoughtful premises. Church related people could find true spiritual satisfactions in observing and being a part of this process. There is nothing more exhilarating than to see people taking the first fumbling steps toward freedom, they are reaffirming one of our greatest faiths, namely that all men cherish freedom and chafe under oppression. To witness groups taking power and forcing vested interests to take into account minority voices in communal decision making is to watch democracy working at its best. Yet, most of us stand in the middle of such goodness and do not attempt to comprehend it. Some feel threatened, so oppose it.

(10) Most communities in change are characterized by a high degree of physical mobility. One inner-city public elementary school known to this author

must enroll 106 children for every initial 100 on the roll in order to keep a constant enrollment. Yet most agencies including the church, operate programs for these and migrants in general, as if they were stable populations

### III

#### Some Things to Do

At the expense of being misunderstood, it seems worth mentioning some efforts which dedicated people could make in meeting the challenges of changing communities. The following are suggested

(1) The church must continue to try to bring society to judgment on this issue of racism. It is man's most dangerous myth. Sciences and morality are converging in their agreement that no one race of the world has a superior capacity. Or stated more positively, "All groups have the capacities to become what any present group now is." From a spiritual point of view, the imperative is the recognition that all men are brothers, and not that one group constitutes a threat to another.

This issue is pertinent not only to the problems of Negro-White or Asiatic-Occidental. It includes theories of race which can be applied to whomever one decides to dislike, as Hitler demonstrated. In this regard Christians need to concern themselves more with this curious thread of anti-Semitism which runs like a low-grade infection in the body politic. It reappears every time stress occurs and resistance is lowered. Where in our religion is this damnable virus carried? How can it be eliminated? Concern about the ideology of race should be a supreme anxiety to all religious denominations.

(2) Show interest in the well-being of newcomers for reasons other than to entice them to join a particular fellowship. Every professing Christian, supposedly, is under obligation to witness to the faith within him. How that faith is interpreted, however, can make a large difference. "Rice Christians" have demonstrated the inherent difficulties when people are made to compromise their values in order to receive assistance from others



(3) Help congregations re-examine their prejudices. When communities are in change all members are brought to significant confrontation. This is a teachable moment. It is the time when interpretation can have the most meaning. There is little value in having nice study groups about race in middle class suburban ghettos which are "lily white." Values really emerge when a community is in conflict. Opportunities, even though they may be pregnant with discord, should be welcomed as touchstones to test the validity of our commitments. Will they prove to be of sufficient worth to produce fellowship across the lines of difference?

(4) Try to strengthen the civil rights of all. One of the great undertakings facing our society is that of the completion of undergirding the so-called human rights with civil law, in this way creating stronger civil rights. Civil rights are admittedly only the first mile, the forced mile, in intergroup relations. It is the necessary first step, however.

(5) Intervene in neighborhood panic. Many fine things have been done by different groups to try to prepare communities for change. Some undoubtedly have had a gainful impact. Many are of the belief, however, that it is impossible to prepare a community for change. Nothing significant happens until the community is significantly confronted. Some groups have been effective in allaying the panic which has played a community into the clutches of the block buster real estate sharks. Every congregation can inform itself as to progressions through which communities go when they are in the throes of confrontation, and prepare itself for the eventuality when it comes home to them.

(6) The majority of communities have not been integrated by great petitions and consensus of large bodies, but rather by a small action group—the Gideon's dozen. One does not need the consensus of a large group to desegregate a community. All he needs is to find someone who wishes to sell his house, and is willing to sell it to a Negro family, someone else who is Negro who wishes to buy, and the money with which to finance the deal. It is unrealistic to expect large bodies such as church congregations to make significant moves through consensus

The most that dedicated members can hope for is autonomy enough within the fellowship to act as described above, without ostracism from the fellowship.

(7) Fight anomie. A significant aspect of the community in change is that the norms of behavior become blurred and equivocal. The controls of the old group are wavering and those of the new have not yet been established. The church has no more significant role than that of "shoring up" the perimeters of authority, in order that the youth of the community may at all times have a clear perspective of the norms. Surely this is a place where all religious groups have more in common than there are differences among them. The changing community, and especially the one in the inner city is generally the older community. New groups with their differing population of children to be educated, their lower economic status, which frequently produces the greatest demands upon the communal facilities, find themselves taking second best. If people are ever to learn to live together amicably, it is going to be in these mixed neighborhoods. Yet it is precisely here that there is the tendency to have the poorest facilities available to make this satisfactory social compound. In such areas are found the oldest schools, the least able teachers (the novitiates and superannuates), antiquated street lighting, the fewest police per capita and spasmodic garbage collection. It is as if the city fathers anticipate a change to lower socio-economic status and consequently prod the neighborhood along the road to its prophetic destiny.

How to keep firm, clear and unequivocal images of what the perimeters of authority are in a changing community is one of our chief challenges.

(8) Emphasize more social action to complement service. In our era of conformity this is not easy. Social science, in recent years, has come to the realization that one cannot separate personality from social structure. One of the most neglected aspects of social development is that we have preoccupied ourselves with the changing personality of mankind and have not spent adequate time changing his afferent structures. It may be more important to help an individual get out of a slum than it is to serve him in a slum. It is more useful to help the

minority person get a job than it is to provide him with relief. It is more germane to make certain that the child of minority people can use all public facilities than it is to provide counsellors to "tinker with their psyches" in order to remove the trauma to self perception stemming from powerlessness. It may be more important to break up de facto school segregation than it is to have more special services in the schools. All these are social action jobs. They are not challenges of service in any traditional way. This the church must recognize and make proper provisions for.

#### IV

##### The Prospect

In the years ahead, the church is to be confronted as at few times in her history. The issue is whether she has dynamic enough to hurdle the barriers of race and social class in order to effectively bind this nation together in one spiritual community, or whether, lacking such impetus, these masses who are now congregating in our cities, who are rejected because of class and race, will despair that such identities can ever be achieved and turn to other ideologies. Already the Muslims have told them that the Christian philosophy of love, forbearance and patience provides the rationale for their servitude. Now churches have the choice of either bringing their memberships to judgment on these aforementioned issues or being brought to judgment themselves by a world segment anxious for definitive action. Changing communities offer concrete testing grounds for such action.

# Interracial News Service

A DIGEST OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS  
BI MONTHLY \$2.50 FOR TWO YEARS

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NUMBER 1

## RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS DENOMINATIONAL STATEMENTS, 1961-1963

From time to time this department has published compilations of statements by denominations regarding various aspects of racial and cultural relations. In the past these compilations have carried statements up to and including the year 1960.

Because of continuing requests for this service, the editors of *INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE* are devoting this issue to such a compilation of statements for the years 1961 through 1963. Because of space limitations, it has been necessary to excerpt carefully the pertinent sections of the statements for inclusion in this collection. Also, in order to show the wide range of denominations and their related agencies speaking officially on this subject, we have carried only the most current statements adopted by each denomination.

If full copies of any of these statements, or statements prior to 1961 are needed, it is suggested that the denominations be contacted directly. Addresses of the denominations may be obtained from the *Yearbook of American Churches* for 1964 or from the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y., 10027.

All denominational bodies which are members of the National Council of Churches were contacted for statements. The failure to include any particular statement is due to lack of information concerning its existence. In some cases no statement has been issued during the period covered by this compilation.

### THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF AMERICA

[The following editorial was reported in lieu of any official statement.]

#### *Emancipation of the White Man*

there is no question that the fight for social justice to Negro citizens must be fought on two fronts, and the less obvious but more decisive battle is that which is being waged, or should be waged, in the conscience of white men and women who must first rid themselves of the accumulated racial prejudice of the past centuries before a worthy solution to the problem can be effected.

A full century has passed since the Gettysburg address and the Emancipation of Negro slaves.

It is now time for the total emancipation of white men and women and children from the rusty chains of their own unchristian racial prejudice and intolerance (*The Armenian Church*, a monthly published by the Diocese of the Armenian Church in America, September, 1963.)

### BAPTIST BODIES AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION May 1963

#### a. The Church and Racial Tensions

We reaffirm our stand that not only should all American Baptist churches be open to all followers of Jesus Christ regardless of their race but that we should earnestly and actively seek to win all unchurched persons within our community to Christ and to the fellowship of the church. We reaffirm our belief that all persons should be given the opportunity to develop the knowledge and skills needed for church leadership and that all positions of leadership within the local church and on area and national levels should be open on the basis of qualification without regard to race.

#### b. Civil Rights

##### (1) Voting Rights

The universal right of a qualified citizen to vote is one of the most cherished bases of our democracy. To deny a citizen the right to vote solely because of his race, creed, color or national origin is contrary to our democratic principles and violates our Christian concept of oneness under God. We, therefore, urge the enactment of appropriate federal and state laws to assure the equal and unhindered right to qualify, register, and vote.

##### (2) Education

We urge the Federal Government to make available technical and financial assistance to aid public school districts which encounter unusual difficulties in the process of desegregation in compliance with the Constitution.

##### (3) Civil Rights Commission

We urge the continuation and strengthening of the Civil Rights Commission until such time that the President and Congress determine that no major constitutional violation of civil rights exists.

#### c. Employment

We commend our denominational agencies for their progress in fair, nondiscriminatory employment practices. These agencies have set an enviable standard for our churches and all our constituency. We urge them to continued effort in this direction.

We urge our local churches to adopt nondiscriminatory employment practices as their policy and to implement them when engaging pastoral and professional leaders. It is both right and reasonable for the church to engage all staff on the basis of experience, training, and competency, and not race. Local churches should recognize that they may challenge and set the standard for employment practices in their community and in industry, commerce and municipal agencies by their example. We commend all employers who have already adopted non-discriminatory practices.

We urge local churches as corporate bodies to exercise their influence to secure local, state and federal fair employment practices legislation. We urge American Baptist laymen to exercise their faith by using all their persuasion to introduce and establish just and equitable employment practices.

We strongly urge the General Council and those responsible for securing hotel and meeting hall facilities for annual and other meetings of the American Baptist Convention and its boards and departments, to request that the employment practices of those responsible for these facilities adhere to the principles of fair play in hiring personnel for the various categories of service, without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin.

#### d. Housing

Believing that this is God's world, and accepting all that his creation and sovereignty imply, we believe it incompatible with Christian teachings and beliefs to deny housing to any on the basis of race.

We urge that our fellowship champion open occupancy through legislation and personal practice, that local churches urge their members to work in their community to accomplish the following:



(1) Encourage church members to list their houses with real estate dealers who have adopted nondiscriminatory practices

(2) Encourage laymen to use their influence as Christians and businessmen to the end that mortgage loans will not be denied to any person because of race

(3) Organize neighborhood and civic groups dedicated to dealing realistically and openly with racial change in a community

(4) Urge newspapers, chambers of commerce PTAs and ministerial groups to advocate open occupancy

(5) Publicize the fact that property values need not decline as racial change occurs

(6) Encourage real estate brokers to adopt nondiscriminatory practices in the sale and rental of housing

(7) Introduce and encourage legislation making discrimination illegal in the sale and rental of housing

We urge our churches, institutions and agencies to make certain that their funds deposited in lending institutions be placed in those that do not deny mortgage loans to any person on the basis of race

We further urge that in all American Baptist sponsored housing there be public and open declaration that persons of all races are welcome as residents

**e Demonstrations Against Racial Segregation**

While we regret the need for sit ins and kneel ins and other nonviolent demonstrations, we deplore even more the injustices which provoke and make them necessary to awaken a nation from apathy and summon it to action in eliminating every form of segregation and discrimination

The way to end demonstrations is to correct the abuses which evoke them, to establish communication between white and Negro leaders and to negotiate in good faith and with a sense of urgency which a world in ferment requires if change is to come in a peaceable way

## SEVENTH DAY BAPTIST CHURCHES

### General Conference

August 1963

The General Conference of Seventh Day Baptist Churches in the years 1956 1957, and 1958 has affirmed the conviction that Christian love transcends differences of race color, or position in life has expressed itself as in harmony with the Supreme Court decision concerning race, has urged conduct in the spirit of Christ in the period of adjustment and planning and has stated its belief that equality should extend to schools, housing, the ballot, and business and employment opportunities and that this equality should be promoted by peaceful means

Therefore, Seventh Day Baptists commit themselves to practice racial equality within their congregations as the only basis on which the church may offer moral advice to the state

## SOUTHERN BAPTIST STATE CONVENTIONS

[There follows a report carried in the January 1963 issue of *Home Missions*, an official publication of the Southern Baptist Convention. It is doubtless as the editor of that publication has said]

the most significant group of reports Southern Baptists have ever produced on this subject simply because of their number and the fact the reports are from state instead of national groups, and therefore closer to the man in the pew

### In North Carolina

In a history making action, the North Carolina Baptist Convention voted in Raleigh to hold a joint meeting with the state's Negro Baptist convention in 1964

This was believed to be the first such joint meeting of major Negro and white church groups ever to be planned in the South

The meeting has already been approved by the Negro church body — the North Carolina General Baptist Convention

The action came after O L Sherrill executive secretary of the Negro convention, had told the messengers that interracial cooperation is a major challenge to the Christian churches of our country today

This is not just a courtesy call Dr Sherrill said of his appearance at the convention I am here to say that the Christian church has reached a cross roads in the interpretation of the mission of the church

Christians he said can no longer afford internal strife but have to think of a tremendously sick world and the care that must be given through our combined efforts

In another address, W R Grigg, secretary of the Department of Interracial Cooperation said While others are experiencing open conflict, North Carolina Baptists have quietly but surely found ways of keeping lines of communication open and have discovered methods of cooperation in spite of racial prejudices and other kindred barriers

Grigg stated that the church people can and should get acquainted on a person to person basis with those of other races

He noted that three Baptist colleges in the state — Wake Forest, Mars Hill, and Meredith — have now removed all racial barriers to reception of students

Also the convention's Christian Life Committee submitted a report commending communities that have taken steps, peacefully, to comply with the decision of the Supreme Court regarding the integration of public schools (RNS)

### In Oklahoma

Calling for an honest look at changes in today's world and in Christianity, a Southern Baptist leader described the effects of racial prejudice on missionary efforts in an address to the Oklahoma Baptist Woman's Missionary Union annual meeting at Shawnee

The day of the proud superiority of the white man is gone, and along with it that brand of Christian missions masquerading as a benevolent, paternalistic ministry to the colored peoples of the world declared Mrs William McMurry of Birmingham, Ala., promotional director for Woman's Missionary Union auxiliary to the Southern Baptist Convention

The arrogance of the white man in his claim to superiority has been more obnoxious to the African and Asian than the claim itself, she said Humility is a Christian virtue to which we have paid only lip service in our conduct toward the dark skin people The truth is racial prejudice and discrimination are practiced and condoned in most of our churches

Every unfortunate incident involving racial discrimination in the United States is played up in the newspapers of the world Mrs McMurry pointed out The significant changes which have taken place for the betterment of race relations usually go untold Be that as it may, Christian America should face the fact that there is nothing in our Constitution or the Bible that places a stamp of approval on color discrimination

The treatment of the Negro in the United States has not only been a hindrance to our foreign policy but has proved to be a stumbling block to the work of the missionary overseas, she continued

### In Arkansas

Walter L Moore, pastor of Vineville Baptist Church of Macon Ga., spoke to the Arkansas Baptist State Convention in a sermon on missions He mentioned also the effect of headlines about America's racial tensions on mission work overseas

Baptist Press reported it was perhaps on account of such statements as these that the Arkansas convention adopted this resolution on human rights

We reaffirm our belief in the Christian doctrine of the dignity of man, the flower of God's creation and believe that human personality everywhere is worthy of respect and love We further rejoice in every victory toward this end

### In Georgia

While the Georgia pastor spoke to Arkansas Baptists, his own convention when it met at Macon had gathered expecting the integration of Mercer University to be a major issue, since a trustee committee was studying the administration's suggestion to integrate

However, it did not come before the convention which adopted without debate a statement from its resolutions committee saying it would be unwise to take action until the committee has completed its work

### In Texas

The Christian Life Commission of the Baptist General Convention of Texas presented recommendations, which were adopted, deploring the sinful silence of Baptist churches in

the Mississippi racial crisis and upheld the U S Supreme Court decision of public school prayer

The recommendation on race relations said all Baptists should acknowledge their share of the blame for the sinful silence concerning the moral and spiritual principles involved in human relations

The adoption of the recommendation by the convention appeared to have sparked a student vote at Baylor University in Waco favoring integration of the school Trustees have announced they are studying such action

#### *In Arizona*

The Arizona Southern Baptist Convention adopted a resolution on man's dealings with other men It read We believe in the dignity of all men, and that prejudice, whether it be social, racial, political or economic is inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus Christ We prayerfully suggest that the members of our churches walk circumspectly in the world, be just in our dealings, and exemplary in our deportment

#### *In Mississippi*

The Mississippi Baptist Convention was offered a resolution on human relations and modern tensions It said, in part

We desire a more realistic portrayal of our Christian human relationships be expressed We affirm an intelligent good will toward all men everywhere and we believe in the solution of all our problems by rightful means

However the resolution was tabled Given as explanation for tabling it was this Any resolution at this time regarding this matter would be open to all types of interpretations and misinterpretations on the local and national level

#### *In Alabama*

The president of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, Howard M Reaves of Mobile, in his address to messengers asked Christian people in Alabama to take a stand for law and order in any racial crisis which may arise

He emphasized he spoke only as an individual He said he thought he expressed the beliefs and feelings of tens of thousands of Christians of all denominations in saying to Alabama's incoming governor

If and when days of tension come to Alabama, as they came some weeks ago to Mississippi, we look to you as the chief executive of the state to take a stand for law and order

### CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN Annual Conference 1963

#### *The Time is Now*

The deepening crises in race relations all across the land confront the Christian church with its sharpest challenges to integrity and discipleship in this century A revolution in relations between the races is upon us We can neither stop it nor delay it We can only hope to help guide it by active participation in it as concerned and courageous Christians

*The time is now* to understand that racial reconciliation is built only on the foundation of racial justice that justice delayed is justice denied

*The time is now* to heal every broken race relationship and every segregated institution in our society — every church, every public accommodation, every place of employment, every neighborhood and every school Our goal must be nothing less than an integrated church in an integrated community

*The time is now* to practice as well as to preach Christian nonviolence In this revolution let us not only support and uphold the courageous Negro and white leaders of nonviolence, but let us take our share of initiative, leadership and risk in helping guide the revolution over the precipitous trail of nonviolence

*The time is now* to recognize Negro disappointment and even outright rejection of white Christians, their churches and their faith Few white Christians have suffered with their oppressed Negro brothers in efforts to obtain racial justice

*The time is now* for us to confess to God our sins of delay, omission, and obstruction for racial justice within and outside

the church Our witness has been weak despite the courageous witness of a few of our number Our witness has not matched our basic belief that every child of God is a brother to every other

*The time is now* for action even costly action that may jeopardize the organizational goals and institutional structures of the church, and may disrupt any fellowship that is less than fully obedient to the Lord of the church In such a time the church of Jesus Christ is called upon to put aside every lesser engagement

*The call of Christ* is for commitment and courage in such a time as this This call comes to every one of us, every congregation among us, and every community in which we live We can dodge neither the revolution nor the call of Christ Let us respond in works as eloquent as our words, in practices as profound as our prayers, in action as heroic as our gospel

Trusting in the Lord of the church for his continuing truth and power which strengthen us for every good work, we propose the following first steps to implement this declaration of concern

1 That this Annual Conference engage in an act of confession, repentance, and dedication regarding racial brotherhood and nonviolence,

2 That the officers of this Conference establish a continuous prayer vigil seeking God's guidance in our concerns for racial brotherhood and nonviolence during the remaining hours of the Conference,

3 That the moderator of Annual Conference send a pastoral letter to each congregation emphasizing the moral issue in the racial situation and lifting up the concerns of this paper

4 That the General Brotherhood Board take whatever urgent steps and risks it deems necessary and wise in order to move the church forward and to involve it more deliberately in the movement for immediate racial justice, brotherhood, and freedom, including such activities as participation in appropriate Christian forms of reconciliation, negotiation, demonstration and nonviolent direct action, and that the board appropriate the necessary funds to implement this program,

5 That each of the agencies and institutions related to the Church of the Brethren — Annual Conference Central Committee, the General Brotherhood Board, regions, districts, congregations, Bethany Seminary, colleges, hospitals, and homes for the aged — immediately and thoroughly examine its policies and practices and take any necessary steps at once both to eliminate any forms of racial discrimination and to adopt aggressive policies for racial justice and integration,

6 That we emphasize with the strongest possible urgency the use of the method of nonviolence rather than violence in achieving racial justice in our country and that we call upon the major organizations leading the movement for racial justice to launch a nationwide educational effort as quickly as possible to counsel all Americans regarding the importance, philosophy, and method of nonviolence

7 That each local church is called upon to affirm by specific council action the already established Annual Conference policy that membership within the Church of the Brethren will be accorded without regard to racial background or national origin

*The time is now* for every member of the church to be used of God to heal the brokenness in all peoples and races whom God hath made of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth

### DISCIPLES OF CHRIST International Convention October 1963

*Regarding Support of Immediate Brotherhood Action in Moral and Civil Rights*

WHEREAS, the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) has across the years repeatedly gone on record as supporting the ideal of an integrated Church in an integrated society, and,

WHEREAS, it is the conviction of this Assembly of the International Convention that the cause of racial groups suffering from discrimination is inescapably the cause of all Christians who believe every child of God is a brother to every other and



WHEREAS it is the further conviction of this Assembly that God calls the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) now not merely to verbal commitments but to immediate action that will help those who have been denied full citizenship and human dignity to achieve their valid desire for equal opportunity and,

WHEREAS, the National Conference on Religion and Race meeting January 14 17 1963, composed of leaders of the major religious faiths in the United States including representatives of our own Brotherhood, has issued a call to all religious groups in the country to move immediately toward interracial fellowship and justice, and,

WHEREAS the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA has appointed a commission of twenty five representative denominational leaders and has authorized this commission to take bold and aggressive action in the area of moral and civil rights for all citizens and has urged all Protestant and Orthodox communions to participate in a general mobilization to move the nation steadily towards the moral goal of full human rights for all, and

WHEREAS, in response to the National Council of Churches call the Administrative Committee of the International Convention created a Coordinating Committee on Moral and Civil Rights which recognizes that while its first task is to seek justice for those who, because of race, have been deprived of their moral and civil rights, it should keep constantly in mind its responsibility to initiate processes of reconciliation under standing and assistance of whatever sort needed for those who suffer physical injury or deprivation, misunderstanding, loss of position or social standing because of their involvement in the tensions inherent in this crisis, and,

WHEREAS a number of the major agencies of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) and many of the ministers of the Brotherhood have already committed themselves to co operation in this developing interdenominational effort to the fullest extent that their consciences will allow,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Assembly of the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) now stands on record as giving full support to the action of the Administrative Committee of the International Convention in setting up its Coordinating Committee on Moral and Civil Rights, and,

THAT IT COMMENDS the ministers and agencies who have committed themselves to participating in a cooperative program pointed toward immediate achievement of justice and ultimate attainment of brotherly love in the field of race relations, and,

THAT IT ENDORSES in principle a Brotherhood program that includes such elements as the following

- 1 Support of appropriate civil rights legislation
- 2 Shipments of food and clothing and other forms of economic aid to persons including ministers suffering because of their participation in the current push for racial justice
- 3 Prayerful and critical self examination on the part of all Brotherhood agencies and institutions to ensure policies that encourage the fullest interracial participation and eliminate all traces of enforced segregation,
- 4 The providing of financial aid to Brotherhood agencies and institutions if and when they should lose financial support because of their policies of nondiscrimination or their overt efforts to secure full moral and civil rights for all
- 5 Exploration of adult education programs that could help inadequately trained members of minority groups find better employment opportunities,
- 6 Development of an expanded citizenship education program, particularly in those geographic areas where the franchise has been denied to Negro voters,
- 7 Fair share participation in interdenominational and interfaith programs in moral and civil rights including the program directed by the National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race and,

THAT IT COMMENDS to the churches the raising of a special fund of at least \$300,000 among the Disciples of Christ to support this intensified and augmented program through special offerings to show our CONCERN on two Sundays, October 20 and 27, 1963, and,

THAT IT APPEALS to all congregations pastors and agencies that have not already committed themselves to the support of a nondiscriminatory policy to do so as soon as possible and especially urges the administrations and boards of trustees of the few remaining institutions of higher learning related to our Brotherhood which have not already fully integrated their student bodies and staffs racially to take immediate action to this end and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Assembly of the International Convention urges all Disciples of Christ to face the problems of racial understanding and justice with humility and penitence, admitting the tardiness of their action in support of full moral and civil rights but committing themselves to decisive action without further delay, and

THAT IT CHALLENGES congregations, ministers and agencies to face the risks involved in a strong program in moral and civil rights frankly but without faltering, turning frequently to God in prayer so that His will can be brought to bear on today's problems with wisdom courage and love

## FRIENDS BODIES PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS 1961

Jesus taught, and exemplified by His life, that love is the highest law and that every individual, of every race and nation is of supreme worth

The Religious Society of Friends recognizes the Divine spark in every human being and we are deeply concerned with the racial and religious discrimination that exists in our local communities We are equally concerned with the suffering the waste of talents and the antagonisms which result from segregation and which block spiritual and cultural growth Under these conditions, the majority group as well as the minority group suffers

In our country today individuals and groups are set apart from the main stream of American life on the basis of their religious background, the color of their skin, or the country of their birth In large ways and small, such persons are denied full participation in our community life

We believe that everyone should have real equality of opportunity in securing an education in finding employment best suited to their abilities or in buying or renting a home In all of these areas of life minority groups now repeatedly experience frustration and humiliation If American society is really motivated by religious and democratic ideals there is no place for discrimination

We are encouraged by signs of a growing practice of integration in many Friends institutions, but we should work to end the segregation which still exists in many other Quaker institutions such as boarding homes and welfare agencies Effort should be made to continue the trend of integration of Friends schools We should welcome minority group members into our Meetings where their absence indicates a weakness in the heart of the Society We ourselves must be willing to employ members of all groups on their merits We should seek to change the segregated practices of clubs or recreational organizations in which Friends participate We should work to end discrimination in all housing When offering our own properties we should consider doing so on an open occupancy basis, ever mindful of our responsibilities for social education in our neighborhood

## THE FIVE YEARS MEETING OF FRIENDS 1963

### Statement on Race

The deepening crises in race relations all across the land confront the Society of Friends and all religious groups with their sharpest challenge to integrity in this century A revolution in relations between the races is upon us We can neither stop it nor delay it Concerned and courageous Christians must participate actively

Segregation in all its forms is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Certainly there should be no place in the Society of Friends for racial discrimination or enforced segregation Now in 1963 we are called upon for practical, and dramatic acts of love As a Society of Friends we need to make



certain that all people regardless of color or nationality are invited to worship with us and are encouraged to unite with us if they are so led. Friends need to be completely open and active in treating all people as children of God in public accommodations, employment on merit in the selling and buying of homes and particularly in our Friends schools and institutions. Friends Meetings are strongly urged to scrutinize all contracts, and investments and employment practices in which they may now, or in the future, be engaged to the end that they shall in no way countenance, or give support to discriminatory practices, and that in calling persons to positions of leadership either in our Meeting or in the Society of Friends the members of Friends who are Negro shall be considered as would any other Friend on the basis of qualification for such leadership.

— — —  
**GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE  
 OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA**  
**Greek Orthodox Statement on Racial Equality**  
**August 1963**

The Greek Orthodox Church is against segregation of any kind and believes in the full equality of all races and peoples. Our Church believes moreover, that all Americans, regardless of faith and color, should be granted equal opportunities for public education and for employment in all fields of endeavour, consistent with the best of their abilities and qualifications, and that all should enjoy equal advantages and be the beneficiaries of equal public accommodations and facilities in all circumstances.

In this spirit we call upon our citizens of all faiths, and upon all those who cherish truth and justice, to oppose every expression and demonstration of bigotry. We also urge all our fellow citizens to desist, in word or action, from whatever might seem to further the circulation of false reports, rumors, or representations that distort our mutual relations and the progress of our common welfare.

But the Christians of America should feel they have a special mandate to work for equal rights for all in order to prove that the Legions of Christ can meet in His name a great challenge by upholding these rights wherever and whenever they are endangered. Christian love is not a semantic symbol; it is a commandment to which we must conform our actions as Christians and strive in every way to make a reality consistent with the will of God which was expressed by His Son Jesus Christ when He said: Love ye one another.

The whole question of integration and equal rights for all races, and humane understanding among them, has an ethical basis linked not only with our own national security but also with our relationships with half the nations of the earth. Justice, peace and equality are not meant to be merely noble words; they are meant to be the basic and workable concepts of humanity which will teach us to help and respect each other.

**THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA**

*The Lutheran Church in America is a new church body which came into existence in July 1962. There has not been opportunity, therefore, for this church to issue convention approved statements on race relations. Predecessor church bodies have spoken forthrightly on this matter. Moreover, in the midst of the present crisis in race relations, the Executive Council, the president and many of the synods of the Lutheran Church in America have set forth their testimony. In addition, through its representatives to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the Lutheran Church in America has participated in the actions of that common agency of the churches.*

*It should be emphasized that the church must act as well as speak if what has been said is to be an encouragement in the struggle for justice.*

**Executive Council**  
**June 1963**  
**Statements on Race Relations**

WHEREAS the Church of Jesus Christ must heed God's call to practice love and justice in human relations and

WHEREAS predecessor church bodies of the Lutheran Church in America have expressed themselves against the evil of segregation and discrimination on the basis of race (August

tana Lutheran Church — 1948, 1956. The United Lutheran Church in America — 1952, 1956, 1958) and

WHEREAS action compatible with the Christian responsibility for love and justice is necessary, therefore be it

RESOLVED That the Executive Council acting in behalf of the Lutheran Church in America

1 affirm the 1952 statement of The United Lutheran Church in America and the 1956 statement of the Augustana Lutheran Church, regarding race relations, pending a pronouncement by a convention of the church on this matter

2 declare its conviction that any segregation or discrimination on the basis of race in the congregations, agencies and institutions of the church is in violation of God's will

3 commit itself to work for eradication of such segregation and discrimination wherever they may exist

4 call on the congregations, synods, institutions, boards, commissions and auxiliaries of the church to develop within their assigned areas of responsibility programs of self-examination and action leading to justice in race relations

5 urge members of the congregations to initiate and support efforts at reconciliation between the races in their communities and to support proper legislation designed to assure equal opportunity for all citizens in housing, education, employment, voting and access to all facilities serving the public and

6 authorize and request the president of the church to send to all the ministers of the LCA and their congregations, a pastoral letter expressing the conviction and concern of the church on the fundamental moral issues of love and justice in race relations

**METHODIST BODIES**  
**AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH**  
**Board of Bishops**  
**August 3, 1963**

The A.M.E. Zion Church, founded 167 years ago on the principle of freedom, and having participated in the freedom movement, working as abolitionists before the Emancipation Proclamation and full freedom since 1863, hails the engagement of the religious forces of the world in the new thrust for freedom by churches and churchmen since January 1963.

The American Negro and a large number of white Americans are committed to the slogan *Freedom Now*. After negotiations have failed, lines of horizontal communication broken, and hostility to desegregation programs has been announced, we heartily approve of the direct action, non-violent demonstrations, selective buying campaigns, and voter registration drives now popular across the country.

The A.M.E. Zion Church urges that the mind of Christianity be not occupied only with philosophical and theological problems if it is to bring the races of men together. It must set itself to grapple in earnest with the complexities of life and the problems which they create for the Christian conscience.

**Board of Christian Education**  
**June 1962**

we are on the side of righteousness and social justice — and allied with every respectable group that is struggling in the field of social action trying to bring the ethics of Jesus to bear upon the ills of our disjointed social order.

We are with the N.A.A.C.P., CORE, the Southern Christian Movement and all others who will do moral battle against the demon of injustice.

We are with the peaceful demonstrators, the stand-ins, sit-ins, kneel-ins and lie-ins. We support any and all decent effort put forth in the American tradition, and designed to bring a full measure of First Class Citizenship. We are thoroughly committed to the moral struggle for freedom in all areas of American life. And as a church, we have been waging battle against all forms of injustice for more than a century and a half.

Our love, as an ethnic group, for America has been demonstrated, in sweat, blood, tears, sacrifice and death, in all of her wars for survival. We are jealous about our country's reputation before the eyes of the world. Also, we are determined to see to it for the good of us all, that the inspired preachments of her

Constitution and Bill of Rights concerning equality and justice and the pursuit of happiness, for all citizens become a living reality

**General Convention on Christian Education and  
National Christian Youth Council  
August 1962**

The quadrennial session of the General Convention on Christian Education and National Christian Youth Council of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church views with Christian social concern and alarm the inequities, injustices and inhumanities meted out to many on account of race color and national origin We deplore the vast discrepancy between professed faith and ideals and practice As Americans we are thereby losing the democratic, moral and spiritual leadership of the world

We reaffirm our faith and conviction in the Church's Responsibility for Freedom explicit in the organization of our Church in 1796 and its history until now We pledge ourselves as individuals and groups committed to the task of bringing to realization by non violent efforts equality of opportunity in education, in voting rights and privileges, in housing, in transportation, in employment and upgrading and in laws and their administration by legally constituted authorities

Unprecedented ventures are being made to implement Judeo Christian ideals with social action legislation court decisions, and a climate for human rights and equality

As a result of this revolution increasing freedoms and job opportunities are now being offered and filled irrespective of race, color or national origin We therefore urge our members and constituents to continue the struggle to transform the race relations jungle and in the meantime for youth to pursue their education with a high sense of dedication and excellence without interruption

We pledge our time, talent, and resources to cooperate with all who genuinely demonstrate their high commitment to substitute interracial brotherhood for the welter of racial distress

**CHRISTIAN METHODIST  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
College of Bishops  
July 1963**

*To The Beloved Brethren and Sisters of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church*

We your Chief Pastors, after much prayer, meditation and some soul searching address you today on the crisis which has developed in our beloved country over the struggle of our people to walk in dignity as first class citizens of the United States of America

One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation on the basis of the color of our skin, we are still denied the elementary rights of citizens We are convinced that racial prejudice discrimination and segregation are in absolute conflict with the word of God and are inherently immoral and sinful We are also convinced that organized religion has been remiss in its duty in this field We believe the time has come for concerted action on the part of the Church to remove all barriers to full freedom for all men everywhere We also believe that citizenship in our nation should be determined on the basis of personal character, patriotic loyalty, mutual good will and not by race, color or other considerations

We are heartened by recent actions taken by Jewish Roman Catholic Protestant and Orthodox groups on the National level Many of the communions have already or are preparing to enter the field of direct action in which social action groups have been engaged for some time We know that our founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence the Preamble to the Constitution, the Constitution and the Amendments to the Constitution set forth the proposition that God, as the Creator, Ruler and Redeemer, is the ultimate reference in the light of which man relates himself to God, to other Men, and to the Universe

It is not surprising that long years of denial of equal economic opportunities, denial of the use of the ballot in some, equality before the law, harassment, and brutality by officers of the law in some areas, discrimination in public accommoda-

tions and segregation and discrimination in education have brought Negroes almost to the end of their patience In despair they have taken to the streets in demonstrations, marches sit ins, kneel ins and other forms of protest We take the position that God's will is the source of the law that determines the rightness and wrongness of human relations

From every side we are called upon to give guidance and a word of hope In an attempt to comply with these many requests we have come together today and called in for consultation and advice leaders from all the Annual Conferences Out of our combined judgment we are addressing this communication to you

Our Church takes its position with the people of goodwill who seek to eliminate segregation and discrimination on the basis of race in all areas of our National life It is the studied opinion of the College of Bishops that God our Heavenly Father has created all men for His glory and has made of one blood all the races of men We therefore call upon our people to support all civic and social organizations seeking to establish justice and equity for all people We subscribe wholeheartedly to efforts made by the N A A C P, Southern Christian Leadership Conference Student Christian Non violent Committee, the National Urban League and other organizations and movements for racial equality We commend the courageous men and women of all races and in every section of our great country, who are giving their support to the struggle being made by the American Negro for freedom and justice We especially commend our young people for their courageous, orderly, non violent and Christ like spirit in seeking redress to many injustices heaped upon them

**Suggestions for Implementing Concerns of the Christian  
Methodist Episcopal Church in the Struggle  
for Civil Rights  
Authorized July 23, 1963**

God's concern has been always for the world where men strive, hate, suffer love, and die And the Church is never more truly representative of its Lord than when it evinces a concern for people consistent with the creative purpose and will of God in making men of one flesh and blood and in his own image

As a denomination we believe that the unprecedented struggle for dignity and equality by underprivileged peoples around the world and particularly in the United States is consistent with the will of God for human life as revealed in Jesus Christ Consequently we add our witness to that of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U S A's pronouncement on Race and endorse President J F Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill and urge our local congregations to make full use of their power in support of efforts to remove whatever practices and procedures that negate the divine endowment and constitutional equality of all men

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in this National Consultation on the Concern for the Struggle for First Class Citizenship issues the following statement on implementation of our program and efforts for full rights and human dignity

We urge our individual members in local communities to become concerned and informed on the current issues, problems, and movements in the area of Race Relations

We urge each individual to serve as a one man Committee to disseminate known information and seek other sources and resources for information and help in the solution of the problem

We call upon each individual in this period of crises to register as a voter and encourage all others in our community to join in a total effort for full citizenship for all

That individuals register their concern and conviction in whatever manner is appropriate on the side of human dignity, identifying themselves with the movements for freedom, equality and justice,

That we seek ways and means of influencing government officials on all levels to stand up and be counted for justice

**At the Local Community Level — We Urge**

- 1 All Local Churches to relate themselves to all forward movements for full citizenship
- 2 To initiate negotiations and consultations where possible



and demonstrations and direct action where necessary using the non violent method

3 To sponsor Civil Rights Meetings in our Local Churches

4 We urge Local Churches to take life memberships in the NAACP and give financial support to other national Civil Rights organizations

5 As a denomination we hereby make our position clear in the area of Civil Rights We as a denomination urge each local church to appoint a Christian Social Action Committee to direct the program of the church on Racial Justice and Harmony

6 As a denomination we seek unity of purpose and program

7 That the National Committee on Christian Social Action be enlarged to become the Commission on Christian Social Action with authority and funds to implement these recommendations

8 That we take advantage of our relations in the Committee on Cooperation and Counsel of the Methodist Church and The C M E Church

9 That we establish a Public Relations Office for the purpose of disseminating to all mass media our program and action

10 That we sponsor a national workshop on Race and Religion to provide the leaders of the church with program and technique in Social Action

11 That we explore the possibilities of a united witness with other Methodist Religious bodies

12 That we provide for the full financial support of our ministry in order that they may be free to lead fearlessly and with dignity in the struggle without fear of economic reprisals

#### Cooperation with Other Denominations

1 That we solicit the aid of every denomination in our individual communities of all races to remove the barriers which prevent full participation of all citizens in world brotherhood

2 That we join and support State and Local Councils of Churches and State and Local Councils of Human Relations

3 That our youth, who are now highly motivated, be encouraged to cooperate with youth organizations seeking Democratic implementation of the Constitution of the United States

#### Cooperation with Social Agencies

1 That we support such social agencies as the NAACP, SCLC, Urban League, CORE, SNCC, and USNSA

2 That we seek to influence the selection of the leadership of community organizations to insure the selection of persons of integrity and character

3 That we continue to give support program wise and through annual contribution from the General Church and Annual Conferences to the National Civil Rights Effort

#### At The Tri Faith Level

1 That we press for the continuation of conferences on Race and Religion on all levels patterned after the National Conference on Race and Religion

2 That our Church Leaders make joint periodic statements with other Christians and Jews regarding racial justice

3 That we join with Catholics and Jews in initiating negotiations and demonstrations to secure these Rights for all

#### General

That we in this Conference serve notice to the world that we will move forward as Christian Witnesses giving our minds, bodies and souls that This Nation Under God shall have a NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM

#### THE METHODIST CHURCH Council of Bishops November 13, 1963

The Methodist Church stands for the equal rights of all racial, cultural and religious groups We confess with deep penitence that our performance as a church has not kept pace with our profession The right to choose a place of residence, to enter a school, to secure employment to vote or to join a church should in no way be limited by a person's race or culture

The Methodist Church must build and demonstrate within its own organization and program a Fellowship without racial barriers The church must also work to change those community patterns in which racial segregation appears, including education housing, voting employment and the use of public facilities To insist that restaurants schools, business establishments and hotels provide equal accommodations for all peoples with out regard to race or color, but to exempt the church from the same requirements is to be guilty of absurdity as well as sin

We urge our pastors upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving persons into the church to receive all who are qualified and who desire to be received without regard to race color or national origin, and we individually and collectively pledge them our support as they do so The Methodist Church is an inclusive church

We decry, on legal as well as Christian grounds the denial to any person of any color or race the right of membership or the right to worship in any Methodist Church Further, to move to arrest any persons attempting to worship is to us an outrage

We call upon all Methodist institutions where such has not been done, to bring their racial policies and practices in line with the Christian principles of racial inclusiveness to which we are committed

We affirm the legality and right of those minorities who are oppressed anywhere in the world to protest, to assemble in public, and to agitate for the redress of grievances, provided this is done in an orderly way A public march as a vast petition for attention and justice is in line with the principles on which this nation was founded The recent march in Washington provided a spectacular and well directed move of this kind

#### Second Methodist Conference on Human Relations August 26 30, 1963

[The General Conference of The Methodist Church met in 1960 and adopted a statement which was carried in the January February 1961 issue of the INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE Since the General Conference will not convene till later this year, the following action, taken by delegates to the Second Methodist Conference on Human Relations under the auspices of eleven Methodist agencies or boards, is carried in lieu of re publishing the 1960 statement ]

#### The Call to Involvement The Church

We are deeply troubled in our proclamation of the Gospel to the world by the conflict between our confession and our practice of race relations in the life and structure of our church We must have the courage to sense God's judgment, and to examine our complacent indifference We must become so definitely identified and involved in the struggle for justice and human righteousness that we bear within ourselves the suffering of those who are victims of injustice

The Methodist Church is now called to an inner suffering which will allow for its own change It is called to a losing of what it has been and for a risking of what it is Thus we will be freed from our preoccupation with our own structure and from an absorption in our own life

The Methodist Church is called to change now — to remove the symbol and fact of racial segregation in order that it may give itself as a living sacrifice in an age when the Holy Spirit might use its body

The call to suffer is to all Methodists, regardless of race or color

We must all of use desire a oneness so much that we do not hold back for the lack of a blueprint for its immediate effectiveness

The hour is upon us to stride forward in faith Problems inherent in inclusiveness must be solved, such as acceptance of the principle of inclusiveness in all aspects of local church life, pulpits open to all ministers, salary and pension adjustments, adequate and continued representation

We, therefore, urgently recommend

1 That the 1964 General Conference be requested to call upon all Jurisdictional Conferences to take immediate steps to

effect the transfer of the Annual Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction into regional jurisdictions

2 To call upon the regional jurisdictions to merge the Central Jurisdiction Annual Conferences so transferred with existing or newly created Annual Conferences of the regional jurisdictions. These transfers and mergers shall be completed not later than 1968

3 It is recommended, further, that the Commission on Inter Jurisdictional Relations and the Committee of Five be requested to work out an over all plan to facilitate the transfers and mergers incident to the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction

4 That the Council on World Service and Finance provide the funds, equitably apportioned to all conferences in order to remove present inequalities in salaries and pensions between the conferences of the Central Jurisdiction and the rest of the Church

5 That in every conference bishops and cabinets carefully prepare the ground for the assignment of pastors and district superintendents without regard to race

6 That in every local church membership, service and office be clearly available to anyone who is willing and able, without regard to race

7 That we make it perfectly clear on all levels of the church's life

a that in our schools and colleges there shall be no racial line for teachers or students,

b that our hospitals and homes shall be available to physicians, interns, residents, nurses, administrators, and patients without regard to race,

c that in our homes for young and old those who minister and those who are ministered to shall be selected without regard to race,

d that all agencies, boards, and commissions shall be constituted and shall secure and promote staff members and employees without regard to race,

e that the name of the church and funds from its budgets shall be withdrawn from any institution pursuing a policy contrary to this recommendation

#### MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA Northern Province, 1961

Whereas the action of the Provincial Synod of 1956, pages 212 and 213 of the Journal of said Synod lucidly and effectively states the position and spirit of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, therefore be it

Resolved, a this Synod reaffirm the position and spirit of our church as stated [in actions adopted in 1956 and 1957] and that,

b the Provincial Elders Conference enthusiastically urge every pastor in the Northern Province to present the [aforementioned actions] during Brotherhood Month (February, 1962),

c that this Synod encourage the elders and pastors of our congregations to arrange for a pulpit exchange and/or some other brotherhood event with a local congregation having a non white pastor during Brotherhood Month each year

#### PRESBYTERIAN BODIES PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U S General Assembly April 25 29, 1963

##### Recommendations

1 That this General Assembly reaffirm the position of previous Assemblies that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the church in its relationship to cultural patterns should lead and not follow. The attention of the General Assembly is called to the biblical and theological basis for this position as outlined on pp 187 198 of the 1954 Minutes of the General Assembly and this statement is commended to local churches for their prayerful study

2 That the General Assembly commend every Presbyterian institution, whether church, college, children's home, home for the aged, conference center, board, or agency of the church

which has abolished racial barriers, and that it again urge that a nondiscriminatory policy be adopted by all other such institutions and be made known to the public

3 That Presbyterian churchmen Negro and white, in their local communities seek to establish a realistic communication between the two racial groups, to re establish a relationship of mutual trust and affection, and together prepare to prevent such episodes as have shamed our region, not waiting for equality and justice to be accomplished by force, or the passions of people to be goaded to violence, and that Negro and white churchmen assume proportionate responsibility for racial evils in society and for the solution of such problems which we face together in these rapidly changing times

4 That Presbyterian churchmen in local communities, while recognizing the right of citizens to criticize their leaders, protest in their own way defamatory statements and vindictive acts against those public officials whose decisions and actions are for the purpose of upholding the law and keeping the peace

5 That both the clergy and the laity be reminded that this report is not mandatory but pastoral and prophetic in character, it should be studied in local churches, and its subject matter should be discussed freely, vigorously, and affectionately, there by opening minds to the promptings of God's Spirit, who is able to unite in Christ people of every temperament and every persuasion

#### THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U S A General Assembly May 1962 The Right to Vote

While the present administration has demonstrated concern and leadership for civil rights in such areas as employment, interstate transportation, public accommodations, and in efforts to mitigate violations of voting rights, the Civil Rights Commission's report gives documented evidence of continued widespread violations of voting rights on the basis of race

For example, it is common practice in some counties for boards of registrars (1) not to function for extended periods of time, or (2) to process white applicants normally but to delay Negro applicants indefinitely. In other instances, Negroes with four or more years of college have been denied the right to register as voters on the grounds of inadequate literacy qualifications while white registrants of grade school education or less were approved. Present legislation and executive power are inadequate to rectify these violations of basic voting rights

The 174th General Assembly urges further vigorous leadership by both executive and legislative branches of Government to help eliminate racial restrictions of voting rights by any of the states

#### Social Deliverances 1963

##### New Approaches to Racial Problems

In January, 1963, the National Conference on Religion and Race convened over 600 religious leaders of the major faiths for four days of cooperative study and commitment to bring the resources of the religious communities to bear upon the unresolved problems of segregation, discrimination and race prejudice

Among other things the National Conference on Religion and Race produced, in the religious groups represented, deep self searching as to their own policies and practices with respect to racial and cultural integration. Among United Presbyterian delegates these questions have been raised

1 What orderly arrangements can be made to help our communion cooperate with the planned follow up of the National Conference on Religion and Race?

2 What plans can our communion make for counseling with boards and agencies of the General Assembly on such questions as

a Are our facilities, staff, and services operating in a fully integrated manner?

b Are the funds at our disposal being used in such a way as to promote or inadvertently to support, segregated institutions and practices in the civil order?



c Is it feasible for a percentage of the endowment and investment funds of the boards and agencies to be used positively to further in society the goal of racial integration?

d Is it feasible for all contracts for goods and services entered into by the boards and agencies to contain a non-discriminatory clause applicable to the contracting agency from which the goods and services are purchased?

e What else can be done to help the institutional life of our denomination manifest our commitment to a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society?

3 How can orderly and responsible counsel be given to judicatories (and the field staffs of boards and agencies that work with the judicatories) to implement in the total life of our church its commitment to a work and witness that breaks down the barriers to racial integration within the life of the church and the common life of our society?

4 How can the interfaith cooperation, so manifest at the National Conference on Religion and Race be continued and enhanced at regional and local levels, to help destroy the barriers of racial segregation in our society?

The momentum of the conference needs to be accelerated within the religious communities of our nation and extended into the social, political, and economic life of our society. Our nation cannot wait much longer to bring to reality its promise of liberty and justice for all. To accomplish this, more vigorous national and local leadership is needed to complement in the political and economic structures of our country the efforts of churches and synagogues to end racial prejudice and discrimination.

#### *The 175th General Assembly*

Commits the services and resources of The United Presbyterian Church in the USA to help achieve the intent, and extend the spirit, of the National Conference on Religion and Race and directs the Office of the General Assembly, the General Council, the boards and agencies, to cooperate in this endeavor.

Calls upon every session, presbytery, and synod to initiate or cooperate in efforts to bring together the leadership of the major faiths in their locales to discover the problems, define the issues and take the indicated action to bring about positive resolution of actual, incipient, or unacknowledged racial problems.

Petitions the President of the United States to call a White House Conference on Civil Rights at the earliest feasible time so as to bring together the political, economic, professional and religious resources of our nation in a new and creative effort to move our entire society toward the day when the color or national origin of its citizens will be irrelevant to their assumption of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

### **PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH**

#### **The National Council**

**October 9 11, 1962**

In the light of recent events in Mississippi the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church gratefully takes note that law and order are being restored in that troubled situation. We quote what one of our Mississippi clergy has said: "None of us can stand in the presence of Jesus of Nazareth look him squarely in the eye and say that a Negro should not be admitted to the University of Mississippi. We affirm our complete agreement with this sense of the uncompromising claim of Christ and our support of our church people in their obedience to it."

This church calls upon its members to face seriously their obligation to conform to Federal and Supreme Court orders in regard to giving all students equal access to our public schools.

All acts of violence and irresponsible and wanton destruction are abhorrent and totally indefensible in the eyes of Christ and His Church.

We thank God for the courageous actions of all who have worked for justice, law, and order, and who now labor in the long process of reconciliation. We support our laity, clergy, and church bodies who have spoken and acted in the name of Christ and as responsible citizens.

Above all, let us pray that all in the situation may find in Christ such a measure of courage, wisdom, and faith that wrong will be righted and healing will take place.

### **THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA**

#### **General Synod**

**June 1963**

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights among these: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Today these words from our Declaration of Independence are receiving what may well be their severest test. Time has run out. The Negro wants equality. Eloquent but nebulous declarations of good intentions can no longer be proffered him as promissory notes. Hollow admonitions to patience followed by resumption of status quo are like the pitcher that took too many trips to the well. The Negro wants freedom and equality now. And he is willing to pay a fearful price for it. In *TIME*'s words (July 7, 1962):

Negroes faced snarling police dogs. They went to jail by the thousands. They risked beatings (and stampings) as they sat at bench counter stools. They were bombed in their homes. They were clubbed down by cops. They sent out their children to battle men.

The shocking brutality of hoodlums and law enforcement officials determined to deny the Negro the elementary human right of protesting injustice, has appalled many Americans of good will both north and south who have been inclined to shrug off the Negro's struggle for equality as the government's business. We are on the verge of serious widespread insurrection. Grave as this is, however, it is not an iota as grave as the fact that the weight of morality is no longer with those whose chief concern is preserving law and order (i.e. status quo). We have reached a point where almost any choice seems freighted with tragic possibilities.

\* \* \*

The record of the Reformed Church in America with respect to our national race problem is better than many. We are rightly proud of our *Credo on Race Relations*. It has gained us the respect of concerned persons within and without the church and served as a model for other Christian groups. But our deeds lag far behind our words. We have been slow to implement the *Credo*. Some of our people have actively resisted its call to further the Negro's hope of finding decent housing in a neighborhood in which he can afford to live. This is pivotal, for implicit in confining the Negro within ghettos of substandard housing is the problem of crippling discrimination in opportunity for adequate education and consequently in employability and economic independence.

These conditions pose a specific problem for the church. Without open occupancy as a working principle, our church communities fall into a pattern of de facto segregation which allows local congregations no opportunity to demonstrate to all men that all of you who had yourselves baptized into Christ have taken on the character of Christ. There is no room for Jew or Greek, there is no room for slave or freeman, there is no room for male or female; you are all one in Christ Jesus. (Gal. 3:27b, 28 — Moffatt)

It is no use to say we believe in the communion of saints unless we also are ready to take responsibility to make this a reality. Today this means to do all we can to make open occupancy a reality. It is indefensible for one who proposes Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord either to accept disfranchisement, segregation, discrimination, and tyrannical suppression of the right to protest injustice as a matter of course for Negroes or to dismiss these as the business of government. As members of the body of Christ, who came to proclaim liberty to the captive, conscience binds us to speak out against these wrongs and to join our efforts to those of the oppressed to do away with these injustices. We cannot remain above the battle nor assuage our consciences merely by pointing accusing fingers at the South.

The witness of Reformed Church missionaries to the Gospel of Jesus Christ is weakened by current relations between whites and Negroes. It is serious enough that some of our missionaries hesitate to take their furlough in the United States. They fear that a trip home will be construed by the people among whom they minister as an endorsement of racial injustices.

\* \* \*

As steps to bring about better race relations we **RECOMMEND**

1 The Reformed Church in America reaffirm its responsibility, as delineated in the *Credo on Race Relations*, to exercise strong active moral leadership among its constituency against all forms of racial injustice especially with regard to implementation of the *Credo* and that the 1963 General Synod delegates assume personal responsibility for this in their classes and congregations.

2 The Reformed Church in America convey to the President of the United States its hearty agreement with all steps taken thus far by his administration to eliminate racial injustice, and urge him to place with greater clarity and surer resolution the immense moral influence of his office on the side of the Negro's struggle for freedom and [against] injustice by directly and firmly reminding all Americans of their duty.

3 We commend the Negro sit-inners and other non-violent demonstrators for their courage, their willingness to suffer for the sake of freedom and their self-discipline and non-violence in the face of extraordinary provocation.

\* \* \*

As the Negro becomes more and more successful in his efforts to end social injustices based on race the present struggle for leadership among conflicting Negro groups will become acute. Thus it is important that wise leadership be recognized and encouraged. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King demonstrates, we believe, a laudable determination to bring about the end of racial injustice through the application of Christian principles.

Therefore we **RECOMMEND** that

4 General Synod commend and encourage the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in its pursuit of justice for the Negro and its determined efforts to gain it through non-violent means and that this be communicated to them by The Stated Clerk.

5 A gift of money accompany our expression of commendation and encouragement to Southern Christian Leadership Conference the money to be raised by an offering taken at the General Synod meeting on Tuesday night.

6 We take time for a silent prayer for forgiveness and guidance for ourselves and for wisdom and courage for all those who must make critical decisions centering around our racial tensions.

#### **SYRIAN ANTIOCHIAN ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE** General Assembly August 1963

WHEREAS this Archdiocese believes in the inherent rights and liberty of the individual, and that discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, or religion is unjust in any or all forms,

AND WHEREAS this Archdiocese believes in the rights of the individual to be treated in full equality with his fellow man, and to be employed on the basis of his individual ability without regard to his race, national origin or religion.

AND WHEREAS love cannot be legislated into the human heart — notwithstanding the proposed Civil Rights legislation contemplated by the Congress — and the only meaningful solution to any and all discrimination and civil strife must come through the eternal and abiding spirit of love and understanding taught by Jesus Christ,

AND WHEREAS the year 1963 marks the 100th Anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation

AND WHEREAS on August 28th, 1963, there shall be held in the Nation's Capital a march dedicated to seeking the full equality or opportunity for all citizens

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that an urgent appeal be made to all people of good faith for the recognition of the full equality of all men, regardless of race, national origin or religion, and that such recognition should be continuously manifested in a spirit of dedicated love which is and was always intended by our Savior Jesus Christ.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Archdiocese hereby urges a Day of Prayer to be held on August 28th, 1963, calling forth all men of good will to pray for the success of that which was proclaimed 100 years ago, and supplicating Him who nearly 2000 years ago, was marched to the Cross for the Eternal Liberty and Freedom of each soul, to bless and guide this great Nation toward non-discrimination and racial peace forever.

#### **UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION** Board of Trustees October 14, 1963

The Board of Trustees of the Unitarian Universalist Association recognizing the seriousness of the deep racial crisis which has gripped the United States in recent months and weeks and reaffirming the traditional concern of Unitarians and Universalists for the supreme worth of every human personality, the dignity of man, and the use of the democratic method in human relationships respectfully urges that the Congress of the United States enact meaningful, comprehensive Civil Rights legislation to redress the legitimate grievances of the Negroes and members of other minority groups.

To this end, we endorse the substance and intent of H. R. 7152 and S. 1731 to strengthen voting rights, make discrimination in public accommodations unlawful, speed public school desegregation, establish a Community Relations Service to mediate racial disputes, extend the life of the United States Commission on Civil Rights for four years and give it added responsibilities, authorize withholding of Federal funds from programs that are administered in discriminatory fashion and establish as a permanent Commission the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

We urge especially that the Congress erase the humiliation which accompanies the members of minority groups when they are refused accommodations or service in hotels, motels, restaurants, business establishments or places of amusement, and that a public accommodations law cover all establishments, of whatever size.

In addition, we urge that amendments be made to the bill to add a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to cover hiring, firing and promotion in all types of employment and membership in labor organizations engaged in interstate commerce. And, further, that the bill be amended to give the United States Attorney General power to bring civil suits in all cases where Americans are denied their constitutional rights because of race or religion.

#### **UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST** General Synod July 5, 1963

##### **A Call for Racial Justice Now**

THEREFORE the General Synod, in session in Denver, Colorado, seeking to bring the light of the Christian gospel to bear on the present crisis in race relations confronting our country and the world, and thankfully recalling the long established positions of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church and now the United Church of Christ in the field of relations between the races, on July 5, 1963 takes the following actions:

A. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to uproot intolerance, bigotry, and



prejudice within our own lives and to replace them with good will and the determination to strike down immediately the barriers which divide men on account of race. The General Synod calls upon all members to make it plain to all the people with whom we live and work that the Church and the members thereof stand for brotherhood.

**B** The General Synod believes that the United Church of Christ must free itself of segregation.

1 To this end, and understanding that the decision must be made for itself by each local congregation, the General Synod urges the churches to declare officially and publicly that their fellowship is open to all who qualify for membership without any restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background. The General Synod also urges the churches to declare officially and publicly a policy of calling pastors and employing church staff members without any restrictions as to race, class or ethnic background. When these actions are taken, the General Synod asks that a report be made to the Secretary of the Church.

2 The General Synod urges the conferences and the associations of the United Church of Christ to become fully integrated with utmost dispatch.

3 The General Synod promises to utilize to the full the contribution that its Negro members and other racial and minority groups can make to the life and work of the United Church, giving these persons their share of leadership opportunities and responsibilities.

4 The General Synod calls upon institutions related to the church to desegregate forthwith.

**C** The General Synod proposes to mobilize the manpower and means of the Church for racial justice.

1 To this end the General Synod requests the President of the Church, after consultation, to appoint a committee consisting of eleven non national staff persons, including in its membership both white and Negro persons who are trusted throughout the Church and have competence in the field of race relations. The life of this Committee shall extend until the next meeting of the General Synod.

2 The General Synod votes to give to that committee the power to decide how the resources of the Church contributed for this purpose will be used in the effort to secure racial equality and social justice both at home and abroad.

3 The General Synod accepts the offer of the Council for Christian Social Action and the Division of Church Extension of the Board for Homeland Ministries to provide the services of Dr. S. Garry Oniki. It approves Dr. Oniki's appointment as executive coordinator of this effort and suggests that the work and program of this committee normally be implemented by committing it to one of the existing agencies so that money can be conserved for actual program needs. In other cases, the committee would be authorized to borrow on a temporary basis experienced staff from the instrumentalities.

4 The program which this committee shall project could include but need not be limited to:

a Mobilizing the whole membership of the Church, to join where possible with our Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish brethren, on a community basis, to meet the need of the situation on the local level,

b Providing bail bonds for those who are arrested as they demand social justice,

c Providing legal defense for such persons

d Providing economic aid to persons who lose their jobs because of their participation in activities in behalf of racial equality,

e Providing financial aid for institutions whose support is threatened by those who oppose an open policy of service.

f Mobilizing the United Church of Christ, its individual members, congregations, associations and conferences to press for the adoption of legislation to guarantee civil rights,

g Supporting and commending those church members who successfully begin the integration of their own immediate neighborhoods,

h Extending the program of voter registration

i Urging Christians to give all possible assistance to small businesses in making the transition to nonsegregation

j Providing other emergency or long term help the need for which only the future will reveal

(NOTE: All this work where at all possible shall be undertaken in cooperation with the National Council of Churches state and local councils of churches, the National Conference on Religion and Race, and other interreligious and community groups.)

General Synod

July 10, 1963

### A Resolution on Fair Employment Practices and Civil Rights Legislation

The Fourth General Synod urges all instrumentalities, conferences, associations, churches and church related institutions

1 To review their current employment policies in respect to the calling of ministers, the employment of professional personnel and other staff, and to take affirmative steps to implement fair employment practices

2 To further fair employment practices by including non discriminating provisions in all contracts and agreements

3 To purchase services from and, in the investment of funds, to give preference to those firms which follow fair employment practices

4 To advocate, demonstrate and involve themselves in support of the principles of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the legislation providing for federal fair employment practices and to urge their Senators and Representatives to support such legislation on a nonpartisan basis in this session of Congress

The Fourth General Synod approves the authorization of a committee by the Executive Council to evaluate the policies and practices in the United Church of Christ in respect to fair employment, to initiate procedures for prompt and effective achievement of fair employment policies and practices, to give attention to:

a location of specific job opportunities,

b use of personnel records with the churches

c special emphasis on locating qualified persons regardless of race in recruitment of personnel

d initiation of in service training for purposes of promotion,

e discovery of potential existing leadership

f development and training of leadership,

g promotion and upgrading of personnel on the basis of ability, and

h transmittal of information about nondiscriminatory practices and procedures to agencies used for recruitment of personnel,

and expects the committee to report periodically to the Executive Council of the General Synod

The Fourth General Synod instructs the Council for Christian Social Action to present testimony in support of Civil Rights and fair employment practices legislation before committees of Congress

### Policy of Financial Support

General Synod declares its policy to be to contribute funds only to institutions and churches which as of July 1, 1964, have a policy of openness without respect to race, national background or ethnic origin, and further urges the instrumentalities, conferences and churches to adopt and pursue such a policy in respect to contributions

### Local Study and Action

General Synod urges ministers and local churches to study the findings of the National Conference on Religion and Race and to cooperate in interfaith action on race in their communities



Board of Homeland Ministries  
July 11, 1963

Recognizing that the Church always lives by the mercies of God rather than by its own merits and that we can never disassociate ourselves from the guilt of humanity, we nevertheless believe that in the providence of God times come when traditional wrongs become intolerable. As in past history the Church has learned to reject infanticide, the burning of heretics, and chattel slavery, so we believe now it must learn swiftly to reject the crime of racial segregation, above all within its own household. Without claiming virtue for ourselves or breaking Christian fellowship with those who differ from us, we believe that the minimum claim of Christian conscience upon this Board for Homeland Ministries is that we cease to subsidize the perpetuation and extension of racial segregation.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Directors of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries authorize the following actions:

1 That we express to the educational institutions of the United Church of Christ our appreciation of the excellent progress made toward overcoming both official and *de facto* segregation — progress which has brought all colleges and seminaries to the point where no formal barriers to an open policy of enrollment remain that we take note of the considerable number of such institutions which, without any official statement of policy, have developed an integrated pattern of life on their campuses (which practice is accepted in lieu of an official statement so far as the application of this vote is concerned) that in the case of the two or three institutions whose position is uncertain the officers of the Board be authorized to inform them that any institution which, by July 1, 1964, shall have failed to adopt officially a policy of accepting qualified students without any disadvantage due to racial background and which shall have failed to present to the General Secretary of the Division of Higher Education and The American Missionary Association a satisfactory plan and timetable for the implementation of this policy, shall forfeit its claim to financial appropriations by this Board, and that we further lay upon the conscience of these institutions the responsibility to seek qualified students and faculty from disadvantaged groups and to free themselves from organizations with charters requiring segregation.

2 That in the case of the Health and Welfare institutions the Council on Health and Welfare Services be urged to grant and continue membership in the Council only to institutions which, by July 1, 1964, have adopted a policy which is racially nondiscriminatory with respect to staffs and services and which have presented to the General Secretary of the Division of Health and Welfare Services a satisfactory plan for the implementation of this policy.

3 That the Division of Church Extension be requested to submit to the Policy and Planning Committee at its October meeting proposals with respect to its several departments which would:

a Deny building aid to any church or Conference which will not certify to a policy of open membership or fellowship with other churches without discrimination because of race or color, said policy to be effective as to all applications for aid received subsequent to July 1, 1964.

b Deny aid to any new church organization after July 1, 1964 or to a Conference for a new church to be organized after that date, or to an established church unless the church or Conference, as the case may be, will certify to a policy of open membership or fellowship without discrimination because of race or color.

c Provide methods to encourage, and require if possible, churches engaged in building programs to contract with contractors who can certify to compliance with fair employment practices so far as race and color is concerned.

4 That the officers of the Board be encouraged to inquire into the employment practices of any corporation or organization with which the Board does business, and that said officers be authorized to withhold the patronage of the Board from firms in which standards of fairness in employment appear to be unsatisfactory.

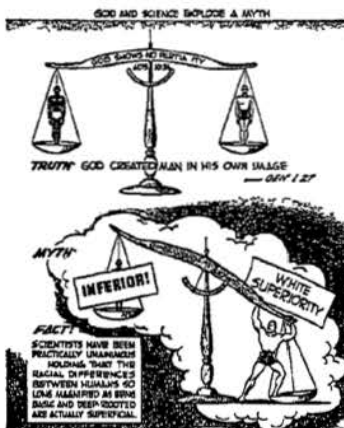
5 That authority be given to the President and the Executive Vice President, acting jointly, to authorize members of the Board of Directors and Staff to testify in the name of the Board before Congressional committees holding hearings on civil rights legislation.

6 That the officers of the Board be urged to continue their examination of the Board's program with the purpose of detecting any additional points at which it may be involved in supporting the pattern of racial segregation, and that the officers be requested to report their findings at the October meeting of the Directors.

We pledge to execute this policy resolutely but with no trace of hostility. We know well that some changes will be costly, though not nearly so costly as segregation has been. Where fidelity causes exceptional difficulties, we will make special efforts to provide skilled counsel, to maintain fellowship with our brothers in distress, and to bear one another's burdens in Christ.

The matter in these pages is presented for the reader's information. Unless so stated it is not to be construed as reflecting the attitudes or position of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations or of The National Council of Churches.

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National Consultation of  
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St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

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2  
National Conference on Religion and Race  
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632  
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Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director

May 7, 1964

NOTICE REGARDING MISSING SPEECHES AND PAPERS  
OF  
NATIONAL CONSULTATION  
HELD IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, APRIL 13-15

We regret our inability to reproduce the following due to the fact that the manuscripts did not become available in time. It may become possible to reproduce one or more of these at a later date although not from this office on account of responsibilities connected with closing on May 15, 1964.

Project Paper - Workgroup D on "Churches and Synagogues in relation to Non-violent Direct Action" by Dr. Paul Hanlon of St. Louis, Missouri

Speech on "The Response of the Synagogues to the Racial Crisis" - Rabbi Nathan Lander

Speech on "The Response of the Roman Catholic Church to the Racial Crisis" - Rev. John F. Cronin

Address by President Herman H. Long on April 13, 1964, entitled "New Dimensions in the Racial Crisis" - will be mailed to the delegates directly from Fisk University.

The others have been made available by the respective recorders and/or chairmen, writers of project papers and Dr. Moynihan and by doing of much hard work on the part of staff workers in this office.

There is a limited number of additional packets of this material. In ordering extra packets, write to National Conference on Religion and Race, Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Secretary, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. Please enclose \$1.00 each to cover part of the cost of reproduction and handling.

Galen R. Weaver

GRW/cjt  
5/7/64

- National Consultation  
- Religion and Race Conferences  
St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

OPENING STATEMENT  
by  
ARTHUR E. WALMSLEY, Chairman  
Planning Committee, National Consultation

Fifteen months have passed since the historic Conference in Chicago on Religion and Race, fifteen months of considerable movement within the society and, pray God, within the religious community in that society. We are meeting in a different context than we met 15 months ago, and we are also meeting with a somewhat different perspective. There are close to 60 formally organized local, state or county conferences on religion and race or groups bearing similar titles which had at least part of their roots in the Chicago Conference. These groups have been engaged in a variety of activities - some of them successful and some of them not entirely so.

In a good many instances, as you know very well, there have been many problems of organizing the religious communities for cooperative work in the area of race. So, in a sense this is a family gathering that is taking stock of itself. Truly there is nothing particularly new, startling or different that any of us can say about the motivations of the religious community in this area, the necessity rooted in our teachings and in the predicament of the nation which brings us together. All of this has been said repeatedly again and, perhaps has been said more effectively at the local community level than it could be by national gathering of this sort. The purpose of our gathering, as I understand it, is very simply what the title of this meeting implies, namely that this is a "consultation". We are here to consult with each other about the problems and opportunities that confront us in our several communities. Hopefully in this process we will find points of greater effectiveness and greater impact at the local community level. In these fifteen eventful months since the Chicago Conference - a lot has happened. The question, perhaps, that brings us together is, "where are we today"?

A mid-Western Senator was quoted the other day as saying: "I'm not in favor of the Civil Rights Bill, but unless somebody gets those damn pastors off my back, I am going to have to vote for it".

I am not one to disparage our interreligious cooperation as it has developed these last fifteen months. Certainly the most remarkable new fact in American life has been the inter-religious dimension of our coming together - both in Chicago and subsequently. Those of us who are rooted in various religious traditions are discovering each other in a remarkably new way, and these conferences on religion and race has perhaps more than any other single activity summed up and given substance to our cooperation together. In point of fact, this is the most outstanding characteristic of our work together. Perhaps we have made more impact interreligiously than we have interracialy.

One of our tasks in a gathering such as this is to sort out the relations of religious forces to other factors in community life. Certainly the most drastic need that we have and which is cropping up practically in every city in the nation, is how the forces of organized religions can most effectively relate to the Civil Rights Movement, particularly to the most active elements of the Civil Rights Movement. How are the structures of religious institutions, the top leadership, the Bishops, the heads of the Council of Churches, and the leaders in the Jewish community - how are these persons to relate to the Civil Rights forces in the community in a period which is becoming more and more tense. The Negro community on the one hand is becoming more fragmented and the white community is becoming "smoked out" in terms of its basic resistance, or the resistance of large elements of it, to an integrated society.

The persons who disparage what the forces of religion have done in these fifteen months and what the forces of religion can do I would say do not understand the sociology of American religion, and the tremendous job that we in the religious community have of putting our own houses in order. There are many things that we cannot do. The forces of religion in America are not organized as action groups. This does not mean that many segments of the religious community will not be in the forefront of action but it does tend to suggest that the structures themselves will not be the pioneers, will not be the leaders, and that our primary task may be found somewhere else. The very fact that more and more commentators are observing that the passage of the Civil Rights Bill is probably in the hands of the churches, would indicate that many of those who observe us are aware that we do have very real roles to play on the national scene and at the local community level. Our purpose is very simply to think through what has happened in the last fifteen months but I would put it to you that you focus your thoughts in this gathering not on where we have been, but where we are and where we will be fifteen months from now. Where will the nation be -- not fifteen months from now, but three? What will be happening in our several communities in the next few weeks, and how can we who are a core of national and local religious leadership - how can we shape the response of our constituents and of our structures?

Let me just make a few comments about the program, because the program has been shaped with something of this philosophy in mind as this is a Consultation. We felt it important to have a presentation this afternoon - the presentation in two forms, - an evaluation by a distinguished observer of both the racial and church scene, followed by responses from representatives of the three major religious traditions, and that we should end the conference with a kind of marching order with a speech by the Assistant Secretary of Labor on the relationship of religion, race, and the poverty question. These two are the fixed points in the conference while practically everything else which will transpire between now and Wednesday afternoon is an open discussion. It is a "consultation".

We come here with very specific questions. Some of these were put to the committee. Some of you have spoken to planners directly about the purpose of the conference. You have very real personal questions. How do we do this and that in our local community? What are the problems other communities are confronting with respect to getting a program in housing under religious auspices underway in the community? Very specific questions. We hope and we assume that you will use this time building your own agenda. Now, there are in the program two other program offerings this evening, following the workshop groups in order that the whole conference may have some opportunity while we are in St. Louis to look at the problems of this community, we are

having an informal, voluntary gathering here in this room with leadership from the various civil rights groups that are active in this area, and then tomorrow morning there is an invitational breakfast open to all of you to meet with the representatives of the three convening bodies - the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America, to talk about the structure of the national secretariat, the changes, the program that are contemplated. The rest of the conference will be in workshop groups. These groups are intended to serve as a kind of a clearing house of problems and programs at the local community level. This is not just another session where we have those endless workshop groups on how you do something in housing. The focus of these groups is to see how very concretely religiously motivated groups have worked at the local level - conferences on religion and race - how do these groups address themselves, organizationally, to problems of housing, or employment, direct action, etc.

Let me just make two or three introductions at this point. Concerning the physical arrangements for our time here, the local St. Louis conference has done extensive work. Dr. Paul Hanlon has handled the local arrangements and he will, I am sure, be willing to set up any appointments for handling any of your local problems that you may have during your time here at the conference. Secondly, let me ask Mr. Mathew Almarin to stand. Mat, as you will recall, was moving light as executive of the Chicago Conference. He is executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. During this conference he will be a kind of roving observer of the various activities, and in the final morning program will give us his evaluation - both of this gathering and more significantly what this gathering represents in continuing cooperative efforts at the local community level; and third, let me just express my own appreciation on behalf of all of us to Dr. Galen Weaver for the tremendous job he has put into organizing this gathering.

It seemed appropriate to those planning the meeting that we collect ourselves and evaluate very briefly in this opening session where we are in the religious community of America in responding to the efforts of America to find itself. Perhaps no person has his feet so solidly in the civil rights movement on the one hand and in the churches on the other as Dr. Herman H. Long. He is the president of Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama. Dr. Long probably needs no introduction to this group. The many years he has served as the Director of the Race Relations Department sponsored by the United Church of Christ at Fisk University, and he will continue this summer as in the past to direct the excellent institute held at Fisk on civil rights during the summer. He is a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in Social Psychology, co-author with Charles S. Johnson of a pioneer study of racial housing covenant published in 1947 under the title of "People vs. Property". He is the past president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Without further introduction, I will present one of us to all of us, Dr. Herman Long.

Retyped from Tape Recordings

4/25/64

National Conference on Religion and Race

150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632

New York, 10011

Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director/cjt



National Consultation  
Conferences on Religion and Race  
St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

**"The Churches' Response to the Racial Crisis"**

by

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Associate Director,  
Commission on Religion and Race  
National Council of Churches

In response to the address by Dr. Herman Long, I have been asked to deal with the question, "How are the churches responding to new dimensions in the racial crisis?" Probably the way for me to do this is to extend Dr. Long's remarks about the Eichmann trial. It happens that I was in West Germany at the beginning of the Eichmann trial. This was a major topic of conversation and I had the opportunity to talk with some people about it. As I recall those conversations, one remark seemed more significant than any of the others. It was essentially this, "one cannot hide one's self from evil situations by ignoring the facts". The person who said this continued, "if the Eichmann trial will drive this lesson home, we shall have learned a great lesson".

These remarks say a great deal to us here in America. We cannot ignore the evil that racial segregation perpetrates by hiding ourselves from the facts. If the new dimensions of the racial crisis have done anything, they have underlined the fact that the religious forces of this nation are confronted by one of the greatest heresies of all times. They are faced with the fact that racial segregation and racial discrimination have underlying them a system of belief which sets forth a doctrine of God, a doctrine of man, a doctrine of salvation, and doctrine of sin. Probably the greatest choice facing religious people in this day is, will it be religion or will it be racism? The religion of racism is dramatically opposed to the beliefs of Christianity and Judaism.

How are the churches and the synagogues responding to this situation? Many churches and synagogues as well as many religious people have consciously made the choice to be faithful to the teachings of their religious heritage about the dignity and worth of all men regardless of race or color. There are others, entirely too many, who are hiding themselves from the facts of the situation, who say that it ought to go away because it is not real. There are still others who have clearly made the choice on the side of racism. To be sure this is a difficult situation but we do not fear it because we believe that the real hope for the future is with those who have decided to confront the issue bravely, who have chosen to be faithful to the Judeo-Christian religious heritage.

What have the religious forces learned? They have learned that religious forces of this country do count when they speak out about the duty of the nation to protect the God-given rights of all people. They have become aware that the nation listens when they maintain that human dignity is the essential factor of human existence and that it cannot be divorced from human existence for any man. The churches and synagogues have learned that they must act in this situation. In the words of the Apostle, Paul, they know that they "are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness,..." The churches and synagogues are faced with the fact that religion at its best must always deal with social change, with problems of racial conflict, with the resolution of imperfections and injustices in our society and with realizing what ought to be under God.

The religious forces know that they have a role to play in the struggle for human dignity and racial justice. We must support those people and institutions which struggle to enable all people to exercise their God given rights. Those who walk picket lines or demonstrate against racial injustice are in the tradition of the prophets. They merit high respect for their struggle and sacrifice to make human dignity and freedom a reality for all people. Their witness highlights the fact that dignity withheld is an indignity and freedom denied is no freedom at all.

The task has other aspects. Religious organizations have many resources to use. We must use and gear our resources to help people victimized by deprivation. Religious forces have an important role to play in overcoming the spiritual and moral damage which is done by slums, over-crowded ghetto living, inferior education and unemployment or under-employment. They must use their purchasing power as an instrument for achieving justice. Their investments and property must be employed to create the kind of society in which all men have equal opportunity. More than this they must look at their own blindness which has permitted racial segregation and discrimination to invade religious institutions. They must be sure that those institutions are so shaped in their policies, services, membership and outreach that all men may participate as the children of God.

This is a time in which the struggle for human dignity and for full opportunity is the real struggle. It is not an easy struggle. There is criticism and opposition at many points. I was talking, the other day, with a man from England and a man from East Africa, who had been active in bringing his own nation to independence. The person from England reflected a criticism that he had heard from some Americans to the effect that so much of the movement for racial justice in this country seemed to be disorderly. The man from East Africa smiled and said, "when can you ever expect order in a revolution?" This is true. Social change particularly when it is rapid, may seem disorderly, but out of disorder grows order, out of the darkness grows a clearer perception of goals. Out of the movement will ultimately come the realization of human dignity, freedom and justice. This is the end toward which we struggle. This is the reality which we strive to achieve. We cannot hide ourselves from it.

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Project Paper - Workgroup A on "Churches and Synagogues  
in relation to Housing"

By. Rev. James J. Sheehan of Detroit

The Metropolitan Detroit Conference on Religion and Race was formed from an inter-faith group which had sponsored the Metropolitan Conference on Open Occupancy in January of 1963.

The Detroit Conference is composed of four representatives of the Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Council, the Eastern Orthodox Diocese and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese. Eight at-large members also serve on the Conference.

The major effort of inter-religious groups in Detroit has been in the area of housing. In part this direction was set by the group but in large measure it was a response to a major community need. This effort has three main parts - the Open Occupancy Conference of January 1963, the legislative battle of the summer of 1963 and the effort of religious groups to do educational and action programming at the neighborhood level. (Thus the South Oakland, Michigan Conference on Religion and Race on April 12, 1964)

To describe to you the Open Occupancy Conference, I am going to quote from this little book. -- A copy of which is available for you at the literature table. The title is "Challenge to Conscience" - Report of Metropolitan Conference January 1963.

The immediate aftermath of the conference sent all scurrying to catch up with his own work. In spite of the boost given us by the National Conference on Religion and Race, it was April or later before we began to work together effectively again.

There was a change of name to the Detroit Metropolitan Conference on Religion and Race and a question of a more formal structure. However, the community did not wait for us to get organized.

An Open Occupancy Ordinance was proposed in June. The Ordinance covered all housing, sales and rentals, brokers, lenders, and owners. The only exemptions were owner taking in roomers or renting an apartment in his own home.

To appreciate this proposal you should know that Detroit is split roughly 70%-30% racially. Detroit has a rather high percentage of individual home owners: 57% of its housing units are owner-occupied. Someone came up with the estimate that releasing the individual home owner from the law would remove from coverage 98% of the housing available to Negroes. Our Conference therefore lined up with all other civil rights groups for passage of the law.

Looking over the minutes of our meetings in preparation for this session, I was surprised at the concerted effort made.

There was a preliminary hearing in June. The Conference and each member group testified in favor of the law. A letter was sent to each Councilman in the name of the Conference and a press release supporting the legislation was issued.



During the summer members of the religious community of Detroit were urged to write and visit Councilmen. On August 9th, a letter was sent to all participants in the January conference urging their involvement.

The final hearing was set for mid-October. On September 16th a policy statement was issued by our group which was used as the platform for further efforts. (See text below). Inter-faith groups were organized to visit councilmen on a stepped-up basis.

Because passage of the bill looked hopeless, a high level inter-faith press conference was called a few days before the hearing. Good coverage was given to statements by the President of the Council of Churches, the President of the Jewish Community Council and the Chancellor of the Archdiocese.

About this time one of the Jewish fellows remarked to me "We have the Jewish councilman committed and the Protestants have their man, now if you Catholics would take care of your people, we would be in! "

Well, we didn't. The law was defeated 7-2. The actual hearing was much in favor of the law if considered from the strength of the arguments. But Detroit's population ratio of 70%-30% was telling. Effectively, what the councilmen told us was that not two in seven whites would follow the stand of the churches. The council claimed that the state Civil Rights Commission had preempted jurisdiction in this area. However, the attitude of the councilmen was such that they would have rejected the law anyway.

There was quite general agreement afterwards that we should have compromised and taken half a loaf. I don't think so.

One interesting sidelight was that the Mayor came out in support of the law on moral grounds. This we feel was made possible by the stand of our Religion and Race Conference.

Another effort of religious groups in Detroit not, however, under the Religion and Race Conference, has been a good deal of grassroots educational programming. A sample program is available. This programming has led directly to the formation of Human Relation groups within the City and in the Suburbs. There are now over 20 Suburban Human Relations groups. At least half of these are the fruit of efforts of religious groups and these have had some catalytic effect on others.

The last effort of the Detroit Religion and Race Conference in the area of housing was the South Oakland Conference on Religion and Race, April 12, 1964. It attracted 450 people from forty-two suburban governmental units. The tone of the conference was excellent. Serious effort was made to keep the focus on the role of religion. The same format was used in each of the twenty workshops and the closing clergy panel maintained the focus.

The resolutions of that Conference as well as a brochure on it are available on the literature table.

The contribution of the Religion and Race Conference has been no more than a contribution toward attitude change.

We have learned that there are, in even the most segregated areas, religiously motivated people who think positively on race. Quite honestly our group does not have an enunciated course. We are, however, firmly set in the direction of

identifying and organizing the latent goodwill within the religious community.

We feel that dialogue is necessary between races and that this dialogue should not consist of a series of artificially arranged contacts. There should be a dialogue which is lived out in daily relationships. It is our role to help bring about this living dialogue.

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September 16, 1963

# POLICY STATEMENT ON OPEN OCCUPANCY

By The

Metropolitan Detroit Conference on Religion and Race

In the near future the City of Detroit must face a serious challenge to its conscience - whether it will enact legislation to guarantee to each citizen the right, free of racial and religious discrimination, to purchase or rent living quarters.

That our own city is segregated residentially along racial lines is self-evident. All indications are that the pattern is continuing.

The causes of this evil rest with the homeowner, the real estate broker and the lenders and financiers who effectively seal off major sections of our residential areas to minority families. But, in a very real sense, the blame must be laid on the entire community, on all of us, for we have permitted housing segregation to become an institution.

Even persons of goodwill find it exceedingly difficult to sell or rent on a non-discriminatory basis because of community and institutional pressures.

The evils of this system are intolerable. It personally insults its victims because of race or religion and thereby insults God Himself who created each and every person in His own image and likeness. It deprives the individual of his inalienable right to select shelter of his choosing and at the same time frequently charges him a premium. It often poisons and twists the personalities of all those affected - both buyer and seller and those who are involved with either - in discriminatory decisions and actions.

Who can calculate the serious moral damage that the discriminator brings upon himself? He sins against both charity and justice. Is not one's love of his fellow man a test of his love of God?

Housing segregation has divided our community, its churches, and its schools and has resulted in inevitable suspicions and animosities among our citizens. Today nearly every problem before our city is charged with racial overtones.

Clearly we are faced with a deepening community crisis, and it is the responsibility of government at every level to take effective action. For to safeguard the inviolable rights of the citizen and to facilitate the fulfillment of his responsibilities is the primary duty of every government. To fail in this duty is to fail in the very purpose of its existence.

Let it be stated for those who in all sincerity question the propriety of regulating the rights of individual property owners that property rights are not absolute, that the Creator has entrusted property to individuals, not only for their own well-being but also for the well-being of their fellow man, and that government must see that both purposes are realized.

These then are the compelling reasons calling for passage of a comprehensive open occupancy ordinance. The goals and principles of open occupancy as stated in the ordinance now pending have our full endorsement. Therefore let the law be sufficient for the task and let it place equal obligations on all involved - home owner, broker, lender - that in this way our community may begin to heal the serious moral and social rupture that now exists.



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Summary Report of Workshop Discussions\* Workshop C  
"Churches and Synagogues in Relation to Education"

Chairman: Richard Horschler  
Project Paper: John McDermott and  
Eugene Callahan

Recorder: Sister Rose Albert

## I. INTRODUCTION.

Workshop discussions centered on the Chicago project paper or case study - de facto segregation in Chicago and the work of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race in relation to it - and from it emerged an understanding of the classic development of segregation in education as it is connected, in an interlocking manner, with housing, employment, poverty and urban decay in our cities. The case study showed us a gradual deterioration of the school situation in Chicago and the response made by the Chicago Conference in trying to influence the community at large and particularly the city power-structure and the school board. It is important to note the "position paper" issued by the Chicago Conference, which clarified the stand of the religious communities and made clear that there is a large consensus held by all the religious leaders in the city.

## II. VALUE OF STUDIES BY EXPERTS.

Discussion of the Hauser report in Chicago led to a questioning of the worth of such studies when facts already seem obvious. The conclusion based on the Chicago experience was that there are a great many people who are ignorant of or who refuse to accept facts. On the other side, it was felt that facts which are resisted when they are presented by obviously interested groups, such as civil rights agencies, tend to be accepted if they are offered by an independent citizens' group or academic source.

## III. BEYOND PHYSICAL INTEGRATION: PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND COMPENSATORY ACTIONS.

It was concluded that mere physical integration by itself solves nothing. Integration must be accompanied by a full range of complementary action. There are many educational programs and projects which can be undertaken in trying to cope with some of the discriminatory ills of a school system:

1. Church publicity efforts - pulpit, religious publications, city newspapers, church-action groups. (These were judged to be of little effectiveness.)
2. Diocese-wide or city-wide church administered programs:
  - a) In the Roman Catholic community, bishops' meetings with local priests to study conditions in cooperation with Negro representatives and to turn findings over as a basis for action to a Catholic Interracial Council or a Conference on Religion and Race. (Cleveland)

- b) Compulsory clergy seminars and formation of social action committees. (St. Louis)
  - c) Where ranking church officials are not interested in race relations problems, effort should be made to involve laity directly through local organizations, perhaps existing religious groups.
3. Formation of inter-religious, inter-racial clergy teams to visit local churches. (Chicago)
  4. Educational projects with local colleges and universities, which supply an insufficiently appreciated resource. E.g. community studies, enlistment of tutors, faculty participation. (Pittsburgh, Milwaukee)
  5. Cooperative projects of religious communities and lay volunteers in compensatory programs for children and youth from segregated inferior education and cultural environments. (Greensboro, Milwaukee)
  6. Development of special teacher training courses and/or seminars (Pittsburgh)
  7. Pre-kindergarten and kindergartens for language and other unfamiliar cultural experiences.

Despite the many possible and necessary functions open to a local conference on religion and race, such a group cannot be expected to find solutions or blueprints for a problem as large and complex as this one. This can be a discouraging admission in the sense that almost any activity by a conference on religion and race seems puny, a mere drop in the bucket compared to what is really needed. This points up the fact that the major role of the Conference on Religion and Race lies probably in the historic task of religion - enlightening people and stirring their consciences to a rededication to the principles of justice and love. Only through such an effort will the community at large be prompted to respond as it must to the total problem. Before this can be done the churches have a great deal of internal enlightenment and persuasion to be done with their own people, even their own clergy.

#### IV. MULTIPLE APPROACHES

The National Conference on Religion and Race, as well as any local conference, cannot have any single function or mode of response to the problem of racial discrimination. It is necessary to respond on all levels simultaneously. There must be work with the power-structures (meaning involvement in politics), with school boards, and with community leaders. There must be participation by the churches in compensatory and complementary projects, if for no other reason than for "witness," which acts like a leaven in the community.

#### V. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS BY EDUCATION WORKGROUP MEMBERS.

1. That local activity depends, to a considerable degree, on a powerful, national position-taking, that, in local communities, religious leaders find it very difficult to persuade their constituents if there is not evidence of a national church-wide commitment.



2. That an interfaith organization opens doors and makes possible local programs which individual denominations could not carry out. And again, national interfaith cooperation validates local interfaith cooperation.
3. That local programming cannot by itself solve problems resulting from race discrimination; that state, regional, and national programs will be necessary. This makes clear the necessity of a national organization to try to influence federal, and state agencies or governments, to do certain things, for instance aid to education, or housing, etc.
4. There is need for coordination and sharing of experiences and insights which in turn necessitates a national coordinating community center, such as the National Conference on Religion and Race.



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Project Paper - Workgroup C on "Churches and Synagogues  
in relation to Education"

By. Messrs. John McDermott and Eugene Callahan

The position paper of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race entitled "Education and Race" was submitted to the Chicago Board of Education in December of 1963. During the course of a personal meeting with the Board of Education, the Executive Committee of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race presented in detail the eight suggestions contained in the Conference's position paper.

A recent report submitted to the Chicago Board of Education by an advisory panel studying de facto segregation in the city's public schools suggested that the Board accept the "preferred services" of local religious leaders to prepare communities for integrated schools. This advisory report, which recommended enlargement of school districts as a method of achieving open enrollment, is now being studied by the Board of Education staff. The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race has again publicly expressed its willingness to assist in the implementation of the report.

The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race considers the major areas of concern of public education today to be those outlined in their position paper's eight recommendations. Implementation of these recommendations is not easy, nor has this implementation been undertaken in Chicago to any extent, as of this writing. However, religious leaders in our communities have the right to make recommendations regarding the improvement of public educational systems. Religious leaders have the obligation to assist in the upgrading of public school systems with every means at their disposal. The right must be exercised, the obligation must be fulfilled.

This position paper is designed to be a guide for the members of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race with regard to the issue of education and race.

The obligation to make respect of every neighbor a genuine reality rests upon every man of faith but in a special way upon those in educational institutions who prepare children for the obligations of citizenship. Given the pattern of continuing residential segregation, which is worsened by various types of economic and social discrimination, it is necessary that schools which nurture civilization be examined minutely to determine every reasonable method which can be employed to eradicate racism and to promote integration.

We believe that interracial contacts and friendships have positive value and must be multiplied a hundred-thousand fold if Chicago is to be a healthy city, a good place in which to worship, live and work. We believe, given the composition of our city, that it is the common Fatherhood of God which will be obscured as well as the brotherhood of man if integration at all levels does not become a natural way of life for Chicago and its suburbs.

No public policy, or for that matter the lack of policy, should be tolerated if such policy or lack is detrimental to interracial life.

It is not idle to say that Chicago's children are often precluded from dreaming together the dreams of childhood. Whether this tragedy occurs because frightened parents, sometimes dominated by irrational fear or racism, flee the coming of their brother to their neighborhood, or because of inadequate social or educational structures, this tragedy ill prepares Chicago children for adult life, robs a free society of a portion of its vigor and leads to community mistrust, dissension and even hostility and violence. This is why swift progress is overdue to establish and perfect the educational arrangements in such manner as to promote inter-cultural life. These arrangements all must be animated and permeated with a spirit of brotherhood else they do no service to Chicago.

We are mindful of the heavy burdens which administration imposes upon administrators, mindful of the complexities which must be thought through by policy makers, and of the difficult work it is to bring young minds and hearts to useful and noble purposes.

But we sense and know the profound restlessness of so many parents who desire to see all our city's children unpenalized by race or color and free to develop to full capacity.

We ask all the members of our community to do what they can, to make sacrifices, to lay aside fears, eliminate hostilities and root out prejudices in order that the just dreams of all parents for their beloved children may be swiftly realized insofar as possible. As religious leaders, we point out the rewards that brotherhood will bring to Chicago, and remind our entire community that racism in any form is inimical to God.

We ask the religious schools to continue to lead in preparing students for integrated life because their duty is so abundantly clear, but we insist that no public or private institution content itself with waiting for another's initiative.

Our own vision of Chicago's future, resting in part on the work of educators and schools, is of a city in which each human person is respected, but a city also in which all men are truly brothers, collaborating in every possible way, drawing mutually upon the talents and resources of one another, enhancing the greatness of the city.

We intend to charge our own congregations with that vision of brotherhood and further to encourage religious people to make full use of good means to achieve justice through love.

Finally, we make what we think are eight useful suggestions, tangibly demonstrating that brotherhood is not abstract but concrete, hopefully useful in reducing the present gap which exists between our belief and our actual practice

1. An official policy of the Board of Education favoring racial integration wherever possible in schools would be an important first step toward giving Negro and white pupils equal educational opportunities and an experience which would prepare today's educationally integrated children for tomorrow's racially integrated living.
2. Formation of an inter-racial commission to propose ways for implementing the policy of integration would be advisable.
3. Racially-integrated faculties should be one of the goals of this policy of integration.
4. An analysis of the needs of schools which have suffered as a result of de facto segregation should be undertaken and a program instituted to remedy any deficiencies.
5. A program of sharing more equitably with all schools the skills of experienced teachers and administrators should be developed.
6. Information about the achievement level of Chicago pupils should be gathered and additional specific programs should be instituted to provide more special attention for those children whose achievement levels are below average.
7. The cost for adequate education for the twentieth century should be assessed and revealed to the public.
8. Organized bi-racial, inter-faith teams should be prepared to talk to PTA's and other community groups in areas where schools are to be integrated.

National Consultation  
Conference on Religion and Race  
St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

Summary Report of Workshop Discussions: Workshop B  
"Churches and Synagogues in relation to  
Employment"

Chairman: Leo Boharon                      Recorder: Melvin Cooperman  
Project Paper: Carl Lynem of Lexington, Kentucky

1. INTRODUCTION

In attempting to summarize the discussions centered around the question of employment of Negroes and other equally deprived minority groups, it became readily apparent early in the work group's sessions that due to the vast differences in the economic conditions in various parts of the country, a project for successfully obtaining a significant number of opportunities in one locality may be of necessity doomed to failure in another.

The nature of our problem may best be defined as: (1) What steps can be taken to remedy the under utilization of qualified Negroes in private business and industry? (2) What steps may be taken to prepare the unqualified for useful economic existences? In this context, two aspects of the problem were delineated: (a) apprentice programs, cooperative work programs, distributive education, etc. (b) the creation of greater opportunities for on-the-job training programs, whereby an income is provided while the individual is obtaining the requisite knowledge and skills.

A third, but less emphasized theme was that of adjusting job qualifications so that they realistically reflect the actual demands of the job in question. Thus, for example, applicants find that they are required to exhibit stenographic skills, when, in actuality, the position is one which does not utilize the skills, such as billing clerk or simple typist. In other instances, the content of ability testing instruments display the same disparity between the degree of knowledge and education required to answer the test items and that required for adequate on-the-job performance.

11. SOME BASIC QUESTIONS

There has been evidence of ducking of responsibility, vis-a-vis labor and management, in regard to the opening up of new jobs and new job classifications for Negroes. Thus, while it is apparent that neither wishes to accept the responsibility for dealing with the problem of minority employment, the motivation for this avoidance of meeting the issue appears to be clear, i.e. simple, undisguised prejudice or fear of encountering it in a given business or indeed an entire industry.

A second basic question which was dealt with in our sessions pertains to the necessity of determining to what extent discrimination is responsible for lack of job opportunities, and to what extent the existence of localized impoverishment is responsible. While it should be recognized that each plays a role, it must also be recognized that there will be areas where no amount of agitation, economic pressure or even good intentions can create job opportunities in a community where there are no resources. Furthermore, it was recognized that what we are often engaged in are simple stopgap measures designed to take up a certain amount of slack on a localized basis while,



hopefully, major efforts are being undertaken on a broader scale to deal with the serious economic dislocations which exist at present and which will become more evident as the technical revolution in industry bites deeper into the fabric of our society.

### III. COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES

#### Lexington, Kentucky

In the project paper which served as the starting point for our discussions, the Lexington, Kentucky Committee on Religion and Human Rights reported, through its Vice-Chairman, Mr. Carl Lynem that after a protracted period of demonstrations, directed toward places of public accommodations as well as toward the opening of employment opportunity, the Committee was able to respond to a desire of some members of the Lexington business community to undertake efforts to cease these disruptions of normal economic and community life. The Lexington Committee on Human Rights representing as it did the combined efforts of the religious community was consulted in an effort to achieve stabilization. Thus, the role of their local Conference on Religion and Race was acting as that of a third force. By a process of canvassing 68 business establishments in the community, a total of 18 new job classifications in non-traditional categories were obtained. These, however, were primarily in the retail field.

#### Williamston, North Carolina

After a series of civil rights demonstrations in the town of Williamston, North Carolina, the North Carolina Council on Religion and Race (based in Raleigh) attempted to bring about a stabilized situation in the area through a face-to-face appeal which was later abandoned due to well grounded apprehensions that individuals attempting to secure pledges of non-violence would be subject to physical assault and a vigorous invocation of trespass laws. It was at this point that the Council undertook to assay the economic situation. They were faced with the following barriers: 62% of all families in Williamston had incomes of under \$3000. Of the White community, 44.3% fell into this category while in the Negro community 84.1% were included. Thus, it became apparent, that the efforts of civil rights groups to secure job opportunities in the area were futile and what was being faced here was the insurmountable combination of discrimination, repression, and impoverishment.

#### Toledo, Ohio

The Toledo area's Interfaith Conference on Religion and Race undertook, in the spring of 1963, what was hopefully a vast educational campaign directed against discriminatory practices in the area via the use of hand bills, posters, and newspaper ads. The representative of the group reporting the project stated flatly, it was, indeed, a disappointing experience if not a failure. However, in an unexpected follow-up, stimulated by the attempt on the part of the Conference, a coalition of Negro organizations purchased a newspaper ad and in turn followed this up by contacting some 30 firms in Toledo. The result was the creation of



several training programs, and some token employment. The total time elapsed was a period of six months from the establishment of the Conference to the combined efforts with the Negro organizations.

#### North Carolina

A representative from North Carolina reported on the effectiveness of the Right to Work laws on the opening of employment opportunity. He stated flatly that the effect was completely negative in so far as it is impossible to bring labor pressure to bear on management in order to secure greater Negro job opportunity. Furthermore, the climate of opinion which produces Right to Work laws is one which is almost by nature hostile to the aims of civil rights and equal employment opportunity oriented groups.

While the state Conservation and Development Commission has been able to bring in some new industry, and while new jobs have opened up, no effort has been established by the state body to obtain a fair share of the new jobs for Negroes.

#### Washington, D.C.

The Interreligious Committee on Race Relations called a labor-management conference to raise the question of job training programs. The problem was tossed back and forth between the two groups, with neither willing to accept responsibility for breaking the traditional patterns of apprenticeship training programs and cooperative work programs in which unions were involved. Each group was perfectly willing to call the other villain and neither was willing to take the first step in breaking the deadlock. If anything was indicated in this conference, it was that local Race and Religion Conferences should be prepared to engage in protracted efforts to break this deadlock (should they feel it would be worthwhile to enter this area.)

#### Milwaukee

The Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race was successful in obtaining a grant of \$30,000 from a major business organization, on the condition that matching funds be raised from other sources. The net result was the creation of a job training program, the details of which are still in the process of development.

#### San Francisco

The San Francisco Conference on Religion and Race set out to obtain from a variety of business establishments a commitment to work towards a 15% to 30% utilization rate of Negro employees in the automobile industry, (including dealers) hotels, and retail grocers while rejecting any attempt to use economic buying pressure by religious groups.

All this while, the San Francisco group worked with the clear realization that minority employment problems will never be solved without the actuality of a truly dynamic economy that can create as many jobs as it has been able to destroy.

#### IV. MAJOR QUESTIONS

Discussions during the sessions of this work group centered around five basic themes which were returned to again and again in evaluating specific experiences and in posing questions to those reporting them: (a) Is the major thrust in breaking the apprentice training deadlock to be leveled at labor, or management, or should government assistance be sought?

(b) The constant necessity of determining the quantitative composition of the employment problem in a particular area. Thus, it is necessary to carefully analyze to what degree the problem may be attributed to discrimination and to what degree the problem must be laid at the door of economic pathology.

(c) Related to this question is the important consideration of whether or not to become deeply involved as Conferences on Religion and Race in shaping the major trends in our economic life, especially as regards the impact of cybernation on job demands and the factors of human obsolescence and the changing nature of the relationship between actual labor and the right to physical sustenance. (d) Should conferences on religion and race take only the "short view", and function as simply catalysts in the opening of what employment opportunities can reasonably be expected to emerge from dedicated efforts to create them? (e) Should the use of economic pressure as expressed in the purchasing practices and contract award procedures of our religious institutions be a desirable or effective, means of opening new employment opportunities for Negroes?

#### V. MINOR THEMES IN THE DISCUSSIONS

A. The question was raised in regard to the vast amounts of money spent by major American corporations in what are, ostensibly, public relations efforts, among them programs of education in Americanism and Anti-Communism. To what extent can these monies be redirected to job training programs and the creation of job opportunities by these corporations?

B. Are we prepared to affect changes in the policies of craft unions, with special reference to the "grandfather" clause?

C. Is political action, relevant to basic economic issues, the proper area of involvement for the Conference on Religion and Race?

D. Can we expect some backlash reaction from the southern churches in attempting to influence employment opportunities?

#### VI. THE INNER LIFE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

A strong desire on the part of participants in this work-group to effectuate "house cleaning" measures within religious institutions was emphasized early in our discussions. This question was related to two major areas. The first was in the pastorate, and the practices of the placement commissions of the several denominations. (In one denomination it was reported that the Negro ministers there simply rotate a small group of pulpits among themselves.)

Another aspect of the inner life of the religious institutions related to the employment policies of their service institutions. Taken on a national scale, religious bodies are rather prodigious employers, and there is much room for improvement in the employment policies of the churches and church related institutions.

Furthermore, on the national scene, churches and their institutions represent an enormous reservoir of purchasing power which can, and should, be employed as another means of moral suasion by the adoption of policies of selective patronage.

## VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Work Group on Employment submits the following recommendations to the national leadership of the Conference on Religion and Race.

### A. Creation of Job Opportunities

Having affirmed the morality of Fair Employment Practices legislation in its programmatic recommendations of January, 1963, the National Conference on Religion and Race must re-affirm this moral commitment through action. It is therefore recommended that the following steps be taken:

1. That steps be taken to initiate an approach to the President of the United States to call a conference of America's religious leadership, and the leadership of labor and industry to mobilize all the elements in the creation of greater opportunity for minority employment and to enlist private resources in the war on poverty.
2. An express purpose of that conference will be to enlist the cooperation of industry and labor in the efforts of local Conferences on Religion and Race. Toward this end, national corporations and trade unions will be asked to communicate with their regional units, down to the lowest levels of organization, advising them of the existence of local Conferences in their area.
3. It is regarded as essential to the purposes of this Conference that local Conferences on Religion and Race meet with labor and management in order that each may accept its share of responsibility in the expansion of employment qualification programs.
4. In order that a greater number be enabled to qualify for a wider variety of jobs, local Conferences can be instrumental in persuading employers to set more realistic requirements and qualifications, in line with the actual degree of skill required for adequate job performance.
5. Since outright discrimination is still the basic problem in many areas, local Conferences must continue to press for adequate FEP legislation on municipal and state levels.

### B. THE INNER LIFE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

1. Employment policies of religious bodies should be reviewed immediately to determine if they reflect adequate utilization of minority personnel in all phases of their institutional life. This is especially true with respect to qualified professionals,

such as the various levels of medical personnel in hospitals, nursing homes, and other institutions employing such people, social workers, teachers, dietitians, and other similar classifications, in churches, schools, community centers, hospitals, and senior citizens residences, to name a few.

2. In order to encourage business establishments in our communities to adopt non-discriminatory employment practices, religious institutions are urged to show preference in the purchasing of merchandise and the letting of contracts, to those firms which pursue fair employment policies.

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National Consultation  
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St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

Project Paper - Workgroup B on "Churches and Synagogues  
in relation to Employment"

By. Mr. Carl Lynem of Lexington, Kentucky

The major role the Employment Sub-committee of the Lexington Committee on Religion and Human Rights has played was largely thrust upon it as a result of CORE demonstrations in our community last summer. Partially in response to these demonstrations, a group of six downtown merchants met with CORE representatives to determine what that organization wanted. Feeling that the motives for the demonstrations were not clear, our Employment Sub-committee was asked by the group to contact all downtown merchants informing them that CORE was boycotting and demonstrating against all stores discriminating in hiring.

At a second meeting with CORE and NAACP representatives a week later, fifteen retail merchants were present. These men stated their desire to employ at the earliest possible time qualified Negroes in any and all positions. Since all merchants were not aware of this meeting our subcommittee was again called upon to contact the remainder of the downtown retail community. The merchants who attended the meeting agreed to the use of their firms' names to endorse the letter, which stated that subcommittee representatives would be in touch with them shortly to discuss the job opportunity situation.

Thus began our most time-consuming project to date. Some 68 merchants were personally contacted and the following questions asked

1. What positions do Negroes presently occupy in your store?
2. Would you consider employing without regard to race or creed?
3. Have Negroes been employed in any responsible or non-traditional job classifications?
4. Do you have now or will you have in the near future any job openings?
5. Are you prepared to train on the job?
6. What are the proper qualifications for employment?
7. Would you permit the use of your firm's name in our contacts with other firms?

Of the firms contacted three were completely refractory, refusing to be interviewed. Fifteen firms would not permit us to use their names, although they maintained they had non-discriminatory hiring practices. To demonstrate what a wide range of interpretation was given the phrase, non-discriminatory, of two firms which claimed to be so, one large department store maintains segregated lunch facilities for employees and a furniture store executive stated that Negro employees were treated just like everyone else as long as they "kept their place". This latter firm, incidentally, in its printed employment policy states that there shall be no discrimination based on race, color or creed, except that "the company does insist that the applicant not be atheistic". The relationship between theology and furniture sales was not made clear.



The job classifications held by Negroes at the time of these interviews covered some eighteen categories and in several instances had Negroes supervising white colleagues.

The second phase of this operation was to re-canvass all the firms covered in the original survey, plus the fifteen "liberal" firms which were represented at the second meeting referred to previously. At the present time this second survey is incomplete, but results to date show an encouraging 51% of thirty firms interviewed have employed Negroes in non-traditional job categories since last fall.

If a moral is to be drawn it might be that good thoughts without good works will not get the job done. The good works in this instance are the dirty work of direct, non-violent action, for without it we may be assured that Lexington would not be as far along the road to true fair employment as it is today.



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St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

Summary Report of Workshop Discussions Workshop A  
"Churches and Synagogues in relation to Housing."

Chairman: Mrs. Charlotte Meacham.

Recorder: Rev. Tollie L. Caution

Project Paper: Rev. James J. Sheehan of Detroit

I. THE CHURCHES' OWN COMMITMENT

1. Setting its own home in order.
2. Strengthening the witness of its members (e.g. booklet from American Baptist Convention on display).
3. The pastor confronts his member ... the member confronts his pastor.
4. How can clergymen help each other to become committed?
5. The commitment of the Negro churches
  - a. Fear of urging residential integration lest a pastor's all-Negro congregation be weakened.
  - b. Dilemma of choosing a new site if relocation is necessary ... (at the edge of the ghetto? in an integrated neighborhood? how far from the present concentration of Negroes?)

II. CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

1. Conferences
  - a. Detroit Open Occupancy Conference, January 2; 3, 1963 . (Father Sheehan).
  - b. South Oakland County Conference, April 12, 1964 - (Father Sheehan).
2. Encouragement of Fair Housing Groups and/or Services
  - a. Suburban Maryland Fair Housing (S.M.F.H.) (Rev. Wiley Prugh) and others, aided by a staff member from the American Friends Service Committee have helped over thirty Negro families move without violence into Montgomery County adjacent to the District of Columbia, within the past fifteen months.
  - b. "Fair Housing Handbook" prepared by the American Friends Service Committee and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, containing many practical suggestions in this area, will be published in June of 1964 at a cost of approximately 25¢.
  - c. Community relations work in the suburbs (e.g. easing tensions) A. F. S. C.
  - d. Listing buyers and sellers (e.g. H O M E. in Chicago)
  - e. Education work for fair housing legislation
    - 1) With respect to Negroes
      - ...Greater difficulty in obtaining reasonable financing when moving into previously all-white, or into an integrated neighborhood.
      - ...Fear of losing physical, emotional, and moral security as well as not gaining social acceptance in the predominantly white area.

...Should priority be given to moving Negroes into the far-out more expensive suburbs rather than the middle income suburbs nearer the cities on the grounds that once the higher level of white society is integrated residentially the threat of a loss of social prestige will seem less important to the lower levels of white society? Is this theory valid?

- f. Work with builders and real estate industry (e.g. Wilmington, Delaware where quite recently an agreement was reached among all the various strata of society, Dupont, the churches, realtors builders, financiers, etc. to take positive and direct steps to make open housing a reality.)
  - g. Work with other members of the business community., e.g., large industries often own private homes for their highly mobile executives. Having government contracts, they must hire on a merit basis without discrimination. Why should they not also be required to lease their homes on a non-discriminatory basis?
3. Bridging Alienation and Creating Community
- a. An excellent example of all the above mentioned ways of encouraging fair housing is the Toledo Covenant Card Campaign (Presented by Rev. Garnett Phibbs).

### III. THE CHURCH AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION

- 1. Federal Civil Rights Legislation
  - a. For example, Joint testimony by the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America before several committees of the U. S. House of Representatives.
  - b. Admission by Congressmen of effective pressure by clergymen for passage of the Civil Rights Bill in the House.
- 2. State Laws, City Ordinances, Referenda.
  - a. State laws: About seventeen (17) in existence
  - b. City Ordinances Examples, ----
    - Philadelphia (September, 1962)
    - Detroit (October, 1963, defeated 7-2)
    - St. Louis (January, 1964. passed 15-4 -- 15 votes required).
    - Toledo (only place where ordinance has been sustained in the courts but is still being challenged).
  - c. Referenda:
    - Existing ordinances defeated recently in Portland, Oregon, Tacoma, Washington (4 to 1), Seattle, Washington (2 to 1), Berkeley, California - An "Initiative Petition", which attempts to repeal the state-wide Rumford Law and make future legislation on fair housing impossible, has gained sufficient signatures to be put on the ballot next November in California.

#### IV. URBAN RENEWAL

##### 1. Relocation

- a. Unlike the situation prior to 1961 when a relocation office could not be established until the first property was purchased, present law provides for a relocation office and other services from the date on which the renewal project is first officially announced.
- b. Syracuse, New York, parish families take responsibility for finding dwellings for those who must be relocated; this is called "Sponsorship". At present eighteen (18) parishes of various faiths are sponsoring families. There are more than 30 working committees involved.

##### 2. Professional Preparation

- a. Each faith should have some of its members study urban redevelopment to bring professional competence to the suggestions made by the churches (e.g. Father John Page, a Canadian Jesuit, is studying for a Ph.D. in City Planning at the University of Pennsylvania).

##### 3. Lexington (Kentucky) Committee on Religion and Human Rights - (Mrs. Adams)

- a. "Housing expediter" requested after no cooperation from local realtors and official code-enforcers
- b. A Negro member urged for the Zoning Board to fight against the granting of variances for building sub-standard housing in the ghetto.
- c. University of Kentucky sociologist, aided by a hundred interviewers, will on one day gather data from about 500 people on community attitudes toward open occupancy. Possible move-ins are contemplated in areas discovered to have a "more favorable" attitude.

##### 4. West End Community Conference - (St. Louis) - (Mrs. Voss)

- a. "We started out as a neighborhood organization, and ended up as a civil rights group".  
"We started out accepting integration and ended up fighting for it".
- b. The keystone of neighborhood stabilization is a good school.
- c. "West End Renewal Plan" - announced in September of 1963, possibly to involve about \$14,000,000. A \$750,000 seven-months survey of needs and wishes now being completed.  
Importance. This is the first real citizen participation by a neighborhood community association in planning for its own area. Note Here is stressed the need for political sophistication., e.g., point 7 of "The Workable Plan" for continued federal funds demands citizen participation.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF WORKSHOP ON HOUSING

BECAUSE we believe that every American has the God-given right to obtain shelter of such quality and location as his needs require and his economic means permit, without being hindered from enjoying a free man's mobility on the basis of his race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry:

BECAUSE we believe that the present wide-spread pattern of segregated housing

- 1) imposes an unjust financial burden via exorbitant rentals and inflated mortgage payments,
- 2) perpetuates de facto segregation in education, and in recreational and other facilities,
- 3) creates slums by forced overcrowding,
- 4) requires the spending of huge sums for urban renewal, yet by limiting the area of relocation for minority families hinders this renewal from being effective,
- 5) aggravates the problems of metropolitan cooperation by creating an inner city of minorities and a white suburban belt which handicaps efforts to solve common problems for the good of both,
- 6) continues past misunderstandings and stereotypes by preventing personal, frequent, interracial communication on an every-day, normal, neighborhood basis,

WE BELIEVE that the religious communities of America must give priority to encouraging through education and action an integrated pattern of residency throughout this land.

TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL WE COMMIT OURSELVES:

I. TO HELP CREATE A CLIMATE OF ACCEPTANCE FOR ALL PEOPLE:

- 1) By urging the formation of responsible neighborhood associations whose goals are to maintain high standards of home care and public services, and to welcome all good neighbors regardless of race.
- 2) By helping citizens and groups to become familiar with housing codes, and by insisting that local authorities strictly enforce them to eradicate sub-standard housing and to prevent gradual decay.
- 3) By allaying fears through giving convincing answers via panels, institutes, conferences, lectures and other means of communication to the usual objections to integrated housing, such as the alleged drop in property values,
- 4) By cooperating in the creation of defenses against "block-busting" and all other panic tactics, especially by asking ethical realtors to continue showing houses to interested whites in an area becoming integrated.
- 5) By sponsoring "Home-to-home" visits of all races, when such are joined to a campaign for open occupancy.
- 6) By influencing members of local religious bodies to sell or rent their own property on an open housing basis, and to express their willingness for their neighbors to do the same, through the signing of open covenant cards.



- 7) By cooperating with local organizations for freedom of residence in compiling lists of buyers and sellers willing to cooperate in open housing.
- 8) By seeking the cooperation on a moral basis of licensed real-estate agents, builder-developers, home-financers, and practicing attorneys to help achieve integrated housing.

**II. TO HELP NEIGHBORHOODS DURING THE PERIOD OF BECOMING INTEGRATED**

- 9) By dispelling rumors through obtaining and communicating the facts in the case.
- 10) By personally visiting and welcoming the new families, and encouraging others to do likewise.
- 11) By offering the protection of one's physical presence and moral power, if needed, against overt demonstrations of hostility.
- 12) By striving to have new families become active members of the neighborhood associations.
- 13) By encouraging religious leaders to live in integrated neighborhoods whenever possible.

**III. TO WORK FOR LEGISLATION WHICH WILL HELP STABILIZE NEIGHBORHOODS**

- 14) By striving to have open occupancy laws and ordinances passed where non-existent, strengthened when necessary, and enforced where adopted.
- 15) By opposing those who overturn such legislation through referendums and other like means.
- 16) By preparing members of religious bodies through professional training to cooperate intelligently and officially in city planning.
- 17) By working for the erection of middle-income housing in central-city areas, for the dispersal of public housing in smaller projects through the city and suburbs, and for genuine citizen participation in these programs.

**IV. TO USE CHURCH FUNDS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PROMOTE INTEGRATED HOUSING**

- 18) By vigorously opposing and refusing to be parties to any restrictive covenant or agreement in the sale or rental of property owned or controlled by religious institutions.
- 19) By investing funds in integrated housing projects and developments with the conscious goal of fostering equality of opportunity.
- 20) By making church funds available for mortgage purposes to those unable, for racial reasons, to obtain reasonable financing through other channels.

National Consultation  
Conferences on Religion and Race  
St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

Summary Report of Workshop Discussions    Workshop E  
"Churches and Synagogues in relation to Civil  
Rights Legislation"

Chairman    Rev. M. L. Wilson    Recorder    Leo Marsh  
Project Paper.    Rev. Clyde Everton of Santa Barbara, California

1. This Workshop fully endorses Civil Rights Legislation as an effective instrument and positive force in the reduction and elimination of practices of discrimination and segregation because of race or religion in Education, in Housing, in Employment and in Public Accommodations.
2. The Workgroup agreed that there are needs justifying Civil Rights Legislation at the Municipal, State and Federal level.
3. There are educational and interpretive values in Civil Rights Legislation.
4. It is the responsibility of the religious community to cooperate and to give leadership in initiating legislation which protects the rights of people such as their Civil Rights.
5. The pulpit and the teaching ministry are appropriate places to present facts about Civil Rights legislation and to appeal to the conscience
6. The clergy and the laity have the opportunity and the responsibility to be in the front as leaders of their congregations in the support of Civil Rights legislation. At this time, a strong federal civil rights bill is a high moral responsibility for all Americans.
7. Religiously oriented people and the whole religious community should keep themselves fully informed about existing and pending legislation on Civil Rights
8. The Conference on Religion and Race should call upon all of its constituents to move immediately to communicate with their Senators, urging them to support the Civil Rights Bill
9. The religious community should take frequent opportunities to test whether Civil Rights legislation is being obeyed.
10. The religious community should establish contact and communication with influential leaders in their respective communities in an effort to enlist support for Civil Rights legislation.
11. Concern for Civil Rights legislation in the United States is an integral part of a world concern for Human Rights for all races and nations as expressed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council.
12. The Workgroup recognizes that clear ethical and moral obligations motivate us to support the Civil Rights Bill, it is not an end in itself but only the beginning of the struggle to gain for all citizens the rights of equal justice under law.

13. The Workgroup recommends that an interpretative advertisement, professionally prepared as a counter action to the Blackjack ads, be made available to local committees, we urge that local groups sponsor and run this advertisement in their local newspapers, if local newspapers refuse to publish the advertisement, then the religion and race group should print the same on handbills for wide community distribution.
14. The Workgroup recommends that the religious community promote voter registration of all citizens.



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7  
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Project Paper - Workgroup E on "Churches and Synagogues  
in relation to Civil Rights Legislation"

By: Rev. Clyde Everton of Santa Barbara, California

The city of Santa Barbara is rightfully considered by many people as one of the most beautiful cities in our land, and there are many residents who are much aware of the physical beauty surrounding their homes but who are blind to the problems confronting the minority groups in their midst. Until recently, at least, many well-informed persons were unaware of the tremendous housing problems facing Negroes who wished to live outside the depressed areas and were evidently unconcerned about the fact that no Negroes were employed as clerks in any of the stores and shops in the central shopping area.

However, late in 1962 a group of Santa Barbara citizens who were concerned about these conditions met together to set up an organization to deal with the problems of minority groups in the community as well as to work for better conditions for minorities in the state of California as well as the nation as a whole. The name chosen for this new organization was F. A. I. R. - the Fellowship to Advance Inter-group Relations.

By April 1963 after several meetings the by-laws and purpose were drawn up and approved. The purpose was set forth as follows.

To help members of minority groups attain equality of opportunity in areas of housing, education and employment, to support and aid those members of the community who are willing to treat members of minority groups fairly; to educate those members of the community who are unfamiliar with the dangerous social consequences of unfair treatment of members of minority groups; to avoid doing injustice to any person in the name of justice while accomplishing these purposes.

Once the organization was definitely established, appeals for financial support were sent out to persons who might be interested with memberships ranging from one dollar to twenty-five dollars. An encouraging response to this appeal supplied the funds necessary to implement the educational function envisaged by the group.

At the same time that F. A. I. R. was coming into existence, the California state legislature was considering a fair-housing bill. So one of the first official acts of F. A. I. R. was to alert its membership and friends of the urgency of this legislation and to ask that individuals write to their legislators to support this bill. We hope that our efforts may have contributed some good influence to the cause, for the bill did pass.

In June 1963 F. A. I. R. made its debut with its first public program in the adult education theatre by presenting the film, "Walk in My Shoes." After the film a panel of a doctor, a clergyman, an attorney and a political scientist, all Negroes and all residents of Santa Barbara, answered questions about the film as well as about local conditions. The response to this program was very gratifying, for the auditorium was not large enough to accommodate all those who came. We took this opportunity to distribute information about F. A. I. R. and various pamphlets about fair housing and civil rights.

A few weeks later the same film was shown again to a full theatre. A different panel of both white and colored residents answered questions from the audience after the showing of the film.

In mid-July F. A. I. R. sponsored the showing of another film in a large school auditorium, "Property Values and Race". At this meeting Mr. Edward Eichler, a well-known California builder and chairman of Governor Brown's Commission on Housing, and Mr. James Flournoy, Los Angeles attorney and Republican candidate for the State Board of Equalization, spoke on the matter of fair housing. This program was presented with the cooperation of the Democratic League and the New Frontier Club.

In August F. A. I. R. assisted one of our Negro members to go to Washington, D.C., to participate in the March.

Early in the fall a clearing-house was set up for persons who were willing to sell or rent available housing to minority groups through the cooperation of a local realtor. Also a committee was set in motion to do research into the nature and extent of racial problems in the community. Information was circulated among church groups and other organizations that F. A. I. R. would be happy to provide speakers to discuss fair housing and civil rights.

In October F. A. I. R. sponsored a public meeting in the parish hall of Trinity Episcopal Church to hear the Rev. Julian J. Keiser of Pasadena and the Rev. Martin J. Bell of Los Angeles report on the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race.

During this past winter F. A. I. R. has attempted to educate the community in regards to the constitutional amendment proposed by the California Real Estate Association, and F. A. I. R. urged that residents not sign the petition to put this measure on the ballot, for the measure would outlaw all fair-housing legislation both at present and in the future. However, the petition was successful, and the measure will be on the November ballot.

In the fight against the constitutional amendment F. A. I. R. has cooperated closely with another citizens group known as the Santa Barbara Committee for Fair Housing, by jointly sponsoring a newspaper advertisement and by making a cash contribution to the group's treasury.

In December F. A. I. R. sent a letter to all clergymen in the parishes of Santa Barbara about the petition to get the constitutional amendment on the ballot, urging the clergy to inform their people of the moral issue involved in this matter and to ask their people not to sign it.

F. A. I. R. continually urged its membership to write their national representatives to support the Civil Rights Bill when it was being considered in the House of Representatives, and now members are encouraged to write to their senators and to President Johnson about the pending civil rights legislation.

In the months ahead F. A. I. R. has a tremendous task to try further to educate the community about the dangers of the proposed constitutional amendment on the November ballot. We feel that every effort possible must be put forth to defeat this amendment.



During its first year of existence F. A. I. R. has seen some improvement in the Negro employment situation to the extent that Santa Barbara banks are employing Negroes, and a few Negroes have been employed as clerks in stores located in the central business district. The housing situation has possibly improved, too, in that more people than before are concerned and are willing to sell or rent to Negroes. This situation is perhaps helpful to Negroes in professional and white-collar jobs, but it has not helped the average Negro family to move out of the depressed areas.

During F. A. I. R.'s first year the local newspaper The Santa Barbara News-Press has been very cooperative in publicity about meetings sponsored by F. A. I. R. as well as in coverage of the meetings themselves. The newspaper seems to be sympathetic generally toward fair housing and civil rights, editorially and in state and national coverage.

From the beginning F. A. I. R. has represented many religious groups and several races. It continues to have very friendly relations with other organizations such as N.A.A.C.P. working for civil rights.

As mentioned earlier F. A. I. R.'s primary task at the moment seems to be in educating the community why it must vote against the proposed constitutional amendment in November. Since Santa Barbara is located in an area populated by a very vocal "conservative" element, this is not an easy task. Whether F. A. I. R.'s job is any harder than in other parts of California is rather difficult to know.

Our overall job for the future seems to be educating for civil rights. We will continue to show motion pictures and to provide speakers and to use every other possible means in our effort to promote civil rights in the community, in the state and in the nation.

Retyped 4/21/64  
National Conference on Religion and Race  
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632  
New York, 10011  
Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director/cjt

National Consultation  
Conferences on Religion and Race  
St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

**Summary Report of Workshop Discussions: Workshop D**  
**"Churches and Synagogues in relation to Non-**  
**violent Direct Action".**

Chairman: Rev. J. Metz Rollins      Records: Rev. and Mrs. E. B. Hicks  
Project Paper. Dr. Paul Hanlon of St. Louis

Dr. Paul Hanlon presented his Project Paper, raising questions and setting forth the following forms of Direct Action.

1. Peaceful Picketing. May be done by ministerial groups, lay people, and/or other religious groups, along with NAACP, CORE, SCLC, Urban League and SNCC.
2. Selective buying. Avoiding purchases from firms who discriminate against minorities. Buying from firms that practice fair employment policies.
3. Demonstrations, such as Sit-ins, parades, etc.
4. Using newspaper ads to publicize issues.
5. Develop team of negotiators to maintain contact and to negotiate differences and arrive at conclusions within frame-work of demands made by the demonstrators.

It was brought out that there must be a disinterested reason for demonstrations, rather than for motives of self-interest.

Each side should have privilege of presenting its claims and there should be ample opportunity to discuss. Each side should respond in good faith.

Reactions from the group indicated that some were concerned that proposals in Dr. Hanlon's paper talked about using the power structure of local communities. In some communities this is not possible. Therefore, it is best to get a cross-section of interested people to demonstrate.

The Negro representative that some people pick may not be acceptable to the grass roots section of the Negro Community. Care should be exercised in the selection of any representative of any minority group, lest he be labeled an "Uncle Tom".

We have the problem ever with us as to "How to motivate religious leaders in churches and synagogues to become involved in Civil Rights issues?"

The question was repeatedly raised, "Are churches and synagogues really interested in practicing what they preach? Is theology reduced to humanism? Have churches and synagogues understood social action?"

People attempting to find an outlet often work outside their area to obtain a big name while refusing to work at home-base. Case in point is going to Mississippi to point up failures there while doing nothing at home to relieve the plight of depressed minorities.

Ultimate goal of demonstrations is social justice and reconciliation of the races. Demonstrations are not ends within themselves, but are a means to an end. Love and justice must be inseparable graces exercised by men and women of good will in churches, synagogues, and communities.

Each one's role in the struggle must be a personal decision. There must be front-line soldiers and there must be those that support from the side-lines. One can be valuable without having been to jail, yet jail is preferred rather than the loss of human dignity.

Other forms of Non-Violent Direct Action are: Silent marches, economic withdrawal, sit-ins, sleep-ins, and prayer vigils. Telephone campaigns are sometimes successful.

Clergymen are often found in the role of Interpreters and must give answer to some of the following questions

1. How love and justice are involved in Civil Rights struggle?
2. How to get justice for minority groups?
3. How to interpret social change in today's world.
4. How an individual can be an active supporter of the Civil Rights Movement?
5. How can we fight discrimination?

The churches and synagogues are involved in the Civil Rights struggle and should not wait until issues are joined, but should help give guidance and direction to the drive for Rights. This is because love without justice is empty. Basic injustices must be removed before one can love completely.

Face to face relationships of the people of the churches and synagogues with Civil Rights leaders and face to face relationships between majority and minority people are most helpful in building a healthy climate for Religion and Race and toward mutual understanding of each other.

There must be honesty between the races to resolve inequities and injustices. There must be a closer relationship between the Negro and white clergy, wherein faith and trust becomes the corner stone on which understanding of each other is built.

Among the groups reporting at this Workgroup, the Lexington, Kentucky, delegation appears to have established the best rapport between civil rights organizations, the local religion and race conference, and the churches and synagogues of their city.

Many leaders in Civil Rights organizations on the national level, such as NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC and Urban League welcome the cooperation and well-wishes of the people of the churches and synagogues.

The question was frequently asked, "When should demonstrations begin and in which demonstration should one participate"?

Our group felt that each demonstration should be evaluated in the light of each given situation. The whys and wherefores thereof should be considered carefully. We must realize that the solution will not come tomorrow and that results achieved only after long and hard work, beset with some failures, mistakes and hard knocks. We are moving toward the ultimate goal of victory in our generation.

The structure of our various religious institutions prevents us developing new steps and/or outlining a step-by-step procedure in respect to demonstrations, civil rights movements, involvement of churches, synagogues and/or individuals in such a broad cooperative venture. Each must be guided by his or her own conscience in the matter of correcting a moral wrong and letting justice and love prevail in the heart.

Church groups need to recognize that demonstrations are not always in the hands of people we think are responsible leaders in Civil Rights movement.

The Conferees in Workshop "D" agreed that such active demonstrations are a valid instrumentality of petition to public authority and to public opinion and, in their judgment, they are in the best political and religious tradition of the American people.

This instrumentality must however be used with discipline and with discernment.

Retyped 4/20/64  
National Conference on Religion and Race  
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632  
New York, 10011  
Dr Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director/cjt

# OFFICE OF CHURCH AND RACE

737-9018

## THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL of the CITY of NEW YORK

475 Riverside Drive • Suite 456 • New York, N Y 10027 • RI 9-1214



DR. BENJAMIN F. PAYTON  
Director

October 14, 1965

### MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT

The New York A M E  
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New York City Mission Society

Metropolitan Association,  
N Y Conf United Church  
of Christ

The N Y Society  
of the Methodist Church

Presbytery of New York City  
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in the U S A

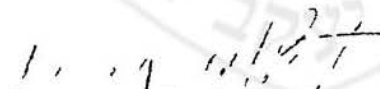
Dear Colleague

The enclosed document is an analysis of the background and the implications of the White House Conference on Civil Rights in terms of its proposed agenda. The paper argues that that agenda must be changed from a question of "Negro Family Stability" to the really hard questions of jobs, housing, and education in Metropolis. The agenda, therefore, would more probably deal with the questions of achieving Metropolitan Maturity.

The analysis also proposes that Pre-White House Conferences for metropolitan areas across the country be organized with the explicit participation of as wide a range of persons and groups as is possible. These should include ghetto community organizations and leaders, as well as representatives from the more established groups in the metropolitan areas.

It is requested that you give full attention to the document itself.

Cordially yours,

  
Benjamin F. Payton

BFP/rsw  
enc



THE PRESIDENT, THE SOCIAL EXPERTS, AND THE GHETTO  
AN ANALYSIS OF AN EMERGING STRATEGY IN CIVIL RIGHTS

By  
Benjamin F. Payton, Ph D

The well-being of a large-scale technological society is often dependent upon close cooperation between its politicians and intellectuals. Especially is this true when, as with America today, the society faces a specific issue that threatens to contravene its very existence. A most urgent example is the issue of civil rights in America, the "Moynihan Report" which purports to deal with that issue, and a strategy presently emerging from the White House which is based largely upon that report. Because of the critical stage at which the civil rights movement presently rests, clarification is desperately needed regarding the validity and the implications of the "Moynihan Report," the predictable outcomes for civil rights of a strategy based upon it, and the implications for American politics in general when the relationship between politicians, social experts and private citizens takes the particular shape produced in the aftermath of that report.

THE MOYNIHAN REPORT

Too neatly rounded out of the assumptions, limited data and interests of one social expert (the term "social expert" is used descriptively, not pejoratively), the symmetry of the report is flawed only by the simplistic logic which holds it together, the inadequate empirical evidence it utilizes, and the erroneous premises upon which it is based. Although it has not even been made public yet, the report has already had an impact upon the civil rights movement and upon more general American politics that is quite deadening and utterly misleading. Based largely upon Bureau of Census statistics, it summarizes very incomplete data in the form of some highly

questionable conclusions, the most important of which are 1 ) Since unemployment in general is decreasing in America, the riots breaking out in cities across the land cannot be positively associated with lack of jobs on the part of Negroes, 2 ) The major causal factor behind the riots, therefore, cannot be associated with present and continuing discrimination, or with an inadequate supply of job-training programs and job opportunities. The major cause of the riot lies in the history of past discrimination and exploitation when, under the conditions of chattel slavery, the Negro male was stripped of manhood, the Negro woman turned into a breeding animal for strictly economic ends, or used as a means of sexual pleasure by the white slave-masters and their sons. Thus, the sources of steadiness and strength were undermined at their roots, and Negro family stability systematically destroyed. The cause of the riots, therefore, is located in the inadequate acculturative functionings of the primary relationships which constitute the Negro family and much of the Negro community. Not inadequate housing, inferior education, or menial job-status--all discriminations, the civil rights movement has forgotten no longer exist--but hordes of illegitimate Negro teen agers, husbandless Negro women, and Negro men who have been insufficiently acculturated to the positive rewards involved in marrying and supporting the women with whom they so readily mate, in short, an all but totally pathological set of relationships internal to the Negro community. <sup>1</sup> these asserts the "Moynihan Report," are the real causes of the recent riots

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1 See The New York Times, July 19th and August 27, 1965. Also the Herald-Tribune, Evans and Novak Column, "The Moynihan Report," August 18, 1965. The writer is indebted to Dr. Anna Hedgeman of the Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches for making available to him a perceptive analysis of the report by Dr. William Ryan of the Massachusetts Commission on Children and Youth.

The first point which must be pressed against the "Moynihan Report" is that it relies upon inadequate empirical data to reach its conclusions regarding the extent of unemployment among Negroes. Census Bureau statistics and Department of Labor figures are so gross that they seldom describe accurately the employment conditions among specific groups. Even if such figures can be made to show general gains in the total employment picture, one treads on particularly hazardous grounds if those figures alone are made into parameters to describe the relative gains of specific populations. To do this accurately, statistics must be interpreted and meaning imputed to them by analysis in terms of such variables as population movement from rural areas to the cities, the particular locus in the economy where new jobs are being created and which groups are prepared or allowed to receive them, the impact of automation upon specific populations, and so forth. One cannot legitimately demonstrate that discrimination in employment is ending because, in general terms, more people are working this year than last. More people are also being born. Neither can one demonstrate that Negro incomes are bettering vis-a-vis "other" incomes simply by a showing that more Negroes are finding jobs. More than not, when Negroes move from rural areas to urban areas they increase their income by the simple fact of entering a more prosperous community without, at the same time, modifying significantly their position relative to the preponderant middle class. For the most part, the jobs they receive in urban areas are still of the most menial status.

But the really critical factor is automation and the disproportionate negative effect it has upon Negroes. So that the urban migration notwithstanding, unemployment is sharply increasing in places like Rochester, N Y and Chicago, Illinois. Thus, whereas in 1960, unemployment among Negroes in those two cities was 14 percent and 10 percent respectively, in July of

1965—shortly after the optimistic Moynihan Report—the rate was up to 17 percent in both places'

In general—Moynihan to the contrary and notwithstanding—it has been demonstrated that since the 1950's, the relative gains made by Negroes have been steadily worsening. According to Herman P. Miller, one of our most competent authorities on income statistics, "white-nonwhite income differences are not narrowing"<sup>2</sup> On the contrary. "During the last decade it shows some evidence of having widened"<sup>3</sup> This is the important and harrowing fact that social experts, policy-makers and private citizens must come to terms with. It is a major factor which continues to blight the lives of countless Negro citizens. Just as the new European immigrants rioted at the turn of the century when pressed into large urban areas without adequate jobs, housing or education, so do the "newcomers" at this date, the major difference being that they are nonwhite. The "Moynihan Report" evades the real issue, formulates a false problem, and if made the basis of strategy, will enforce misleading and inadequate solutions.

Why is the problem Moynihan formulates a false one? It is assuredly not false insofar as it suggests that "Negro family instability" exists as a problem comparable to the "family stability" problems of "other" ethnic groups. But that is not what it asserts. The burden of the report seeks to demonstrate that Negro family instability vastly out-ranks that of other groups in American society by pointing especially to the rate of illegitimacy among Negro births. Yet, the method of proof is as elusive and misleading as the issue is false. Utilizing Census Bureau statistics the report asserts

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2 Rich Man, Poor Man, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1964, p. 40

3 Ibid, p. 41



that in 1960 illegitimacy rates among Negroes was about 22 percent of all births, whereas among whites the same index was recorded at only approximately 3 percent. From these figures the report concludes that such problems as "broken homes, illegitimacy, and female-oriented homes are central to big-city Negroes" in a way that is completely foreign to the experience of any other group.<sup>4</sup>

But, the Census Bureau figures when used this way, are entirely misleading. Some of the factors not considered are 1 ) the circumstances under which illegitimate births are reported, 2 ) the disproportionate number of abortions which occur among white women relative to Negro women, 3 ) the unequal access to and use of contraceptive information and devices, and 4 ) the differential rates of adoption on the part of Negro and White illegitimate children. When Bureau of Census statistics are analyzed with these variables, an entirely different set of conclusions emerge.

As Dr. William Ryan of the Massachusetts Commission of Children and Youth has observed, under-reporting of illegitimate births occurs far more frequently among whites than among Negroes, "not only because reporting depends largely on white sources, which act in characteristically discriminatory fashion, but perhaps even more important, because the overwhelming proportion of Negro births are in public hospitals, of white births in private hospitals, where concealment is infinitely easier. This factor, though widely known in the child welfare profession, is not taken into account in the Census figures."<sup>5</sup>

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4 New York Herald-Tribune, August 18, 1965

5 Dr. William Ryan. Unpublished Memorandum on "The Moynihan Report," p. 3



In the second place, it has been estimated that somewhere between one and two million abortions occur in the United States per annum. Not only are some 30 to 40 percent of these abortions obtained by unmarried women, more important, "95 to 99 percent of women obtaining abortions are white"<sup>6</sup> And this is the main factor which explains the differential recording among Census statistics between white-nonwhite illegitimate birth ratios. Dr. Ryan estimates "roughly that the illegitimate conception rate for whites is probably 15-18 percent, for Negroes 23-25 percent. Clearly the differences are not so striking."<sup>7</sup>

Not only are the differences "not so striking," when one takes in consideration the Negroes' long history of economic and sexual exploitation, the thing that seems to require explanation is not the instability of their families but the tremendous "coping skills" developed in Negro families that have enabled so many to endure ordeals with dignity and strength. (The term "coping skills" is Dr. Hyman Lewis', Sociology Professor at Howard University)

The third and fourth factors illustrate the extent to which discrimination in American life has become an institutionalized and structural feature of the society, continuing beyond the present into the future, and not just a personal quirk on the part of antiquated slave-masters, or blatant segregationists of the present day South alone. For it is particularly in the great urban areas of contemporary America--North and South, East and West--that Negroes experience such difficulty both in gaining access to contraceptive information and devices, and in having those children adopted who,

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6 ibid

7 Ryan, op cit

in being born both black and illegitimate, are doubly condemned in the land of their birth. While significant efforts are underway to rectify the former condition, the latter remains to be ameliorated, perchance, only when the identity problem of white and black Americans can be resolved, and the black children of white fathers as well as the black children of Negro fathers be accepted for what they are Americans. For the present, the differential rate of adoption between white and Negro out-of-wedlock births, continues to overbalance welfare institutions with a preponderance of Negro children. And statistics continue to be manufactured that label Negro Americans as unfit for human society.

It becomes clear then, that the argument of the "Moynihan Report" is quite specious. It raises many more questions about the validity of the report itself than it does about the stability of the Negro family. More careful analysis will show that the problems "central" to the plight of "big-city Negroes" are not matriarchy and illegitimacy,--themselves mere symptoms of other more basic problems--but insufficient jobs and job-training programs, inferior segregated education, and inadequate and unsafe housing conditions. Negro family instability is associated with these factors as effects of more basic causes, a relationship rooted in a socio-economic system that does not provide enough of the goods and services required to live a minimally decent life, and that discriminates on the basis of race and social class considerations in the distribution of such items. Dr. Richard Cloward, a Professor in Columbia University's School of Social Work, succinctly summarizes the relationship of these factors: "Men for whom there are no jobs will nevertheless mate like other men, but they are not so likely to marry. Our society has preferred to deal with the

resulting female-headed families not by putting the men to work but by placing the unwed mothers and dependent children on public welfare--substituting check-writing machines for male wage earners. By this means we have robbed men of manhood, women of husbands, and children of fathers. To create a stable monogamous family, we need to provide men (especially Negro men) with the opportunity to be men, and that involves enabling them to perform occupationally.<sup>8</sup> The problem, therefore, is not the Negro family, but the social and economic system in which the Negro family is forced to bear burdens disproportionate to the remainder of the population.

Furthermore, a very important question to raise regarding the methodology of the "Moynihan Report" is: Does not the report confuse "change" in family functions with "breakdown" in family stability? "If, instead of examining differences in family statistics between white and Negro, we looked at differences between urban and rural, we might be tempted to say, not that the Negro family is breaking down, but that the urban family is breaking down. And, if we contrast generations, the statistics of 50 years ago with those of today, we could clearly draw the conclusion that the modern family is breaking down--with the zooming divorce, separation, illegitimacy and other rates."<sup>9</sup> Change in function does not necessarily imply instability of condition.

Some such historical perspective is necessary if we are able to understand adequately, and deal with effectively, the real forces producing upheavals in modern life. It can be argued that the basic context of these

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8 Richard Cloward "The War on Poverty," in The Nation, August 2, 1965, p. 55

9 Dr. William Ryan, op cit

forces is not the family of any ethnic group, but demographic, industrial and technological changes incubated by and expressed in Metropolitan Instability. The complex and incoherent functioning of institutions within this arena is the task to which policy-makers, social experts and private citizens need to set themselves. The President, as our Chief Policy-Maker, has already indicated as much.

#### THE PRESIDENT, CIVIL RIGHTS AND METROPOLIS

Although it is not always clear what particular shape the cooperation between politicians and social experts should take, the fact that it is necessary is expressed in the reality that it continues to take place and does not await the solutions of such a clarification. Perhaps the best working symbol of that cooperation is manifested in the fact that

"Universities are frequently the scenes of great departures in American  
 10 policy." President Johnson has clearly continued a practice, which grew to mammoth proportions during the exigencies of World War II, of involving the intellectual community more fully in the formation of new social policy for the increasingly complex needs of modern society. On two different occasions, President Johnson, at two great American universities, put his finger on precisely the kind of initiatives needed by our society at this time.

In a University of Michigan Commencement Address, Johnson, in the Spring of 1964, summarized the goals of his Administration in the concept  
 11 of the "Great Society." Whatever else the term may mean, sociologically,

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10 Theodore White The Making of the President, Atheneum Publishers  
 New York, 1965, p 390

11 Ibid, p 391

it refers to those broad changes underway in modern life which, initiated by large-scale industrial and technological forces, sustained by the migration of masses of people from different backgrounds into urban areas—and more recently, out again into the suburbs— have complicated interminably the problem of ordering society in terms of such concepts as "justice" and "the common good". The social process, therefore, which articulates our basic problem is not "family-breakdown" rooted in past injustices, but "urbanization," its concomitant incoherences, and its present discriminations. "Urbanization" raises the problem of civil rights in a new context, for "urbanization means the creation of multi-ethnic metropolises".<sup>12</sup> And the problem which is really "central," not only to Negro citizens but to all Americans is that "many central cities of the great metropolitan areas of the United States are fast becoming lower class, largely Negro slums".<sup>13</sup> Our conceptualization must be able to comprehend not only the rural deltas of Mississippi, but "The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem".<sup>14</sup>

The President, himself, hinted at this when he announced during his University of Michigan speech that he would "establish working groups to prepare a series of conferences and meetings" on America's broadest problems, the first of which listed was "on the cities".<sup>15</sup> It is here that the shifting frontier of race relations has come momentarily to rest, but in a

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12 Matthew Holden, Jr., The Journal of Politics, V 26, #3 August 1964, p 637

13 Morton Grodzins, in American Race Relations Today, Raab, ed., Doubleday Anchor Book, p 85

14 The title of Morton Grodzins' article, op cit

15 Quoted in White, The Making of the President, 1964, op cit p 391

16 Ibid



way that will predictably deny rest to any of us until the desiderata basic to urban peace are adequately addressed. The basic conditions have already been defined by the President and his social experts in a second University speech. They only need to be spelled out not in terms of the narrow goal of "Negro Family Stability," but under the more realistic and meaningful<sup>17</sup> rubric of "Metropolitan Maturity."

#### THE SOCIAL EXPERTS, THE PRESIDENT AND METROPOLITAN MATURITY

Richard Neustadt has described the President of the United States as "the Great Initiator"<sup>18</sup> in the development and execution of new American policy. In the performance of this role, a President who would exercise Presidential power responsibly, does not sit back and wait for information to make its way up automatically through the labyrinthine corridors of Washington offices. Rather, a responsible President "these days is virtually compelled to reach for information," and to secure it<sup>19</sup> "at the level of detail." That President Johnson reached to significant social experts for the second speech which concerns us is evident from the quality of the speech. Given on June 4, 1965, at the Howard University Commencement, the President sketched, in broad outline, an approach to the question of civil rights that promised to lift the whole issue to a new level of discussion, and provide a more meaningful framework within which action might be planned for its resolution. Pointing to the complex inter-relationship among social and economic factors to the achievement of mean-

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17 Adapted from Amos Hawley The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America, The Free Press Glencoe, Illinois, 1956, pp 34ff

18 Richard Neustadt Presidential Power, Signet Book, 1960

19 Ibid, p 188

ingful Constitutional rights, Johnson became the first Chief Executive to maintain intact the issues pertaining purely to racial justice, and at the same time, to connect those issues with a category broader than the somewhat misleading genus of "race-relations," hence giving them adequate context

With an impressive array of technical data, shaped by imaginative ethical insight into an instrument of incisive social analysis, the speech provided a devastatingly clear rationale of why, at precisely the moment when unprecedented rights for the Negro are being secured by law, the nation needs to make a new departure if those rights are to become something more than mere ideal possibilities. For, given the Negro's long history of coerced deprivation, and given the entrenched habits of prejudice and discrimination against him, resulting in institutionalized patterns of avoidance and subtle aggression, "it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity," said the President. "All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates, and this is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights."

Thus, with an apparent understanding of the tendency for oft-repeated ideals--such as equality of opportunity--"to become mere rhetoric, honored more in the breach than in observance, and held away from their rightful role of disturbing, unsettling and re-ordering the status quo, the President asserted that the struggle must continue as a battle for "not just legal equity, but human ability. Not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

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20 Quotations taken from transcribed copy of Johnson's speech in The New York Times, June 5, 1965

21 The New York Times, op cit

Performing quite ably the role of "Great Initiator," the President announced that to the above-mentioned end, he would call a White House Conference for the purpose of developing strategies relevant to the achievement of the proclaimed goals. To consist of "scholars and experts and outstanding Negro leaders from both (sic) races, and officials of government at every level,"<sup>22</sup> he asserted that the Conference would be held in the Fall of 1965. (Subsequently, the specific date of the Conference has been announced as November 17, 1965, and that it will be only a preliminary planning session for a much larger Conference to be held in the Spring of 1966). The theme of the Conference, said the President, symbolizing "the next and more profound stage" of the civil rights struggle, will be "To Fulfill These Rights," an imaginative reference not only to the future battle yet to be won, but a way of connecting the present and the future with the significant past, when President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights entitled its report "To Secure These Rights."

So far so good. When, however, it was announced in Mid-July that,<sup>23</sup> in the view of a White House Study Group, the main obstacle to "fulfill(ing) these rights" is, and the central issue of the Conference will be, "Negro Family Stability"—first, confusion was experienced, then disbelief, and finally a healthy sense of outrage. Hence the thesis of this paper, that a White House Conference which takes as its major issue the question of "Negro Family Stability" represents not a "great departure" on how "to fulfill these rights," but an initiative of a very low order consisting in a gross, if not insulting, reversal of priorities

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> See The New York Times, July 19 and August 27, 1965, also see the Evans and Novak Column, The New York Herald-Tribune, August 18, 1965

What meaning can possibly be involved in the concept of "struggle" if "the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights" is construed as "a massive attempt to revive the structure of the Negro family?"<sup>24</sup> What kind of political action does this portend? Was the decision to so limit the Conference an explicit political decision or a covert political judgment masquerading as merely the technical judgment of a social expert? What combination of interests, assumptions and facts produced the decision, and what does it imply for the future of American politics in that, rely in some way it must, upon the skills of social experts as well as upon the pressures of particular interest groups?

However, these questions may be answered, it is a fact that the problems of urban areas consist of social and economic problems which converge increasingly around racial lines. And just as it needs to be argued that the context of "the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights" is not basically the Negro family but Metropolis, that the objective of that "battle" is not "Negro Family Stability" but Metropolitan Maturity, so it needs to be argued that the strategy for meaningful intervention in the "struggle" is not basically met by getting new family welfare legislation, but by a more consistent and relevant entry on the part of the federal government into the total arena of "Metro-Politics." Some of the civil rights groups understand this very well.

#### THE GHETTO, THE SOCIAL EXPERTS AND METROPOLITICS

Very often, one's ability to conceptualize the variables which define

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24 The New York Times, July 19, 1965

adequately the arena of "struggle" is complicated enormously by the conflicting needs of social experts on the one hand, and of policy-makers and private citizens on the other hand. In studying a fluid and moving social situation, behavioral scientists often find that their methods have a strong bias toward what is static and un-moving. As Max Millikan, M I T Economist puts it: "The questions asked tend to take the form 'What is society X like? What is the character of its institutions? What are the attitudes of various elements of its populations? What is the structure of its economy?' rather than the form 'In what directions is the society evolving? How rapidly and in what directions are institutions, attitudes, and structure changing? And where is this process of change likely to lead?'"<sup>25</sup> One very important political result of this bias is that dynamic factors making for change are often confused with pathological factors indicating "breakdown." With the result that the conclusions of social experts all too often give uncritical support to the status quo.

Policy-makers, however, need precisely to know especially concerning those dynamic factors which call for new social policy if the often pressing needs of private citizens are to be met. We have seen one expression of this conflict in the "Moynihan Report."

Another manifestation of conflict between the methodologies of social experts and the needs of policy-makers and private citizens is manifested in the tendency of the former to produce discrete micro-analyses of social situations when the need of the latter is for the kind of study which relates particular situations to the needs of general populations, such that

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25 Max F. Millikan "The Relation of Knowledge to Action," in Lerner ed The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences, Meridian Books, pp 173-75



the social action required becomes politically a possibility. The question of achieving civil rights for Negroes in America has suffered profoundly from the general bias against viewing the needs of the white population in the light of the needs of Negroes. Conversely, it has also suffered from the tendency of some civil rights advocates to insist that the kind of integration which is meaningful and relevant to the needs of Negroes is strictly and purely of a racial kind. For example, it was the late Charles S. Johnson who, among others, asserted that "segregation is the reverse of integration. <sup>26</sup> Whatever helps to break down segregation helps integration." But, more recent experience in urban areas suggests that de facto segregation is not just the reverse of racial integration, it is more realistically the reverse of metropolitan coherence. Thus, no matter how many white children from the "gilded ghetto" are bussed into the "slum ghetto"—or vice versa—until metropolitan areas like New York City can provide something like an adequate system of Educational Parks, outside both ghettos, yet bringing a dimension of coherence to both, the problem of racial balance is a moot question. For intricately involved is the question of social and economic balance. To resolve this question, Metropolitica needs to be understood and appreciated for what it is.

In achieving at least a provisional resolution, social experts can be very helpful, provided they observe at least two very necessary criteria. Suggested by Gunnar Myrdal, the two criteria are: 1) value premises of all studies should be explicitly stated from the outset and "should be selected

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26 "The Integration of Racial Minorities in American Society," in Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture, Harper and Bros., New York, 1947, p. 275

by the criterion of relevance and significance to the culture under study,"<sup>27</sup>

2 ) "Objectivity is reached the more completely an investigator is able to interrelate the Negro problem with the total economic, social, political, judicial and broadly cultural life of the nation "<sup>28</sup>

The irony here is that Myrdal, himself, errs grievously when judged by the first criterion. While he does state explicitly his values vis-a-vis the white community, they are concealed in his approach to the Negro community. The political and programmatic result is that although Myrdal is able to appreciate the need for federal political action, he is quite unable to appreciate the need for local community action on the part of Negroes themselves. Really, how could he? Having assumed from the outset that "American Negro culture is a distorted development, or a pathological condition, of the general American culture,"<sup>29</sup> obviously in such a view, effective political action cannot be expected from within the Negro community. In this view, such a community can only be acted upon, by the social experts, the federal government, and patron benefactors. Of course, the fact that effective political action has come and continues to come from the Negro community merely illustrates the failure of some social experts to comprehend within their methodologies those dynamic factors expressed particularly in the more positive aspirations of the Negro community. Something more is at work here than the defensive and pathological functioning of egos and institutions. When competent observers like Myrdal fail to see these

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27 An American Dilemma, McGraw-Hill Paperback ed. New York 1964, p. 1045

28 Gunnar Myrdal An American Dilemma, op cit, p. 1039

29 Ibid, p. 928

other factors, it is probably because their approach has been subtly infected by the virus of racial bias as well as by the bias of their methods for the static situation. The important moral issue at stake here is whether social experts can relate to private citizens as persons or merely as objects.

Judged by the second criterion, civil rights advocates and opponents as well as policy-makers and social experts tend to err. The "Moynihan Report" is a good example of the latter. Apparently unable to "interrelate the Negro problem with the total economic, social, political, judicial and broadly cultural life of the nation," the report is a classic example of a grossly unrealistic effort to dissolve a problem in the area of intergroup relations into a problem of relations within a single group. Yet, a widely known--if seldom practiced--principle in intergroup relations theory relates precisely to that mistake. As articulated in the rather opaque terms of Muzafer Sherif, that principle is that "the characteristics of functional relations between groups cannot be deduced or extrapolated from the properties of relations prevailing among members within the group itself."<sup>30</sup>

Observance of this principle is of the utmost importance in any effort to produce new strategy for the further advancement of civil rights beyond the stage of securing legal rights. It is important if one is to grasp appropriate and relevant institutional levers for effecting desirable outcomes on the new frontier of civil rights. It summarizes very well the argument up to this point that the important handles to be grasped, while not unrelated to the Negro family, are still not identical with the Negro family. Rather, they are Metropolitan Educational systems, City Planning

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30 Muzafer Sherif, Intergroup Relations and Leadership, John Wiley & Sons New York, 1962, p. 5

Commissions, Metropolitan Housing Authorities, Business and Industry, local community organization programs, and the initiatives proffered by the Federal Government when those initiatives are or can be made meaningful and relevant. It is the relations between these and other institutions which define the "next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights" and point to the shape of the struggle itself as Metropolitica.

What has been called "the metropolitan problem" is rooted in the fact that although the basic problems of a metropolitan region do not stop at the boundary lines of a particular city or state, the political and administrative organs for dealing with such problems are so confined. Hence the tendency for corporate structures internal to the city but with metropolitan-wide interests and needs to organize, each one on its own, to secure specific and often narrow organizational interests. The typical result is metropolitan instability, consisting in a fragmented and uncoordinated system of contending and colliding bureaucracies. In the process, the cause of civil rights--among other things--suffers untold damage. This is Metropolitica as the game is presently played.

Consider, as an example, the conditions which maintain intact the "slum ghetto" on the one hand, and the "gilded ghetto" on the other hand. Business and industry, increasingly automated, also increasingly finds the pastures of suburbia much more attractive than the inner city where taxes skyrocket and labor costs soar. So jobs flow out of the city, usually with the only consultation taking place between the particular receiving suburb and the specific business or industry in question. The tax basis of the city is further eroded, while at the same time, more and more Negroes and Puerto Ricans migrate to and are locked into its "slum ghettos." Welfare costs rise but the city's tax resources are not thereby increased.

Unable to find adequate jobs, the "new-comers" to the city are especially hard put to secure adequate housing. Suburban citizens see to it that their housing needs are not satisfied anywhere nearby. And although extremely cautious about crude and blatant acts of discrimination, and while very careful to use the rhetoric of liberalism, suburban communities have devised means for excluding Negroes and Puerto Ricans that are practically as effective as the cruder tactics of latter day segregationists. Racial antagonism is expressed not only through the use of bomb and burning cross, but through control of zoning, subdivision, and building regulations to achieve the end of racial exclusion. "Minimum lot sizes are increased to two or more acres. requirements for expensive street improvements are made--and then waived only in favor of 'desirable' developments, large-scale building operations are defined as 'business' for zoning purposes, thus excluding the possibility of low or moderate income suburban building, the suburb itself purchases all vacant land parcels that are large enough for subdivision and resells only to favored purchasers, builders are required to obtain certificates from the school board that educational accommodation will be adequate for the new residences, ordinances regulating 'look alike' features or requiring certain building materials make home building expensive " 31

Imagine the difficulties involved in getting an Educational Park in some communities under such conditions'

If Federal initiatives are exercised more consistently and relevantly through coordinated state and municipal structures, this tendency of city and suburban corporate structures to act like "diplomatic systems" functioning 32

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31 Grodzins, op. cit , p 94

32 Matthew Holden, Jr , "The Governance of Metropolis," in Journal of Politics, op. cit , p 627



on behalf of narrow and conflicting publics, can be modified. The White House Conference would be an important initiative by the President if it is turned to the real hard tasks at hand. Business and industry need to be provided with incentives to stay in the cities and to provide on-the-job training programs for the skilled who need re-tooling, massive public works programs need to be developed for the unskilled, related especially to the rehabilitation of slums, urban renewal programs need to be expanded and re-directed to serve the needs of the poor as well as the middle-classes, Educational Parks and Educational Complexes need to be constructed to provide a much better education for all of our children in a setting congenial to the growth of democratic ideals.

Where are the resources to meet these needs? In what order of priorities need they be envisaged? What is the required pace of action if decisions are to make a significant difference? How can sufficient political support be developed to support the necessary decisions? What are the personal and institutional obstacles to change? These are but a few of the questions and considerations that need to be raised in the context of the White House Conference.

But, from the very outset of the Conference Metropolitica is the game that needs to be played, now on an expanded basis with the explicit participation of local community organizations in the ghetto as well as the more established community, civic and civil rights structures. Pre-White House Conferences need to be organized, addressed to issues more substantive than "Negro Family Stability," and arranged for Metropolitan-wide areas.

E Franklin Frazier's classic study of the Negro Family in The United States,<sup>33</sup> is organized into five parts, the titles of which point out a clear direction when the relevant ones are lifted up. Three of those assert that just as Negro family instability was created initially "IN THE HOUSE OF THE MASTER," it has been sustained "IN THE CITY OF DESTRUCTION," and will only be transformed when all families together live "IN THE CITY OF REBIRTH."




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33 E Franklin Frazier The Negro Family in The United States, The Citadel Press New York, 1948.

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# School Integration—Next 10 Yrs. Will Tell

Chicago, March 21 (CDN)—The nation's schools should expect 10 years of experimentation before they work out problems stemming from the civil rights revolution.

Giving this opinion was Prof Robert J. Havighurst, of the University of Chicago. He is also director of an over-all survey of Chicago public schools. Speaking at a meeting of

the American Orthopsychiatric Assn here, Havighurst said integration in the classroom generally goes smoothly if the Negro and white children come from the same social class. Then school achievement is likely to be similar and school standards will remain the same, he said.

But when Negro children come from a low income work-

ing class and white children in the same school come from middle class families there are problems, he continued.

'In such cases the average educational achievement of Negro children generally is below that of the white children,' he said, because there is a close relationship between economic level and school achievement, regardless of color.

Havighurst said experiments with 'compensatory education' for children from underprivileged homes show promise as a way of reducing the difference in school achievement between lower class Negro and middle class white children.

Compensatory education is an attempt to offset the handicaps of a child's home experiences by special school pro-

grams, such as preschool classes, remedial work and enriched experiences.

"It seems to me that this is the great opportunity for upgrading children who come from homes where no one reads, where the child has few toys and is not encouraged to ask questions."

Havighurst said "Without such help children from deprived homes usually fall further and further behind in school."

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NEW YORK POST, S

March 22, 1964

CHALLENGE  
to Justice  
and Love

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

NATIONAL CONSULTATION

AMERICAN JEWISH

Delegates from State, County and City

Religion and Race Organizations

and

Staff members of denominations and affiliated groups



Statler Hilton Hotel  
St. Louis, Missouri  
April 13-15, 1964

## CONVENERS

Department of Racial and  
Cultural Relations  
National Council of Churches

Social Action Committee  
Synagogue Council of America

Social Action Department  
National Catholic Welfare  
Conference

P R O G R A M

Monday, April 13

12 noon to 2 p.m. - Luncheon meeting for the Chairmen and Recorders of the five Workgroups - in the Boston Room.

2:30-4.30 - General Session - St. Louis Room, 17th floor.  
Presiding - The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley  
Official announcements  
Prayer of Invocation - Rev. John Shocklee  
Keynote Address by Dr. Herman H. Long - "New Dimensions in the Racial Crisis"

Brief statements regarding the responses of the churches and synagogues to the racial crisis by ...

The Rev. John F. Cronin, S. S.

Rabbi Irwin M. Blank

The Rev. J. Oscar Lee

General discussion and questions.

7:30-9.30 p.m. - First meeting of the five Workgroups

Workgroup A. - HOUSING - in the Buffalo Room

Workgroup B. - EMPLOYMENT - in Boston Room

Workgroup C. - EDUCATION - in Cleveland Room

Workgroup D. - NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION - in  
Detroit Room

Workgroup E. - CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND  
COMMUNITY IMPACT - in Room #124.

10 p.m. - An opportunity to meet leaders in the civil rights movement in St. Louis and to converse about the racial crisis and the objectives of such groups as CORE, NAACP, The URBAN LEAGUE - in the St. Louis Room.

\* \* \* \* \*

Tuesday, April 14

7 30 a.m. - Breakfast meeting open to all members of the Consultation. Tickets available at the door at \$1.25. In Foyer 3 on the 16th floor. (Representatives of the Convening bodies of the National Conference on Religion and Race will be present and explain the plans for continuing the work of the National Conference. Suggestions will be invited as to how best to promote inter-communication among the religion and race groups across the United States.)



9 a.m.-12 p.m. - Second meeting of the five Workgroups - Same rooms as Monday evening.

2-4 30 p.m. - Third meeting of the Workgroups.

7 30-9 30 p.m. - Fourth and final meeting of the Workgroups.

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Wednesday, April 15

9-11 45 a.m. - General Session - in the St. Louis Room - Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, presiding. (A half hour will be given to each Workgroup for a summary report of its discussions and recommendations and for discussion. These reports will be mimeographed for later distribution).

12.30-3 45 p.m. - Closing Luncheon Session for members of the Consultation and guests from the St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race. In the Missouri Room on the Mezzanine.

Presiding - Dr. John Ervin  
Invocation - Rabbi Jerome W. Grollman  
Introductions  
Addresses:

Greetings from the St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race - Rev. Amos Ryce, II.  
Statement on "How I see the future of Religion and Race" - Mr. Mathew Ahmann.  
Address - "Religion, Race and Poverty" by the Honorable Daniel J. Moynihan, Assistant Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.  
Closing Prayer and Benediction - Rt. Rev. Mons. George L. Gringras.

\* \* \* \* \*

OUR APPRECIATION

The National Conference acknowledges with sincere appreciation and thanks the many labors of Dr. Paul Hanlon in behalf of this Consultation. Also the helpfulness of the ladies who volunteered their time and services in numerous ways and in particular in assembling the materials for the packets and for the exhibits.

Miss Peggy Roach, staff member of the National Council of Catholic Women, gave much time and thought to preparing the packets. Mr. Jack Alumbaugh, Sales Manager of the Statler Hilton, and his staff have been very cooperative in relation to arrangements for our various meetings.

We are grateful to Dr. Herman H. Long and Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel J. Moynihan for preparing and presenting major addresses as background for our deliberations. Their speeches will be mimeographed and made available to the delegates. Thanks should be extended also to the persons who prepared project papers and to those who have agreed to serve us all as chairman and recorders for the Workgroups.

## WHO'S WHO

Mr. Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Chicago. Mr. Ahmann was the organizing secretary of the January 1963 National Conference on Religion and Race.

Mr. Eugene J. Callahan, who is jointly presenting the project paper in Workgroup C, is Executive Director of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race.

Dr. John Ervin is Dean of Instruction, Harris Teachers College, St. Louis.

Rev. Clyde W. Everton, who is presenting the project paper in Workgroup E, is Rector's Associate, Trinity (Protestant Episcopal) Church, Santa Barbara, California.

Rt. Rev. Mons. George L. Gringras, Diocese of Washington, D. C.

Rabbi Jerome W. Grollman, United Hebrew Temple, St. Louis.

Dr. Paul Hanlon, who is presenting the project paper in Workgroup D, is Executive Director of the St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race.

Dr. Herman H. Long is President of Talladega College in Alabama and Director of the Race Relations Dept., Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ.

Mr. Carl Lyness, who is presenting the project paper in Workgroup B, is one of the Co.-chairmen, Lexington (Ky.) Committee on Religion and Human Rights.

Mr. John A. McDermott, who is jointly presenting the project paper in Workshop C, is Executive Director of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago.

The Hon. Daniel J. Moynihan is Assistant Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Amos Ryce, II, is pastor of the Lane Tabernacle (C.M.E.) Church and President of the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis. He is also a member of the Executive Committee, St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race.

Rev. James J. Sheehan, who is presenting the project paper in Workgroup A, is Executive Director of the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations, Detroit.

Rev. John Schocklee is pastor of St. Bridget's Parish, St. Louis.

Rt. Rev. Mons. John S. Spence, Roman Catholic Diocese, Washington, D.C., was one of the organizers of the Interreligious Committee on Race Relations in the Nation's Capital.

Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Executive Secretary for Christian Citizenship, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, New York. He has been chairman of the Local Communities' Follow-up Committee of the National Conference and chairman of the Planning Committee for this Consultation.

Rev. Galen R. Weaver, February 1, 1963-May 15, 1964, Executive Director of National Conference on Religion and Race, on loan from United Church of Christ.



# An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People

From the National Conference  
on Religion and Race  
January 17, 1963  
Chicago, Illinois

*Additional copies from*  
Secretariat NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RACE AND RELIGION  
289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH NEW YORK 10 N Y  
*Single copies free — Additional copies 5 cents each*

Continuation Committee  
National Conference on Religion and Race

# An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People

FROM THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE  
JANUARY 17, 1963, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

† We have met as members of the great Jewish and Christian faiths held by the majority of the American people, to counsel together concerning the tragic fact of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation in our society. Coming as we do out of various religious backgrounds, each of us has more to say than can be said here. But this statement is what we as religious people are moved to say together.

## I

Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we appeal to the consciences of the American people.

This evil has deep roots; it will not be easily eradicated. While the Declaration of Independence did declare "that all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," slavery was permitted for almost a century. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation, compulsory racial segregation and its degrading badge of racial inequality received judicial sanction until our own time.

We rejoice in such recent evidences of greater wisdom and courage in our national life as the Supreme Court decisions against segregation and the heroic, nonviolent protests of thousands of Americans. However, we mourn the fact that patterns of segregation remain entrenched everywhere—north and south, east and west. The spirit and the letter of our laws are mocked and violated.

Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and fraternal organizations we have often failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.

We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended. We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil.

## II

Our appeal to the American people is this:

SEEK a reign of justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.

SEEK a reign of love in which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones; racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed; any man will be received as brother—his rights, your rights; his pain, your pain; his prison, your prison.

SEEK a reign of courage in which the people of God will make their faith their binding commitment; in which men willingly suffer for justice and love; in which churches and synagogues lead, not follow.

SEEK a reign of prayer in which God is praised and worshiped as the Lord of the universe, before whom all racial idols fall, who makes us one family and to whom we are all responsible.

In making this appeal we affirm our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God. We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life.

We call upon all the American people to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God.

Marc Tannenbaum



## **RELIGION'S ROLE IN RACIAL CRISIS**

**A REPORT ON THE  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON RELIGION AND RACE  
AND RECOMMENDATIONS  
FOR ACTION**

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE 289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH NEW YORK 10 NEW YORK



## **PREFACE**

The first National Conference on Religion and Race, held January 14 to 17, 1963, in Chicago, continues to exert a wide influence. In cities across the country, both large and small, concerted interreligious activity in the field of race relations testifies to the profound and vivid effect of that Conference upon the 657 delegates from thirty-four states and the District of Columbia, who attended on behalf of 67 religious and religiously affiliated organizations. Some four hundred observers from the Chicago area were also present. That city is the scene of particularly active planning and organization to translate into social reality the urgent recommendations of the Conference.

Those who attended the Conference shared a three-fold experience. There were trenchant and moving addresses to the plenary sessions by leading figures of American public and religious life. These are fortunately available in printed form for those who were not present (See p. 36). There were the countless informal encounters between individuals of different religious and racial backgrounds, many of whom had never previously had an opportunity to meet and form friendships and purposeful contacts. Jewish, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox delegates resolved to return home to cooperate with newly found friends in community action for better race relations. These person-to-person get-togethers may be of as great a significance as the formal meetings.

The third dimension of the Chicago experience was the work-day of the Conference. Thirty-two work groups, each composed of fifteen or twenty-five persons, came together for three sessions comprising about eight hours of frank discussion. The chairmen and resource persons and the other officials and delegates were assigned to the small groups so as to approximate a religious, geographical and racial cross-section. The level of candor was high — everyone felt that he was engaged in examining one of our society's great ills and that he was doing so under the judgment of God, "before Whom all racial idols fall."

The present pamphlet attempts to condense the essential content of the discussions that took place in the workshops and of the resulting

recommendations that were received by the Conference. Mr. Emerson Chapin of the *New York Times* was engaged by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, one of the Conference's participating organizations, to undertake the difficult task of editing workshop recorders' notes, case-studies, and reports to the plenary sessions into a readable summary. The raw material was voluminous and of varying degrees of intelligibility and specificity. Everyone who has ever attempted to write an accurate synopsis of a very extended discussion will know how well-nigh impossible it is to record the nuances of thought and feeling of the verbal give-and-take. The Conference is grateful for the editor's accomplishment. Given the hazards inherent in the redaction of such material into a systematically organized publication, we beg indulgence for any omissions or misinterpretations that may appear. We shall be grateful for written comment, and we shall endeavor to make emendations in a possible revised edition.

The Conference acknowledges its indebtedness to Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, director of the department of intercultural affairs of the Anti-Defamation League, for undertaking the task of collecting the written records and for the supervision of the preparation of the manuscript. Advice and assistance was given by a small editorial committee, consisting of Messrs. Arnold Aronson (who also did special editorial work on the Recommendations), Dennis Clark, Clemonce Sabourin and the undersigned. Mr. Henry Schwarzschild, director of the Anti-Defamation League's publication department, accepted the responsibility of seeing the manuscript through the various stages of production. The Anti-Defamation League and the Synagogue Council of America shared the production costs of this report. For this assistance we express our gratefulness.

We offer this pamphlet to individuals and groups who desire to know what concrete actions the delegates at the first National Conference on Religion and Race urged upon themselves, their church and synagogue, and their regional and national bodies. The intention was not to say anything strikingly new about race relations in America. Rather, the significance of this report and of these recommendations is to be found in the committed intention of the religious communities of the United States to meet "the challenge of justice and love" in relation to the foremost domestic moral issue of our time. It is this consensus among Protestants, Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians and Jews that is unprecedented.

The next phase, already encouragingly begun, is that of implementation. This pamphlet is conceived as an aid to that high purpose.

GALEN R. WEAVER  
Interim Executive Secretary  
National Conference on Religion and Race



## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>I</b> An Historic Interreligious Meeting	7
<b>II</b> Fight on Injustice Proclaimed	9
<b>III</b> The Problems Are Defined	12
<b>IV</b> The Problems Are Analyzed	16
<b>V</b> General Conclusions	24
<b>VI</b> The Accomplishment and the Outlook	25
<b>VII</b> Programmatic Recommendations	27
An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People	35
Bibliography	36

## **RELIGION'S ROLE IN RACIAL CRISIS**



## **AN HISTORIC INTERRELIGIOUS MEETING**

"If we cannot build the brotherhood of man in the United States, I despair of its ever being built anywhere in the world. So we come today, Catholics, Jews and [Protestant] Christians, to confess our sins before God and dedicate ourselves anew to our religious ideals to the end that the emancipation which Lincoln began 100 years ago may become a reality in our time."

Thus Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., summed up the mission that had brought 657 delegates to the National Conference on Religion and Race, as he addressed their opening plenary session in Chicago on January 14, 1963. "If men of all races cannot live together in mutual respect and helpfulness in the United States, religion and democracy as we know them will be doomed in the world," said Dr. Mays, who was the conference chairman.

What can the major religious faiths do to combat the evils of prejudice, discrimination and segregation and to hasten the advent of full racial justice for all? That was the key question at this historic conference, which was timed to serve as a religious commemoration of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. Convened by the social action departments of the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America, it was the first joint meeting on this subject of all the major religious groups in the United States. Sixty-seven Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations sent participants — clergy, educators and lay leaders — for four days of vigorous discussion.

The conference had as its theme the "Challenge to Justice and Love" posed by the painful, unresolved problems of race relations in this country. There were two main purposes: the adoption of a "Statement of Conscience" and the formulation of concrete proposals for concerted interreligious action. But equally significant was the exchange of ideas among a large number of religiously committed persons of the several faiths and their common resolution to return home and translate into practical efforts the ideals expressed at the conference.

A pervading theme of the meeting was that positive action by churches and synagogues to translate the word of God into social



reality and bring about an era of true brotherhood is long overdue. In addressing the delegates in plenary session, Albert Cardinal Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago, declared that "our whole future as a nation and as a religious people may be determined by what we do about the race problem in the next few years." Cardinal Meyer emphasized the need for cooperative effort, observing that "the problems that now confront us in our great cities are too manifold and too deeply rooted in human passions and misunderstandings for any one of our great religious bodies to deal with them alone."

Rabbi Julius Mark, president of the Synagogue Council of America, told the delegates that "in this battle to build a society and a world in which the dignity of every human being is jealously guarded and the equality of all men taken for granted, the forces of religion, if they are true to their purpose, must, both by precept and example, be in the forefront, leading and not following, courageously fulfilling their prophetic mission of being the conscience of mankind."

And J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches, asserted that "it is very clear that this nation cannot continue to preach to the whole world — with a certain smug self-righteousness — the brotherhood of man and equal opportunity to every citizen in a free society, and at the same time continue to deny the fruits of that brotherhood and true opportunity wherever it is convenient and pleasing to the majority to do so." Religion must address itself to this mortal sickness of man," he declared.

Much of the work of the conference was done in small workgroups in which specific topics were discussed frankly and honestly and recommendations for constructive action were framed. These findings were presented to the last plenary session of the conference. These recommendations and conclusions could not be binding upon the participating organizations but were intended to be used as guidelines for future social-action programs. A comprehensive summary of the workshop proceedings and recommendations is contained in this pamphlet in the hope that they may enable religious groups at all levels and in all communities to contribute to the realization of the goals of this historic meeting.

In addition, the major addresses and papers of the conference and of its findings have been compiled in a book titled "Race Challenge to Religion," published by the Henry Regnery Company, Chicago (See p. 36). A Catalogue of Resources, with an extensive listing of printed and audio-visual materials dealing with race relations and with names and addresses of agencies active in this field, was also prepared for the use of conference participants. It is available from the conference secretariat (see p. 36).

As the conference ended, it was announced that a social-action program had been initiated in ten major cities. Several brief reports on the

beginnings of interreligious action were given at the Conference as illustrations of what can be done. A follow-up committee is in charge of continuing the cooperation developed in Chicago and devising further means of carrying on an effective interfaith program for racial justice.

The meetings attracted extensive public attention and received wide coverage in major news and informational media throughout the country. This in itself was an important factor in making known to the American people that the religious organizations of the country are determined to make a major attack on racial iniquities that have for too long persisted in our society.



## **FIGHT ON INJUSTICE PROCLAIMED**

Prejudice, discrimination and segregation are in absolute conflict with the word of God and are inherently immoral and sinful. Direct steps taken by religious groups to combat racial injustice have been timid and all too often ineffective. In particular, racial problems have been virtually ignored in the sermons heard in American churches and synagogues, with only a handful of religious leaders venturing to take up such questions frankly from the pulpit. Clergymen must deal with racial issues directly and forcefully. Good intentions alone are not enough; the nation's religious forces must now plan and carry out practical and effective courses of action to fight racial injustice.

These were a few of the conclusions reached during a conference carried on at many levels with an intensity that some delegates described as almost overwhelming. The heart of the conference was the work groups—thirty-two of them, each with a discussion leader, a resource specialist, a recorder and a maximum of twenty participants. Each group met for three sessions, or a total of nine hours of intensive discussion. The thirty-two workgroups were divided among four forums, each covering a separate problem area. Each forum opened with a formal presentation, and each workgroup heard from its resource specialist a case study intended to pinpoint specific problems. The topics of the four forums were: 1) the inner life of the church and synagogue, 2) the responsibility of church and synagogue as institutions in the community, 3) the role of the church and synagogue in a racially changing community, and 4) the relation of church and synagogue to other community forces.

The challenging nature of the racial problems facing the nation was highlighted in the addresses made to plenary sessions of the conference by seven prominent religious and lay leaders. They were Dr

Abraham J Heschel, Professor of Jewish Mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Rev Dr Martin Luther King, Jr, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Dr Franklin H Littell, Professor of Church History, Chicago Theological Seminary, Rabbi Mark, Cardinal Meyer, Mr Miller, and R Sargent Shriver, Director of the United States Peace Corps

The conference participants represented a broad cross-section of the religious community, ranging from leading church dignitaries to lay members engaged in social action at the community level About one quarter of those attending the conference were Negroes Regrettably, Southern churchmen and lay leaders were not represented in as great a number as the sponsoring organizations had hoped, nevertheless it was felt that the main religious forces in America had acknowledged the importance of the conference by sending many of their ablest and most devoted members, including many of their top leaders

A major theme of the meeting was that the church and synagogue must be willing to involve themselves in interracial causes Many speakers declared that the church and synagogue must not restrict themselves merely to "religious questions" while avoiding an active role in the social and economic life of the community of which they are a part Religious leaders and their congregations must be willing to commit themselves positively to the fight for right and justice, it was emphasized

Thus local congregations can well bear in mind, said the Rev Will D Campbell, what the leaders of one such group did in Oxford, Mississippi, at the height of the 1962 crisis on the University of Mississippi campus He noted that "their [Episcopal] priests went out into the face of death and hell as a sort of two-man truth squad, relieving students of knives, shovels, bottles, bricks and other more advanced trinkets of pleasure What happened on that night made me proud to be a Mississippian, for a few native sons, James Meredith one of them, Father Duncan Gray another, showed what it meant to be men of faith" The Rev Mr Campbell, who is executive director of the southern project, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, was speaking to the forum on the inner life of church and synagogue in race relations Like many other participants, he noted that racial problems are by no means limited to the South Mississippi, he said, "isn't different from the rest of America, it is typical"

The question "How does religion relate itself to government and the political life in a free society?" was raised by Rabbi Morris Adler of Congregation Shaarey Zedek, Detroit, in a paper presented before the forum on the relation of church and synagogue to other community forces Modern government, he observed, not only "reaches into those areas in which it gives political and social expression to values long

cherished by religion (such as human welfare, human dignity, peace, equality, justice) but also by its pervasiveness colors the entire climate of society "

"Prudence and compromise are attributes of political life," Rabbi Adler went on, and not improperly so. Can religion enter the political realm and not be infected by that which, though it is acceptable and even proper in political action, is fatal when absorbed into the religious life?"

While noting the need for caution and restraint, Dr. Adler emphasized that "Involve itself religion must, else it will remain neutral in crucial areas which so desperately need something of its passion, perspective and purpose and become increasingly irrelevant in an age aquiver with apprehension and confounded by perplexity "

Addressing the forum on the responsibility of church and synagogue as institutions in the community, the Very Rev. John J. Egan observed that "the question of wealth and poverty has been intertwined with all minority relations in America. All immigrant groups, all minority groups in America, have been at first poor," he asserted. Msgr. Egan, who is director of the Archdiocesan Conservation Council of Chicago, urged the workgroup participants to bear in mind constantly that "race relations rest on the same basis as all other human relations: the notion of man's dignity in God."

"When we examine ourselves as administrators, employers and educators in the next few days," he declared, "we need to ask ourselves whether our institutions have abandoned the poor, both formally and symbolically."

Racial change in urban communities was related directly to rapidly changing conditions in rural America by Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Professor of Education at New York University, in a report to the forum that considered the role of church and synagogue in a racially changing community. Professor Dodson explained that a rural upheaval has caused marginal populations to move "away from rural into large metropolitan areas and from the South to the North, West and East." Within the cities, he noted, "the trend has been for the middle-income whites to move to the suburbs, leaving such vacancies to be replaced by an influx of Negroes and Spanish-speaking immigrants."

"For the most part," Dr. Dodson continued, "the former group is prominent because of distinctive color. Consequently, it is not possible for them to escape detection by learning the manners and customs of the dominant group as did the previous minorities. Neither is it possible to conceal the plight of such persons among them who suffer the trauma of slum shock and degradation occasioned by the discrimination and prejudice evidenced toward them. The worst social problems America faces are now in the heart of her cities — the showplaces of the country."



## THE PROBLEMS ARE DEFINED

Case histories presented in the workgroups illuminated more specifically the problems faced in cities, suburbs and rural areas, in the use of the churches' and synagogues' own economic resources and administrative practices to aid minorities, in education of members of racially changing communities, in interracial and interfaith cooperation, and in active aspects of the civil rights fight. Excerpts from several of these case studies will indicate the thoroughness with which these questions were considered

One such presentation\* dealt with a racially changing neighborhood in Washington, D C, where increasing tensions led to the establishment of an area board to fight delinquency Though clergymen of all faiths were represented on this board, the churches as such took no active part in supporting its activities

Underlying all of the activities of this board was the question of race The churches of the area had a history of segregation and the majority of them were still almost wholly segregated Where integration did exist, it was minimal One white church—three blocks from the public housing project—arranged for a bus service to take Negro children from the public housing project to a Negro church out of the area, every Sunday for Bible lessons rather than give the Bible lessons in their own building

The schools, the recreation centers, the police, the public housing manager, the citizens' associations, the PTA's, each regarded the race' problem as not belonging to them The churches and synagogue each expressed a willingness to cooperate with others in this field however, none of them took any initiative

As racial frictions continued, "bemoaning" increased Yet nowhere in this community had strong leadership on the part of any local churches been exerted There appeared to be little awareness that prejudice is hatred, hatred is sin, and sin offends God Each of the clergymen became quite concerned and quite willing to act over a certain teen-age hangout, a bowling alley Each was willing to accept the mantle of leadership in this area, but not in the area of race relations

The writer of this study then offered a few general suggestions

First, there is needed what in French is termed *action du rupture* the act of breaking with the wrong actions of the past This breaking is to be a rupture, a breaking completely through and out of the wrong actions of the past



Second, and following from the first, religious leaders must impart clearly to their flocks that we cannot love God if we fail to accept the Negro as our brother in God

Thirdly, I believe clergymen, in any urban neighborhood, have a grave obligation either to master the techniques of human relations or to find someone who is competent in this field

Lastly, I believe the power of personal example can never be underrated. We must see more and more of our own clergymen associating with Negroes, having Negroes as close friends

Each of these four points is specifically missing among the clergy in the community I was discussing

Considerably more encouraging was an account of a successful struggle by a young Negro couple to buy and finance a home in Burlington County, New Jersey, within the Philadelphia metropolitan area. As a result of an initiative taken by the American Friends Service Committee, an action program to promote the process of integration was drawn up and a human relations council was formed. The support of clergymen was enlisted and churches of the community distributed "good neighbor" pledges. When the first Negro family moved in, the way was smoothed by cooperative efforts of many friendly neighbors.

Since then, the report said, "the dedicated efforts of the council and its workers have added a speakers bureau, a public relations committee and over 300 workers to its activities. That such a group with its opportunities for cross-community relationships, inter-faith, inter-racial and inter-economic, can bring a healthy and stimulating diversity to our neighborhoods is a proven fact. Such groups are effective. They are contagious. They are springing up in all parts of the nation. This evaluation was presented by Mrs. Charlotte C. Meacham, national housing representative of the American Friends Service Committee.

The desperate plight of rural Negroes who seek to improve their status was brought home to members of a workgroup on rural problems in a dramatic and thoroughly documented study\*

It is only in recent decades that the vast influx of Negroes from the rural South into the metropolitan areas of the North and the tentative beginnings of Mexican-American settlements on the outskirts of Midwestern and Western towns has forced the attention of the whole nation to the race problem which for generations was hidden away in quiet desperation in the rural South.

The agricultural revolution has forced millions of farm families off the land. In the South, of course, that has meant mainly,

\*Presented by the Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Washington, D.C.

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though not solely, Negro families. Indeed, the economic pressures generated by this technological revolution have with cold deliberation been directed by the dominant white forces against those whom they have always oppressed.

Already at the very base of the rural economic structure [the Southern Negroes] attempts to exercise their civil rights can be fought with powerful weapons of economic intimidation. Because whites own almost all Southern farmland (310 million acres to the Negroes' 11 million in 1959) and control virtually all private and public credit institutions, evictions threaten many tenants and sharecroppers while boycotts and credit withdrawals can be used against Negro farm owners and businessmen.

Dislocation, lack of alternative employment, and unemployment take their toll in poverty and human suffering. Furthermore, for today's movements to achieve equal educational and economic opportunities and for political rights to be successful, they must be built on a sound economic base. The evictions of Negro sharecroppers in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, and other economic reprisals have shown that it is not enough for previously disenfranchised citizens to register to vote, if newly registered voters can then be forced to leave their jobs and homes by economic pressure, their hard-won right to vote will not be exercised where it counts most.

The Southern Negro today finds himself 'scissored between a shifting economy that has sustained his bleak existence and the whiplash of racial reprisal,' a Southern churchman declared. The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, went on to say:

In South Carolina, in the low country, even the Negro landowners are not exempt. I have seen grain standing in the field, unharvested, because commercial combines refuse to work the land of Negroes who have pressed for voting rights. I have talked with farmers who had money but who could not buy gasoline for their tractors and farm machinery within a 90-mile radius. Their crime was participation in registration efforts among Negroes.

In his paper, Mr. Walker gave details of an economic disaster in the Mississippi delta area.

In October of last year, the insistence of the Negro community (in small numbers) to gain voting privileges resulted in 20,000 being removed from the Federal surplus food program at one time. This might not have been as disastrous as it is had this not been also a bad cotton season. If the cotton crop had been good, Negroes in the delta might at least have been able to survive. But the double blow has been too much for the already submarginal existence of the Negro in the delta. I know of hundreds of families whose annual income is less than \$500 a year in the delta of Mississippi. Consider what happens to the economy of that family when the crop is bad and then the Federal

surplus food program is cut off. The chaos is created not by the unavailability of food but by the recalcitrant state and county officials who refuse to administer the program.

The compounded pressures of our religious forces *could* move the Federal Government to action. They will certainly not move of their own accord.

In another case study, a Midwestern state legislator told of political opposition to efforts to enact state legislation that would safeguard the rights of minorities. He cited pressures put upon the legislators and the lack of effective counter-pressures exerted by religious groups. A civil rights bill did not get out of committee, he declared, even though various religious groups had gone on record as supporting such a bill. This speaker observed that, often, legislators who have prejudices recognize that such attitudes are immoral and therefore do not "vote their prejudices" but refrain from voting rather than take a positive stand for the right.

A survey of racial attitudes within Disciples of Christ churches showed significant opposition among some groups to integration of churches. Among congregations that replied to a questionnaire (a majority did not), 464 reported that they were in some degree "racially mixed," while 997 others said they would welcome a person of another race as a member. However, 191 congregations replied that they would not welcome persons of other races to membership.

An account\* of "a church in racial transition" in the Vermont Square area of Los Angeles showed how denominational leaders failed in one attempt to achieve a church [that would be] truly inclusive racially. In 1950, this Methodist church had "reached a position of considerable status and success," with large and attractive buildings and a membership of 1,158 persons. The Negro population in the immediate area was then only about 2 per cent, but "the inevitable tendency of Negro migration into the area was clear," the study said. As a consequence, the young families began to move out, taking their children with them. The paper then documents the process of change.

By 1953 the children's division of the church school was becoming entirely Negro in membership. In 1956 the change really quickened. The new minister appointed in that year, a Caucasian, came with a definite mandate to bring the church into racial inclusiveness. The church school and youth department were already entirely Negro but the Sunday morning congregation was almost entirely Caucasian. In the next four years, with a few faithful older Caucasian members remaining and working, but with the steady exodus of the majority of Caucasian members of

\*Presented by Grover C. Bagby, associate general secretary of the Southern California-Arizona Methodist Conference.

the congregation, Negro members joined the church in significant numbers. By 1960 the membership had become essentially Negro.

From this particular church's experience, I turn now to a few general observations. Note first of all that there were Negroes in the community long before there were Negroes in this church. Negroes did not come to worship until the Caucasians had largely left. The Caucasian exodus accelerated when Negroes did begin to come in significant numbers. The implication would seem to be clear for the most part these Caucasian churchmen did not wish to live alongside or worship God together with Negro churchmen. A further implication is that for the most part Negro churchmen return this particular compliment of their white brethren.

At Vermont Square, denominational leaders sought a church that might become racially inclusive. This goal was achieved only in token fashion, and even the present level of Caucasian inclusion will probably diminish with the passing months.

Rather than racial inclusiveness, what the church really achieved was a relatively trouble-free transition from a Caucasian to a Negro membership.

## **IV THE PROBLEMS ARE ANALYZED**

Willingness to make sacrifices was a requirement stressed again and again as the thirty-two workgroups plunged into detailed discussions of conditions that cause strained interracial relations within religious bodies themselves and within communities. The issue was put succinctly in one group thus: "Don't talk big unless you are ready to suffer big."

Another group formulated this statement:

"Our program recommendations, however admirable, cannot be fully implemented unless there is a willingness to sacrifice and take whatever risks are necessary to carry them out. For us, this willingness to sacrifice springs from our religious commitments and understanding of our religious obligations. Without it, our churches and synagogues are nothing more than institutionalized reflections of our mass culture."

### **PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION WITHIN CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE**

Fear of economic loss and of lessened social status were noted as factors impeding the process of integration within congregations. Delegates repeatedly cited the fears among vested interests of losing their power, and it was pointed out that this prevails both among leaders of white groups and among those Negroes who resent the prospective loss of power in their own organizations.

Both racial groups face the move toward integration with some insecurity. There is a need to avoid seeing other groups as monolithic and to bear in mind always that it is not abstract ideas but basic person-to-person relations that are fundamentally involved, it was noted. Lack of education on the contribution of minority groups to American life, lack of empathy and lack of personal involvement were mentioned in this regard.

"There is no substitute for personal face-to-face encounter across racial and religious lines," one group statement said. "Without first-hand contact, it is impossible to avoid stereotyping. Therefore, while we may agree that token or ceremonial observations of brotherhood may be of some value to initiate intergroup contact, we should not delude ourselves that they fulfill the obligations of racial justice—and we must guard against using them as a balm to conscience."

Another group, observing that "the 'difference' in the Negro is simply the fearful result of a difference in experience," declared that the totality of church life must reflect commitment to racial equality. "We've turned our backs for so long that now we have got to go 90 per cent of the way" toward any meeting, one white leader acknowledged.

Adjustment must be made for the fact that Negroes sometimes are unable to participate in activities of religious organizations because of financial limitations and a desire to avoid being " beholden " to others. It also was noted that Negro churches had a responsibility to educate their members for change, and a warning was given that, while essentially the church should be an all-inclusive body, the "Negro church" itself has a place as a vehicle of a particular spiritual and cultural tradition. Also mentioned was the need of overcoming fears that contact with other religious organizations will weaken loyalty to one's own group.

Effective and imaginative leadership was demanded, and one workshop group asserted that "the image of the clergyman must be changed from that of sweetness and light to that of being contentious" for equal rights for all. It was observed repeatedly that the minister or rabbi often is inhibited from action because he fears opposition within his own congregation or is concerned about a lack of support from denominational authorities. Thus it is imperative that the religious leader of a congregation have assurance of support for his efforts to fight prejudice and discrimination. Furthermore, there were strong recommendations that the denominations should provide practical help, both in financial assistance and in aiding with suitable reassignment arrangements where necessary, to clergymen who suffer because of their stand on civil rights.

There was agreement that the desegregation of churches cannot be separated from the question of *desegregating housing*. Churches must



understand the power structure of the community and the practical nature of the problems and be prepared to engage in social, economic and political action, it was stated This is part of the church's work and concern, one group said, and "can do much to deepen the inner life of the congregation"

There seemed to be accord that religious institutions themselves, *as employers and administrators* should practice what they preach, and that church staffs, wherever practicable, should be racially integrated Moreover, "it is morally wrong and sinful for any agency or institution under the jurisdiction of church or synagogue to deny anyone admission or services because of race," one group declared "This applies to welfare institutions and agencies, hospitals, camps, social and recreational activities It is also morally wrong and sinful to provide these services and admissions on a segregated basis"

Attention was drawn to *the purchasing power* of churches and synagogues and the constructive use to which this can be put in breaking down racial barriers Dealing only with suppliers that observe fair employment practices was one recommendation Administrators of religious institutions were urged "to notify their dealers and suppliers of the determination on the part of church and synagogue to reward decency and justice and to refuse to cooperate with injustice and bigotry" It was also suggested that religious groups could exercise a constructive influence by refusing to accept land offers for church construction in a segregated property development area

*Educational materials* used in religious institutions and church-sponsored schools were closely scrutinized and there was agreement that minority groups were not adequately treated in such texts Full understanding and appreciation of the contributions of varied racial, ethnic and religious groups not only to American life but throughout the world were deemed essential, and it was stressed that students should be made aware of other racial groups even when members of these groups are not present in the community Thus *teacher education programs* to improve the handling of matters pertaining to intergroup relations were advocated Finally, it was felt that *moral* as well as strictly *religious* training should be emphasized

#### THE CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD

Some of the liveliest discussions occurred in the workgroups concerned with the role of religious bodies in racially changing communities The need of the church to become "involved" was emphasized, but the degree and nature of this involvement could not be precisely defined—in part, it was noted, because of differing conditions in different communities and religious denominations

"Religious institutions have a dual responsibility in the local community," one statement said "First, they have the right to express their

own doctrines and laws for their own communicants, and second, they should participate officially in local community organizations, "reserving their right to express negative points of view independently, when so inclined, on any community organization motion"

Another group criticized the fact that under most circumstances "in a neighborhood undergoing racial change, religious leadership acts after the problem has emerged to crisis dimension and thereby minimizes the effectiveness of its voice and its contribution. This means its major present role is to *conserve* and *buttress* change but not essentially to lead it"

It was suggested that racial change in urban neighborhoods was an objective trend that was bound to continue for considerable time and that churches or synagogues could not presume to restrict or control it. However, a focus for constructive effort was found in programs of *neighborhood stabilization and prevention of the flight of white residents*

"The local church or synagogue is prevented from acting in the face of racial and social issues because its internal structure of decision and power is geared to other purposes—maintaining its own business and operational functions," it was noted. "As a result, its committed minority and social action groups function outside the central core of decision and therefore cannot act for the local church. Can the structure of the local church be changed to permit the church to act as a total group of religiously committed persons?"

The group that asked this question went on to reply in the affirmative, suggesting experimental efforts to find the means by which each church or synagogue could best participate directly in social action work. This would give the minister, priest or rabbi the support he now badly needs and avoid the apology often necessarily made that he can speak only for himself, not for his congregation, the group said.

It was brought out that Negroes inevitably would move in large numbers from the cities to the suburbs in the next decade. Many Negroes, it was stated, maintain that they are going to buy and live where they want to and do not concern themselves about the over-all pattern or its effects. They also feel that any reaction to their movement is the problem of the white residents, not their own, it was said.

Some delegates said that religious bodies must prepare Negroes for change and stimulate them to move to the suburbs, even in the face of strong opposition. It was pointed out that lack of finances is a prime impediment to the dispersal of Negroes through suburban neighborhoods and that church and synagogue financial resources could be applied directly to this problem. Of particular importance are the attitudes of sellers of homes and of residents of the immediate areas where these homes are situated.

The precise role of the Negro himself was a matter of some debate

"Should he be," one group asked, a pioneer submitting himself as a guinea pig for integrative purposes on behalf of extending the range and depth of democracy, or should he seek housing naturally and not worry about the consequences?"

Disagreement arose over the questions of "benign and racial quotas" and third-party, or nominee, buying of properties for Negroes. Is the partial compromising of ethical principles justified when this seems the best means of achieving a morally desirable goal?

One group, declaring that churches and synagogues should affirm the principle of open occupancy," went on to observe that the best technique to apply was still uncertain. "It is debatable," its statement noted, "whether to adopt a planned approach, admit the situation is 'unnatural' and work to bring into a suburb a few Negroes at a time, properly spaced and located, so that ghettoization will not occur, or say that churches should oppose any attempts at quota systems as un-American and move for the bringing of Negroes into the suburbs as quickly as possible. To put it sharply, the issue is either more housing for Negroes in the suburbs, even if it results in separate communities, or planned integration."

In another workshop it was decided, after much discussion, that any quota system should be rejected, despite the high purpose involved, because 1) this is morally indefensible, 2) it is impractical to put into effect over broad areas of the housing market, 3) it is in direct conflict with the larger ideal and goal of an open and free housing market and 4) it is itself, in its application, discriminatory.

Proponents of "nominee buying" asserted that this practice is often utilized in business and financial dealings without connotation of immorality and declared that in some communities it was the only means of introducing members of racial minorities. Others maintained, however, that religious bodies could not sanction any practice subjecting its advocates to possible charges of deception.

#### **RURAL AREAS**

Members of the workshops dealing with problems of rural areas expressed concern lest the difficulties and tensions in these critical regions be underrated. "The churches have failed to arouse congregations to an awareness of responsibility in rural areas and have failed to inculcate an appreciation of one's fellow man above and beyond an economic consideration," one panel asserted.

"The problems of rural areas and agricultural workers are largely economic, and patterns of discrimination flow from economic inability to survive in modern society," it commented. "The church must concern itself with these issues and arouse the consciences of the congregation to these problems." It was noted that government programs, properly applied, could be used to aid people to remain in their native

rural areas and avoid being uprooted, by changing the nature of their employment. "The problems of the cities and the rural areas are intimately related, so much so that a declining rural population must be of concern to the churches, especially if the rural population has no qualifications for urban life

Attention also was drawn to the plight of migrant workers. One group was told that "the migrant workers — Negroes, Americans of Mexican descent, Indians, some whites and foreign workers including Mexicans, British West Indies citizens, Canadians, Japanese and Filipinos and American citizens recruited from Puerto Rico—make up the most disenfranchised group in the United States. They are 'excluded Americans'."

"The official church has an excellent record in official testimony and position as far as legislation, programs, etc. are concerned," this statement went on. "But the word of the official church has not penetrated the minds of many growers. Therefore, the church must perform the function of stimulating the consciences of the employers of migrant workers, the consuming public and the nation in asking and demanding justice for migrant workers." Further, it was stated, the church and its members must find new ways of reaching the migrants themselves to assist in human development as well as social reform.

"The church can add the dimension of compassion and humanity in a discussion of the migrants," panel members agreed. The historical role of the churches as protectors of the poor needs to be re-emphasized here."

In all areas where the fight for racial justice is going on, *the church must provide some practical means of giving moral and strategic support to those who are penalized for taking courageous stands to uphold the equality of all men.* "We must humbly recognize and point out for emulation the modern martyrs who have been beaten, maimed, and jailed for justice's sake," one group said. Another declared "A united front of all churches and synagogues must be available to counter the first challenge of organized bigotry, it should also be active in defending and protecting the victims of racist bigotry."

#### **COOPERATIVE EFFORTS**

As was to be expected, delegates agreed that the efforts of various religious groups in the field of race relations must be interlinked for maximum effectiveness and at the same time must be directly related to the activities of other private and governmental agencies. It was felt that members of the clergy particularly can make a strong contribution to voluntary civic organizations.

"There are many responsible voluntary groups in local communities whose effectiveness would be increased if the religious community

were vitally involved in their efforts," one panel stated "An essential ingredient of efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in our time is the involvement of our religious organizations in the activities of these voluntary groups that we may add our concern, group leadership and strength to theirs around this common task" Churches and synagogues have a responsibility to keep themselves informed of the programs and purposes of such voluntary groups

It was urged by another workshop that religious organizations "*create a climate of acceptance of direct action groups* in our communities, setting an example in opening their facilities to these groups and assisting them with personnel and membership participation The religious community should encourage its youth to become involved in the struggle for racial justice" Among the "direct action" groups listed were Freedom Riders, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and similar human relations groups also was advocated, and religious groups were advised not to overlook the labor unions, which can play a prominent part in the fight against discrimination and segregation

Considerable concern was voiced over the rise of the Black Muslim organization, an extremist group that preaches Negro supremacy and nationalism Similarities between the Black Muslims and the White Citizens Councils of the South were noted, and there was agreement that while this aggressive Negro organization itself should be condemned, the social causes for its emergence and growing strength should be objectively understood "Solutions of social and racial problems that are based on the elite idea of supremacy of any color, race or nationality" are to be rejected, it was stressed

Religious groups must do all in their power to influence governmental processes constructively, another workgroup urged It noted that "legislative, executive, judicial and administrative decisions will play a major role in the achievement of equality of opportunity" Therefore, the delegates agreed, it is imperative to develop political skills and familiarity with political processes "Religious forces must inevitably be involved in trying to influence political and governmental forces in achieving civil rights goals But many religious leaders who are willing to speak out are nevertheless naive in their understanding of *power* in political processes and how to affect political and governmental forces"

Churches and synagogues must concern themselves with specific civil rights issues—such as, for example, police brutality in a local community—"and since the means by which specific objectives are achieved are controversial, unanimity (and frequently even consensus) is impossible," it was noted "But neither unanimity nor consensus is al-



ways necessary. It seems wise to repudiate the counsel that we can't do anything if we don't do it together."

Coupled with these recommendations was a warning: "*Power corrupts — but so does powerlessness*. It is essential that the religious groups begin to understand the danger to our society of the contribution of large groups of the oppressed who are powerless."

Finally, there was a very strong feeling that *interfaith cooperation on race issues should be expanded* and that the accomplishments of this conference should serve as an impetus toward further vigorous activity. Recommendations to this effect were offered by almost every workgroup and were spelled out in some detail in the panels that concentrated their efforts on this question.

"Inspired by the demonstrated growth of interfaith cooperation manifested in this conference," one statement said, "nevertheless we are deeply concerned over the present status of intergroup relations on the local community level. We believe that tensions, clashes, juvenile delinquency, panic-selling and intergroup hostility on the community level present an immediate challenge to the delegates to this conference. We recommend that the leadership of local religious groups should be encouraged to organize community councils made up of the representative leaders of all groups in the community."

Hope was expressed that *various religious groups could find ways to exchange materials* dealing with race questions, such as publications, pamphlets and audio-visual materials. There was a plea for more educational programs at the local level about the basic nature and psychology of prejudice, making use of "official joint denominational and intergroup relations agency channels and facilities."

Another appeal for broad cooperation was worded this way: "There is a strong conviction that there must be some clearing-house type of organization set up to carry forward the inter-religious communication, planning and action on social issues such as race. This is needed on the national level with a biennial or triennial gathering similar to this conference. It is needed on a regional and local level also. Without duplicating excellent work already going on in many places and by many organizations, the secretariat [of the conference] and its governing board should avail itself of the interest generated here and encourage significant inter-religious action."

One important question that was raised was how the spirit and the influence of the Chicago conference could be brought to bear on Southern churchmen and their congregations. Suggestions were made that a similar conference, after suitable preparation, be held in a Southern city, but one participant argued that the sponsoring organizations should withhold any such meeting until a significant initiative from Southern religious leaders themselves could be induced.

One group asserted that impediments to interfaith cooperation

should be recognized and faced realistically "In preparing for joint action by religious groups," it said, "we recognize the obstacles such as competition for money, time or credit, distrust of interfaith movements by some church authorities, fear of change, shyness, minority sensitivity, lack of awareness of doctrinal and cultural ways of doing things, and assuming that all members of a group are the same. Recognizing these realities will help us to do a more realistic job." But, it went on, "we recognize also the positive elements, such as good existing personal and group relationships in the community, public and private intergroup agencies already at work, and, in most areas, a popular climate for brotherhood."



## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A number of general conclusions can be drawn from the proceedings as a whole, in addition to specific recommendations for action, which are detailed in the final section of this pamphlet. One important element, as noted earlier, is that the church or synagogue should be willing to commit itself, as a matter of principle, to the fight for racial justice. Concomitant with this was a strong feeling that the church or synagogue should be ready to exercise discipline against any members who defy basic religious principles as well as the precepts of their own local religious groups by flagrantly opposing racial justice. In this connection, there was praise for the action of the Roman Catholic Church in taking excommunication measures against several of the most extreme opponents of its policy of desegregating parochial schools in New Orleans.

The question was posed in these terms by one discussion group: "Is it possible to have standards for church members that might ultimately lead to expulsion if flagrantly violated?" Along with this, it asked: "Does the church fail in the area of racial justice because of excessive emphasis on love and mercy?" The group reached a consensus that there was a necessity for internal discipline, for intermediate sanctions coupled with exercise of love and patience, and finally, if no other course is evident, expulsion from the religious body.

There also was a general agreement that if local clergymen and their congregations are to act effectively in racial issues, they must have full support from denominational organizations at the regional and national level. All too often local leaders are held back from taking forthright positions because of fear of antagonizing the denominational authorities. Thus the major religious bodies were enjoined to take an unmis-

takable stand for right and justice and to make this stand known widely

The educational role of the church and synagogue were repeatedly stressed. It is their duty to combat emotional fears with facts and with rational judgments. While national religious organizations can provide materials and leadership, the process of educating members for interracial harmony and understanding rests squarely with the local group.

At the close, all delegates were asked to evaluate the workshop discussions, and a majority rated them as "good" or "excellent." Most often praised were the frankness of the debates and the opportunity to hear the views of delegates from many other backgrounds and communities. Some persons complained of the difficulty of reaching specific recommendations after so relatively short a time. One delegate, replying to the question "What did you like?" asserted "We began to be honest with each other." A reply made by many who were asked to offer suggestions and comments, was "That all persons attending this conference go back home and get right to work on these problems."

## **VI THE ACCOMPLISHMENT AND THE OUTLOOK**

On January 17, the closing day of the conference, the Appeal to Conscience was adopted at a plenary session. In this statement, the full text of which is given on Page 34, the conference delegates affirmed "our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God," and said "We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life."

The Follow-Up Committee, reporting its plans, disclosed that the first step would be a social action program in a number of cities—among them Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, New Orleans, Oakland, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Antonio and Seattle—that offer a representative cross-section and where religious leaders are ready to go ahead at once.

The Follow-Up Committee is functioning as a liaison group and offering counsel concerning the next steps to be taken in making the conference aims a reality. "Chicago was a milestone in inter-religious cooperation, no one could fail to appreciate a new openness which cut across our lines of separation doctrinally and institutionally," the committee chairman, the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, said in a subsequent letter to all delegates. Historic achievement is in sight, Dr. Walmsley declared, "if that spirit will now forthrightly and unitedly confront the social and moral chaos of the churches and the nation."

In at least a dozen cities, interreligious committees have been or are

being formed. The situation in each city will have its unique features. Nevertheless there are certain recommended steps that will be generally applicable.

1 Someone must take the initiative — a delegate to the Chicago Conference, a lay or clerical official of the churches or synagogues, a leader of a civil rights organization — to bring together the president or executive of the council of Protestant and Orthodox churches, the bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese and the president of the Board of Rabbis (or their nearest equivalents) in order to plan for the vigorous involvement of the religious communities in the struggle for civil rights and human dignity for all. Denominations not normally members of the council of churches should also be represented. From the very outset it is of the highest importance that authentic leaders from the Negro churches be drawn in to have a voice in the proceedings. In certain communities persons from other minority groups should be enlisted from the beginning.

2 These persons must give their sanction and support to any plans and program that are developed if a new dimension of effectiveness is to be added to the community forces working for inter-racial justice.

3 Other steps can then be taken to implement the broad plans. Contacts should be made with the local counterparts of the agencies working in the field of inter-racial and inter-religious relations that were represented at the Chicago Conference. These should be invited to participate as consultant members of the committees. Some of these groups will be voluntary civic organizations, while others will be governmental. Frequently one or more of them will have trained staff personnel who can be immensely helpful. Responsibilities may well be assigned at this stage to one or several working committees.

4 As to program, some community interreligious groups are sponsoring city-wide or state conferences similar to the National Conference held at Chicago. All appear to realize that any action program that will achieve change in personal and community patterns must focus on certain specific goals that are of prime importance in the community. They realize also that due account should be taken of ongoing efforts in opening the housing market without discrimination based on race or religion, of desegregation of the schools, improving the quality of education for culturally deprived children and youth, citizenship education and removal of obstacles to voting, achieving fair employment in religious institutions, in industry, banking and retailing establishments, and like areas of concern.

The objective of interreligious action should not be to compete with or supplant other constructive organizations and programs, but rather to enlist religious leadership and institutions in reinforcing whatever efforts are being made. This will generally be done best by maintaining close contact with the Roman Catholic, Jewish and the Protestant-

Orthodox bodies At the same time, cooperative or federated relations should be carefully developed and sustained with responsible non-religious organizations

The Secretariat of the National Conference on Religion and Race will be glad to offer counsel and assistance and to receive reports about local and regional efforts to implement its purposes

## **VII PROGRAMMATIC RECOMMENDATIONS**

What constructive action can be taken by the larger religious group, the local congregation, the clergyman or the individual member? A host of suggestions, both general and specific, were produced at the Chicago meeting They have been consolidated and organized under headings corresponding to the titles of Conference forums Duplication and repetition have been eliminated as far as possible, but in some instances it has seemed desirable to include essentially similar courses of action under several headings Books, pamphlets and visual aids useful in race-relations education and action are listed in an annotated Catalogue of Resources prepared for the Chicago conference, available from the National Conference on Religion and Race, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N Y (See page 36 for details )

### **INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE**

Congregations that are predominantly or wholly white should strive for inclusion or participation by Negroes, inviting them and making them feel a genuine spirit of welcome when they come Selected sponsors can aid newcomers to the congregation to feel at home Churches that are wholly or predominantly Negro should likewise move to become genuinely inclusive of non-Negro members

All churches and synagogues should foster interracial association by conscious and purposeful means throughout civic life

"Days of witness" or Sabbaths for special sermons can be initiated, on interreligious as well as intrareligious lines, to draw wide attention to the need of obtaining equal rights for all

Ministers, priests and rabbis should deal directly with racial questions from the pulpit and in other official functions Through pastoral visitations in homes they can help families to gain a proper perspective on racial issues

Writing of new hymns to promote greater understanding of basic human dignity and unity should be commissioned



Religious family visitations can be used to bring together families of different races but otherwise similar backgrounds for visits in each others' homes

All religious institutions should examine their policies and practices to assure that the facilities and services they offer are available to all on an equal and unsegregated basis

In all planning of church and synagogue conferences and religiously related fraternal and social activities, men and women, youth groups,

clergy and laity should be drawn into committees and planning groups without regard to differences of race or culture

Conventions and conferences of religious bodies should be held only in communities and facilities where no racial or religious discrimination is practiced at any time of the year

Attitude surveys taken within the congregation can help to clarify the group's feelings, and the findings can serve constructive purposes in planning social action or devising educational programs

National statements of racial policy of denominations should be implemented through observance and action at all levels of the religious organization

Churches and synagogues should consider how inner discipline may be used, in accordance with their respective traditions, to bring about adherence to principles of racial justice

Closer and more regular contact between the national organizations and their local bodies on social action programs should be established and all possible means of providing informational material, through nationally distributed magazines, church school materials church libraries and newsletters should be utilized in an educational effort

Members of minority groups should be invited as speakers to churches and synagogues, not only as representatives of their group but also as experts in fields in which they are professionally qualified Churches and synagogues should promote pulpit exchanges between clergymen of different racial backgrounds and joint meetings of Negro and white congregations They should also examine the possibility of an "interracial team ministry," thereby demonstrating in practice their adherence to the religious teachings they uphold

It can be an instructive experience for individuals of the white majority to "walk in someone else's shoes" for a day or more by depriving themselves of the use of segregated facilities

In circumstances where unanimity of policy of an entire congregation is impossible, a minimum policy may be developed to encourage action by those who are willing to take an initiative without risking being repudiated by the larger group. At the same time, entire congregations can be encouraged to support the direct action taken by small groups from their membership.

#### **CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE AS INSTITUTIONS IN THE COMMUNITY**

##### **AS EMPLOYERS AND ADMINISTRATORS**

Religious institutions should adopt and adhere to fair employment policies and practices at all levels.

Investment of funds by religious groups nationally and locally should be in keeping with stated moral principles. Funds should be invested with the conscious goal of furthering equality of opportunity, particularly through financing of integrated housing projects and developments. They should not be invested in institutions with discriminatory lending, hiring or service practices.

The church or synagogue should consider making its funds available for mortgage purposes to those unable, for racial reasons, to obtain financing through other channels.

Sale and rental of property owned or controlled by religious institutions should be free from any form of racial discrimination.

In all real estate dealings, religious institutions must vigorously oppose and refuse to be parties to any restrictive covenant or agreement.

Churches and synagogues should refuse to accept free land for religious buildings offered to them by home developers when it is known that the development will be a segregated community.

All contracts for the repair or construction of buildings or the purchase of supplies for religious institutions should contain nondiscriminatory clauses assuring equal employment opportunity.

Strong support for social action from the central body of the denomination, both financially and morally, is desirable so that the church or synagogue may concern itself with the needs of the changing community instead of concentrating solely on its institutional needs. Ministers who suffer for their efforts to uphold full civil rights for all should receive financial help from the denomination and, when necessary, assistance in obtaining suitable reassignment.

Religious organizations at all levels should be encouraged to support and to promote participation in the activities of such groups as the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress on Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the National Student Association and the Northern Student Movement, in their programs to attain equal justice for all

#### AS EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

Religiously affiliated educational institutions from the nursery school to university and seminary should have an open admissions policy and should seek to achieve integrated faculties

Curricular materials should include more positive themes embodying acceptance and recognition of and respect for varied racial, ethnic and religious groups

The program of the church elementary school should include a unit, project or area of study designed specifically to develop in the young a correct and ethical attitude toward members of other races. Visits, interviews and field trips should be utilized to help the students understand proper ways of handling intergroup relations

Young people of the church or synagogue should have opportunity to see and work with other young people of all races, in the church school, in church camps and in work camps and in such extra-curricular programs as athletics, debating, music programs, etc

Teacher-training institutions and seminaries must help teachers to examine their own biases, to understand the background, traditions and problems of minority groups and to become familiar with sound intergroup educational methods, approaches and techniques

To the greatest extent possible, in-service training and practice teaching in culturally deprived areas should be required of all teachers, and all religious groups should seek to motivate congregants in the teaching profession to take teaching positions in culturally deprived areas as a fulfillment of religious commitments

"Sustained committees," composed of representatives of various racial, ethnic and religious groups, should seek to serve, in consultative capacity, to textbook publishers

#### **ROLE OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE IN THE RACIALLY CHANGING COMMUNITY**

##### URBAN AREAS

Action by the religious community at the neighborhood level should, wherever possible, be carried out as joint interreligious action, with the churches and synagogues of the neighborhood and their leaders all represented in a common front of concern and attack

Cooperative interreligious organization staffing and financing should be developed, to provide for the most adequate possible work in critical areas of racial and social need

Church and synagogue programs of interpretation of moral and racial issues should include involvement in social action against racial discrimination

Direct action programs should cover a broad range, from bold to relatively non-controversial within the congregation, thereby maintaining consensus

Religious bodies must commit themselves to filling the vacuum in civic life by developing democratic community organizations wherever these do not exist so that racial change can be met responsibly and in organized fashion

Religious institutions should train leaders for lay-clergy teamwork for neighborhood stabilization

Churches and synagogues should work for the erection of middle-income housing in central city areas, should seek the dispersal of public housing in smaller projects through the city and suburbs, and should support efforts to gain fair housing legislation

Members of religious groups should be active in signing and obtaining signatures for pledges upholding the principle of "open-occupancy" housing

The individual church or synagogue can be established as a service center for buyers and sellers cooperating in interracial housing

Local religious groups should cooperate in programs to promote voter education and encourage wide use of the ballot

Activities of a "Peace Corps" type by the local congregation to work with Negro fellow-citizens in constructive community projects and thus to enable those who so cooperate to learn by doing

In neighborhoods where racial patterns are changing, the church and synagogue should work to dispel rumors, allay panic and create reasonable stability in housing

Members of local religious bodies who are selling properties should be encouraged to list these for sale to members of minority groups and to make known their willingness to have their neighbors' homes sold on similar terms

In combating fears of racial change, often it is best to work with a single known family that is moving in rather than deal in general-

ties The opportunity for whites to meet Negroes face to face is usually the best way to break down resistance

#### **SUBURBAN AREAS**

Open public educational work must begin long before actual racial change, and small action groups must be prepared to inaugurate that change swiftly under religious attention

Religious groups must be more fully represented in planning programs that are reshaping urban life They must also begin working

on a metropolitan basis, tying together inner-city and suburban congregations in key projects such as fair-housing searches and information programs and establishing buyer-seller contacts across religious lines

Interfaith, interreligious home visitation programs are especially needed in the suburbs to offset existing patterns of suburban living

Joint sponsorship of organized work for open housing, and cooperative staffing and financing of such work, is especially necessary in the suburbs

#### **RURAL AREAS**

More religious attention should be focused on the significance of rural developments for the over-all pattern of race relations

Since religious groups are often the dominant social groups in rural areas, they must lead in building interracial association

Since the primary and most tragic form of racial discrimination in rural life is economic, religious groups must lead the way in 1) conducting job training programs, 2) urging rural redevelopment 3) protesting the misuse of Federal aid, such as surplus foods, as a weapon to prevent change, and 4) campaigning for new legislation that will enable agricultural labor to organize effectively

Religious groups should sponsor adult education programs in rural areas to build awareness of civil rights They should lead in voter-registration drives and work with other groups sponsoring them

City churches must work with rural churches to meet racial problems on a state-wide basis

Religious groups must find new and more effective ways of reaching and aiding migrant laborers, whose low wage scales, poor housing conditions and lower educational attainments should be a matter of special concern to all churches and synagogues



The formation of a Domestic Service Corps is especially needed to aid in rural redevelopment

**RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE TO OTHER  
COMMUNITY FORCES**

**INTERDENOMINATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS**

Local conferences on religion and race, patterned on the national conference in Chicago, should be promoted. Full use should be made

of the services of the delegates to the Chicago meeting, and these persons should make themselves available to local religious and civic bodies

The pattern established by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race should be carried on with regular national conferences and similar interreligious meetings at regional and local levels

In all such conferences, national, regional and local, great care should be exercised to involve Negro leadership in planning the program and to see that other groups, such as Puerto Ricans, should be included where pertinent. In certain areas Orientals, other persons of Spanish-speaking background and Indian Americans should be included

Full participation by women and youth should be encouraged and their talents should be utilized in the programs of all future conferences

Other groups not yet associated with this program might be invited to participate. These could include such bodies as the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventists

There should be joint interreligious statements and action on race relations issues nationally, regionally and in local communities

Formation of a "Justice Corps" or Domestic Service Corps would provide an opportunity for religiously committed men and women to serve constructively in difficult areas of the country—to assist in voter registration and education, non-violent protest and other means of promoting interracial justice

Joint meetings should be held where possible, or exchanges of delegates carried out between the organizations of various church and synagogue groups, Negro and white—i.e., youth groups, religiously sponsored summer camps and vacation Bible schools

Interfaith meetings, initiated by clergy and interested laity, can be set up in each community facing school desegregation to prepare

the membership of religious groups, the school authorities and others concerned in this important social change

Small clergy study groups should be formed, involving members of all faiths and races, to make full use of available resources and study guides in order to act positively in their congregations and communities on issues of racialism

Clergymen and their associations should cooperate in a broad program to bring sermons on questions of racial justice to all pulpits of the community

Pilot projects involving cooperation among churches and synagogues to deal with such major problems as fair employment practices, housing, voting and juvenile delinquency should be developed

#### IN RELATION TO GOVERNMENTAL AND POLITICAL FORCES

Churches, synagogues and other religious bodies at all levels should work for the enactment of legislation ensuring fair employment practices and equal housing opportunities where none exist, for the strengthening of such laws where necessary, and give support to enforcement of such legislation where it has already been adopted

Religious groups must call on the government to give Federal funds, loans and grants only to institutions that extend their services to all citizens fairly and equitably

Interracial and interreligious bodies should be created to make joint visits to city, state and federal legislatures in support of bills that safeguard civil rights and bar discrimination

Religious organizations should keep watch over the adequacy of appropriations, effectiveness of staff and quality of operations of government agencies that impinge upon and affect people in terms of their race—that is, the police, schools, public health services—and exercise a corrective function

#### IN RELATIONS TO CIVIC BODIES AND AGENCIES

Human relations committees or civil rights instrumentalities should be set up within churches and synagogues to cooperate in actions by other local groups

Local religious organizations should work with realtors to help end the dual housing market and with bankers to help in obtaining mortgage funds for Negroes. Funds to promote equal housing opportunity may also be obtained through setting up credit unions, through approaches to universities that have money available for investment and through appeals to private family foundations

## **AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**

We have met as members of the great Jewish and Christian faiths held by the majority of the American people, to counsel together concerning the tragic fact of racial prejudice discrimination and segregation in our society. Coming as we do out of various religious backgrounds, each of us has more to say than can be said here. But this statement is what we as religious people are moved to say together.

Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we appeal to the consciences of the American people.

This evil has deep roots; it will not be easily eradicated. While the Declaration of Independence did declare that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, slavery was permitted for almost a century. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation, compulsory racial segregation and its degrading badge of racial inequality received judicial sanction until our own time.

We rejoice in such recent evidences of greater wisdom and courage in our national life as the Supreme Court decisions against segregation and the heroic non-violent protests of thousands of Americans. However, we mourn the fact that patterns of segregation remain entrenched everywhere — North and South, East and West. The spirit and the letter of our laws are mocked and violated.

Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the Giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and fraternal organizations we have often failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.

We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended. We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil.

Our appeal to the American people is this:

SEEK a reign of justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities; hiring and promotion; medical and hospital care; open occupancy in housing will be available to all.

SEEK a reign of love in which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones; racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed; any man will be received as brother — his rights, your rights, his pain, your pain, his prison, your prison.

SEEK a reign of courage in which the people of God will make their faith their binding commitment; in which men willingly suffer for justice and love; in which churches and synagogues lead, not follow.

SEEK a reign of prayer in which God is praised and worshipped as the Lord of the universe, before Whom all racial idols fall. Who makes us one family and to Whom we are all responsible.

In making this appeal we affirm our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God. We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life.

We call upon all the American people to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively; to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family; to do this for the glory of God.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following items relate to the National Conference on Religion and Race and are available from its Secretariat

*Appeal to the Conscience of the American People* (folder)

Single copy 5¢

50 or more copies 3¢ each

*Catalogue of Resources* (annotated list of reading materials and audio-visual aids on religion and race relations)

Single copies \$1 00

2 to 49 copies 75¢ each

50 or more copies 65¢ each

Subscription to *Newsletter* (ten issues a year, reporting on interreligious actions across the nation) \$3 00

*Race Challenge to Religion* (collects the major addresses made at the Chicago Conference)

Hard-cover edition \$4 95

Paperback edition \$1 65

*Religion's Role in Racial Crisis* (report of the first National Conference on Religion and Race and recommendations for action)

Single copies 65¢

50 or more copies\* 40¢ each

Order from National Conference on Religion and Race

289 Park Avenue South

New York 10, N Y

\*Bulk orders from Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

515 Madison Avenue

New York 22 N Y

*Memorandum*

We are Catholic, Jewish and Protestant. As one, we believe that "in the beginning God created....man in His own image." We take as the common basis of our faiths those words which say, "The Lord our God is one Lord; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might." We have read and believed "you shall love your neighbor as yourself."

Having said this, we cannot look at the community in which we live and be complacent about what we see. The neighbors whom we love are treating each other according to the laws of the jungle and not according to the law of God. God punishes broken law, and the punishment is unhappiness, frustration, failure, and separation from Him.

As Americans, we stand firmly behind our Declaration of Independence. It unequivocally states "that all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." Yet, we find Americans in large numbers depriving brother Americans of rights which are legally theirs.

As men of religious convictions, we must cry out in protest against man's inhuman treatment of fellowman, and point out discriminations in housing, schooling and employment as specific examples. Where we have failed, we humbly repent, and ask God's forgiveness. Depending upon Him for strength, we pledge to walk a straighter path as we move on in life.

As men of religious convictions, we call upon the total community to face up to its problems and seek solutions to every one of them. As a first and practical step, we call for a great community-wide Conference on Religion and Human Rights, feeling that the matter of human relations is a problem of prime importance in our multi-racial, bi-lingual community. We jointly call this Conference for \_\_\_\_\_ and respectfully request that our churches, synagogues and all concerned



organizations clear these dates on their calendars and plan to participate fully in the study groups and meetings that will make up the Conference.

We further call for a period of study prior to the Conference, and hope that this study may be carried out within and across our normal social groupings. We promise to furnish the leadership and materials necessary for effective study experiences.

Without hesitation, we stand together and say that we share a common concern for the welfare and dignity of all men, and that we intend that this concern shall be felt. We will not rest from our efforts to secure God-given equal opportunities for every citizen, as well as for those who have fled from tyranny to our shores. May God be with us.