Facing Racism: A Vision of the Beloved Community

Approved by
The 211th General Assembly (1999)
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

Developed by
The Initiative Team on Racism and Racial Violence

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October 1999

To: Pastors of Churches and Clerks of Sessions Where There Is No Installed Pastor, and Stated Clerks and Executives of Presbyteries and Synods

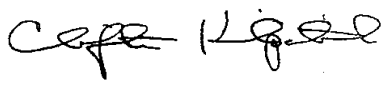
Dear Friends:

The 211th General Assembly (1999) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has asked me to send you a copy of the policy statement on "Facing Racism: In Search of the Beloved Community."

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) recognizes that the task of dismantling racism is a long-term struggle that requires discernment, prayer, and worship based action. As we move into the next millennium, congregations, presbyteries, and synods are engaging the problem of racism in unprecedented numbers. This is a significant development in the struggle for "racial" justice. In order to respond to this challenge, the 211th General Assembly (1999) approved this comprehensive policy document that will guide the church's ministry of "racial" justice in the next century. This document will help the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) move beyond the task of legally dismantling racism to removing it from our lives and communities. Resources are being developed to help the church live into "A Vision of the Beloved Community."

For more information, contact Otis Turner, Racial Justice Policy Development,100 Witherspoon Street, Room 3007, Louisville, KY, 40202; phone (502)569-5698; Email—Otist@ctr.PCUSA.org .

In Christ's Service,



Clifton Kirkpatrick
Stated Clerk of the General Assembly

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FACING RACISM:
A VISION OF THE BELOVED COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

The Initiative Team on Racism and Racial Violence recommended that the General Assembly Council (GAC) undergo an introduction to antiracism training. The GAC adopted the recommendation and underwent an introduction to antiracism training at its February 1997 meeting. In response to that experience, the GAC recommended that an introduction to antiracism training be planned for commissioners at the 211th General Assembly (1999) and declared the intent of the General Assembly Council to assume an antiracism identity. The GAC also asked that, through appropriate methods of communication, all governing bodies and local congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) [PC(USA)] be urged to assume an antiracism identity. The council instructed the executive director to provide for antiracism training for General Assembly staff; and to ensure that resources that support a continuous antiracism identity in the PC(USA) are made available to the church at large (Minutes of the General Assembly Council, February 1997).[1] The 209th General Assembly (1997) "encourage[d] all governing bodies to plan for their staff to undergo a program of antiracism training by the year 2005; instruct[ed] the National Ministries Division to develop a churchwide strategy for antiracism training in partnership with governing bodies that can be implemented across the church by 2005."[2]

In response to actions of the General Assembly, the Initiative Team on Racism and Racial Violence examined the contemporary problem of racism in the light of biblical, theological, and ethical principles that will guide and inform a vision of "The Beloved Community" as the PC(USA) positions itself to carry on the struggle for racial justice in the next century. This document highlights the evolution of the church's historic public policy of active involvement in the civil-rights movement and provides an analysis of present-day racism that sets forth the centrality of power in the institutionalization and perpetuation of oppressive structures, patterns, and practices. Finally, the document outlines strategies for a churchwide program of antiracism work that will empower the church to recapture a sense of urgency and radical involvement in the struggle for racial justice. It is designed to enable the PC(USA) to join others in working on the nation's continuing agenda of tolerance, acceptance, and racial justice.

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] *Minutes,* 1997, Part I, pp. 621–22.

VISION STATEMENT

The PC (U.S.A.) covenants to embrace racial and cultural diversity as God-given assets of the human family. The PC(USA) covenants to become an antiracism community, resisting oppression and working to overcome racism within its own life and the life of the society by blending social analysis, institutional reconstruction, and individual healing with discernment, prayer, and worship-based action.

The PC(USA) affirms that racism violates God's purpose for humanity and is contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the PC(USA) recognizes that racism is a sin. The PC(USA) is committed to spiritually confronting the idolatry and ideology of White supremacy and White privilege. The PC(USA) confesses its complicity in the creation and maintenance of racist structures and systems in all parts of our nation's life, including the church itself.

The PC(USA) rejoices in its witness of resistance to racism provided by past and current PC(USA) leaders and individuals and echoed by congregations and governing bodies. The PC(USA) recognizes that it has not spoken boldly enough, nor acted courageously or creatively enough in response to racism.

God created human beings, a diverse family, to live together and to love one another as God loves us. We violate God's intention for the human family by creating false categories of value and identity, based on identifiable characteristics such as culture, place of origin, and skin color. We use these categories to create a race-based system, which benefits some while oppressing others. Racism is fundamentally a spiritual problem because it denies our true identity as children of God.

In Jesus Christ, God frees us to love and teaches us, through the empowering presence of the Holy Spirit, how to live as a family. We are led by the Holy Spirit to participate in transforming personal lives, dismantling institutional racism, healing racial prejudice and hatred, and building "The Beloved Community" for all of God's children.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

God's Purpose for Us: The Beloved Community

The Christian response to the contemporary problem of racism must be developed in light of a clear biblical and theological understanding of what it means to be human. The Reformed perspective on the meaning of humanness is informed by John Calvin's assertion that proper knowledge of ourselves

as humans is achievable only through a knowledge of God and God's will for human community.[3] Calvin's reading of the biblical events of Genesis 1 and 2 provides demonstrable evidence that God, at creation, endowed humans with qualities and characteristics that originate from God's own divine being: imagination, intellectual capacity, spirit, emotions, a will with which to engage in acts of deliberation and decision-making, and a moral conscience with which to discern or distinguish between right and wrong and good and evil.

Calvin used the notion of the image of God to capture the essence of the biblical understanding of what it means to be human: human beings were made by God, in the image of God. For the Reformers, this understanding serves not only to highlight God's positive estimation of humanity, but also to establish God's purpose for human community. As beings who bear the indelible stamp of God's nature, humans are to be accorded special, sacred status in the creation as God's crowning achievement. Thus, in Scripture God is portrayed as one who recognizes the value and worth of human life, and affirms the inherent dignity of human beings.[4]

Understanding the image of God is crucial. God's original purpose for human community is a basis for making important assertions about human relationships. In consonance with God's perspective, humans must appreciate the sacredness and sanctity of all human life; establish relationships based on the rule of love, respect, and dignity; assume moral responsibility for nurturing the bonds of mutual affection; render supportive aid to those in need; avoid hurtful attitudes and harmful actions; and make justice the basis of one's treatment of others.[5] Thus, Calvin and other Reformers established a critical linkage between the image of God in humans and the divine mandate to make justice, love, and peace the fundamental bases of human relationships. The biblical narrative offers incontestable proof that God not only requires and expects love, justice, and peace to guide human relationships, it also demonstrates that God acts decisively in history to establish human community based on these moral precepts. In the Old Testament, God's deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt is illustrative of the importance God places on justice in human community. God works to establish justice and peace in community through laws that establish right relationships in the human family.[6] God's restorative activity in the exodus is followed by the giving of covenantal law, which is aimed at establishing the rule of love and justice in the community. The essence of law is commitment to a covenantal relationship that establishes the proper relationship with God, and that derivatively establishes right relationships between and among humans. The covenant was established as a bond of fidelity between God and God's people; and as such involves moral responsibility on the part of corporate society and its individual members to deal fairly with one another; and provide for the basic needs of all as an expression of faithfulness to God.[7] When relationships in the community wander off the path of love and justice, God sends prophets to point out the fracturing elements in the community, announces divine judgment, calls the people back to a proper sense of God, and pleads for a return to right relationality.[8]

The New Testament embraces and expands the viewpoint of God's commitment to love and justice. The divine reinforcement of moral law undergirding right relationships is proclaimed and witnessed through the person, work, and gospel of Jesus Christ. Jesus stands firmly in the tradition of Amos, Isaiah, and Hosea when he chastises those who neglect the weightier matters of justice and mercy, and when he announces that nations will be judged by the way they treat those who are less fortunate. Jesus' explanation of the essence of the law as covenantal integrity between neighbors who express relationships marked by love and justice reveals that love of God and love of neighbor are inseparable. In Jesus' discussion of the kingdom of God and in his injunctions in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus unequivocally proclaims that God's will for the human community is to live as a family of mutually supportive, caring siblings (Matt. 5:1–12, NRSV).

The early church of the New Testament further advances the notion of Divine commitment to justice in its explication of the person and work of the Holy Spirit. In Acts the workings of the Holy Spirit to create community among the faithful reveal the celebration of diversity and inclusiveness as God's purpose for the human family as mediated through the church. Moreover, it is the Holy Spirit that empowers and inspires Peter's proclamation of the priesthood of all believers—accentuating the egalitarian nature of the Christian community and its implications for all creation (Acts 2; 1 Peter 2:9–10, NRSV).

Martin Luther King Jr.'s understanding of "The Beloved Community" provides a more contemporary example of an antiracism vision that is rooted in the biblical vision of God's

[3] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* John T. McNeill, ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), Book I, Chapter I, pp. 35–39.

[4] "What are human beings that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them? Yet you have made them a little lower than God, and crowned them with glory and honor" (Psalms 8:4–5); "He has told you, O mortal, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8), NRSV.

[5] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* pp. 375–76; 404–5.

[6] John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion,* John T. McNeill, ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), Book III, pp. 348–423.

[7] "Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them; and the offerings of well-being of your fatted animals I will not look upon. Take away from me the noise of your songs; I will not listen to the melody of your harps. But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (Amos 5:22–24, NRSV).

[8] Abraham Heschel, *The Prophets* ,Volumes I & II, (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1961–62).

will for human relationships. This vision is grounded in our common origin as children of God from which we derive our alienable worth, dignity, and sanctity. The vision affirms that every person's right to be free, to be treated as persons not things, and to be valued as full members of the human community are gifts from God. The solidarity of the human family and the social character of all human life indicates that no person can develop fully apart from interaction with others. All persons are mutually linked and meant to live and grow in relationship with each other as we share a common destiny. Therefore, differences of ethnicity and culture are to be viewed as God-given gifts to be celebrated, rather than obstacles to be overcome.[9] "The Beloved Community" symbolizes that network of human relationships where diversity is embraced; where the content of one's character is more important than skin color; where love, justice, and peace emerge as the preeminent norms for all relationships; and where institutional power is humanized by moral values so that it serves the interest of justice.[10]

What We Are: The Broken Community

The church affirms the pervasive, intransigent, and virulent nature of sin as an operative reality. The biblical narrative of the Fall in Genesis illuminates the radical consequences of human disobedience relative to God's mandate for relationships in the created order.[11] Human action decisively ruptures the covenant established by God with humankind and the whole of creation. The Fall points to the nature and reality of sin. Sin is understood as estrangement or separation from God. This estranged state results in the defacement of the image of God in humanity. Consequently, the capacity to properly value ourselves and others as persons of worth and dignity is corrupted. The results of sin are empirically verifiable in human relationships.[12]

Hence, the capacity of the human will, intellect, and emotions to build and maintain a community of loving, just, and peaceable relationships is also greatly diminished. While we each bear the indelible stamp of God's image, we recognize ourselves as fallen creatures who relate to others personally, socially, and institutionally in ways that deny that image in each other, and thereby violate the sacred bonds of community established by God. Sin and its effects continue to have consequences for relationships in the human community. The Reformed Tradition affirms that sin, resulting in distorted relationships and broken covenantal agreements, operates in corporate structures as well as interpersonal relationships.[13] The empirical validation of the broken communal covenant in church and society is subsequently witnessed as racism, personal prejudice, xenophobia, as well as the creation and maintenance of institutional structures that perpetuate racism and other forms of injustice. Further, the maldistribution of economic, social, and political goods essential for survival; discriminatory employment and housing practices; and the persistence of segregated churches represent other concrete, visible manifestations of sinful communal brokenness.

The concept of covenant was especially important to the early Reformers as they worked to reestablish right order and governance in church and society. The Reformers affirmed that the defaced image of God in fallen humanity remained in seed form, capable of being resurrected and restored by God through the redemptive power and presence of Jesus Christ.[14] In light of this, Reformed doctrine throughout history has affirmed that in Jesus Christ and through the empowering presence of the Holy Spirit, the possibility now exists to establish newly constructed relationships marked by love, justice, and peace through responsible human action in the world.[15] As a community of faith, it is imperative that the PC(USA) take responsible action against the forces that distort, fracture, and destroy just and right relationships in church and society. One such force is racism.

Challenge to the Church: What Is God Calling Us to Be and Do?

What is the moral-ethical imperative for the PC(USA)? As a covenant community seeking to be faithful to the gospel of Jesus Christ and the movement of the Holy Spirit in our midst, is there a word from the God that speaks loudly in and to the present sinful conditions of racism and racial violence? Are there grounds for hope that can inform us about what can and ought to be done despite the serious levels of brokenness we experience in both church and society?[16]

We are reminded that it is the corporate church that must strain to hear God's word and discern how to respond to indi-

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9 See James M. Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco: Harper, 1986), pp. 117–25.

10 James M. Washington, *A Testament of Hope,* pp. 43–53; 217–20.

11 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* Book Two, Chapter I, pp. 39–241.

12 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* Book Two, Chapter I–III, pp. 239–309.

13 Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man, Volume I,* (New York: Scribners, 1964), pp. 178–264.

14 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* Book Two, Chapter XV, pp. 189–92.

15 Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics, Book IV, Doctrine of Reconciliation*; Hughes Old, *Reformed Worship*.

16 Stephen Carter, in a recent book, *Integrity,* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1996), p. 7, offers a threefold criteria for assessing the integrity of individuals: discerning what is right or wrong; acting on what you have discerned, even at personal cost; saying openly that you are acting on your understanding of right from wrong. Carter's trilogy is applicable and highly relevant on the corporate-institutional level as well. Corporate integrity may then be applied to any community that consistently demonstrates the capacity to meet the threefold criteria.

vidual and institutional judgments and behaviors that operate at cross-purposes with God's will for the human family.[17] The corporate church exists in a covenantal relationship with God: a covenant offered by God, sealed in Jesus Christ and mediated through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Our call to a covenantal relationship with God is both descriptive and prescriptive. The call is descriptive in that it defines who we are and whose we are. It is prescriptive in that it informs what we must do. Our call to stand against racism and for justice emerges out of our identity as faithful servants of God. Our identity compels us to oppose the forces of injustice. Antiracism, therefore, is prescriptive for what a faithful community must do in the quest to let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream. The church must actively oppose the forces of racism in concrete and strategic ways. Justice cannot be determined or achieved in the abstract. If racism is to be eliminated, it must be defined contextually and concretely so that its personal, institutional expressions and structures can be seen, understood, and countered. An antiracism church is one whose institutional behavior and commitment are informed by God's covenant to establish justice, love, and peace in relationships, and whose identity is visibly expressed in the context of active, antiracism engagement.

The PC(USA), operating today in a culture of brokenness, must speak clearly about what it means to embrace antiracism as a major part of its corporate identity. A word from the Lord about racism and racial violence may come to us as an entirely new prophetic utterance. It may also be heard anew through an historic voice. The "Confessions of 1967," forged in the midst of the trauma and tragedy of racial strife in the 1950s and 1960s, is a clear and unequivocal mandate for the church to take decisive action against all forms of individual prejudice, xenophobia, institutional, systematic, and structural racism.[18] The *Kairos Document,* offered in the 1980s, spoke prophetic words of judgment and hope in the context of South African apartheid. It may prove to be relevant to the antiracism agenda of the United States. Indeed, the Year of Jubilee narrative explicated in Old Testament Israel might be heard anew with its themes of messianic deliverance, radical transformation of relationships of wealth and power, debt forgiveness, peace, and nonviolence. It may provide important clues on how to empower the church to covenant together for an uncompromising assault on racism and racial violence.[19]

Finally, the confessional standards of the church, *Minutes* of the General Assembly, policy documents, and theological statements may all speak a fresh new word to the church about our responsibility to be corporate resisters of racism and racial violence in church and society.[20]

The possibility now exists for the PC(USA), in light of its tradition, heritage, theology, ethics, and spiritual commitment, to become open to self-critical analysis with regard to racism both within its midst and in our society; to challenge public policy, actions, and structures that promote and perpetuate racism; to honor the divine will for human relationships by demonstrating a serious commitment to God's covenant of love, justice, and peace in human community; and to undertake radical transformation of its identity and behavior as it becomes an antiracism church in its thinking, judgments, and actions.

CONTINUING PROBLEM OF RACISM

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois observed that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of race.[21] As we face the dawn of a new century, it is quite apparent that racism will be a continuing legacy. Civil rights are increasingly at risk as hate and intolerance become a part of both public and political discourse. As the nation backs away from the goal of eliminating segregation in public schools, court-ordered desegregation plans are being successfully challenged; and federal courts are dismissing record numbers of cases of racial discrimination.[22] Affirmative action, which has been the cornerstone of progress in the past, is under attack nationwide.[23] An alarming number of churches, primarily African American, have been burned. The number of hate groups has increased; and web sites advocating hate and violence are proliferating on the Internet. Several professional sports teams still use caricatures of Native Americans as mascots. The Atlanta Braves, Cleveland Indians, and Washington Redskins are cases in point. The judiciary, which provided the leverage for dismantling legal segregation in the fifties and sixties, is paradoxically providing the legal mortar that is reinforcing racial injustice as we enter the next century.

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[17] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics,* Book IV, The Doctrine of Reconciliation (Edinburg: T & T Clark, 1958).

[18] *The Book of Confessions,* PC(USA), Section 9.44.

[19] Walter Brueggemann, *Living Toward a Vision: Biblical Reflections on Shaloam* (N.Y.: United Church Press, 1982); James DeOtis Roberts, Reconciliation and Liberation: A Black Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971; Revised Edition, Maryknoll New York: Orbis Books, 1984).

[20] See *The Book of Confessions*; *Book of Order*; Hughes Old, *Reformed Worship* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984); John Leith, *Creeds of the Church,* Third Edition (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982).

[21] W. E. B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1961), p. ix.

[22] Herbert Hill & James E. Jones Jr., eds., *Race in America* (Madison Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), pp. 83–96.

[23] For a discussion of affirmative action see: Barbara R. Bergmann, *In Defense of Affirmative Action* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996); George E. Curry, ed., *Affirmative Action Debate* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997), pp. 241–58; Orlando Patterson, *The Ordeal of Integration* (Washington, D.C. Civitas, 1997), pp. 147–69.

Historic Summary

In January 1963, national leaders representing Catholics, Protestants, and Jews met in Chicago and called upon the nation to put an end to racism. Later, the National Council of Churches organized a commission on religion and race and joined the civil rights struggle led by Martin Luther King, Jr. and urged its members to do the same. In May 1963, Edler Hawkins persuaded the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America ". . . to create a Commission on Religion and Race with unusual power to act in behalf of the denomination." He was a consummate church politician and this was his greatest achievement, although one must concede that it could not have been done without the agreement and strong support of Eugene Carson Blake, Ken Neigh, Bill Morrison, and John Coventry Smith, the most powerful men in the church."[24] The assembly appropriated $500,000 for the commission. Renamed the Council on Church and Race, it gave birth to most of the racial justice programs now existing in the PC(USA).[25]

Racism is deeply embedded in the life and history of the nation. All people of color have suffered the consequences. From the genocide of Native Americans, the enslavement of Africans, The Chinese Exclusion Act, the mass imprisonment of Japanese Americans to discrimination against Hispanic Americans runs a common thread of historic oppression. There is also a long history of resistance to oppression by people of color. However, it was Black resistance in the 60s that pushed the issue of racism on the agenda of mainline churches. Eventually, the heroic struggle of African Americans, combined with the strong advocacy of mainline churches, brought an end to legal segregation. Mainline churches pursued a vision of eradicating the color line from the church and nation by extending civil rights to all people under the rubric of integration. The fundamental principle that informed the churches' advocacy was the belief that racism was a consequence of personal prejudice and ethnic pride. Therefore, the programmatic thrust of churches focused on changing personal attitudes and overcoming bigotry.

During the 1960s, the National Council of Churches functioned as an organizing center for mainline denominations, especially for their public policy advocacy and, to a significant degree, for activism in support of civil rights marches and protest activities. Mainline churches made significant contributions to the passage of civil-rights legislation in the 1960s, bringing a greater sense of fairness to a broader segment of society. However, the pronouncements of mainline churches on the issue of race have been stronger than their social action. This is due to the difficulty of the struggle and to a lack of understanding of the depth and nature of racism.

The brutal resistance to the civil-rights struggle engendered a new level of awareness among mainline Christians. Many became aware of the depth, source, and pervasiveness of racism. There emerged the realization that racism was deeply rooted in our culture and maintained in patterns of domination. This awareness led to a growing emphasis on brotherhood, sisterhood, reconciliation and equal opportunity.[26] The emergence of the Black Power Movement and cogent Black Theologies of Liberation, such as that of James Cone, raised significant questions about the assumptions of mainline churches who claimed readiness to confront racism in church and society.[27] The emphasis on nonviolence preached by Martin Luther King Jr., which resonated with the views of mainline churches, was challenged by a Black militancy that emphasized liberation, freedom, and justice as values to be achieved by any means necessary. The militant critique of nonviolence was disturbing to mainline churches. Few White people understood the driving force behind it. On the other hand, people of color who were exposed to and experienced the brutality of racism appreciated the practical value of using nonviolence as a way of effecting change; but they also understood that the problem of racism was far more complex and pervasive than Whites were willing or able to admit, and, therefore, were open to considering other more militant tactics.

As changing housing patterns led to White flight and resegregation, questions were raised about the efficacy of integration as a solution to the race problem. Laws were changed and institutions opened to allow the presence and participation of people of color. However, the control and power remained in the hands of White people, demonstrating that integration and racism are quite compatible.[28]

During the 1970s and 1980s, affirmative action and equal opportunity became central themes of mainline churches in the search for racial justice. Their social policy statements provided support for these ideas. However, there remained a certain level of naivete about the fundamental character of racism. The 193rd General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America said that

[24] See Gayraud S. Wilmore, "COCAR: The First Five Years," *Church & Society*, (New York: PC(USA), November/December, 1987), p. 61.

[25] See Gayraud S. Wilmore, "COCAR: The First Five Years," *Church & Society,* (New York: PC(USA), November/December, 1987), pp. 60–67.

[26] Ester Stine and Gaspar Langella, "Social Teachings of the Presbyterian Church," *Church & Society* (New York: PC(USA), 1984, Volume LXXV, No. 2), p. 28.

[27] For a discussion of Black Power and Black Liberation Theologies see: Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); James Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation,* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1970); Gayraud S. Wilmore and James Cone, *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979,* (New York: Orbis, 1979).

[28] For a discussion of racism and integration see: Otis Turner, "The Web of Institutional Racism," *Church & Society,* (Louisville, KY: PC(USA), September\October, 1991), pp. 22–23.

> In many ways the church's failures have been due to a lack of understanding, or perhaps naivete, as to the nature and depth of racism. Whereas it was once assumed that racial justice was merely a function of overcoming individual attitudes and bigotry, it is now clear that racism also exists in complex and subtle institutional ways. Despite the well-intentioned and nonracist attitudes of individuals, our religious and social institutions, structures, and systems can and do perpetuate racial injustice.[29]

Patterns of segregation continue in many aspects of American life.[30] Ironically it is a pattern from which churches have not managed to emerge. Eleven o'clock Sunday morning, the time at which churches gather to engage in the sacred act of worship, remains the most segregated hour of the week in our nation.

There is a growing awareness among Presbyterians and others that the problem of racism must be faced. The Moderator of the 208th General Assembly (1996) of the PC(USA), John Buchanan, made racial healing and reconciliation an emphasis. The Moderator of the 209th General Assembly (1997), Patricia Brown, continued this theme with an emphasis on easing racial tensions. The Clinton Administration emphasized racial reconciliation and appointed a commission to study race relations in the nation. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has recommended that a world conference on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerances be held no later than 2001.[31] The PC(USA), and indeed the Christian community, must recommit to the struggle for racial justice. Churches must provide a moral compass for the nation by getting involved in shaping public policies that will move the nation towards justice, peace, and reconciliation.

As we stand on the verge of a new century, racism remains resilient and resurgent. While the social policies and pronouncements of denominations continue to emphasize inclusiveness and justice, these do not translate in the hearts and minds of Christians who participate in the electoral and political process. Christians are passive in the face of attacks on affirmative action and the adoption of regressive social policies at the local, state, and national levels. There is a growing awareness that a new understanding of racism is needed that takes into consideration the centrality of power in the institutionalization and perpetuation of racism. There is also an awareness that the methodologies that brought us to where we are will not take us where we need to go in the next century. If we are to build on past accomplishments, we must do a new analysis of racism within the current context of the nation. This will inform the direction we must take in the next century and provide guidance as to how we might get there.

Understanding Contemporary Racism

A starting point for understanding racism is clarifying the distinction between racism and prejudice, a common and costly point of misunderstanding two distinct phenomena. This will help the church better understand what action steps are necessary to eliminate racism. Prejudice is understood to be judgments made in the absence of due examination and consideration of facts; and these judgments are held even when contradicted by facts. In the absence of a factual basis, prejudices are driven primarily by emotional responses such as fear. When prejudice is based on racial consideration it is race prejudice. However, race prejudice alone is not racism. When prejudice is combined with power it becomes racism. Power is the capacity to command, control, and dominate social reality for the purpose of achieving a desired outcome. Those who control power have the capacity to transform prejudice into racism by establishing and maintaining institutions and structures that embody group biases. Thus, it is the combination of power and prejudice that is so destructive. Racism is, therefore, the marriage of power and prejudice. Simply stated, racial prejudice plus power equals racism. Power transforms prejudice into racism. Racism gives direction to the use of power.

An understanding of racism must include these facts: no one is born a racist; no one is born oppressed. Racism is a consequence of learned values and behaviors. It is possible, therefore, to learn values and behaviors that do not result in racism. Some people benefit from racism while others are victimized by it. As we learn different values, we must unlearn and undo existing racist values and structures. That process is twofold and involves legally dismantling racism as well as rooting racism out of our personal lives and communities. It is a long-term struggle that is achievable through commitment, prayer, and persistence.

With a clearer understanding of the depth and complexity of racism, the church can be empowered to lead the nation beyond the legal process of dismantling racism to the interpersonal process of rooting it out of our personal lives and communities. In the process of engagement the church itself will be transformed as it becomes an effective model and catalyst for change by living out a vision of a church that is truly one in Christ.

Systemic Racism

Racism is nurtured and sustained by systemic power. Power must be understood in social not individual terms. "There are, for example, no solitary racists of consequence. For racism to flourish with the vigor it enjoys in America,

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[29] *Minutes,* UPCUSA, 1981, Part I, p. 201.

[30] See Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992); *The Kerner Report : The 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968).

[31] *UN Chronicle,* No. 2, 1997, p. 58.

there must be an extensive climate of acceptance and participation by large numbers of people who constitute its power base. For all his [or her] ugliness and bombast, the isolated racist is a toothless tiger, for, to be effective, racism must have responsible approval and reliable nurture. The power of racism is the power conceded by those respectable citizens who by their action or inaction communicate the consensus that directs and empowers the overt bigot to act on their behalf."[32]

An institution is an organized way of meeting basic needs or social desires such as education, health care, and food distribution. Institutions do not function as isolated entities. They are integrally related and interconnected. A group of related institutions constitutes a system such as an educational, health care, transportation, or economic system. Social power resides in the institutions and systems we create.

Societies establish and structure their common lives by exercising power to create and perpetuate institutions that reflect common values to meet their basic needs as well as determine their goals and aspirations. The power to access and participate in the institutional life of a community is essential to affirming our humanity. Those who control power have the capacity to limit the rights of others to participate. To deny others such rights is to deny their humanity.

Historically, institutions have tended to be preferential to some group or groups in comparison to others.[33] Racist institutions are not accidents of history. They are created and maintained by intentional human actions.[34] For the most part, they serve the needs of those who control power and access. In the context of the United States, racist institutions preserve power and privilege for White society. Rewards are based on group membership not personal attitude. Consequently, all Whites benefit from racism "whether or not they have ever committed a racist act, uttered a racist word, or had a racist thought (as unlikely at that is)."[35] While people of color bear the burden of racism, it is a problem created by White people that diminishes both victims and victimizers, though in radically different ways. This is a painful reality that we must name and claim as people of goodwill before we can heal our communities and nation.

Racism as a Spiritual Problem

Perhaps the most visible achievement of the civil rights movement was that of dismantling the legal apparatus of segregation. Many people of goodwill believed that such an achievement would be the end of racism, although that was not the case. Thus, the question of why racism persists in our society despite sincere efforts to eliminate it remains unanswered. It is clear that we failed to understand the true nature of racism and, in our efforts to dismantle legal segregation, we also failed to see that racism is far more complex than its institutional or systemic expressions. *Sojourners Magazine* suggests that

> Racism is a spiritual issue. Neither its causes nor solutions will be found [solely] through government programs, social ministries, or our own best intentions. . . . The forces that perpetuate racism through our society are rooted in spiritual realities that require us to call out to God for spiritual solutions.[36]

This does not mean that there is no role for government and social programs. However, it does require us to recognize that there is a spiritual dimension to institutional structures that must be taken seriously. Martin Luther King Jr. sought to illuminate this dimension in his distinction between enforceable and unenforceable obligations. Enforceable obligations are regulated by the legal codes of society. Unenforceable demands are beyond the reach of legal codes. Such obligations are expressed in terms of our commitment to an inner spiritual law that is written on the heart: the law of God's love from which our moral obligations derive.[37] The spiritual dimension of racism requires a spiritual solution.

Internalized Oppression

Part of the spiritual dimension of racism is expressed as internalized oppression. Oppressed people inevitably participate in their own oppression. Even as the oppressed struggle against oppression, they must also struggle against the oppressor within. People survive oppression by accommodating themselves to it even as they resist it. What must be done to achieve liberation is opposed by the necessity to accommodate. As Paulo Freire sees it, oppressed people must choose

> between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting and having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed which their education must take into account.[38]

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[32] C. Eric Lincoln, *Race, Religion, and the Continuing American Dilemma* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), pp. 11–12.

[33] Max L. Stackhouse, "Institutions/Institutionalization," *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Ethics,* James F. Childress and John Macquarrie, eds. (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1986), p. 304.

[34] Max L. Stackhouse, "Institutions/Institutionalization," *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Ethics,* James F. Childress and John Macquarrie, eds. (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1986), p. 304.

[35] Jim Wallis, "The Legacy of White Racism," *Sojourner's Magazine* (1988), p. 9.

[36] *Sojourners,* "Crossing the Racial Divide: America's Struggle for Justice and Reconciliation," 1998, p. 5.

[37] See James M. Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco: Harper, 1986), pp. 123–24.

[38] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1985), pp. 32–33.

One of the tragic consequences of internalized oppression is that it inhibits the ability to perceive contradictions in personal and social reality. The distinction between what people do to oppress themselves and what others do to oppress them is blurred; it becomes easy to blame others for one's own problems and woes.[39] Overcoming internalized oppression is one of the most critical and challenging spiritual undertakings for oppressed people. Christians of goodwill must understand that it is as painful for oppressed people to name and claim internalized oppression as it is for oppressors to name and claim racism. While internalized oppression is engendered, nurtured, and reinforced by racism, once established, it can survive on its own.[40] Thus, healing will require mutual understanding and support.

Addiction and Privilege

A spiritual dimension of racism that we are just beginning to understand is the degree to which power and privilege becomes addictive. Addiction means to be gripped by a compulsion, a craving, or a dependency that is strong and deeply embedded in the subconscious; and it is difficult to stop doing even though you realize that what you are doing is wrong. Addiction to power and privilege is a problem for oppressors, the most difficult spiritual challenge they will face. It is expressed on two levels: intellectual and emotional. It is possible to know intellectually that racism is morally wrong, but emotionally hang on to the power and privileges that derive from it. This causes oppressors to rationalize and psychologically manipulate the benefits they derive from racism in ways that make the benefits seem to outweigh the negative impact of racism on the oppressed. Denial is one of the more common expressions. Hence, the negative consequences of racism tend not to be perceived by Whites and people of color with the same sense of urgency.

Dealing with the addiction to privilege and power will be a difficult spiritual journey for White Christians. Contrary to popular opinion, this addiction is more of a barrier to building a racially diverse community than are racial and cultural differences. Catherine Meeks makes this point in talking about the relationship between Blacks and Whites in the church.

> . . . The inability of whites and blacks to come together as a unified worshiping community has far less to do with diversity in worship styles than has been accepted in the past. The problem lies in the unwillingness of blacks to be treated as children and whites to share their power.[41]

Reliance upon God is key to recovery from an addiction to power and privilege. This is why prayer and worship are central to the task of overcoming racism. Hence, Christians must understand both the challenge and the opportunity this presents. The church is the central venue where issues of race can be addressed in ways that lead to healing and reconciliation rather than polarization.

DISMANTLING RACISM

Racism negatively impacts everybody, oppressors and the oppressed. White people are not born racist; nor do they choose to be racists; institutional racism does that for them long before they are old enough to discern right from wrong for themselves. People of color do not choose to be oppressed; institutional racism imposes this on them by predetermined categories of social valuation that narrowly define and limit their prospects in life based on racial differences. Though racism impacts oppressors and the oppressed differently, recognizing the negative impact of racism upon all of us is a common starting point for building mutuality in the struggle to live into a new future.[42]

There is hope despite the persistence and legacy of racism. The truth will make us free if we have the courage to face it. Both oppressors and the oppressed can choose to change their current realities and can be taught to dismantle racism. We must be clear and truthful about the centrality of power in perpetuating and sustaining systemic racism. If we are to build a future with justice for all, and it can be done, both personal intervention and institutional transformation are essential for the mission of the church. The Racial Ethnic Church Growth Strategy Report approved by the 210th General Assembly (1998) stated the following:

> Given the well-documented racial problems that dominate our culture, it is difficult for us to truly serve the interests of a multicultural society without some form of social intervention. Enhanced efforts to achieve racial ethnic church growth must employ intervention methods such as antiracism training to effect necessary reform of institutional behavior that historically has prevented the church from including people of color. Systemic racism, discrimination, prejudice, disempowerment, and cultural depreciation all serve to inhibit racial ethnic church growth. Racial ethnic church growth is inextricably linked to the struggle for racial justice. Thus, as the church invests resources in racial ethnic church growth strategies, it must also invest in the struggle against racism and other social injustice. To do one without the other is a prescription for failure.[43]

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[39] For a discussion of internalized oppression see: Otis Turner, "The Web of Institutional Racism," *Church & Society,* (Louisville: PC(USA), September\October, 1991), pp. 20–22; Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1985), Chapter I; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-education of the Negro* (Trenton, N.J., Africa World Press, Inc., 1990), Chapters I–VI.

[40] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* pp. 32–33.

[41] Catherine Meeks, "At the Door of the Church," in America's Original Sin: A Study Guide on White Racism, *Sojourners Magazine* (Washington, D.C.: 1988), p. 15.

[42] This does not imply parity in the psychosocial impact of racism upon oppressors and the oppressed. The destructive consequences for oppressors pale in comparison those for the oppressed. The point of commonality stems from the fact that racism establishes fixed patterns of relationships that cannot be changed unless it is dismantled. In this sense, racism controls both oppressors and the oppressed.

[43] Racial Ethnic Church Growth Strategy Report, *Minutes,* 1998, Part I, pp. 89; 406–17, esp. 414.

Since the impact of racism is pervasive, learning how to dismantle it will be challenging for the church. Antiracism training will play a key role as the church seeks to develop an antiracism identity.[44] Those trained in antiracism can change the systemic influences that negatively impact people. They can teach future generations how to dismantle systemic racism and build institutions that heal not hurt, that include not exclude.

The Holy Spirit is moving in and among Presbyterians on both a personal and institutional level. We are witnessing a growing commitment among Presbyterians to address the issue of racism. Presbyteries and congregations in increasing numbers are seeking help in dealing with racism. Several synods and presbyteries have established antiracism teams. Some have done initial antiracism training and have teams working. Some are organizing teams and preparing for training. Some are in the initial planning stage. Some congregations are planning introductory antiracism events.

In 1997, the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program sponsored two conferences on racism. Approximately 1,500 people attended. The Presbyterian Peacemaking Program has been confronting racism as an ongoing part of its ministry. Presbyterian Women have made combating racism a priority for the 1997–2000 triennium and plan to offer its 300,000 member constituency tools for working with local congregations.[45] Presbyterian Health, Education, and Welfare Network (PHEWA) continues to offer workshops and seminars on racism at its conferences. If the church accepts the challenge, and indeed it must, the course of our history will be changed and the jangling discords of this nation will be transformed into a symphony of brotherhood, sisterhood, and freedom for all.

SEVENFOLD STRATEGY

The proposed churchwide strategy is sevenfold and involves: The General Assembly; synods; presbyteries; congregations; educational institutions; related agencies; ecumenical partners.

The task of dismantling racism must be a partnership effort that involves all levels of the church. Since institutions vary in their social reality, it follows that the approach to dismantling racism must be flexible and adaptable to changing situations. Nevertheless, there can and must be continuity in the general approach so that resources can be developed to support antiracism work across the church and in ecumenical relationships.

The process must begin with dialogue in congregations and other venues around the church. For dialogue to be effective it must begin in the context in which we find ourselves, in all of our brokenness. Therefore, dialogue must be designed for use in places where people ordinarily gather for work and worship. There must be ground rules that preserve the integrity of people engaging in dialogue. The dialogue must move beyond the dynamics of interaction to grapple with and clarify the foundations of the learned behavior of racism and its structural manifestations that have polarized our society. Merely working on issues of prejudice and bigotry without addressing root causes is to miss the point. We must move to where the discussion itself does not result in further polarization. Thus, we must first be honest with ourselves and then with each other. We must name the problem so we can claim it and then change it. Our journey begins with confession, forgiveness, redemption, and then transformation. This kind of engagement will help prevent extraneous conversation that masquerades as dialogue.

While dialogue is a necessary starting point, we must move beyond that to a common assessment of the problem. We must articulate a common vision of what can and ought to be. The shared vision will engender strategies for engagement that result in the transformation of personal lives, institutions, structures, and practices. Dialogue must lead to the identification of measurable goals that can be benchmarks of progress. Once benchmarks are established, the more challenging task of identifying obstacles that stand in the way of realizing the vision can begin. Only then can specific strategies be designed that will help us overcome racism. Finally, the process of dialogue involves returning to the vision and assessing our progress on a regular basis, perhaps annually.

People of goodwill have long recognized that eradicating the sin of racism from church and society is a high priority. It cannot be done without sacrifice. Experience has taught us that people cannot leap from centuries of racial polarization into a new vision. It is a long journey that will require discernment, prayer, and worship based action. Therefore, a resource manual that sets forth procedures, models for dialogue, plans for Bible study and worship, methods for visioning, strategizing, and engaging must be developed and made available to the church. A manual must be designed for teaching people who will then train facilitators to work with governing bodies, congregations, and related institutions in preparing people to carry on an antiracism ministry at the grassroots level.

POINTS OF ENGAGEMENT

The proposed churchwide strategy is multifaceted and involves the General Assembly, governing bodies, congregations, educational institutions, related agencies, and ecumenical partners.

[44] Antiracism is an intentional stance that opposes the sin of racism while affirming the dignity and humanity of those who may hold racist views or benefit from it. It opposes sin not the sinner.

[45] This was communicated to Otis Turner, associate for racial justice, in a letter dated September 25, 1998. See Appendix B.

General Assembly

Training and education is integral to the task of equipping the church to engage in the struggle for racial justice in the next century. To this end the General Assembly Council, through appropriate Ministries Divisions, must do the following:

- Provide for antiracism training of staff at the Presbyterian Center in accordance with the action of the February 1997 meeting of the General Assembly Council, which mandated antiracism training for all national staff. This can be undertaken in partnership with the PC(USA) Foundation, the Office of the General Assembly, the Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, the Presbyterian Loan and Investment Program, and the Board of Pensions.

- Initiate a forum for visioning, developing, and promoting a supplemental church school curriculum that supports antiracism ministry in congregations. The curriculum supplement should be designed to cover an extended period of time and involve all grade levels. The adult and young adult curriculum should be designed so that persons completing advanced classes will be prepared for further training as facilitators should they choose to become more engaged in the antiracism ministry of the congregation.

- Design a preschool curriculum so that participants advance to upper levels with age and maturity. This accomplishes two fundamental goals: (a) it counters negative influences and values in the culture by orienting children differently at an early age and provides ongoing support and nurture; and (b) it begins preparing the next generation of leaders who can nurture and sustain the values upon which our vision of The Beloved Community can be built. A curriculum of this nature will require some field testing and refinement. Pilot projects can be conducted in local congregations situated in a variety of settings both rural and urban.

- Recruit, train and commission a core team of people capable of training teams of facilitators at the synod and presbytery levels.

- Support and work in partnership with presbyteries and synods in their antiracism ministries.

Synods

- Synods need to play a key role as a coordinating point for regional training events and other activities that can be effectively done on a regional basis.

- Synods need to provide for antiracism training for their staff.

- Synods need to support presbyteries in their antiracism ministries.

Presbyteries

- The *Book of Order,* Section G-11.0103aa, provides for presbyteries to address issues of racism. In partnership with the General Assembly, presbyteries need to recruit, train, and commission presbytery-based antiracism teams that will work with congregations in establishing and supporting antiracism programs and ministries.

- Presbyteries need to provide for antiracism training for their staff and committees.

Congregations

The centerpiece of an antiracism ministry is the congregation. This is a place where moral values can be taught and nurtured. It is also a place where families can receive support in nurturing values essential for living in a multicultural society. It is a place where worship and nurture come together in ways that can transform lives and perpetuate values that will change both church and society. Congregations are also strategically placed to effect change in the community by building bridges of communication across racial and cultural lines as they worship together and learn how to live into a vision of one church in Jesus Christ. Thus, those working with local congregations, including staff, need to be trained in both antiracism work and community organizing.

Educational Institutions

- Seminaries are places where future pastors, Christian educators, and other church leaders are trained for ministry. They are also places for research and development as the church seeks to prepare leaders to respond to God's call to ministry in a complex and changing society. Seminaries need to play a vital role in developing a biblically grounded antiracism theology and ethic that will better prepare ministers and educators for effective leadership in a multicultural and multiracial society.

- Seminaries need to initiate dialogue about developing course offerings that support an antiracism ministry. Provisions can be made for all seminarians to undergo antiracism training as a part of their field experience. Seminary-based training institutes can be places for developing and testing models of antiracism ministry as well as providing continuing education experiences for pastors and lay leaders.

- Colleges and universities need to play a key role in preparing future leaders for antiracism work in both church and society. They should provide educational opportunities for persons disadvantaged by racism. If we are to achieve our goals in racial ethnic church growth, colleges and universities are essential places for educating, training and recruiting of future church leaders of all races.

Related Agencies

The PC(USA) works with a variety of agencies. Dialogue can be initiated to explore opportunities for working in partnership on the issue of racism.

Ecumenical Partners

Systemic racism does not persist just because of the action of people of ill will. A contributing factor is the inaction of-people of goodwill.[46] The Formula of Agreement between the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Reformed Church in America, the United Church of Christ, and the PC(USA) presents an opportunity to enhance the effectiveness of racial justice work through mutual support, planning, resource development, and coordination. The cooperative work of churches helped move the nation forward in the sixties and seventies. The struggle against racism in the next century will require churches to work in more coordinated and effective ways. Appropriate staff members of the above denominations have already begun meeting. The goal is to find ways of developing a more unified and coordinated approach to the struggle for racial justice and move toward the development of joint resources and mutually compatible training for antiracism ministry.

FUNDING AND STAFFING

Adequate staffing to support the church's antiracism ministry is essential. As the nation becomes more racially diverse the need for work on race relations will increase significantly. If the church responds to the rising demand for help with antiracism programs across the denomination, additional staff will be needed. Not only is this necessary for the church's antiracism ministry, it is absolutely essential for the Racial Ethnic Church Growth Strategy, which cannot be achieved without breaking the barriers of racial injustice that have kept the church from including people of color.[47] The church cannot achieve its goals in racial ethnic church growth without strengthening its racial justice ministry.

A crucial element in implementing any ministry is funding. Funding stability is necessary for the church to sustain an effective antiracism ministry in the next century. One source of funding is the Hawkins Buchanan Fund for Racial Justice. The fund, established by several staff members at the Presbyterian Center and John Buchanan, Moderator of the 208th General Assembly (1996), was designed to provide support for racial justice and antiracism ministries.

[46] James M. Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.,* p. 296.

[47] Racial Ethnic Church Growth Strategy Report, *Minutes,* 1998, Part I, p. 414.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The General Assembly Council, upon recommendation of the National Ministries Division, recommends that the 211th General Assembly (1999) do the following:

1. Commend the churchwide strategy, "Facing Racism: A Vision of the Beloved Community," to the entire church; and direct the Office of the General Assembly to print and distribute the document.

2. Declare that the General Assembly will assume an antiracism identity.

3. Provide adequate staffing and funding for implementation of the churchwide strategy for antiracism.

4. Direct the General Assembly Council to develop and make available to the church training resources, which are essential for implementation of the churchwide strategy.

5. Urge governing bodies and congregations to assume an antiracism identity; and that those who do so be given certificates in a recognition ceremony at subsequent General Assemblies.

6. Commend the Presbyterian Health, Education, and Welfare Association for continuing to offer workshops and seminars on racism as a part of its conferences.

7. Commend Presbyterian Women for making racism a priority concern of its 1997–2000 triennium.

8. Commend the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program for addressing racism as an ongoing part of its ministry.

9. Commend the Initiative Team on Racism and Racial Violence for its work in preparing the churchwide strategy. Dismiss the Initiative Team on Racism and Racial Violence with thanks and appreciation.

10. Approve the churchwide strategy report, Facing Racism: A Vision of the Beloved Community.

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APPENDIX A

Minutes of the General Assembly Council
of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
February 5–9, 1997

The General Assembly Council further—

VOTED, seriatim, to approve recommendations 2.,3. (as amended), and 4. From the report of the National Ministries Division, as follows:

2. That the GAC Staff Leadership Team be encouraged to investigate the possibility for republication of the resource entitled "*Finding Your Way*," a listing of grants, loans and services available from the General Assembly.

3. To recommend to the Office of the General Assembly the inclusion of antiracism training at the 211th General Assembly (1999).

   In addition, as a follow up to the Council's February 5, 1997 Antiracism Training to:

   (1) declare the intent of the General Assembly Council to take on an antiracism identity;

   (2) urge (through appropriate methods of communication) all governing bodies, and local churches of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) to take on an antiracism identity;

   (3) instruct the Executive Director to provide mandatory antiracism training to all staff at our national office—first, the Staff Leadership Team, with all exempt staff are to undergo all three phases of antiracism training; and, then all other staff to undergo one day of antiracism training;

   (4) instruct the Executive Director to assure that resources, printed and otherwise, are made available to the church at large to assure a continuous antiracism identity in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).
   (Amendment Underscored).

APPENDIX B
(Retyped Letter)

September 25, 1998

Otis Turner, Associate
Racial Ethnic Ministries
100 Witherspoon Street
Louisville, KY 40202-1396

Dear Mr. Turner:

The Justice and Peace Committee of the Churchwide Coordinating Team of Presbyterian Women has made combating racism a priority in this triennium (1997–2000). It is our hope by the time of the next Churchwide Gathering in July, 2000, we will be able to offer our 300,000 member constituency tools for working with Presbyterian Women in their congregations to make strides in eliminating racism.

We are presently working to develop a survey which can be used to raise consciousness about racist attitudes. In the interest of avoiding duplication of efforts already expended by your ministry area, I would appreciate the chance to talk with you.

Our committee has also been instructed to provide a diversity handbook for Presbyterian Women. Does your program area have such a handbook? Does the denomination? Many businesses do, but perhaps material suited to the church would be more helpful.

We have read Virgil Cruz's material from the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program and will be recommending it for study. We have accumulated material from other denominations. Our staff support person is Unzu Lee in Women's Ministry who is also an invaluable resource.

I will call you during the next week to follow up on this letter and would appreciate any information you can give me about our denomination's ongoing plans for addressing and eliminating racism.

Sincerely,

Louise Davidson, Chair
Justice and Peace Committee
5823 Rushwood Drive
Dublin, OH 43017
614/792-1289 lcdpw@aol.com

RATIONALE

This recommendation was in response to a referral: *1998 Referral: 26.0016. III. Recommendations, B.3. That the General Assembly Council Ensure That the Churchwide Strategy for Antiracism Work in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Being Developed by the Initiative Team on Racism and Racial Violence Is Designed so That It Can Become a Part of a Unified Approach to Racial Justice—From the Advocacy Committee for Racial Ethnic Concerns* (*Minutes,* 1998, Part I, pp. 55, 504).

The Initiative Team membership includes Sandra Edwards, chairperson; Mauricio Chacon, vice-chairperson; Luther Ivory, writing team; Mark Koenig, writing team; Janet Barrett, writing team; Otis Turner, staff/writing team; Virstan Choy, consultant; Eddie Johnson; Charlita Lytle; Rose Johnson; James Tse; J. Randolph Taylor; Helen Locklear; Sara Lisherness; Kirk Perucca; Fahed Abu Akel; Jovelino Ramos; Louis Fife.