

"Anyone who can read, and many who cannot, know about the demands of the National Black Economic Development Conference for the Churches and Synagogues to pay \$500,000,000.00 -- a form of "reparation payments" -- to finance an extensive program of development for the black and brown poor. The demands are set within a "manifesto", the language and basic philosophy of which are calculatedly revolutionary, Marxist, inflammatory, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian-establishment, violent, and destructive of any democratic political process -- so as to shock, challenge, frighten, and, if possible, overwhelm the institutions to which it is directed. It was no surprise, then, that throughout the "white establishment" the immediate response was -- with few exceptions -- one of outrage, furious hostility, and disbelief.

"When Mr. Forman and his associates chose a starting point for the articulation of the "manifesto", they chose the Episcopal Church Center. I hope it was because they felt that this Church, through the General Convention Special Program, already had made recognition of the desperate situation in which people in this country (black, brown, and white) are caught, -- and, acting responsibly, launched an attempt to help those people to achieve dignity, self-determination, and political and economic power. It would be unwise and unrealistic to claim too much for the G.C.S.P., but it is a beginning, and a good one! We knew at the time that it was not enough -- and so did others, including the black poor -- but it is there.

"Mr. Forman's demands of the Episcopal Church are sixty-million dollars, plus 60% of the profits of all the Church's assets, including real estate, stock holdings, etc. Although we met later, the full impact of the surprise delivery of the "manifesto" was borne by Bishop Bayne and Bishop Mosley. I am full of admiration and gratitude for the manner in which they handled the confrontation. Despite the shock of surprise, they were able to sort out the legitimate from the preposterous, the prophetic from the unrealistic, and charted a course which brings us to today, keeping Bishops and Council members informed in the interim. At no time did Bishop Bayne, Bishop Mosley, or I, commit the Executive Council or the Church to any type of response. We had no such power or authority -- and Mr. Forman understood this. We did point out that the programmatic aspects of the "manifesto" represented needs to which some of our own program is directed, and for those of this Church who could get past the revolutionary inflammatory rhetoric of the "manifesto" the program would speak meaningfully and perhaps persuasively.

"In my opinion it is proper and right that at this time, or soon, this Executive Council should make an appropriate response to this confrontation. I would anticipate that we could avoid the twin pitfalls of blind fury and frightened submission. There is no reason to edge toward the panic button. Nor will the hurling of invectives serve any useful purpose. I like the perspective of a communication from Virginia Seminary students expressed in a communication to this Council:

' The voice of such groups does, however, represent a valid prophetic word to the Church to acknowledge its past failings, to increase its present efforts, and to face the future with deeper commitments regarding the human need underlying the demands of the NBEDC and other groups. '

"And I respond warmly to Bishop Blanchard's 'Reflections on the Black Manifesto', delivered after the blacks had confronted his Diocesan Convention. Particularly this:

"That we will keep our attention on the real issue -- injustice and poverty -- and not be lured away from these by the 'Rhetoric of Violence'; must be maintained as a continuing principle."

"Therefore, if Council authorizes me, I would appoint a committee to assess this whole matter and frame an appropriate response for Council consideration. I would suggest to this committee that this may be the time for this Church to look closely at the needs of our own black Churchmen, who, in urban and other congregations, are attempting to press the Christian witness, serve their communities, and minister to the appalling injustices right at their doors, but without adequate financial support, personnel, and equipment to do the job. This may be the strategic time for the Church to renew its concern for the education of black people, building on the vital, but inadequately supported, structures of our Church-related colleges, which now have an almost overwhelming responsibility. Despite the fact that our Dioceses and parishes are making common cause with General Convention's Special Program, as well as grappling with the grim human needs of people in poverty at the local level, this may be the moment for the Church to redouble her efforts, cut back on all non-essential spending for fabric and furnishings and ask for emergency funds -- outside the budget -- to provide seed money for poverty areas and expand self-help programs, many of which have already created a measure of hope among the powerless poor. I am suggesting that we carefully and seriously consider the raising of a fund of ten-million dollars over the next five years, throughout the Church, to increase and deepen this Church's response to the dearty delineated needs of suffering and oppressed people. There is no doubt in my mind but that this Church is moving in the right direction. Our mandate is for full speed ahead -- united, I trust, in the name of Jesus Christ!"

STATEMENT FROM THE FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

I would like to report briefly on two somewhat related matters. The first is that of the church colleges -- now three of them -- which, in the memory of most of us, were identified with the "American Church Institute for Negroes". That organization was founded in the early years of this century, in an attempt to provide additional support and visibility for several small Negro colleges and schools. It its time it served a useful purpose. But, increasingly, the help it could give, and the style in which it seemed to give its help, were felt to be inappropriate, and in due course it was dissolved.

One of the -- I think unfortunate -- by-products of that dissolution was that the colleges themselves seemed to begin to disappear from the consciousness of the Episcopal Church. I shared a meeting two months ago with the presidents and other representatives of the three colleges. At that meeting, which dealt with many of their concerns, one concern in particular seemed to become clearer and clearer as the day went on. This was the uncertainty the colleges themselves feel as to the attitude and policy of the Episcopal Church toward them and their future. Indeed, they wondered whether the Church even knew of their existence any more, or knew the part they now occupy in our Church's national planning.

I thought one way to meet that uncertainty might be for me to describe to the Council where we are now with regard to the colleges, and suggest the directions in which we seem to be moving.

The three colleges -- St. Augustine's, Raleigh, North Carolina; St. Paul's, Lawrenceville, Virginia; and Voorhees in Denmark, South Carolina -- together are training close to three-thousand young men and women. They are facing all the difficulties which all predominantly black colleges are facing in the competition they meet from wealthier and more prestigious institutions -- competition both for the more gifted students and also for black teachers of ability and reputation. Despite these handicaps, there is no question as to the supreme value of the work they are now doing.

Ten or fifteen years ago, I would have found it hard to endorse a proposal that the Church continue to support small, predominantly black, colleges. To me, then, as to most of us, I daresay, the road of integration was the only possible road. I would still say that the goal of integrated education at every level is right. But the pathway toward that goal is far more complicated than idealistic liberal people like myself used to think. Colleges like our three offer to disadvantaged young men and women a chance to start educationally where they are, not where the dominant culture is; they offer a ray of hope that for even the poorest there is an open door into higher education; they give to the nation trained human resources which no other avenue in our society seems to make possible.

At least these are the ways in which I see them. Thanks to a gift from the United Thank Offering, the three colleges are presently studying their situation and hope, by the end of the year, to have a full statement of their objectives and their needs.

In the meantime, we continue to support them. Endowment funds for them, totalling just under \$2-million, are included in our trust funds. The income -- some seventy-odd thousand dollars a year -- is used to help meet the costs of pension protection for the three faculties involved. The costs, incidentally, are considerably more than this amount.

At the Seattle General Convention the highest priority was given to the annual budget support of the three colleges, and we are maintaining that priority. Even through the difficulties of our own budget problem this year, we held the support of the three colleges at the figure approved by the General Convention, subject only to the 1½% across-the-board reduction which all programs had to bear. Thus, this year, from our budget, we are able to give \$468,000. to the three colleges.

At the moment, the staff recommendations for the 1971-73 triennium are that this support should be doubled, to at least \$1-million a year. At least half of the \$1-million a year would be in the form of grants for faculty salaries. A quarter of it would be for scholarships, and the remaining quarter for educational innovations -- in both these latter cases, probably on a matching basis. I cite this simply to indicate what our present thoughts are.

But perhaps the most important thing to report is the change in relationship, and attitude, and style, which characterizes this matter as it does so many other things. A half-century ago the paternalistic manner and philosophy was the accepted mode of things. Now this is no longer so. These three colleges -- these three children of the Church -- stand on their own feet. They come to us, not as beggars, but as fellow-servants with us, offering us the privilege, which I take it to be, of participating in their mission on a frontier of our society which is urgent and of critical importance. I don't have any doubt of our will to support them in that mission, and I'm glad to have a chance to say so.

The second matter, related to this, is that of our support of programs generally in the black community. A great deal of attention focuses on the General Convention Special Program, and rightly so. This was, and is, an obedience to mission on a strange, and new, and far-advanced frontier -- one not familiar to the Church. The Church is ambivalent about it. Many in the Church do not understand it as mission at all; and for this I daresay people like myself have not served the Council very well -- at least we have failed to interpret the Special Program and its theological integrity. But many more have taken pride in it and have comforted themselves with the statement that we were putting \$3-million a year into the black community, which is more than any other church is doing, etc.

The truth is not as simple as that. Nor do I think we have any right to be complacent about what we are doing. Let me tell you where we are.

First, the General Convention Special Program spends about \$1.75-million a year. \$1-million of that comes from the UTO, and is used in grants to community organizations devoted to helping poor people stand on their own feet and exercise their own power. Another half-million for grants is in our budget. Another quarter-of-a-million in our budget goes for salaries and consultations. This total of \$1.75-million is what was established by the General Convention, and it has been respected as having highest priority.

At Seattle, the Convention also identified a group of programs, totalling approximately \$1.25-million, which they felt related to the same issues and headed in the same directions. These programs, again, were given highest priority by the Convention. Some of them are now in fact administered by the Special Program. In most cases, however they are administered by other Sections of the staff. Although these programs have been re-evaluated and often redesigned, the total represented by them would probably not be much less than the original total.

Such programs would include our participation in various coalitions, such as JSAC and Operation Connection, in experimentation of new forms of ministry and of institutions, in programs directed toward the elimination of racism, education and training for the poor and those ministering with them, legal programs, and other participation in a variety of agencies dealing with the poor.

Last Sunday's New York Times referred to these programs as "old-style methods" and quoted Mr. Modeste as saying that they were traditional services which should be eliminated. This is an unintended, but misleading, interpretation of what Mr. Modeste said. There is no doubt that paternalism (or the feminine equivalent of it, which I take it is "Lady Bountiful"), is no longer appropriate in the Church's ministry to the poor. But our service programs to Church groups and agencies would still retain a pretty high priority with us, as long as the services being rendered are developed with effective participation by the clients of those services in the formulation of policy and program. This is exactly where we are; and I would have no question as to our rightness to include this whole great range of our work in the fundamental objectives, set by the General Convention

Thus, we are still talking about \$3-million -- in fact even more -- even though that amount is administered by many other than Mr. Modeste and his colleagues alone. To that would be added the half-million dollars which supports the three colleges. To that, also, must be added still another group of Council policies and actions.

I refer to the ghetto-bank and ghetto-investment programs, in which

Executive Council

00015

It was moved by Mr. Wilson, and seconded -

That all action in respect of the response of the Trust Funds Committee on the subject of investments in southern Africa be deferred until the Executive Council shall have received the report of its Executive and Finance Committee concerning the action it has taken with regard to investments and deposits in banks participating in the Consortium Credit to the Government of South Africa.

Motion carried.

THE FORMAN MANIFESTO

Pursuant to the President's suggestion that he be authorized to appoint a committee to consider and recommend an appropriate response of this Council to the "Manifesto" presented to the Episcopal Church by James Forman, it was moved and seconded -

That the President be requested to appoint such a Committee, to report to this Meeting of the Executive Council.

Motion carried.

The President appointed the following Committee:

Rt. Rev. Dr. Blanchard, Convener
 Rt. Rev. Dr. Bayne
 Rev. Dr. Coburn
 Mr. Crump
 Rev. Mr. Davenport
 Mr. Harmon
 Dr. Morehouse
 Mrs. Sorg
 Dr. Willie
 Mr. Wilson

The Committee, with the permission of the Chair, communicated with the Union of Black Clergy and Laymen, and two members of that organization (the Rev. Messrs. Quintin E. Primo, Jr., and Lloyd Casson, both of Delaware) sat with the Committee during its deliberations, and participated in the discussion, which followed the presentation of the Committee's report and recommendation.

The Committee reported at the Wednesday evening session and Bishop Blanchard moved the adoption of the following Statement:

A RESPONSE TO THE MANIFESTO

1. The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church has received the Manifesto of the National Black Economic Development Conference. We recognize the continuing poverty, injustice, in our society to which it speaks, but do not accept the Manifesto as it is presented.
2. However, we do recognize that Christians are called to their responsibilities under God in strange and unusual ways. Our task is to listen so that we may hear how in the human discontent the divine discontent speaks.
3. Because we have begun to listen, this Church has established ongoing programs and commitments toward the elimination of injustice and the alleviation of poverty.
4. These programs are the direct result of consultations with black, brown, and white people from within and without this Church, especially with victims of poverty and injustice. The programs are aimed toward self-determination, self-respect and self-help by the poor and powerless, the equal dignity of all men, and the reconciliation of all segments of our society.
5. Among the efforts of this Church which are presently committed directly to the fulfilment of these purposes are:
 - a. The budgeting of \$9,000,000. in top-priority funds to community organizations and other efforts throughout our land to enable the poor and powerless in rural and urban ghettos to participate in decisions that affect their lives;
 - b. The deposit of nearly \$1,000,000 of our Church's funds in over 50 banks throughout our nation, owned and operated by black people; and
 - c. The allocation of \$3,000,000 for investment in ghetto enterprises.
6. It was clear to us from the outset that these commitments were limited in scope, but recognizing the need and with such means as were immediately available, we took these actions by reason of our concern, as a first step.
7. We are determined that this Church, in consultation with the Union of Black Clergy and Laymen in the Episcopal Church as well as with representatives of the poor, both within and without our Church, will mount further strategic attacks upon poverty and injustice.
8. Wherever possible we will work toward these goals and objectives on an ecumenical and inter-faith basis.
9. In conclusion, we record our conviction that the central contribution of the Christian Church to the crisis in our society cannot be measured simply in terms of money. In our judgment the crisis is not primarily one of money

but of the human spirit and of how men deal with one another. The Church's primary concern is that she may be able to strengthen the spirit of all men by affirming and practicing -- in word and as well with money -- the spirit of reconciliation and the further involvement of Christian people to meet the deep human needs of our society.

Bishop DeWitt moved and Amendment, as follows:

That the following sentence be added to paragraph 5 (a):

"As an earnest of our concern and our intentions we pledge an additional \$1-million for the same purposes, to be raised by mortgaging all properties held by the Executive Council."

Debate followed on the Amendment, with Mrs. Sorg, Rev. Mr. Casson, and Messrs. Bound and Ditzell supporting the proposal; and Bishop Burrill and Messrs. Causey, Morehouse, and Willie speaking in opposition. The Rev. Dr. Coburn supported the Amendment in principle, but opposed the details, maintaining that money is not the real issue, and suggesting the appointment of a Committee which, in consultation with the Union of Black Clergy and Laymen, would explore new and sacrificial ways for the Church to make a Christian contribution to the crisis. Bishop Cole urged that such a Committee, if appointed, would be inter-Church and inter-faith.

In the course of his remarks in favor of the DeWitt Amendment, the Rev. Mr. Casson deplored the absence, from the Committee's statement, of any explicit reference to racism. Mr. Wilson, in response, called attention to the strong references to injustice in the fourth and seventh paragraphs.

The Amendment was put to a vote.

Amendment defeated.

Bishop DeWitt then moved another Amendment, as follows:

Delete the last 10 words ("but do not accept the Manifesto as it is presented") of paragraph 1 and the first word ("However") of paragraph 2.

Amendment defeated.

Canon Gillett moved that the words "and racism" be inserted in paragraph 1, after the word "injustice".

Motion carried.

Several suggestions were made, and accepted by the Committee, for the refinement of the text of the Statement.

The Statement, as amended, and refined, was put to a vote, as follows:

A RESPONSE TO THE MANIFESTO (Final Form)

1. The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church has received the Manifesto of the National Black Economic Development Conference. We recognize the continuing poverty, injustice, and racism, in our society to which it speaks, but do not accept the Manifesto as it is presented.
2. However, we do recognize that Christians are called to their responsibilities under God in strange and unusual ways. Our task is to listen so that we may hear how in the human discontent the divine discontent speaks.
3. Because we have begun to listen, this Church has established ongoing programs and made commitments toward the elimination of injustice and the alleviation of poverty.
4. These programs are the direct result of consultations with black, brown, and white people from within and without this Church, especially with victims of poverty and injustice. The programs are aimed toward self-determination, self-respect and self-help by the poor and powerless, the equal dignity of all men, and the reconciliation of all segments of our society.
5. Among the efforts of this Church which are presently committed directly to the fulfillment of these purposes are:
 - a. The budgeting of \$9,000,000.00 over a three-year period, 1968-1970, in top-priority funds for grants and services to community organizations and other efforts throughout our land to enable the poor and powerless in rural and urban ghettos to participate in decisions that affect their lives;
 - b. The deposit as of this date of nearly \$1,000,000.00 of our Church's funds in over 50 depositories throughout our nation, owned and operated by black people; and
 - c. The allocation of \$3,000,000.00 for investment in ghetto enterprises.
6. It was clear to us from the outset that these commitments were limited in scope, but recognizing the need and with such means as were immediately available, we took these actions by reason of our concern, as a first step.
7. We are determined that this Church, in consultation with the Union of Black Clergy and Laymen in the Episcopal Church as well as with representatives of the poor, both within and without our Church, will mount further strategic attacks upon poverty and injustice, which will call for great sacrifices.

A Response to the Manifesto, Continued
(final form)

8. Wherever possible we will work toward these goals and objectives on an ecumenical and inter-faith basis.
9. In conclusion, we record our conviction that the central contribution of the Christian Church to the crisis in our society cannot be measured simply in terms of money. In our judgment the crisis is not primarily one of money but of the human spirit and of how men deal with one another. The Church's primary concern is that she may be able to strengthen the spirit of all men by affirming and practicing -- in word and action, and as well with money -- the spirit of reconciliation and the further involvement of Christian people to meet the deep human needs of our society.

Statement adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Coburn then moved a Resolution to carry out the proposal he had suggested earlier. Mrs. Sorg seconded the Resolution, which was then debated. It appearing that much of the debate was turning on editorial details, the President committed the matter to an editorial Committee, composed of the Rev. Dr. Coburn, Mrs. Sorg, and the Secretary, and placed it on the agenda as the first item on Thursday meeting.

On behalf of the Rev. Dr. Coburn, who had had to leave the Meeting early, the Secretary moved the following Resolution, as reworded by the Committee:

Resolved, That the Presiding Bishop be requested to appoint a committee from both within and without the Executive Council to consult with the Union of Black clergy and laymen and to assume responsibility for the implementation of the spirit of the "Response to the Manifesto" so that the Church at all levels of her life may be reminded of the continuing racial crisis in our society and, taking into consideration the concerns of the Presiding Bishop expressed in his statement to the Council on May 20, 1969, be encouraged to explore new and sacrificial ways to make a more effective Christian contribution to this crisis in our natural life; and be it further resolved that this Committee report to the next meeting of the Executive Council.

Resolution adopted.

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON ADDITIONAL INCOME

Bishop Burrill, for the ad hoc Committee on Additional Income, presented a progress report, and submitted a series of suggestions addressed to the Committee on Trust Funds, as follows: