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TO HEAR AND TO HEED

The Episcopal Church Listens and Acts in the City

A Forward Movement Miniature Book

Those responsible for the major sections of this report of the Urban Bishops Coalition are identified in the Table of Contents. In addition, Forward Movement Publications acknowledges with gratitude the editorial assistance of John S. Spong, David R. Gracie, Hugh C. White and Robert L. DeWitt. Additional information about the Hearings already held, suggestions for organizing similar Hearings in other places and word of future plans of the Coalition can be obtained from: The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Urban Bishops Coalition, Diocese of Washington, Mt. St. Alban, Washington, D.C. 20016

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INTRODUCTION

The Episcopal Church through a Coalition of Urban Bishops has listened to 156 people testify on the urban mission of the Church. This occurred at a series of seven public hearings in urban centers of the United States and in the Caribbean. Testifiers came from a wide range of people who share urban concerns: representatives from black congregations, the Salvation Army, banking offices, university faculties, parish churches, community organizations, the well to do, welfare recipients. Common to each was their city, and a particular role they had in it – as decision maker or one trying to live with these decisions; as victim or as one seeking to minister to the victims.

In the face of the widespread turning away from social issues, which recently has characterized the posture of the American churches, how did these hearings come to he held? The decision was made in June of 1977, when a score of Episcopal bishops meeting in Chicago decided to hold a series of public hearings in locations representative of the various manifestations of crisis in urban life. It was the third meeting of this group, now calling itself the "Urban Bishops Coalition." The group had first come together at the Minneapolis General Convention (September, 1976) at which they held a press conference and issued a statement of concern about the cities of the nation. It was increasingly evident to them that regardless of spiritual or moral fatigue on the part of the church, the ills of our society, especially in urban areas, were worsening. They felt a need not only to be better informed, but also a need to act in concert in some concrete ways.

There is a history behind their concern. The life of the Episcopal Church is inextricably interwoven with the life of our cities. In the great cities of our land that church finds its greatest numerical strength. Its membership in those cities includes both many of those who are making basic decisions about the future of the city, and many of those who suffer from the decisions which are made. The church thus represents in its own membership the essence of the problem and the responsibility for solutions.

The Episcopal Church and the Church of England from which it derives, have a long tradition of identification with urban mission. The "dark, Satanic mills" of nineteenth century England are connected by a direct historical line to the asphalt jungles, the tenements and ghettos of twentieth century America. And just as there is in England an apostolic tradition of William Wilberforce, John Keble, William Pusey, William Temple, and others who creatively sought to relate the gospel to the city, so the church in this country has had its W. A. Muhlenburg, Bishop Johnson,

William Spofford, Kilmer Myers, Paul Moore, John Hines, Daniel Corrigan, and others.

The group of bishops which sponsored the public hearings is a coalition of some fifty bishops representing dioceses in which urban problems are most aggravated as well as many of our numerically largest dioceses. The coalition included bishops who, as priests, had pioneered imaginative urban ministries, and bishops who presently are providing religious leadership in their cities.

The coalition has met periodically since the Minneapolis Convention and at each of the meetings there has been a stress on both reflection and action. Resource people with competent understanding of the theological, economic and political dimensions of the urban crisis have been engaged in conversation by the bishops at those meetings.

The bishops were concerned that their deliberations result not only in rhetoric, but in concerted action. Under guidance of the Rev. Charles Rawlings, urban staff officer to the Bishop of Ohio, a series of institutes on public policy was designed with the cooperation of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. These institutes are to acquaint bishops, staff persons, clergy and laity with the way national public policies affect the welfare of our cities. Two institutes have already been held, with more scheduled.

At the same time, it was determined to hold a series of public hearings. A committee consisting of Bishops Arnold, De Witt and Spong was asked to carry out the project. The hearings were intended to lead up to a deliberative session at which all the members of the Coalition would consider the findings, and devise appropriate program responses.

The objectives of the project were:

1. To dramatize the concern of the church for the urban crisis.
2. To yield authentic data for continuing study by the bishops as they seek to understand the proper direction of their ministry and the church's mission in the cities.
3. To provide opportunity for a broad spectrum of individuals and groups to present their concerns to appropriate leaders of the church.
4. To produce a report of findings and recommended actions for the church to take at this time, at the local parish and diocesan level and at the national level, to implement the church's mission in the cities in the decade ahead.

The Hearings Committee secured the services of Hugh C. White, founder and former director of the Detroit Industrial Mission, as project director. On loan from the staff of Church and

Society, Inc., Mr. White has in recent years staffed public hearings for the national Episcopal Church and for the State of Michigan. With the assistance of Edward Rodman of the staff of the Diocese of Massachusetts, and Byron Rushing, Director of The Afro-American Museum in Boston, a series of seven hearings was held. Funding was supplied by the bishops of the Coalition themselves, from discretionary funds available to them, by foundations and interested individuals.

A large number of dioceses were surveyed as possible locations for hearings. The concern was to select locations which would not only be geographically representative, but also illustrate the economic, political and human distress of the late '70s.

Five cities in the continental United States were finally chosen: Seattle, Chicago, Newark, Washington and Birmingham. It was decided to hold a hearing in Panama, and also one on *national* urban issues, in the nation's capital. In each instance a local support group, aided by the host bishop, was responsible for arrangements and for inviting testifiers. The panel at each hearing usually included three members of the Coalition, minority group representatives and persons with special insight into the urban crisis. Representatives from other religious bodies also were specially sought out to serve on the panels.

A report was written on each of the hearings. With these reports, and a verbatim record of all the testimony, Dean Joseph Pelham of Colgate Rochester/Bexley Hall/Crozer Theological Seminary was asked to prepare a summary report of the data received, with proposals for appropriate action. That "deliberative document" is the chief substance of this booklet. It was reviewed carefully by the Coalition' members – now numbering over fifty bishops – at a special meeting in Chicago on March 29-30, 1978.

Also included in this volume are the recommendations for action approved at that same meeting. These represent personal commitments made by the bishops of the Coalition.

It is the hope of the Urban Bishops Coalition that this report will have the widest possible circulation and that it will provide a deep and continuing stimulus to the Church's understanding of its urban mission in the decade ahead. They themselves are convinced that it will make a determinative difference in their own ministries.

The Coalition welcomes the cooperation of Forward Movement Publications in making this document available throughout the Episcopal Church and beyond.

I AM A CITY MAN

An address to the Urban Bishops Coalition by John T. Walker, Chairman of the Coalition and Bishop of Washington.

I am a city man. Bred in the city in poverty. Educated in the city, working in and for the city, knowledgeable of the city and how many of its systems work. *I live and move and have my being in the city!* Yet, when I heard the testimony at our hearings, of so many "broken victims" and of those working in their behalf, it was to experience each time as for the very first time shock and disgust over the reality of the human suffering which is experienced day in and day out by people in our cities.

For example, I learned something of the extent of deprivation and starvation in my own See city — the nation's capital. One of the testifiers was the director of a hunger education project. She explained that one way of studying malnutrition is to look at infant mortality rates. In Washington, infant mortality averages about 26 out of every 1000 births, which is the same rate as Taiwan. In the affluent area west of Rock Creek Park in Washington, the rate is 8 per 1000, which is the same as Sweden's, the best in the world. However, in three inner city areas and Anacostia, where our heaviest concentration of urban poor reside, the rate rises almost to 40 out of every 1000. She suggested that "the shocking contrast between neighborhoods of the same city signals a tragic by-product of income maldistribution and a pressing need for policy-oriented research."

Fairly recently, a study by Robert C. Weaver, former HUD Secretary, appeared in the *Civil Rights Digest.* In the study entitled "The Suburbanization of America or the Shrinking of the Cities," Weaver points out that surburbanization in America, the flight of those who could afford it from the central city, is practically as old as the nation. In fact, to prove that suburbanization is indeed an ancient phenomenon, he quotes from a letter written on a clay tablet and addressed to King Cyrus of Persia in 539 B.C. by an early suburbanite:

"Our property," he wrote, "seems to me to be the most beautiful in the world. It is so close to Babylon that we enjoy all the advantages of the city, and yet when we come home we are away from all the noise and dust."

One essential point of the Weaver Study is that the effects of suburbanization as a phenomenon with resultant population and employment shifts and loss of capital from the city, were being felt even before World War II. As a matter of fact, the population peak for most large cities in relation to their suburbs occurred in 1900. In that year Boston's population was already only 43

percent of its Metropolitan Area as that would be defined in 1950. By 1970 it had shrunk to 23 percent. Cleveland's 85 percent became 36 percent.

Another factor is the pattern of employment growth in the suburbs, as a way of measuring the effect of the flight of urban capital. For example, between 1960 and 1970 New York City lost 9.7 percent of its jobs, while its outlying suburbs gained 24.9 percent. Chicago lost 13.9 percent while its suburbs gained 64.4 percent. Philadelphia lost 11.3 percent with a suburban gain of 61.5 percent. Detroit lost 22.5 percent and its suburbs gained 61.5 percent. And Washington, D.C. gained 1.9 percent during that period *but* its suburbs gained a spectabular 117.9 percent! Weaver cites a study in the late 1950s which concluded that the outward movement of people from the city would be matched by an outward movement of jobs. Retail trade would follow the populations. Manufacturing and wholesaling establishments would continue to respond to obsolescence by looking for new quarters and by renting new structures in the suburban industrial areas where obsolescence is less advanced. Finally, the movement of jobs would reinforce the movement of residences.

No one can doubt that this prediction has come true. I remember Bishop Paul Moore's Easter Sermon of 1976. He characterized the ugly consequences of the flight of population and capital from the cities as death. And he courageously urged industrial chiefs to reconsider their decisions to abandon the city.

The effects of no new investments in the city today and, even worse, the actual draining off of existing capital, leave no resources for providing the basic human services of health, education, welfare and, most vitally, jobs for the poor – mostly minorities – who remain in the cities.

Thus, whether we were hearing of problems related to unemployment, education, housing, or racism; and whether in Newark or Colon, in Birmingham or Seattle, in Chicago or Washington, one fact emerges. The urban problem is systemic, long term and, as the report of our National Hearing puts it, "infects every major structure of our national life and corrupts societies all across the globe."

But it is *the cities* that are the repositories of the poor and of the most acutely damaged victims of the systemic economic, political and social malfunctioning of the society.

From Seattle, to Colon, we heard the voices of suffering cry out to us about their own pain and anguish – and hopes – or of their hurt and anguish over the pain of others and about the utter captivity which is the lot of so many people who live in our cities. So many are crippled by the horrible consequences of joblessness and hunger; by alcoholism and drug addiction; by social

and economic injustice and by racist policies; by classism and sexism; homelessness and rootlessness; by neglect and oppression; and by hopelessness and despair.

So now we are engaged in determining what it is the Urban Bishops Coalition is going to do in the cities. I am not thinking of structures and processes. There will be time for that. What I am talking about is the call for us to take seriously our commitment to the *people* of the cities. The Coalition's work is tied directly to the mission of the Body of Christ in the world. That mission is the same as it always has been. That is, to show concern in the name of Christ for the suffering, the friendless and the needy.

Our aim as a Coalition should be primarily to serve as a reminder to the church of what our mission is. At the cutting edge, unencumbered by bureaucracies, we pledge to hold before the church the awful challenges and tremendous opportunities to which God calls us in the urban mission.

It is hard to imagine our being able to take steps too radical or too drastic for the circumstances. Rather, we need to fear a too *timid* approach. As we move ahead, our actions are based neither on the notion that we have all the answers, nor on the view that we are totally unaware of what is happening. All of us have some knowledge of how the crisis is affecting the cities in our own dioceses.

Even with our present state of awareness – with so much more to learn – it is clear that any response we may make which is less than serious will reveal a gross insensitivity to the plight of those people we are called to serve.

And a part of being serious means a willingness to make hard, inconvenient decisions and radical readjustments to our present ways of doing things.

One fact is clear. The church's mission to the city is not – cannot be accomplished by bishops acting in a vacuum. The ministry of Christ is shared by all who possess the gift of the Holy Spirit by baptism. Therefore, the intention of the Urban Bishops Coalition is and must be, to seek to define and work out that mission in coalition with other persons and groups, lay and ordained, both within the Episcopal Church and amongst other churches as well. Moreover, the city is composed of all sorts and conditions of persons. It will be our concern to encourage appropriate linkages and partnerships with persons and groups of all faiths and all backgrounds, who share our vision of the city as a place and a sign of hope and fulfillment for all. I believe that the taking of such an approach by the Urban Bishops Coalition clearly will signal the seriousness of our intention to stay and minister in our cities.

I truly believe that God has called us to prepare ourselves to exercise *leadership* in his mission which, by the power of the Holy Spirit, he has laid upon us. The model for our action is Jesus,

who "when he drew near and saw the city, wept over it." (Luke 19:41) Then, he went and died for the city. He was serious.

In my opinion, the main ingredients for a strategy for mission are that kind of compassion and self-giving. I pray that *our* weeping over the city and *our* willingness to die in service to all of God's people will bring joy and life, as Jesus brought the joy and the life which we celebrate.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC HEARINGS
by Joseph Campbell

INTRODUCTION

These highlights are drawn from the summary reports of the seven public hearings conducted by the Urban Bishops Coalition. I would encourage serious church strategists to study all those reports as well as the material in this book.

I begin the Highlights with the *need for thought,* for a framework for understanding what's happening in urban America. Next comes an overview of *the economics of the cities* and the important issue of whether, in effect, the poor are still subsidizing the rich as they have to greater or lesser degree throughout history. Of equal importance to matters of tax policies, investment flow, and the allocation of resources are questions of *political power and structures* in the cities, and the degree to which people have or have not opportunity to control their lives.

Growing out of the interplay of political power and economics is the fact that many people in our cities lack *the basics of life.* Many of these are minority groups who constitute the primary *actors and victims* of our urban ills. If we ask why that is so, we must turn to such systemic factors as *racism and sexism.*

Cutting across lines of race and class are *the "throw-away" people* of our cities: the aged, the physically impaired, the mentally ill, the criminals. Also cutting across race and class is that ubiquitous minority, the gay community and its special challenge to the church.

What *strategies of change* are in process or recommended with which to confront our cities' ills? The hearings presented a considerable array. Finally, what is the *role of the church* in urban change – the core question behind the public hearings, and one which every hearing addressed.

THE NEED FOR THOUGHT

The Urban Bishops asked for it and they got it: several hundred different voices telling the Episcopal Church how it should take action on the crises of the cities. But some voices directly and many indirectly said, "You must take thought, too." The very smorgasbord of analyses, ideologies, and prescriptions for urban ills that the panels heard – and often articulated themselves – seems to say, "Wait a minute – what's really going on and where do we want to go with it?"

At the National Hearing, Gibson Winter addressed the question by speaking of a degenerative process that has been going on in the cities for hundreds of years, a gradual erosion of human beings' connections with nature, religion, and each other. It will

take generations to change that process, and a critical first step is for the cities to see themselves clearly, to come to terms with their own realities. What will we see when we see clearly?

At Chicago Stanley Hallett said the church has a "paradigm-making role," a responsibility to help people find the right framework for thinking about their situations. And John McKnight raised the issue of our basic view of human nature – are the masses basically "clients" of service system elites, passive objects that others "do things for"? Or are they, as assumed in the concept of "conscientization" described by Leo Beato, capable of awareness of and action upon their own options? At Colon urban ills were explained as the result of individual immorality on the one hand and exploitative social forces on the other. Where do individual responsibility and social responsibility meet?

"What's going on?" requires factual analysis as well. For instance, in the complex matter of the economics of our cities, are the poor really subsidizing the rich through tax policies, investment flow, and the ubiquitous "red-lining" of lending institutions, insurance firms, and land developers? Do Puerto Ricans crowd into Newark and New York because of the greed of corporations and the collusion of government and is high unemployment among urban minorities traceable to the same causes?

Again and again in the hearings, a "tilt toward the poor" is assumed of the church. A social conscience is requisite in the church in particular and decent people generally. But in an age of "feel goodism," personal growth, and do-your-own-thing, what framework of thought compels us to see that "being for others" is an essential ingredient in our personal well-being?

Where is the mind of the church on racism, sexism, and homosexuality? Repeatedly, the panels are pressed on these issues that provoke a combination of weariness and anger in so many. Clear thought is needed here, translatable into public philosophy and policy that are as "self-evident" as the natural rights to which Jefferson and other founders of this nation appealed.

The reorganization and reintegration of society that Winter calls for, that will change the degenerative process of which we are heirs, require thought together with action.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE CITIES

Only at the National Hearing and the Chicago Hearing, and to a lesser degree at Newark and Birmingham, did the panels hear and discuss broad analyses of the economics of the cities. Most of the testimony viewed the economic realities of a city from the bottom up, reporting on the symptoms and impact of economic policies and patterns on minorities and working class whites. The bulk of the testimony was based either on the experiences of victims

of the city's economics or the observations and assumptions of middle class "helping" professionals and organizers.

The broad picture we do get – especially from Winter, Hickey, Collins, Webb, and Wheaton at the National Hearing and from Hallett and McKnight at Chicago – is one of the urban poor subsidizing the upper income, suburban classes through the "urban disinvestment" policies of financial institutions, the white flight of industries and developers, and governmental tax policies. "Red-lining" – the arbitrary refusal of credit, loans, insurance, mortgages, etc. to individuals and businesses in areas deemed undesirable because of race or class – is a recurring example in this analysis. Another is unemployment. Next to Washinton, D.C. – symbol of the federal government – no other city was mentioned as frequently as Youngstown, Ohio, where the "private" decisions of Youngstown Sheet and Tube threatened to wreak public havoc through the lay-off of 5000 workers. Youngstown is cited too as an example not only of run-away plants but of a local community standing up and fighting, of ecumenical social action at its best, and of a good blending of local initiative and federal policy changes.

At Newark and Birmingham we get further insight into the relation of corporations to cities, the relationship of racism to unemployment, and the influence of corporate economic power (insurance companies in Newark and the steel companies in Birmingham) on municipal policies and practices.

At the National Hearing we get from Winter and Wheaton the broadest analyses, picturing on the one hand a systemic degeneration of the basic institutions of urban life and on the other hand an economic system whose commitment to the maximization of profit precludes a just allocation of resources among the citizenry. Panel deliberations often elaborate these analyses in each case, but they are seldom disputed.

The bulk of the testimony, however, is "micro" in nature, as I have suggested, and we will consider its highlights in more detail under the heading "The Basics of Life," much of which has to do with the economics of the cities.

POLITICAL POWER AND STRUCTURE IN THE CITIES

Another critical theme in the Hearings, viewed also from the bottom or middle up, is that of political power and structure in the cities.

Hovering over, around, behind the testimonies is "the establishment." Occasionally an apparent member of "the establishment" testifies: corporate public relations persons in Newark, a legislator or two in Birmingham, the mayor of Colon, the director of the Seattle Human Rights Department, and a variety of bishops. Many – including some of these testifiers – might debate whether

they really represent established power in the city. Mostly the establishment comes through as that ominous force which must be cajoled, persuaded, or coerced into doing justice and loving mercy in the city and perhaps even walking humbly with their God. Sometimes it's seen as a local entity, other times as international in scope.

Related questions arise. What color is city hall? In Newark it's black. But the Puerto Ricans don't think that's necessarily a plus. In Colon the municipal leadership is certainly indigenous, but what is the "Free Zone"? Who's the power there – and how does it affect Colon?

Is church leadership a part of established power in a city? At the Washington-Virginia Hearing some felt the church is so much a part that it therefore has real difficulty being an advocate of the oppressed and poor.

In Seattle a different dimension of the power struggle arose: growth versus conservation, a factor that seldom appeared elsewhere. Also in Seattle there is the unique matter of treaty agreements with Native American tribes affecting fishing and land rights.

But the biggest discussion of political power and structure in the cities came through in terms of centralization versus decentralization, local initiative versus governmental planning, neighborhood revitalization versus broad urban planning, and that now wearisome dichotomy of urban versus suburban, with all its overtones of race and class.

Examples of neighborhoods or communities seizing their own destinies are sprinkled throughout the hearings. In the National Hearing the references are to Wilmington United Neighborhoods and to Youngstown's bootstrap effort. In Chicago we hear of the South Shore community and its vigorous efforts to develop its own capacities, of Mujeras Latinas in Accion exuding confidence about their own efforts to enhance their Mexican-American community on the southwest side. Others include the Ironbound Community and FOCUS in Newark, and the Mustard Seed in Birmingham, a church-community combined effort to turn around an impoverished, crime-ridden, and cynical community with only a little help from the city. At Birmingham, too, debate occurs about political structures. Is it good that there are some 200 self-governing communities in the metropolitan area or should there be more centralized, regional, planning and control? This structural question – like the question of who's the establishment – hovers over the hearings but seldom is dealt with head-on.

Finally, there's the recurring clash of urban versus suburban power, with charges of corporations, financial institutions, and developers being in collusion with state and metropolitan government in protecting and enhancing the self-interests of "their kinds

of people."

At one level, the question of political power and structure is one of how urban folk, individually and by communities, can have maximum power over their own lives in the things that count. At another level, the question is how can the massive power of oligarchic economic and political elites be broken up in order to make the first more possible to achieve.

THE BASICS OF LIFE

At the National Hearing, Roger Hickey, speaking for Gar Alperowitz and the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, called for public policies which *control inflation in regard to the basic necessities of life.* This is an issue that detrimentally affects everyone and this kind of selective inflation control would muster wide support, Hickey argued.

Much of the Urban Bishops' Public Hearings was taken up with testimony of how people in our cities lack the basics of life. What are the basics? Hickey named food, housing, health care, and essential energy. To that list we could add education, employment, some form of nurture of the young (family, commune, whatever), and a degree of control over our lives.

In Seattle and Birmingham vivid testimony was presented regarding *hunger* in those areas, data many Americans would find hard to believe. At Washington/Virginia the testimony of Patricia Kutzner picks up the same theme. At Seattle, Thomas Byers of the Country Doctor Clinic painted the appalling picture of inadequate *health care* for the poor in urban areas, and called for "holistic health care" and for the preventive care that even a National Health Insurance program wouldn't address.

Housing was an issue at almost all hearings, but especially at Colon, Birmingham, Washington/Virginia, Newark, and the National Hearings. Testifiers raised particular aspects of the issue such as the displacement of the poor by urban developments designed to attract middle and upper income people back to the city, the special housing needs of the elderly, the deaf, and physically impaired people, the relationship of housing to the urban disinvestment process, the inadequacy of private developers to meet the need, and the promising move toward "urban homesteading."

Unemployment is a major focus of Don Benedict's report to the Chicago Hearing, but it arises in other hearings as well. Racism and jobs is a particular subject at Newark. Federal policies that encourage industrial moves to the sun-belt, leaving unemployment in the northeast and midwest, comes in at the National Hearing. Colon and Seattle contain impressive reports on the impact of unemployment.

Education is not as frequent a theme as housing, but no less

significant. Sometimes testifiers address it in the context of desegregation or racism or of the needs of particular groups, such as the testimony of ASPIRA regarding bilingual and bicultural education. A few testimonies address the education issue more generally as in Victor DeLuca's report on the Ironbound Community School or Leo Beato's description of "conscientization."

At Colon, the deteiroration of marriage and family life was a key issue and with it the issue of inadequate *nurture of the young* in our cities. Delinquency, rootlessness, and immorality result, according to the testifiers. Lingering *machismo* in Panama exacerbates the problem. The theme is picked up elsewhere, e.g. Mark Johnston's report on the problems of youth in Birmingham, or the testimony of two teenagers and a CETA director on the problems of youth in Washington.

Finally, one other "basic of life" runs through the hearings, expressed in many ways and in relation to many aspects of urban life – the need for some *control over our own lives,* politically, economically, socially – else we are reduced utterly to objects, not subjects. Conscientization, neighborhood revitalization, red-lining – issue after issue is presented with *control over our own lives* as an assumed value. These highlights might well be written with that as the interpretive key.

MINORITIES: URBAN ACTORS AND VICTIMS

I don't have the statistics to prove it, but I would guess that America has in its citizenry a greater representation of every race and nation on earth than any other nation and, together with Canada, any other continent. This makes for unsurpassed cultural diversity and richness. It makes also for an uncomparably complex caste system; sometimes subtle, sometimes blatant, a pecking order of privilege and privation. Our cities are the prime locus of this diversity and this discrimination. Minorities are the prime actors and victims amid our urban ills.

The hearings present a panorama of minority groups and their struggles. Blacks in Washington/Virginia, Chicago, Newark, Birmingham; Puerto Ricans in Chicago and Newark; Mexicans and Chinese in Chicago; Native Americans, Japanese, and Vietnamese in Seattle; Africans and Asians in Washington. Less prominent yet present too are the lingering enclaves of white ethnics, particularly in Chicago and Newark. Appalachian whites are yet another minority in our cities as well as a rural enclave.

The word "minority" is an unjust abstraction, for the hearings reveal diversity between and within the groups: moderate and militant Puerto Ricans in Chicago, hopeless Native Americans in Chicago, aggressive Native Americans in Seattle, Puerto Ricans in Newark who feel blacks no longer "have a problem", Mexicans

in Chicago who sound more like nineteenth century immigrants, Asian-Americans experiencing underemployment and contempt because their "foreign education" doesn't count in America.

Yet the marvel is that immigration continues. Why this is so is rarely examined in the Hearings. An exception is Wheaton's testimony at the National Hearing, which offers the single-factor explanation of corporate greed, supplemented by governmental collusion.

A strategic issue that recurs in the Hearings is whether assimilation into a white, single-language culture or the maintenance of a separate ethnic and racial identity is the key to a good future for minorities in America's cities.

HOMOSEXUALS

Another unjustly treated minority is the gay community. They are not discriminated against on the basis of race, creed or national origin, but on the basis of what is euphemistically called "sexual orientation." Unlike Blacks and Women, gay persons can hide "what they are," but no longer want to hide. Unlike the "throw-away" people of the society – whom we discuss a little later – gay men and women are not viewed as unproductive burdens.

Rather they are an embarrassment to "straight" society, a moral burden. Gays constitute an estimated 10% of every population in every age, a distinct yet ubiquitous minority. We would like to forget them and probably many of the panelists felt that way at the hearings, for gay spokespersons appeared at every one of them except Colon: from Good Shepherd Parish in Chicago, from the task force on Lesbians and Gay Men at Seattle, from Integrity at the National Hearing, Newark, and Washington/Virginia, and from Dignity at Birmingham. Integrity is the Episcopal Gay organization. Dignity is the Roman Catholic organization. The issues that recur throughout gay testimony are those of understanding, acceptance and support within the church and the protection of their civil rights in the society in regard to employment, housing and other matters.

RACISM AND SEXISM

Scratch any urban ill and you find racism. Scratch many and you find sexism as well.

In the hearings sexism – especially sexism in the church – was specifically addressed, by Martha Blacklock at Newark, by Marge Christie and Martha Blacklock again at the National Hearing, Elise Penfield at Birmingham, and Gina Chin at Colon. Issues included the sexist language of the Prayer Book, ordination of women, the lack of adequate staff on women's issues, and the "cavalier" attitude of the House of Bishops regarding the whole

matter.

Racism was more pervasively present in the testimonies and deliberations, more often as an explanation of other ills such as housing and unemployment than as a subject in and of itself. The panel deliberations at Birmingham and the substance of the testimonies of Walter Bremond, Mattie Hopkins, Richard Tolliver, and Quinlan Gordon at the National Hearing bore in more pointedly on racism as a systemic, pervasive degradation of people of color. The white male monopoly of America's resources and most positions of power and prestige is still very much intact, though feeling a little threatened.

The continued racism of unions and contractors in the construction industry was vividly pictured by Clara Horsely and Andrew Perry at Newark.

Racism could be – like "control of our lives" – an interpretive focal point for reviewing much of the hearing testimony – from the economics of the cities to housing and the criminal justice system.

THROW-AWAY PEOPLE

Under the Nazi regime in Europe Jews, Slavs, and political deviates went to the gas chambers because they were viewed as enemies of the superman state. But another kind of people went also, those labeled a burden to the society – the mentally ill, the aged, the physically impaired.

America has its throw-away people, too, and although several states have banned throw-away bottles, we still treat many people in the same manner, according to the hearings. They are a burden; they are seen as non-productive members of the society. Not only the elderly, the mentally ill, and the physically impaired, but addicts and criminals as well.

Captial punishment is the ultimate throw-away of criminals. Birmingham heard the criminal justice system called a system of injustice, a system of cruelty. Debate about capital punishment was labelled a potential distraction from scrutiny of prison conditions.

The long-standing question of punishment versus rehabilitation was also raised. Rape was defined as a crime of violence, not of passion. At Colon testifiers pointed to the direct connection between poverty and crime, at Washington/Virginia a variety of alternative approaches to criminal justice were reported. At the National Hearing John Boone argued for doing away with imprisonment of all but the most serious offenders.

The plight of the elderly was described basically as that of being "shunted aside," but changing, according to Gray Panther Ruth Lind, because the elderly are beginning to become a self-con-

scious social force. Important statistics about the elderly were presented at Washington/Virginia and the new "hospice" approach to the terminally ill was described.

Other throw-away groups are the mentally ill – described at Birmingham as the "walking wounded" of our cities, and the physically impaired, who are handicapped not so much by their impairment, but by their environment.

What "throw-away" people in our society have in common is a sense of isolation from the mainstream, and the experience of being a burden. What they wish for is both independence as individuals and appropriate interdependence with others.

STRATEGIES OF URBAN CHANGE

What shall we do about all these urban problems? Something's got to change. And some things are changing. So the question might more appropriately be, how and where do we join the action?

Just as the Hearings provide a litany of urban ills, they provide also a litany of strategies of change – both in process and proposed. The sheer number of proposals suggests a prior question and choice, a choice of overall strategy.

The choice, I believe, is between pro-action and re-action, between purposeful pursuit of a goal and fire-fighting. It is not an either-or choice, for to some degree we must do both. It's a question of tilt.

If we opt for pro-action then we ask, given the current degenerating scene, what do we want instead? What do we want our cities to be? What specific objectives will lead us toward that broad goal? And what strategy and tactics will accomplish the objectives? For instance, we might say we want our cities to be human communities where (1) every citizen is assured access to all basics of life, and (2) every citizen has the political opportunity to participate in decisions affecting his or her life – at work or at home. We would then have to spell out concrete objectives that lead toward those two goals – in the process defining "basics of life" and "political participation."

If we opt for re-action as the tilt, then we will ask, what are the most crucial problems? What are the best solutions? And how shall we implement them? At this point it is not clear which general strategy is being pursued by urban planners or by the church, though my guess is that re-action is, for the most part, the order of the day.

Once having decided on a general strategy, there is the smorgasbord of specific strategies and tactics which the Hearings have highlighted.

Bill Yon at Birmingham describes two approaches under the titles "innocent as doves" and "wise as serpents." The first is direct

service to meet the immediate needs of people. The second is "intrusion into the public realm" in order to get at causes of problems. An example of the first is a food program or the provision of shelter to those who have no home. An example of the second is community organization or coalitions around particular issues or high level involvement in public policy.

Community organization, in one form or another, was mentioned at every hearing. At Newark the question was, which model is best? Service or advocacy? Moderate or militant? A local focus or a metropolitan focus? One that treats people as recipients or as subjects of their own actions? At the National Hearing stress was laid on cities as collections of neighborhoods with real identities. Community organizing should be around neighborhoods rather than issues, some testifiers argued. At Colon, community organizing was seen as the empowerment of people to oppose injustice and as "consciousness raising." And yet the question remained: can such grass roots efforts deal with issues that are of epidemic proportions such as unemployment and housing?

Coalitions around broad issues is another strategy. Deliberations at Newark warned against the megalomania that tempts the group putting together an urban coalition. Coalitions as a strategy appear to be an opportunity for church ecumenism and for collaborative work with secular agencies and groups as well.

A broader strategic question is whether to focus on the small or the large, on local, decentralized efforts or centralized, regional and even federal efforts. A strong case was made at the National Hearing for a local focus in strategies of urban change, providing, as it does, a greater possibility for people to gain control of their own lives. As far as the church is concerned – with its traditional parish structures – local efforts fit right in, if a local church is willing to get involved with its community. Much depends on how the "helpers" and "planners" view ordinary people. Are they helpless clients awaiting our service and our wisdom? "Conscientization" as well as "localism" as broad strategies would deny such a view of human beings.

Finally, in regard to strategy, where is the "biggest bang for the buck"? What strategies have the potential of a multiplier effect? The question brings to mind the parable of the talents. How can we keep from burying "energy for change" in the ground and instead find ways to be good stewards who get a ten-fold return on their efforts and their allocation of resources?

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN URBAN CHANGE

At Chicago, John McDermott, editor of *The Chicago Reporter,* gave the Urban Bishops' panel a progammatic prescription for the church's role in the urban crisis:

- Be the church -- provide a vision of hope.
- Operate from strength, involving the *whole* church, not just the fringes.
- Plan well, institutionalize what you do, so people know you are serious.
- Pick one or two things and do them well. Don't try too much.
- Work for inclusive communities, racially and economically.

Many of these same themes recurred as each subsequent hearing addressed the core question of the role of the church. At times it was a search for a *unique* role -- one that no other institution could perform as well or at all. At other times the issue was with whom do we collaborate to do the things that need to be done.

Common agreement existed that the bias of the church should be toward the poor. Liberation theology, incarnational theology, any theology that takes the world seriously must lead to that bias. But perhaps the church is too much a part of the established principalities and powers really to incarnate that bias, said others.

Images of the church abound in the reports: funder of needed action, conscience of the city, embodiment of social justice, beacon of hope, the one institution the poor can trust, catalyst of coalitions, advocate, servant, celebrant of life, witness, friend of the outcast. Each implies a different role.

But there were other images of a less flattering kind, implying other roles: chaplains of the establishment, a propertied elite, a mirror of classist society itself, cavalier white male club, racist, sexist, obscessed with its own survival, afraid to be openly Christian, permissive, citadel of individualism, incompetent privilege, collaborator in the repression of militants.

Several clear calls emerged.

1. Set the church's own house in order. Rid it of racism, sexism, and other internal inhumanities.
2. Speak with moral authority from a clear biblical and theological framework.
3. Support local revitalization.
4. Use property and investments in socially responsible ways.
5. Intrude in public policy matters on the side of the oppressed.
6. Work ecumenically.
7. Think and plan well.

On some issues the church could work with little internal controversy, e.g., the elderly, mental illness, the physically impaired. For these "throw-away" people raise problems that cut across lines of race and class.

But other issues such as the criminal justice system, unemployment, and homosexuality provoke internal conflict. They require wisdom and courage if the church is to have a role in their resolution.

We began these highlights with "the need for thought," thought that would provide a framework for understanding "what's happening." The middle sections catalogued urban ills and actions. We concluded with strategy issues, which is where thought and action meet.

Thought and action are indeed both required as the church addresses the present condition of urban America, the kind of cities we want and need, how we get there, what particular role the church has in both the seeing and the doing.

The public hearings have provided a beginning for the church's thought and action.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE URBAN CRISIS: THE DECADE AHEAD

by Dean Joseph A. Pelham, Rochester Center for Theological Studies.

I. *THE URBAN CRISIS: A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS*

The cities are not working.

Panel members at Hearings sponsored by the Urban Bishops Coalition in the cities of Chicago, Newark, Seattle, Birmingham, Washington, D.C., and Colon (Panama) from November, 1977 through February, 1978, listened to and deliberated upon cries of anguish by and on behalf of a multiplicity of persons who care about the cities and those who live in them. That testimony formed what Bishop Furman Stough of Birmingham described as a "mosaic about God's people who are hurt, suffering and deprived."

Almost one hundred and fifty persons testified about the breakdown of the cities as places of human habitation. Some spoke in terms of the specific places in which they live; others portrayed the crisis in its national and international dimensions. Each of them described the manifestations of the malady facing the cities of the United States and the Caribbean: chronic structural unemployment, hunger, inadequate health care, ineffective systems of public education, sub-standard or non-existent housing, blight, an eroded tax base, the resulting shrinkage of available revenue to provide basic human service, and personal and family income below the standard of poverty.

These and countless other signs announce the profound disfunction of the cities of the United States and the Caribbean.

The Hearing panelists heard and reflected upon the voices of the poor and those who work on their behalf, the unemployed and under-employed, blacks, Hispanics, women, gays, native Americans, Appalachian whites, "undocumented" Latino workers, Asiatics, youth, the elderly, and those who are the objects of the criminal justice system. These are the people of the cities. As individuals and as groups they are victimized by the cities and form a vast "underclass" without access to power, caught in a web of discrimination, deprivation and oppression, and often without hope or even any reason for hope.

The panelists also heard and deliberated on the voices of those who sought to help. They were committed and concerned persons, both within and without the church, who are attempting to cope with the symptoms of the crisis and bind up the wounds of the battered. They sense that they are fighting a losing battle against overwhelming odds, and their frustration and discouragement is obvious, even as their commitment is deep. There was heard an almost wistful plea that the Episcopal Church might be present

in a new way in the cities. Surprisingly, the cry was for the church to be present with its influence and involvement even more than with its money.

Honest words, candid words, sometimes angry words, often words far too restrained and gentle were spoken, but in every instance the words were pleading, "Be our advocate!"

In these Public Hearings, a description of some of the realities which have brought about the crisis emerged. Time after time the words of testimony forced the hearers to go beneath the symptoms to grasp the root causes. These major causal factors were noted:

1. *Flight of people and capital*

A massive exodus of people and capital from the cities to the suburbs has occurred.

This problem of "runaway capital," "capital outflow," and economic disinvestment was noted repeatedly in the testimony presented to the Hearings. There is not only a lack of new investment in the cities, but startlingly enough, revenue and income generated there are actually directed away from the cities. In his testimony at the Hearing on national problems, John Collins described this phenomenon in this way: "In recent years there has been not only a lack of investment in cities, but an actual *draining off* of existing capital. Banks and savings and loan institutions in older communities are investing, not in their own communities, but in the suburbs, in other regions, and in the third world. (Seventy percent of the assets of the largest bank in New York are invested in foreign loans.) Capital has also been drained off by corporate relocations and plant closings, vividly illustrated during the time of these Hearings by the closing of the steel mill in Youngstown, Ohio."

The exodus from the city of both persons and capital has been encouraged by public policies related to both taxation and to transportation (the highway system), producing demographic and economic decline in literally hundreds of cities.

The major share of new development is occurring in the suburbs at the expense of the cities. This trend contributes to a continuing decentralization of urban population, ersosion of the tax base of the cities, and a dissipation of the political power of the city's residents.

While this exodus of people and capital has multiple causes, it is undeniable that a key underlying reason is the operation of institutional white racism. The division between white and black America still exists, and the prospects of healing that rift appear to be less today than ten years ago when our nation was first warned that we were approaching two separate and unequal societies. Nowhere is this more clearly visible than in

the massive exodus of middle class whites to the suburbs, and the increasing ghettoization of the cities as enclaves of the black and the poor. Places which burned in the civil disorders of the 60's have changed little; if anything the blight of urban poverty has spread.

2. *Neglect of the cities*

Cities are the victims of neglect.

The most charitable analysis of the reasons for urban neglect on the part of the decision makers of society leads to the conclusion that efforts to stem the tide of accelerating deterioration have been confounded by the complexity of the problems of the city. Vast managerial and technical problems tend to baffle the public's grasp of those problems and reduce its support for the attempt to remedy them.

Perhaps an even sharper analysis was indicated by Lee Webb in his testimony at the National Hearing. He indicated that while it is often said that the United States has no national urban policy, the fact remains that "over the past ten or twenty years the policies of the federal government in the areas of housing, transportation and taxes have amounted to a *de facto* urban policy." There has been neglect because there is a tacit agreement that the problems of the city are a low priority when pitted against the demands of the military/defense budget, or the demand for a balanced budget. Neglected cities have become the "dumping grounds" for the powerless, the poor, the marginalized, and for all those who are perceived not to merit the attention of the wider society.

3. *Growth is slowing*

Growth is slowing nationally with the heaviest impact falling upon the older cities of the northeast and north central regions. This impact is occasioned, in part at least, because both government and industry (especially the defense industry) have favored certain areas against others. It is undeniable that political and economic reasons inform this decision, not the least of which is that of relatively low labor costs. The emerging inter-regional debate between the "sunbelt" and the "snowbelt" is in response to this "tilt" by both government and industry.

4. *Changes in the nature of employment*

The shift from labor intensity to capital intensity, and the growth of service industries has changed the character of available employment.

The change in the kind of employment opportunities available has had particularly devastating effects on core cities which were once the centers of labor intensive industries. The growth of automation has called into question the assumption that full employment will be achieved when the economy is sound. A

non-labor intensive economy will render invalid that bit of conventional wisdom. Substantial pockets of urban structural unemployment, especially among minorities, women and youth, have and will remain no matter how high the rise in the economic tide. For years to come the urban labor supply will be more geared to fill the jobs being lost than the ones industry is now developing. The spectre has become real that there are those whom the economic/industrial system simply does not need.

5. *Creation of a deficiency market*

   The proliferation of social welfare programs in the cities has created need for the maintenance of a class of persons who are recipients of those services.

   Accompanying the shift from labor intensive industry to capital intensive technology and service oriented industry is a growth in the social welfare enterprise, and the inevitable development of a certain self-interest on its part. The cities have been cordoned off through discriminatory housing patterns and other practices, such as red-lining by banks and insurance companies, so that they are recipients not generators of services. While an expansion of social services has been a boon to those middle class persons involved in the provision of such services, it has simultaneously necessitated the maintenance of a group of persons who are on the receiving end of services offered – a "deficiency market."

6. *In-migration*

   There has also been an in-migration to the cities of people, such as Appalachian whites and unskilled tenant farmers, who are ill-equipped for city living and whose ability to develop the necessary urban capacity is crippled by historic patterns of discrimination and neglect.

7. *Public pessimism*

   There is an increasing note of pessimism in the public mood in regard to the inevitability of stagnation, decline and poverty, and the seeming intractability of urban problems. Things seem "out of control." There is a pervasive skepticism abroad, a sense that residents of the cities are impotent to effect their futures, and are being manipulated and controlled by forces which they cannot precisely name.

8. *Ineffective leadership*

   Those who bear leadership responsibilities in the cities have demonstrated severely limited capacity to comprehend and address themselves to the crisis, and to manage constructive change. The problems created by sharply diminishing resources have been compounded by mismanagement of existing resources. Concentrated efforts to deal with problems of public finance have been evaded and deferred. False starts have been

made, and programs such as urban renewal which were once seen to be cornerstones and centerpieces for urban strategy are now recognized only as contrubitors to the further economic, social and political impoverishment of central city inhabitants. The ineptitude of leadership has, in turn, reinforced a cynicism and withdrawal of confidence in governmental leaders and political processes which has spilled over the other institutions, increasing the wariness of persons caught in the agony of the cities.

To list these dynamics which have precipitated and shaped the crisis of the cities is not to suggest that they are separate and unrelated. They are, in fact, deeply inter-twined – each reinforces the other and together, as they act upon one another, they form an overall dynamic which is at the core of the crisis, – indeed, feeds it and intensifies it.

Reflection upon the testimony heard in the Public Hearings can lead to the identification of at least two overarching elements in this dynamic:

1. The problems of the urban underclass, described so vividly and terrifyingly by a multitude of testifiers, are related to the persistence of phenomena written deeply into the structure of society: racism, sexism, and a domestic kind of colonialism which subjects the cities to control from beyond their borders and leaves their inhabitants essentially powerless against forces whose interests do not coincide with their own. It is these systemic phenomena which are incarnate in the agony of the cities. They cause and maintain the existence of an underclass which is the special victim of poverty and deprivation.

2. In addition to these persistent causal phenomena, the urban crisis has been precipitated by the fact that in a very real sense "the cards are stacked against" the cities by the dealer (or dealers).

The overall dynamic is thus an interaction between the systemic phenomena of racism, sexism, classism and urban colonialism on the one hand, and an economic policy of exploitation for the sake of profit on the other. This interaction gives rise to a political and social policy that perpetuates the problem and precludes a cure.

A description and analysis of the crisis of the cities such as outlined here poses certain fundamental questions and issues which those who may seek to address themselves to that crisis cannot escape. Some of these are:

1. As tired as our society may have become of being confronted with the reality of racism, it is clear that no effective response to the problems of the cities can occur which does not include a more serious effort to neutralize the effects of white racism than has ever been undertaken, both by the whole of society and by

the church. The crisis of the cities is a crisis wrought by the results of the persistence of this flaw in the American character. Any attempt to escape from or evade this fundamental fact will condemn all responses to this crisis to ineffectuality. Likewise, sexism, classism and domestic colonialism as causal factors in the crisis must be faced and addressed.

2. Those who seek to respond to the crisis described in the Public Hearings must be clear that the issue before them is the crisis *of the cities.* To say, quite correctly, that what is happening in the central cities is already repeating itself in the suburbs must not obscure the fact that *the cities* pose a special and unique issue. It is *the cities* that are repositories of the poor and of the most acutely damaged victims of the systemic economic, political and social mal-functioning of the society. It is the suburbs which, despite the fact that they are increasingly afflicted by some of the pathologies of the whole society, are a source of the profound illness of the cities.

Many of the psychological dimensions of the urban problem have accompanied the shift of population to the suburbs: feelings of alienation, despair, rootlessness and the pathologies such feelings generate among youth, adults and families. All of urban society is beginning to show signs of these strains and stresses. However, the physical, socio-economic and political manifestations of the crisis are of a magnitude and character in the cities not equaled in the suburbs.

3. A basic decision must be made as to whether the issue is one of "cities in distress" or "people in distress." That cities could be rescued and maintained as viable economic and political entities does not mean that the agony and deprivation of their underclass would thereby be alleviated. To opt for a future which revives cities as the site for the headquarters of corporate enterprises, or as a location for cultural and artistic centers, or as the objects of tourism, would not mean that they become viable as places of habitation for those who now live in them. Cities could be rescued by relocating their present population and by encouraging the in-migration of the middle class, but the problems of the city dwellers will not be solved by dislocation. The issue is quite simply one of our willingness to commit ourselves to those whose voices were heard in the Hearings, the "wretched of the cities" as they now are and exist, and to commit ourselves to the effort to rescue the cities *for the benefit of those who presently inhabit them.*

4. The question cannot forever be avoided as to whether the dynamic which is at once the causal factor and the source of the aggravation of the crisis of the cities and the distress of their inhabitants is simply the mindless, accidental working of impersonal forces, or whether it is too logical, consistent and predictable to

be the result of sheer accident. To put the question in another way: are the suspicions of the alienated in the cities true – that there are demonic forces at work which can and must be named and exposed?

5. Clarity is urgently needed in the face of persistent confusion which seems to suggest that the victims of the havoc being wrought against human life in the cities are themselves responsible for their victimization. An accurate assessment must be made as to the source of the responsibility for the distress with which the cities and their inhabitants are afflicted. Is there a concerted effort to shift responsibility for the crisis of the cities to those who are, in fact, the victims of the system? Is this phenomenon visible not only in very obvious ways by which the structures of urban society have cordoned off the city as a dumping ground for the underclass, but in more subtle ways, for example, through the manner in which the mass media cover news of the cities? Does the mass media "do right by" the cities or does it rather present news with a certain bias geared to what it assumes its clients will deem newsworthy and, by so doing, reinforce the myth that the victims of the mal-functioning of the cities are themselves the culprit in the mal-functioning? (This is a conclusion many will be led to draw in response to John Anderson's testimony at the Washington/Virginia Hearing.) Are the children of the cities' ghettos responsible for the substandard housing in which they live? Are the infants born to the poor and to the disadvantaged of the cities in fact responsible for the disproportionately high infant mortality rate amongst the poor? Does the responsibility lie with them or is it to be found in a virtual conspiracy in which all the major economic, political and social institutions are co-conspirators?

II. *LEADING ISSUES AND APPROACHES TO THEM*

Out of the multitude of voices heard and the myriad of issues presented in the Public Hearings, certain common threads appeared, enabling us to specify seven major issues which are prominent in any overview of where our cities are today.

A. *Energy/inflation/ecology*

"The Church needs," declared John McKnight at the Chicago Hearing, "an energy policy. It needs to be looking very carefully at the impact on the poor in the cities of energy policy."

The implications of the energy crisis are:

1. That crisis is one of the factors which is leading an increasing number of middle class persons to return to the city. For "cities in distress" this in-migration can provide beneficial results. Howev-

er, it may mean quite another thing to the "people in distress," that is, to the poor of the city, as city neighborhoods are rehabilitated and housing in them is priced beyond the means of the poor.

The issue was put directly by John Jacobs at the Washington/Virginia Hearing when he indicated that "no one can say what is happening to the blacks who are moving out (of the city of Washington)." Jacobs pointed out that between 1974 and 1976, 20,000 blacks (3.6 percent of the black population) moved out. He went on to point out, "now if you know the District of Columbia, you know that if you are poor and you can't live in the District, you certainly can't live in Montgomery County, you certainly can't move to Northern Virginia, and Prince George's County put a cap on low income residents moving into its community so that what we are faced with then *are people disappearing.* No one knows where they are going, and no one can speak with any authority as to what is happening to them. . . ."

2. The in-migration of the middle class to the cities and energy proposals which link production and conservation with pricing will make life more expensive in the city for those already there.

Again, in his testimony in Chicago, noting a previous testifier's report that the state of Illinois had declined to provide a five percent increase for welfare recipients in one year, John McKnight said, "the increased cost of energy under our now controlled energy cost systems was more than five percent, coming out through the increased cost of food, clothing, shelter and transportation as energy inflates. The most progressive of the proposals in Washington on energy policy is going to cost us so much in our poor neighborhoods, that if we raise welfare twenty-five percent within two years, energy inflation will eat that all up."

If the church is committed to the poor of the cities, it must stand ready to critique energy proposals *in terms of their implications for the poor,* and stand ready to support alternatives such as conservation linked to rationing rather than pricing, and/or public ownership of utilities as a possible antidote to never-ending rounds of price hikes.

A further dimension of the issue of policies, programs and structures related to resources was indicated by Stanley Hallett at the Chicago Hearing's orientation session. Hallett suggested that there is a relationship between ecological issues and the stifled and untapped power/capacity of persons to deal with meeting their basic needs and restoring a sound ecology at the neighborhood level. He insisted that individuals, families and neighborhoods have more capacity to manage resources themselves than has been taken into account. The ecological threat which is a part of the urban crisis will only be dealt with when new approaches to the issues of clean air, clean water and energy are taken which enable persons

and organizations to develop their capacity to control the resources which are needed by stable, life-sustaining communities.

The ultimate ecological question was posed by Samuel Day at the National Hearing. Describing nuclear weaponry as a profound threat to human society, Day stated, "Nuclear weaponry is but one sysmptom of a disease which, if it does not kill us instantly, will debilitate us eventually. Massive military budgets provoke inflation and unemployment, divert scientific and engineering skills, and weaken needed domestic programs."

Unless this ultimate issue is addressed through a reordering of the nation's priorities, and as Day argues, through "a reordering of the means by which economic and political power are exercised in this country, and the radical transformation of an economic system which concentrates power in the hands of the few," the urban crisis not only will intensify – it will disappear in one cataclysmic event.

A modest and immediate way into the magnitude of this staggering dimension of the urban crisis could be church support for the use of the "transfer amendment" which could enable Congress to shift money from the military budget to the urban budget.

At the same time, dangers related to "accidents" in the use of nuclear power as a source of energy pose a critical danger for the cities. As in the case of nuclear weaponry, such "accidents" are a potential source of destruction of the cities and their people.

B. *Jobs*

In the Chicago Hearing, Donald Benedict declared, "the question of unemployment is probably the religious, the economic, the social and the political question of the decade, if not for the rest of the century."

No extensive verification is needed for the enormous proportions which the unemployment problem has reached in the cities. The unemployment rate for blacks has doubled over the past decade, and has been hovering recently at a minimum of fourteen percent. In the ghettos it is much higher – forty to fifty percent among black youths in many cities. As factories have moved out of the city and the economy has become more concentrated in technology and services, there are fewer opportunities in the manufacturing jobs that once provided the first step into the job market for the poor. In the absence of new and concerted action, chronic high unemployment will persist into the 1980's with harshest impact upon minorities, women and youth seeking to enter the labor market.

Unemployment is a critical religious issue, as Benedict testified,

because, "work is basic to human existence, to our nature, to the nurture of God's world," and also because employment and the income it produces is the key to the solution to many of the other issues which form a web of deprivation for many inhabitants of the cities. The cry for jobs is a universal one which must be heeded.

Any response which can relieve this special agony of the cities must include these elements:

1. A decision by the federal government to commit itself to a policy of full employment is crucial. Such a decision would include acceptance of the government's role as the employer of last resort, through the creation of meaningful public service jobs which will benefit the whole society, through policies of the Federal Reserve Board which will lead to full employment, through the federal budgeting process, and through the government's willingness to hold itself accountable to the people on the issue of full employment.

2. Jobs must be increased where the people live and people must be able to live where the jobs are. This demands an expanded supply of low and moderate income housing available on a non-discriminatory basis. It also requires the development of adequate forms of mass transportation which reduce the isolation of the cities from the suburbs.

3. All affirmative action efforts to eliminate discrimination in employment must be continued and strengthened.

In her testimony at the Newark Hearing, Clara Horsely pointed to the need for such action and to a role for the church when she said, "the church can ... bring some moral pressure that contractors hire qualified persons regardless of race, color or creed. The contractors are frequently the social peers of church people. If the national church can bring that kind of pressure on persons at Firestone and other companies operating in South Africa, surely the same pressure could be brought to bear on the city of Newark to forced contractors to hire persons who are trained and qualified."

It is clear that the private sector by itself will neither solve the problem of chronic, structural unemployment nor will it fully address itself to the problems of discrimination in employment. Government action is needed. Since the business community is unlikely to press the goverment into action, agencies such as the church must support and work with others who are demanding such action.

4. Policies must be developed to marshal effective power to prevent "runaway shops" and to demand compensation by any fleeing industry for the disruption it creates in the community. That compensation should be high enough to discourage flight or make possible the creation of new industries to take their place.

It is to the importance of such action that Roger Hickey pointed in his testimony at the National Hearing when he cited the work

of the Mahoning Valley Ecumenical Coalition in its response to the closing of the Campbell Works (Lykes Corporation — Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company) and the permanent lay-off of five thousand steel workers. The Coalition devised a plan (which may provide a model for other communities now threatened by similar erosion of their economic foundations) to keep the mill open under worker and community ownership.

Charles Rawlings in his National Hearing testimony pointed out that there is much to be learned from the Youngstown experience; the fact that private dollars applied to public policies can be multiplied many times over, the value of ecumenical cooperation, and the importance of a "Washington connection."

5. Recognition that the cities will not and should not be "re-industrialized" in the manner they once were is a needed insight. What may be called for are technologies which are less capital intensive and more labor intensive, and more under the control of local communities.

John McKnight in the Chicago Hearing urged a new approach to the creation of jobs in the cities by stating the need for "more technologies that are appropriate for people in the neighborhoods, to enable them to do those things that allow people to survive, to get near to the process of the production of food, clothing, shelter and the economics upon which they are based."

6. Donald Benedict affirmed in his testimony at the Chicago Hearing that "people have both a moral and constitutional right to earn a living." If a federal full employment policy is a necessity for the sake of the inhabitants of the cities, there is also the need to attend to the issue of "forced work," that is to say, the question of the moral right of the poor to be freed from the necessity to accept degrading or ill-paid work which offends the human dignity which presumably belongs to all people. The question of the relationship between work as understood in our society and access to the basic necessities of life needs to be sharply focused and kept before us.

C. *Housing*

As in the case of unemployment, little documentation is needed to defend the assertion that housing is a key and critical issue in the cities.

Illustration of that reality was presented at the Washington/Virginia Hearing which indicated that there is a present need for 132,765 units of housing for lower income families in the Washington area alone. This calls into serious question the goal set for 1978 by the metropolitan Washington jurisdictions which aims to provide 5,178 units or slightly less than four percent of the immediate stated need.

In 1973 the Nixon administration halted federal support of not-for-profit groups who were attempting to develop housing for lower income markets. It was clear that private profit-motivated organizations were not building in these areas. Participation by the church in this program had been extensive. The moratorium on subsidized housing programs meant that there was to be no national policy or action on behalf of the construction of low income housing.

On every level action is needed today to tackle the housing crisis of the cities, but before such action can be effective certain issues of public policy must be addressed:

1. The recommitment of the federal government to a government-backed program for the production of low income housing is essential.

2. The encouragement of community development corporations which focus attention on housing as well as jobs, education and other local needs, and on neighborhood housing services, must be strengthened. Such programs which have made an impact were described at the Birmingham Hearing.

3. Federal support of housing rehabilitation and the "urban homesteading" movement, and against relocation is needed. Strong safeguards are called for, however, to prevent the possibility that urban homesteading will benefit only the middle class and consequently price housing beyond the reach of the poor. Urban renewal that has forced relocation only exacerbates the needs of the poor and increases racial tension. The return of the middle class to the city through urban homesteading programs may have beneficial effects, but it must not mean the displacement of those already there.

4. The role of the city itself as slum lord must be examined critically. Such examination could follow the lead of testimony presented at the Newark Hearing by Julie Concepcion which suggested "that the city itself is burning and bull-dozing people out of their homes and businesses, cheating them out of relocation money, tolerating shabby rehabilitation work, and holding on to property in order to sell it to investors and developers."

5. Banks and lending institutions must alter their policies which "red-line" areas of the city, deny mortgage credit to homes in declining neighborhoods, and engage in disinvestment in the cities. At the same time, vigilance must be maintained to see that the end of red-lining policies does not result in the availability of mortgages and loans which effectively price housing beyond the means of the poor.

6. Action must be taken against exclusionary zoning practices which intensify the cordoning off of the cities.

7. Tenant ownership of city controlled housing should be

encouraged as a means by which persons may exercise a sense of ownership of and responsibility for that basic element of their lives – the place in which they dwell.

As these public policy issues were raised, an immediate and direct role for the church began to emerge. The church is a potential investor in the housing crisis. This was articulated by George Quiggle at the Birmingham Hearing and David Bloom at the Seattle Hearing, among others. At the Newark Hearing, Cole Lewis declared, "proposals for rehabilitating housing and thus preserving neighborhoods – an activity that seems particularly appropriate for church support – often fail for lack of initial funds." Church endowment funds can become the source of such "seed money" with the risk involved reduced to a reasonable level, according to Lewis, through the establishment of a loan guarantee fund.

The issues related to housing cited most frequently by the testimony of community organizations were (1) the quality of housing rehabilitation, (2) housing code enforcement, and (3) the need to prevent the "recycling" of the cities. This suggests not only that these are primary issues to be addressed, but also that neighborhood organizations have already identified them. The church's role might well then be to work as a partner with neighborhood organizations in their involvement in these dimensions of the housing problem.

D. *Education*

The role of education as a critical component in the urban crisis surfaced at many of the Hearings but was most clearly articulated in Seattle in relation to the issue of public school desegregation.

The Supreme Court's decision of 1954, in Brown vs the Board of Education, is now twenty-five years old. Yet the public schools of the cities both by intent and as a result of the white exodus to the suburbs remain substantially segregated on the basis of race, ethnicity, and class. Debate rages as to the appropriate steps to be taken to overcome the persistence of separate (and unequal) educational opportunities for the children and young people of the cities. Should the major thrust be desegregation on a metropolitan basis with all the anxieties and hostility that suggestion raises, or should the emphasis come down on the side of the improvement of education in the public schools with their present constituency?

There is no evidence that this debate is either subsiding or that a consensus is yet clear. The noise of the argument often drowns out the voices of those heard in the Hearings who were raising a different kind of question. They focused on the low to mediocre educational performance which characterizes the children of the cities and promises to handicap them severely in their ability to

survive as anything other than wards of society. They spoke of the need for multi-faceted educational opportunities and programs which would recognize the cultural and ethnic pluralism of the cities, and the intrinsic value and worth of the diversity present there. They questioned the continued persistence of educational programs which prepare persons for forms of employment and livelihood which are increasingly in short supply. They called for a closer relationship to be developed between the policies and philosophies of the schools, and those the schools purport to serve. The question of who controls and determines school policy and school decisions, and for whom, was at issue.

The Newark Hearing suggested that one answer to the inadequacies of public education in the cities is the creation of alternative schools and the attempt to lead public school systems to claim "ownership" of such alternative programs. Whether alternative schools could serve the needs of the poor of the cities as a model for the reformation of the public school system is not yet certain, but the phenomenon of their existence calls for careful evaluation. What is certain is that traditional models are less and less adequate.

As these issues relating to education in the cities were presented at the Hearings, it became increasingly clear that a decision in regard to the desegregation question will have to be reached soon.

Since desegregation of the schools within the confines of the city has become impossible with the white exodus from the cities, a decision must be sensitive to the issue of whether metropolitan desegregation will dissipate what control the people of the cities do have over the schools in which their children are enrolled. Will metropolitan desegregation enhance the possibilities of multi-cultural educational opportunities or will it maintain the predominance of educational systems which are designed primarily to meet the needs of the white middle class? Will metropolitan desegregation promote or deny the design of educational programs which equip the children of the cities to survive in the environment in which they live?

These important issues must be faced but they cannot be allowed to divert attention completely away from other persistent problems, such as the educational/cultural "genocide" being committed on the children of the poor, blacks and other minorities in the cities, the futility of education and manpower training systems in the face of continuing high unemployment, and the diminishing base of economic support and revenue for public education in the city.

E. *Income Security*

Patricia Kutzner observed at the Washington/Virginia Hearing that there is a "Third World of Deprivation within our own borders,

including the borders of the capital city of the wealthiest nation in the world." She cited the grossly inequitable distribution of income as a major factor in the presence of chronic hunger and malnutrition among District of Columbia residents.

Similarly, at the Seattle Hearing, Kay Thode pointed out "the extent of the grossly unequal income distribution which is characteristic of Seattle as it is of the rest of the nation." She stated that "for those who experience utility shut-offs, chronically inadequate diets, shabby clothes, and the shame that accompanies poverty in a society where poverty is regarded as a badge of failure, the quality of life in Seattle leaves much to be desired.

"Unless a sizeable constituency can be developed," she continued, "who recognize that poverty and inequality are inimical to the best interests of all persons, and that poverty and inequality are intrinsic to an economic system based on maximizing the profits of the few who own the majority of the wealth, it is unlikely that any significant reduction in poverty will be accomplished, let alone the elimination of inequality. Since 1968, in spite of all the poverty programs, the reduction in the rich/poor income gap in America has come to an end, and the rich are getting richer, largely at the expense of those in the middle income range."

Inflation in the price of basic necessities such as food, housing, health care, and energy, combined with a faltering economy, have created pressures for income redistribution which will continue to build in the decade ahead, requiring inevitably some form of welfare reform and income maintenance program. These pressures will be building at the same time that cutbacks are required in municipal budgets, excluding an ever larger number of persons from jobs and services. Response on the national level will become an increasingly obvious need.

The church may well find that it has an inescapable obligation to ally itself with this pressure which is already building, first by lobbying for necessary standard of living increases for welfare recipients; secondly, by opposing welfare "reform" geared to maintaining poverty by providing an income floor at only sixty-five percent of the poverty level; and thirdly, by advocating economic policies aimed at stabilizing the prices of basic needs, as urged by Roger Hickey in his testimony at the National Hearing.

There is also the need to respond to the phenomenon described in the Seattle Hearing's deliberative session: the "short grass syndrome," that is to say, the need to defuse conflict and jockeying over the allocation of increasingly sparse resources. There are signs that the effort to pit one group against another – white against black, the unemployed against the marginally employed, one ethnic group against another – is increasing. There must be concerted action to avoid this divisiveness and to divert the energies of all

those who are victimized away from hostility toward one another and toward the source of their common victimization.

F. *Organizing Issues*

The present reality of the cities not only has produced the feeling that "things are out of control," but also has encouraged a search to rediscover ethnic and neighborhood roots. *Localism,* another name for the neighborhood movement, is a "thrust to recapture the small community: to exercise control over what happens closest to where one experiences most deeply what is occurring in his or her world." (Graham S. Finney)

A clear and strong common thread present in the Hearings is this neighborhood organization movement. It was seen in Colon in efforts to bring together women to discover and respond to their special problems in the life of that city and culture. It was also seen in the multiplicity of neighborhood organizations described at the Newark Hearing and elsewhere.

It is clear that any overview of the cities today leads to the conclusion that neighborhoods are where the action is. It is also clear that such neighborhood organizing is the source of hope that ethnic, sectional and racial differences in the community can be transcended.

This neighborhood movement stands as evidence of the conviction that the cities can have a future related to their present and become functional for those presently living in them.

This effort should be one which "makes sense" to the church since community organization has frequently received its impetus from the church. It should elicit both understanding and response from the church because it is a contemporary expression of the notion of *parish.* As asserted by John McKnight at the Chicago Hearing, the church should be able to "buy into" and to relate to this movement since virtually no one in the church would deny that the building of community and the relating of persons to one another on both a global and local scale is the business of the church. Certainly the notion of interdependence as essential to the definition of personhood is one familiar to the church.

The universality of the neighborhood organization movement does, however, pose certain choices for the church. Questions must be answered about the style of community organizing the church should support in the decade ahead. For example:

1. What are the values and the dangers involved in the growth of organizations which have an ethnic base and constituency? Are such organizations a way of lessening the anxieties of those who often have reacted in destructive ways to their forgotten status in the life of the cities, or are they a thinly-veiled form of ethnocentrism which can become new vehicles for racism and

classism? A kind of vigilance must be maintained in respect to this form of urban organizing.

2. Can the church facilitate and support the formation of organizing efforts which recognize the common interests of the poor and the working class in order to counter the opportunism of those who seek to set them against one another?

3. Some neighborhood organizations appear to have as their objective the preservation and stabilization of existing neighborhoods. Others clearly are commited to the reconstruction of neighborhoods and of the city itself. Can the church, which has been and is involved in both types of organizations, keep them in dialogue, enabling them to see that the existence of both is in the self-interest of each? Can neighborhood preservation/stabilization groups avoid the danger of response only to the needs of the middle class and, in doing so, tighten the noose around the necks of the poor? Does the stabilization of a neighborhood mean the exclusion from it of the poor?

4. Most neighborhood organizations both provide services and educate their constituencies in regard to the issues which effect their lives. Should the church, however, give its *primary* support to those which, in the words of Victor DeLuca at the Newark Hearing, "talk about the issues?"

5. Are single-issue coalitions more effective and, therefore, more important for church support than multi-issue coalitions? Evidence from the Hearings seems to suggest that the cutting edge lies with single issue groups. The question remains, however, of how a choice is to be made from among the multitude of issues around which persons are organizing: Grand Jury abuse? prison reform? unemployment? There is a need for selectivity based on the potential impact of an issue on the viability of the cities as places of residence for those who now inhabit them. In essence, there is a need to "major" in certain things.

Based on the evidence presented in the Hearings, the following suggestions are made. The strategy and tactics of a particular neighborhood organization are a secondary issue. Whether an organization adopts confrontation or conciliation as its methodology is a matter which the situation will determine. Even the question of the constituency of an organization is not primary. The critical judgment in regard to the allocation of the resources of the church must derive from and be related to the overall analysis of the urban crisis and the hypothesis about "what is wrong." The church's judgment and decision should be based on the assessment of what will, in the particular circumstances of that community, contribute to the ultimate goal, namely, that cities cease to be "dumping grounds" for the poor and marginalized, and be restored by reinvestment.

Three additional considerations are posed by the strength of *localism* in the cities.

1. The form of the cities in the future may be a "federation" of neighborhoods. The church may actualize that response to the crisis by facilitating coalitions amongst the constituent parts of that federation.

2. A new and exciting ministry of the diaconate might be developed, as clergy and lay people are trained and deployed as professional community organizers. The Episcopal Church, which is experiencing an over-supply of traditional parish clergy, might see in this a new way to be responsive to those men and women who in substantial numbers continue to offer themselves for ministry. There is no shortage of ministry to be done.

Indeed, the "parish" of the future in the cities might be less defined in terms of buildings set in certain localities and more defined in terms of organization and programming related to certain issues. The need for more "parishes" in this different form could be easily documented.

3. There is a limit to the extent to which neighborhood based self-help can overcome the results of deprivation. While more communities than we assume retain the resources to address the problems which afflict them, it is also clear that others do not. Exhortations to self-help in those circumstances ring with a kind of hollowness – for them it is massive help that is needed from sources external to their neighborhoods.

In both instances, however, the need to maximize self-determination is clear. Those who live in neighborhoods which require the transfusion of external resources must retain the ability to participate in decisions about what resources are needed, and how they are to be deployed.

G. *Partners and Coalitions*

The Episcopal Church must recognize its limitations in both size and resources, and relate itself to potential "partners." It became clear in the Hearings that at least four such partners who can respond cooperatively to the urban crisis could be identified.

1. Organized labor

The absence of testimony from organized labor at the Hearings should be noted and pondered. The lack of response by the Episcopal Church to those issues with which the labor movement identifies may explain why organized labor was reluctant to take seriously this particular effort to gather testimony about the crisis of the cities.

Yet, organized labor is a natural ally of the church, *if* the church decides to address such issues as unemployment in the cities. A possible coalition and partnership between the church and labor

must be pursued. Obviously there will be times that the church will find itself critical of organized labor. The policies and practices of trade unions which continue to reinforce patterns of discrimination in employment would be a point at which the church would be forced to confront critically the institutionalized labor movement.

2. Business

Despite a waning of the interest in the urban crisis by the business community, which peaked during the urban insurrections of the late 60's, abundant evidence persists of business concern. This was highlighted by testimony at the Newark and Birmingham Hearings.

Some assert that the business/industrial complex is committed to solving the crisis of the cities, hence all the church needs to do is support the best instincts of that complex. People point, for example, to such actions by business leaders as was manifested in their response to the civil disorders. Against that view of the willingness and commitment of business to solve the problems of the city is contrary testimony presented at the Hearings. The testimony seemed to conclude that business cannot be counted on to solve such problems as black unemployment. Statistics seem to warrant skepticism yet clearly those who do wish to deal with such problems needs to remain in discussion with business and industrial leaders who control the forces which can perpetuate or alleviate that crisis. The policies and decisions of business leaders have vast effects on jobs, housing and many other areas of urban need.

Certain "ground rules" need to be established for a church-business dialogue.

First, it is essential that business and industrial leaders be pressed to identify their own interests. A judgment then must be made as to whether their interests coincide with the interests of those persons to whom the church is committed, namely, the poor and disadvantaged of the cities.

Second, the church must be willing to run the risk of an adversary relationship with business when questions are raised or action is taken which offends the business community. Continued dialogue and cozy rapprochement must not be the church's goal. Representing the poor must be. Such dialogue and rapprochement are a means, not an end.

Two additional words of caution about this "partnership" are in order.

The business community has not consistently demonstrated outstanding wisdom when diagnosing the urban crisis. To identify teenage pregnancies as a *primary* urban issue to which the church should address itself, as was done by a community relations officer of a business firm at the Newark Hearing, does not encourage

confidence that business has a better handle on the problems of the cities than does the church. Perhaps church leadership needs to be less impressed by the supposed expertise of the business/industrial complex.

Testimony presented in the Hearings also leads to questions about the bias of the business community. Business frequently seems capable of dealing with peripheral questions which make no significant demands upon itself, but appears reluctant to entertain questions about the economic system which controls and affects the lives of persons in the cities.

3. Ecumenical relations

The urban crisis demands a radical commitment to ecumenicity which has not heretofore characterized the Episcopal Church. Much of the wisdom spoken in the Hearings came from representatives of other churches and synagogues who are engaged in significant urban mission.

Such ecumenical openness must be directed toward the Roman Catholic Church, as well as predominantly white Protestant denominations and the Black Church. At the Colon Hearing, it was stated that issues of Faith and Order need not be resolved before common cause can be made in addressing the problems of the cities. At the deliberative session following the Seattle Hearing it was noted that there was no issue raised for which there did not already exist a mechanism for response if the broader ecumenical church network was activated.

4. Secular Agencies

It was evident, based on the testimony presented at the Hearings, that the church must enter into partnership with those who are engaged in urban mission under "secular" auspices. The day of religious high handedness and exclusiveness is over.

III. *DESCRIPTION/ANALYSIS/ISSUES*

It is appropriate to close the circle – by relating the critical issues noted in Section II such as energy/inflation/ecology, jobs; housing; education; income security; community organizing; partnerships and coalitions, to the description and analysis set forth in Section I.

The issues noted have reached catastrophic proportions for the inhabitants of the cities. Analysis reveals that political, economic and social decisions have been made that effectively stacked the cards against the cities and their people. The "dealers" of those cards are those who control political, economic and social policies.

The church must be constantly reminded that the issue is one of jobs *for the poor,* housing *for the poor,* education *of the poor,* income security *for the poor,* and a policy in relation to energy,

inflation and ecology which will not victimize *the poor.* A further reminder is that by economic, political and social design, cities have become the enclaves of the poor and working people who live under the constant threat of poverty.

The problem of the poor in the cities described in Section II are the manifestation of racism, sexism, classism, domestic colonialism, ageism and other institutional, structural, systemic "demons." Cities as they now exist are the creations of those demonic phenomena.

There is evidence pointing to the existence of an underclass defined by such factors as race, economic status, language, culture and age which results from the functioning of our economic system and, indeed, may be necessary to it.

The link between the description/analysis advanced and the critical problems noted here can also be made by inviting reflection on these questions:

1. How does society deal with those who are no longer needed, or who are needed only as recipients of services?

2. How do we deal with those whose existence constitutes, at best, an annoyance or, at worst, a threat?

Who *needs* those whose skills (or lack of skills) ill suit them for a capital intensive industrial system? Who *needs* those not prepared for participation in a work force that is now dominated by clerical, service and office functions?

Who *needs* welfare mothers? Who *needs* the young or the aged as anything but the recipients of services? Who *needs* women who are bidding to be competitors for equal status in society? Who *needs* the threat raised by the sexual phobias written deep in the psyche of contemporary society and elicited by gays who insist that their sexual preferences and alternate life styles be accepted, or who insist that gay rights have to do with the liberation of homosexual and heterosexual persons alike? Who in this consumption oriented society *needs* those whose poverty limits their ability to buy and to consume? Who *needs* the mentally or physically handicapped or the ill? Who *needs* those whose differences in language or culture put special demands and stresses on the equilibrium of white, Anglo-Saxon culture?

A response to those questions clearly has been reached by this society. The unneeded, under-valued, threatening minorities are to be isolated, ghettoized and contained. A "throw-away" culture has decided that the unneeded and threatening should be confined and labeled dispensable except to the extent that they fulfill a necessary function as the underclass. Economic, political and social decisions have been made to let the cities be the areas of confinement of this underclass.

The circle is indeed complete: cities are the centers of residence

of those who have been declared obsolete, unneeded and of no value by institutional, systemic principalities and powers. Cities have been consigned to the scrap heap, to be maintained only as colonies for the unneeded without adequate housing, health care, jobs and security. Cities can fulfill a needed function only as daytime locations for certain business and commercial activities which continue their drain on the cities' resources.

IV. *THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE URBAN CRISIS: THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN THE CHURCH'S MISSION AND THE CRISIS OF THE CITIES*

A. The Present Reality

The testimony presented in the Hearings indicates that the church is at one and the same time a *victim* of the crisis of the cities and guilty of *complicity* in the dynamic which has brought that crisis into being.

That the church itself is a victim is suggested in the testimony of Gibson Winter at the National Hearing who declared, "We know that these institutions (the churches) themselves are being wiped out by this degenerative disease. These hearings on the Church's Mission in the cities developed in part because that mission is foundering."

That the church is guilty of complicity was revealed first by the absence of testimony that indicated church identification with or sustained involvement in issues of urban justice. Neither does the church have a noteworthy record of investing in city neighborhoods. Direct testimony in regard to the church's complicity came from representatives of the Union of Black Episcopalians at the National Hearing. They argued persuasively that racism continues to be a prevalent reality in the life of the church, as in the wider society.

Evidence that the church faces a "credibility gap" in relation to "the wretched of the cities" was also abundant. For example:

Testimony was presented in several Hearings by representatives of the gay community, including Integrity, which indicated that the actions of the Episcopal House of Bishops at Port St. Lucie in the fall of 1977, called into question the ability of church leaders to speak and act with authentic concern for gays whose feelings of lack of "citizenship" in the church are strong.

Testimony was presented, especially in the Newark Hearing, which similarly questions the authenticity of the church's commitment to the equality of women. Wavering support was cited of the General Convention's approval of the ordination of women, and of other new styles and forms of ministry, expressed in the decision at the highest level of church leadership to legitimize dissent under the guise of conscience.

Testimony was presented by Hispanics which indicated a lack of confidence in the church's commitment to the Hispanic community. Documentation included the failure to develop strategies of ministry in the Hispanic community and insensitivity to the issue of self-determination, experienced when the church allowed legal processes and agencies to harrass the church's ministry to minority communities. In their eyes, the church sold them out, becoming an arm of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a partner to Grand Jury abuse.

Testimony was presented by Mattie Hopkins at the Chicago Hearing which indicated that the church has practiced its own form of "red-lining" the cities through disinvestment. She said, "Racism in the church displays the same bruising elements that it does outside the church – exploitation, denigration and neglect. Dioceses that include urban areas (and through them the National Church) collect assessments from parishes in the inner city, send a pittance back, then decry the burden of the poverty-stricken black parishes to the diocese. What in fact happens is that our money goes to support and develop suburban churches where the former city congregations have fled." She continued by citing a case in point. "In Chicago, in 1976, diocesan assessments brought in from the affluent north side $137,000; from the predominantly black south side $55,730; and from the poorest west side $22,000 – a total of $215,642. The south side received $13,800 during the same year, less than one-fourth the amount it had given. During the same year, when a total of $80,425 was spent on urban mission work, $202,154 was spent on mission in the suburbs. Other years show equally dismal records."

Testimony was presented by Maso Ryan at the Newark Hearing and by those who reviewed the history of the General Convention Special Program about the "staying power" of the church. While they expressed gratitude for the church's involvenent in the struggles of the 60's, they raised questions about the church's long term commitment that should lead us to ask ourselves: how did the church perform the last time it got interested in the cities?

Clearly the voices heard at the Hearings indicate any urban program undertaken by the Urban Bishops Coalition would be handicapped by a lack of credibility. The actions and inactions of the past will dampen enthusiasm for new initiatives.

B. Where are we headed?

In his statements at the National Hearing, an analysis of the present and future reality was presented by Gibson Winter in the starkest and sharpest way. "My own view," he stated, "is that we are not facing a *crisis* in the sense that we are dealing with an immediate problem which can be resolved through sufficient effort.

I believe we are dealing with a *degenerative disease* that is approaching a critical stage.

"To say this is a degenerative disease suggests that crisis measures will be of little help. We are dealing with fundamental structures and values of the society – structures which we can only change through generations of effort."

Winter went on to suggest that significant response, including a reversal of this degenerative disease, will involve "challenging the organizations of work, restructuring the relation between communities and habitat, and rethinking the organization of political competence. It means regaining control over our lives and communities. In this process the churches could be an essential factor."

While the degree of the outward symptoms of the degenerative disease vary widely – ranging from Colon, a city which has discovered itself to be obsolete, to Seattle and Birmingham, which believe themselves capable of solving their problems – there is the fearful acknowledgement that all urban areas are headed in the same direction, and that the illness is, indeed, terminal.

C. Identifying the church's self-interest

Throughout the testimony there were calls for the church to demonstrate obedience to its Gospel, with the clear implication that such obedience would renew the church's life in and commitment to the cities.

"The church should . . . the church could . . ." are familiar themes sounded in all seven of the Hearings.

Any realistic appraisal of the history of the church and of its present performance as documented in the Hearings suggests that only in isolated instances and limited ways has the church done what it should do. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the latest round of calls to obedience will produce the needed response. It is far more likely that the church will respond to the urban crisis for the same reasons it has always responded to the cultural and social realities that surround it. The first step in any response is for the church to identify and face openly its "stake" in the cities.

That vested or self-interest appears to be at several different levels:

– the church still possesses land, buildings, endowments and congregations in the cities. Stanley Hallett indicated in the orientation session at the Chicago Hearing that the churches in America will lose close to 150 million dollars of capital investment over the next two or three years because of their presence in changing neighborhoods. In certain other districts in the city the value of real estate is increasing. Some will be led to respond to the crisis of the cities because they perceive that it is in the church's self-interest to preserve its holdings, and protect and maintain its assets in the cities.

– there are those who are attracted to the notion of the city as a mission field. They will feel concern for the cities for essentially the same reasons the Episcopal Church was led to the suburbs in the post-war years, that is to say, the cities constitute a new "market" for the churches.

– there are some whose understanding of themselves as Christians and of the church as servant will not allow them to see city churches falter and close, or the city itself collapse.

– there are others whose understanding of themselves as citizens will lead to a love for the city itself. They will be people who, despite present blight, see the cities as microcosms of the kind of society which comes closest to producing genuine human community.

It is realistic to assume that renewed interest in the cities and action therein by the church will probably come about by a mixture of these motives which, in fact, co-exist in most persons. The important fact, however, is that the church is unlikely to act unitl its self-interest, its stake, is clearly identified.

A pivotal issue which relates to the church's stake in the city is the question of identification. To what extent is the Episcopal Church willing to identify the people of the cities as *its people?* The Episcopal Church moved toward the suburbs in the 50's and 60's because that was where "its people" were present in ever increasing numbers. This exodus left the cities inhabited by people that the Episcopal Church has never identified as "its people."

There are signs that the Roman Catholic Church has maintained an identification of urban people as its own people better than any of the mainline, white Protestant denominations.

The Episcopal Church seems unlikely to address itself to the urban crisis unless it develops a radically new understanding of catholicity and identifies blacks, the poor, the working class, Hispanics, ethnic groups, gays and all the other present inhabitants as its own in the sense that they have a claim upon the Episcopal Church's concern and resources.

D. The development of a theological and conceptual framework

Analysis is itself a form of action which is a pre-requisite to informed, effective action. The development of a conceptual and theological perspective on the urban crisis can deliver the church from false starts, ineffective programs, discouragement, and other related phenomena which can cripple and destroy its response.

A clear understanding of the nature of the causes of the crisis is fundamental. The naming and identification of the principalities and powers against which the people of the cities are wrestling is essential.

Such an understanding proceeds from the response that is made to such issues as neglect, the brutalization of urban people, disin-

vestment, and "recycling" of the cities. Are they the *accidental* results of a system which is simply not being reflective enough, caring enough, responsive enough, or is something intentionally built into the system which produces these results? Is it a massive conscious decision or a series of little decisions which finally coalesce into a discernible pattern?

Conspiracy is probably too strong a word for some. However, John Collin's observation at the National Hearing should at least be pondered: "The people in these communities tend to view themselves as the victims of economic forces beyond their control. Church and government leaders tend to share that assumption." "Not so," said Collins, rather "these processes of disinvestment . . . are the result of conscious decisions made by identifiable persons in pursuit of narrow goals, and different decisions might produce different results – even healthy neighborhoods and vital regional and local economies."

The conceptual framework which the church must develop must run the risk of naming the demonic forces which have shaped these decisions. Collins pointed out that "it is only as people and communities begin to understand and realize the nature of the principalities and powers arrayed against them that they experience a new sense of power over their own lives and economies, and a new sense of hope and determination." But led us be warned that the naming of the "demons" will produce consequences for the institutional church.

The suggestion that the church's response to the urban crisis must occur within a theological framework should include the caution that the church has often been reduced to inertia by endless theological debate even when missionary imperatives have been clear. We suggest, therefore, that a *minimum* of time and attention be paid to fashioning a theological framework, lest the church's energies be dissipated and diverted from the obvious task before it. This is not meant to imply that a theological framework is not needed. Such a framework can indeed deliver us from the paralysis of despair, or the sin of *hubris*. It is to suggest that the whole of the Biblical record indicates that the cities as they are and even as they may become are not to be identified with the Kingdom hopes of the People of God, but they are the places where our redemption will or will not be wrought. This we already know.

An appropriate theological starting point may be found in the life and work of the prophet Jeremiah who, when Jerusalem was under siege and he was in prison, showed his conviction that the land had a future and would not be completely destroyed, through the act of purchasing a field in Anathoth. His message to the Episcopal Church in the cities during the decade ahead may be: plant gardens where you are, in the midst of the signs

of great blight and ruin, as evidence of an ultimate faith and optimism in the future based on the knowledge that God acts to redeem His people and His earth. What shape the redemption of the cities and their people will take, when and how it will come, what further catastrophes lie ahead, we do not yet know. But we do know that when the hour comes, we will be held to account for how we have used the time, and how we have tended the garden.

Finally, a theology of urban mission will emerge not in the abstract but through engagement, action, involvement. The nature of God's call to the church in the decade ahead will come clear to us only as we are *present* at those places, with those people, who are captives, and who hunger and thirst. Words like *oppression* and *imprisonment* are the language He is using to form that call.

E. Discovery of a future for city churches

The question of the future of the city church cannot be ignored. The institutional presence of the Episcopal Church in the cities is rapidly declining, yet city churches remain. Some have become peripheral to urban mission, choosing rather to be centers of ecclesiastical nostalgia. Others are engaged in valiant efforts with meager resources to undertake ministry to the people of the cities.

Parishes engaged in effective urban mission must not be abandoned. They must be encouraged, by tangible support, to become centers in which individual voices are raised in defense of, and as advocates for, cities and their inhabitants.

At the same time, more imaginative use of physical plants and endowment funds is demanded. City churches are among the most under-utilized physical resources within the central cities. There will, of course, be instances where consolidation or even the jettisoning of buildings will be required. Some structures built for another era and exorbitant to maintain must be abandoned. Wherever this is done however, it should be accompanied by a commitment to return any resources thus made available to the program of the churches in the cities. In other instances, different and imaginative uses of church structures must be devised.

Subsidization of city churches should be related to service to the city and to its neighborhoods with clear criteria for meauring impact and accountability. Resources should be directed to the creation of new forms of ministry and not simply to the preservation of traditional models. An institutional base is clearly needed for the Episcopal Church in the cities. Its present decline must be arrested, but still we must recognize that even with the most imaginative adaptation of liturgy and church life, and with the most creative ministries that can be devised, that base for the forseeable future will remain limited.

Finally, a psychological and an institutional sensitivity needs to be created which removes from urban mission the feeling that

it is a burden upon the church. Those who support that mission need to understand the privilege that is theirs, in that the urban church's survival will determine the whole church's integrity and authenticity in the decade ahead.

F. The church as a maker of paradigms

Stanley Hallett in the orientation to the Chicago Hearing suggested the need for the church to adopt the role of paradigm-making. This was his way of suggesting that the church seek solutions to the urban crisis which are consistent with its analysis of the causes of that crisis, and demonstrate effective forms of reponse. For example, if a major factor in the urban crisis is disinvestment, the church must search for and implement models of reinvestment in the cities. Such reinvestment would promote neighborhood continuity and neighborhood empowerment. John Collins in testimony at the National Hearing made several suggestions: individual churches could support alternative projects aimed at neighborhood self-reliance, such as community development banks; churches could provide a paradigm by placing their own investments and deposits to just and responsible uses. This would include declining to place church funds, for instance, into insurance companies that refuse to insure urban neighborhoods. Other testifiers pointed to the crucial role which pension funds will occupy in the decade ahead, owning as they now do one-third of the stock in corporate American, with the amount destined to rise to fifty percent by 1985. The church could provide a paradigm and model by managing its own pension funds in such a way as to monitor the urban policies of those enterprises where those funds are invested.

G. The discovery of new wine-skins

Throughout the Hearings, the need to discover and to develop institutions, structures and systems which will meet present and future needs was pressed. At the Colon Hearing a dominant theme was the collapse of old patterns of family life as a part of the crisis of that city. A nostalgia that would re-establish patterns of the past is only one possible response to that reality. Another response would be to give attention to the discovery of new and emerging forms and patterns of family life, which build that human community in which individuals – both young and old – can receive needed support, guidance, nurture and freedom.

John McKnight and others suggested at the Chicago Hearing that new technologies were needed to develop industrial forms which could create productive work for the people of the citites. Again and again, the need to discover and develop new political structures, which increase the ability of the people to control their own lives, was emphasized.

New wine-skins are needed. The church in the decade ahead must be less reactive and more pro-active than it has been in the past. Perhaps an "office for the future" is needed for the church; or imaginative minds must somehow be set free by the church; or the findings of agencies dedicated to future oriented research must be utilized by the church. By whatever means, church people must be prodded into engagement with such thinking, and to critique, from the standpoint of the needs of people in the city, the conclusions about the future being reached.

H. Choices and directions for the future

Without certain hard and sometimes painful new commitments in styles of operation, and the adoption of new directions, the church will be unable to undertake any significant response to the crisis of the cities in the decade of the 80's. While the need for new commitments and directions confront the whole church, they are above all else a matter of choice and decision for each bishop.

The choices and decisions which, from the Hearings, seem inescapable are as follows:

1. We must decide that we will be *for the poor.* We must decide to act in such a way that will dispel the widely held perception of the church as a chaplaincy service to the Establishment. This will mean "taking sides" and, in that sense, ceasing the attempt to be all things to all people.

2. We must make a commitment to a struggle which has no forseeable end. This requires deciding in favor of staying power and against faddism. It means a willingness on the part of the church to stay in the cities and to engage in what Gibson Winter referred to as a "pilgrimage" rather than a "crusade."

3. We must decide to be involved as a servant church which recognizes the priority and authority of the people it seeks to serve. As a servant church, we must listen and must be directed by the voice of the Lord as expressed by the poor, and concede to them a decisive role in the determination of the priorities, program and shape of the church's life and expenditures.

4. We must decide to recognize that without consistency between the church's own life, and the ends and purposes of its mission, that mission will be fraudulent and impotent. Racism and sexism in the church itself are contradictions. Victims of these institutionalized prejudices pointed this out repeatedly. A church that wants to struggle against these forces in the wider society must be free of their corruption in its own life. Those of the gay community, for example, who suffer oppression in the cities will not take seriously any attempt by bishops to support their civil rights (nor will anyone else) if those bishops continue to equivocate about the status of gays in the church.

5. We must be willing to choose a new kind of *presence* in the cities which calls less for money than for personal involvement in the struggles of the poor.

6. We must decide to be present in the cities wherever the poor are struggling to be free and not just in discrete "church" programs and operations.

7. We must decide to move beyond discussion of the proper sphere of involvement of the church by recognizing that the church is already engaged in the secular realm through pension funds, endowments, properties and so forth, and admit that the only question is *where* and *for what ends* will the church be involved in the secular.

8. We must decide to engage in ongoing tough minded public dialogue with society's other decision makers to test out and to expose their interests and stake in the anguish of the cities. Our heads must not be turned by the seductive flattery of personal association and camaraderie with the captains of industry or politics.

9. We must decide to use power and influence in any appropriate political way to effect changes in the city. The time has come for the church to stop pretending that we do not know, or that we somehow stand above, the political process by which decisions are made and change is really brought about in the cities. This means to be quite blunt, that we must decide not to be needlessly ineffectual.

10. We must decide to renew our sense of stewardship by ceasing to squander our resources on remedial programs. A new sense of stewardship requires that the church's resources be used *primarily* to find out why people are hungry, to help the hungry understand why they are hungry, and to mobilize hungry people to attack the causes of their hunger. Only secondarily should our resources be used to maintain soup-kitchen ministries.

11. We must decide to practice a new style of stewardship which leads to the sharing of available resources so that persons are empowered for self-determination rather than allowing, fostering or maintaining systems that create dependency.

12. We must decide to be *present* in a new way consistent with the principal of *incarnation.* This means quite literally to visit prisons, meet with prison reform groups, spend time in unemployment offices, experience what it means to live on a welfare subsistence budget for a certain number of weeks — so that the taste, touch, feel and smell of poverty and oppression can take on reality. The presence and associations of bishops, for example, must cease to be only with the experience of the middle class.

13. We must decide to shape the church's educational and liturgical life so that the urban crisis is held constantly before the People of God, and they are provided guidance and help in

responding to the crisis. *Leitourgia* (liturgy) as the work of the people in worship, and as the work of the people in service to the poor and anguished of the cities, must inform one another and be brought into continuing dialogue and interaction.

The appropriate context for consideration of these choices and decisions seems to be summed up by a testifier at the Birmingham Hearing who said, "After you deliberate and identify priorities, we'll be here and expecting to hear from you."

V. *RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION*

Introduction

After discussion of the Deliberative Document, the Urban Bishops Coalition debated and adopted the following action recommendations at its March 29-30 meeting in Chicago. These recommendations had been presented as the final actions of the Deliberative Document. The bishops chose to treat them separately in legislative fashion. Some changes and additions were made in an attempt to improve the plan of action. Small task groups also indicated which of the many action possibilities at the national, diocesan and parish levels they thought deserved priority. The pages which follow reflect all of these changes and indicate the priority rankings.

Major discussion was given to the first action recommendation in the draft document which called for a cessation of all campaigns for capital funds "until such time as (members of the Coalition) have looked analytically at the nature of the crisis in their cities, listened carefully to the advice and counsel of those who are the victims of that crisis and those who seek to deal with it, and have become *involved* with those persons, and in that effort."

The bishops agreed with the strong note of caution against substituting fund-raising for involvement in mission, but they opposed the notion of a moratorium on major fund drives. Instead, they called for analysis, listening and involvement at the same time that capital fund-raising is carried on, and they went on record reaffirming Venture in Mission "as a potential vehicle for urban mission."

* * *

Before detailing any recommendations, it seems appropriate to repeat the words of caution spoken by Dr. Gibson Winter at the National Hearing:

"... My own view is that we are not facing a *crisis* in the sense that we are dealing with an immediate problem which can be resolved through sufficient effort. I believe we are dealing with a *degenerative disease* that is approaching a critical stage. This disease can no longer be confined to urban areas. It will destroy our whole society if it continues. It has already wreaked havoc on every level of urban life. It has eroded communities, educational institutions, citizenship and religious life. Through most of Western history the cities were the centers of religious life. The inversion of this process should give us some warning of what is in store. We may be seeing the end of a 5000-year period of experimentation with urbanism. In any case, this degenerative disease is touching every phase of our national life and corrupting societies all across the globe.

"To say this is a degenerative disease suggests that crisis measures will be of little help. We are dealing with fundamental structures and values of the society – structures which we can only change through generations of effort. There is, of course, a place for dealing with immediate sufferings and needs, but such measures should not be mistaken for an urban program. As John McKnight and many others have been saying for many years, we shall have to decentralize this mass urbanization into competent communities of work, education and political responsibility. This cannot be done through national programs, though it can be undergirded by proper legislation and funding. It means challenging the organization of work, restructuring the relation between communities and habitat, and rethinking the organization of political competence. It means regaining control over our lives and communities. In this process the churches could be an essential factor.

"... Urban mission means first, and possibly last, *being present* in the urban struggle. Whatever the outcome of these generations of agony, this is our place as a caring and celebrating community of faith. This calls for a commitment to forge a sustainable ministry and life of worship in different sectors of urban life. This is not to overlook the important work being done by other Christian traditions. However, their creative efforts give us no license for flight. Christian presence is an ecumenical calling, cherishing the gifts of the Spirit within distinctive traditions."

Three further words of caution need to be indicated:

1. Programmatic responses to systemic issues are always limited in their effectiveness. The recommendations for action made here

should, therefore, be interpreted not as *programs* which will in and of themselves deal adequately with the crisis of the cities; rather they are immediately available *avenues* of response to that crisis. They will inevitably draw persons into deeper involvement which may lead to action related to the systemic causes of the crisis.

2. No action undertaken in response to systemic issues is legitimate unless it is consistent with and flows from a diagnosis of the cause of the malady, and involves constant reconsideration of that diagnosis. These recommendations are only a beginning – a way by which action can be taken which, if followed by careful reflection, can lead to a sharper perception of the nature and causes of the crisis of the cities and to increasingly significant action.

3. Adequate provision must be made for continuous planning for rapidly changing circumstances.

A. *Recommendations for action by the Urban Bishops Coalition*

The first recommendation is based on the following observations:

1. In a dramatically surprising way, the most urgent plea to the church presented by those who spoke as or on behalf of the people of the cities was not for money, but for the church's presence and involvement in their struggle.

2. What may have been an original assumption of the Urban Bishops Coalition, namely, that its first task would be to gather massive additional financial resources to invest in the church's urban mission, needs to be reassessed.

3. The members of the Coalition exercised the *leadership of listening* through the Public Hearing program. What is now called for is the *leadership of involvement.*

While we reaffirm Venture in Mission as a potential vehicle for urban mission, our first recommendation is as follows: In the raising of capital funds it is essential that dioceses look analytically at the nature of the crisis in the cities, listen carefully to the advice and counsel of those who are the victims of that crisis and those who seek to deal with it, and become involved with those persons and in that effort.

This recommendation is made in order to avoid four things which could nullify well-intentioned efforts to address the crisis:

1. The effort to raise massive sums of new income leads to the assumption that nothing can be done until that income is raised. The evidence presented at the Hearings is clearly that additional funds may well prove to be needed, but *much more* can be done now with existing resources if the church will change its sense of priorities, its style of operation, and its basic commitments.

2. The investment of money precipitately in programs would not, in fact, get at the causal factors in the urban crisis. It is doubtful that wise decisions about how money should be invested can be

made until the church has looked, listened, reflected and become involved.

3. Major efforts at fundraising could result in a diversionary effect. The time and the energies of bishops are already sorely taxed by the pressure to maintain the institution. The expenditure of the time and the energies needed for major fundraising campaigns would make it even less likely that they would be free to involve themselves in the crisis of the cities in new and creative ways. The church needs to guard against substituting fundraising for involvement in mission; at the same time enlightened money-raising can be a vigorous expression of personal and corporate involvement in mission.

4. Without a critical assessment of the nature of the needs and the way in which resources ought to be deployed to meet those needs, additional resources will not guarantee that real needs will be met. Effective response to the crisis of the cities is not something that can be added on to whatever the national church, and the church at the diocesan and local levels is doing, not even if special program monies are obtained. That response demands rather a re-ordering of how the church goes about its mission during the decade ahead.

Careful reflection on the testimony gathered at the Public Hearings and on the process of those Hearings indicates that, to a degree that may have not been acknowledged previously, many of the resources needed to address the crisis already exist. What needs to occur, however, is a tough-minded, careful, honest analysis which can lead to a redeployment of programs, properties, personnel, energies and resources to the right task.

During the months ahead at least these five things should happen:

1. In those dioceses where Public Hearings were held, very serious deliberation should be undertaken to evaluate *all* diocesan programming on the basis of those findings.

The results of the Hearings should not and must not be put on the shelf to gather dust. That would confirm the fears of those whose testimony in the Hearings expressed skepticism about the intent and the seriousness of the bishops, and would destroy the last vestiges of credibility which the Coalition may have. "The Union of Black Episcopalians," said Richard Tolliver in his testimony at the National Hearing, "wants no part of any scheme that raises people's expectations only to let them down again."

Specifically, in those dioceses in which Public Hearings occurred, a broad-based commission should be appointed whose task it would be to examine thoroughly and critically the learnings and findings which came out of the Hearing in its locale, and explore those issues which were raised "for further consideration."

Such commissions should include in their membership the various categories of persons who were related to the Hearing process: bishop(s), members of the Hearing support committee, members of other churches and synagogues who were involved, at least some of those who actually presented testimony, and those persons in leadership positions in the diocese who were given a new vision and came to a new commitment as a result of the Hearing process. Effort should be made to include in membership in such a commission representatives of those who are victimized by the crisis of the cities: blacks, women, the poor, the working class, gays, youth, and the aged. What is suggested is not a small group made up of only those presently involved in the church, but a group which in most instances would number anywhere from 50 to 100 persons and be representative of those who are, in fact, the city's people and, therefore, *our people.*

2. Dioceses represented in the Coalition where Hearings were not held should undertake as a first step, to discover a process congenial to their own situations and styles by which the same kind of listening as embodied in the Hearings can occur, wherever possible in conjunction with other churches.

They should then follow the suggestions outlined in #1 above.

3. The Urban Bishops Coalition should form at the national level a Policy and Action Committee, composed of members of the Coalition and those representative of the best thinking expressed in the several Hearings, to sift and reflect upon the testimony presented at the National Hearing and the content of the Deliberative Document. That committee should be charged with responsibility to suggest to the Urban Bishops Coalition ways in which what has been learned can be implemented.

4. A communication subcommittee of the Coalition Steering Committee should be formed immediately, made up of professionals and other persons. Their task will be to develop methods of communicating to appropriate audiences the work of the Coalition.

5. The Coalition should establish a "time line" in roughly the following manner:

a. Within six to nine months, a meeting of the Urban Bishops Coalition should be convened at which reports would be received from those dioceses in which hearings were held, from those dioceses in which hearings were held, from those dioceses where Hearings were not originally held but where the process suggested in #2 above has occurred, and from the national Policy and Action Committee recommended in #3 above. This gathering should include not only members of the Coalition, but such clergy and laity who could help criticize and assess what will have occurred at

the diocesan and national levels.

b. At the end of twenty months following the Deliberative Session, a similar, careful appraisal of actions undertaken should occur.

The purpose of the gatherings proposed in "a" and "b" above should be a thorough-going audit and evaluation in light of the content of the message addressed to the church by the Public Hearings.

This action recommendation is, of course, predicated on the assumption that the Urban Bishops Coalition will continue to be an authentic coalition to the degree that its members are willing to be accountable to one another, and to engage in corporate, concerted actions.

B. *Recommendations for action at the local, diocesan and national levels.*

In order to facilitate the exercise of the *leadership of involvement,* the following action recommendations are suggested as possible avenues of action/involvement at the local (parish), city (diocesan) and national-overseas levels. The actions recommended should be considered and undertaken *only* within the context of the words of caution expressed above, especially as those cautionary words relate to the gathering and use of financial resources.

1. Actions at the local (parish) level

a. Increased support of community (neighborhood) organizing efforts. Community (neighborhood) organizing was supported, often initiated, by the church with both personnel and money throughout the '60s. This support recently has waned, apparently not because community organizing was not successful, but because it was difficult and slow. That is, in fact, an example of the church's inability to persevere or to engage in an extended, protracted effort.

*b. The retraining and deployment of parish clergy, laity and non-parochial clergy as community organizers in the neighborhoods. Such action, urged at both the Newark and Birmingham Hearings, could be a significant factor in enabling the growth and development of local coalitions and self-help efforts. The effort undertaken by many dioceses in the '60s to deploy "urban missioners" on a diocesan-wide basis (while accomplishing significant results in some instances) may, in retrospect, prove to have been less effective than the work of organizers at the local (parish) level. At a minimum, the work of ecumenical ministries in Newark, Birmingham, and Seattle, and the

*The neighborhood/parish task group at the March 29-30 meeting of the U.B.C. recommended that priority be given to items b and d.

re-thinking of such ministries in the District of Columbia warrant further study for application to cities of less than 500,000 population, or in major neighborhoods in contiguous metropolitan areas.

c. Sponsorship, at the neighborhood level, of educational programs in the area of housing loan and mortgage policies aimed at the practice of "redlining," as suggested at the Seattle Hearing.

Such educational programming should be undertaken in conjunction with efforts to create mechanisms by which those institutions and agencies (banks, realtors, insurance companies, etc.) which control access to housing are held to some kind of public accountability and review. The Public Reinvestment Review Board created by the City Council of Seattle provides a model for such mechanisms.

*d. Advocacy and support of youth employment programs with emphasis on the role of the church in the provision of motivational support for those who have been deprived of other sources of such support.

Work done in Newark, as described in the Hearing there, and the need for it indicated in testimony at the Seattle and Washington/Virginia Hearings, suggests that this is an important role for the church on a local level.

2. Actions at the city (diocesan) level

†a. The burden of testimony in all the Hearings spoke to the need for the church to assume a role of *advocate* for the poor and powerless. To respond to that need, the church at the city (diocesan) level must involve itself as advocate of the poor and the powerless in respect to the issues outlined in Section II: Energy/Inflation/Ecology, Jobs and Unemployment, Housing, Education and Income Security.

Other issues which the church might well address at the city (diocesan) level include: criminal justice reform, civil rights for homosexual males and lesbians, health care for the poor, proper nutrition and adequate programs for the de-institutionalized.

b. The city (diocesan) level seems to be the level at which the critical issue of the social responsibility of financial institutions and the problem of disinvestment and capital "outflow" can most appropriately be addressed.

† The city/diocese task group recommended that priority be given to items a and c. The nation/national church task group gave priority to d, adding: "The proposal for the support of community organizing efforts should, we believe, also be carried on at the national level ecumenically, and particular attention should be paid to the different perceptions of organizing in Black, Hispanic and other minority groupings."

†c. An analysis of the crisis of the cities leads to the conclusion that racism, sexism, classism and colonialism are causative factors in that crisis, and these phenomena may be best addressed at the city (diocesan) level as they present themselves in institutional form and as they impinge upon and lead to the maladies of specific cities.

†d. Dioceses, acting together, could cooperate to identify those who presently or in the past have acted as community organizers (both within and outside of the church) and bring such persons together for a series of workshops on the future of community organizing.

Dioceses, separately or together, could establish centers which use as their base ongoing community organizing programs to train church-related persons in the objectives, strategies and techniques of neighborhood organizing.

Dioceses could also establish funding mechanisms for both church-related and secularly-based community organizing projects, and push for increased funding for such programs by agencies of the national church.

e. The city (diocesan) level is the appropriate level at which "advocacy planning" might occur in relation to the housing problems of the city. Church involvement could mean support or initiation of efforts to hire professionals (architects, planners, etc.) who would be consultants to neighborhood organizations in the determination of the needs of the neighborhood and ways by which those needs could be met.

f. The city (diocesan) level is likewise the level at which issues related to the media, as raised at the Seattle and Washington/Virginia Hearings, can be addressed. At either this level or at the national level, the resources of the United Church of Christ, which has done extensive work on issues related to the media, might be enlisted to assist in the development of models for engaging the media in a review of their impact, priorities, etc.

g. At each Hearing, the local urban ecumenical agency played a very positive role in support of the Hearings and provided input. The creation and strengthening of such agencies, the exploration of effective models for such agencies, and increased participation in them by the several dioceses seem to be ciritically important actions.

h. Mechanisms need to be created at the city (diocesan) level to review the use of church property. At the Newark, Birmingham and Washington/Virginia Hearings, examples were presented of the church's response to community needs through the use of its properties.

i. Although policy formation on issues related to energy/inflation/ecology must occur at a national level, the application of those policies will take place at the city (diocesan) level. Involvement with groups that are dealing with the question of energy rates/fuel costs as they relate to the poor, the elderly, etc., can take place at this level.

j. A very specific need emerged at the Colon Hearing which ought to lead to action there in response to the lack of recreational and extra-curricular activities and facilities for youth. The diocese could well initiate a planning conference, involving young people, other church groups, and government officials to design needed youth facilities and investigate funding sources, including the business community. An important role of the diocese could be to facilitate the involvement of local young people in all aspects of the planning, design and control of the facility.

3. Actions at the national and overseas levels.

a. A number of specific proposals were presented at the Hearings, for action most appropriately at a national level. These proposals should be reviewed. It may well be that many of them will need refinement, and that not all of them will ultimately be adopted, but their proponents merit an answer from the Coalition. A mechanism for review and consideration of these proposals must be created:

1. A proposal for the establishment of a woman's desk at the Episcopal Church Center, the initiation of four pilot projects in each of four cities which would determine needs and plan action, and the production of a non-sexist Liturgy as an authorized supplement to the *Proposed Book of Common Prayer.*
2. A request for support of the Black United Fund which raises funds for community organizing, health care and other needs in Black communities, and presents a strong critique of the allocation of resources by United Way of America.
3. A request by Integrity for the establishment of four positions of "Urban Missioner to the Gay Community."

#4. A proposal for the establishment of a national center for public policy, both domestic and international, which would carry out an educating function, a

The nation/national church task group recommended that priority be given to 3. a. 4 and 3. b. 3. The overseas task group gave priority to 3. a. 4, 7 and 9. The communications task group gave priority to 3. c.

lobbying function, an organizing function, and, implicitly, a research function.

5. A request from the National Commission on Hispanic Ministries for the creation of an Hispanic Commission (related to the diocesan council) in every diocese in which Spanish-speaking persons reside, with necessary financial and spiritual support for the development of an effective Hispanic Ministry.
6. A request for support of the Campaign Against Prisons, a national effort to do away with the practice of imprisonment for all but the most dangerous offenders.
#7. A proposal for the creation of an Episcopal Urban Coalition.
8. Proposals for action in support of programs for urban poor whites and urban Appalachians.
#9. A request for support of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility and of the Community Reinvestment Project.
10. Recommendations from the Church and City Conference for the creation and maintenance of a national network of persons committed to the church's ministry to the city, the development of a newsletter, and the creation and maintenance of regional centers for developing models of urban ministry and the training of persons to engage in such ministry.
11. A suggestion from Dr. Gibson Winter for the establishment, under careful guidelines aimed at lessening the dependency of local communities, of an institute of urban mission which would mobilize networks of *presence,* deepen understanding and mobilize advocacy. Note: Consideration of this proposal should give careful attention to the ways in which it differs from earlier concepts of urban training centers.
12. At least an *implicit* request for continued support for the Absalom Jones Theological Institute whose future is now jeopardized.

Additionally, the following actions should be considered at the national level:

b. The creation of a social policy process and mechanism for the Coalition which would address, at the national level, such issues as:
   1. Church investments and the capital outflow from cities.
   2. Support of the Congressional transfer amendment which would take money earmarked for military

spending and transfer it to domestic needs.

#3. Support for Affirmative Action programs and attempts to deal with problems of inter-ethnic competition for existing employment and advancement in employment.

4. The treaty rights of Native Americans.

#c. Throughout the Hearings there was a consistent call for the church to exercise its role as teacher. This may suggest that, using the model of effective work done on the world hunger issue, national or regional conferences should be initiated on the question of techniques for revamping Christian Education programs to reflect emphasis on the crisis of the cities.

d. A specific need emerged at the Colon Hearing which would suggest the need for family structure conferences which would explore changing patterns of family life. The disintegration of kinship systems was not a theme unique to Colon.

e. The Coalition has already committed itself to the program of Public Policy Institutes and that process should be continued.

f. Action initiated at the diocesan level (a request from Miami for help in setting up a Hearing Process, the intention of the Diocese of Massachusetts to hold a series of Hearings, and plans for a Hearing in Philadelphia) should be encouraged and all possible assistance provided.

THE BISHOPS RESPOND

1. A Message from James W. Montgomery, Bishop of Chicago

I have been asked to say what the hearing meant to me. First, Bishop Primo and I were made aware, in a vivid and compelling way, of the vastness and complexity of the issues, forces, problems, and groups that affect our life and work as Christians, and of the number of people who look to the Church for hope and leadership. We realize, too, that the testimony we heard represented but a tip of the iceberg!

Second, we had a sense of quiet satisfaction at the realization that, in a number of areas, despite limited resources, we as a Church were on the right track, and that even more importantly, we were open to the leading of the Spirit.

Thirdly, we were more than ever convinced of the point I made in my testimony that day – namely, that we cannot solve the urban crisis simply by a noblesse oblige sense of altruism that pumps nothing more than dollars into the city. We must have a theological base that stays on course, and we must, as a Church, act for the right reasons. Anything else is doomed to fail, or to produce increasing hopelessness in the empty lives of a growing number of our people, urban and suburban. Our deliberative answers must be based on a theological understanding and sensitivity to our mission in the world. To move without this root is mere inefficient public service, not urban evangelism.

We, in Chicago, are engaged in a process of consciousness raising as we seek to find hard solutions in the urban scene. Three concrete steps have been taken:

In St. Thomas' Parish, in the heart of the South Side, where last fall we dedicated a handsome new church replacing one destroyed by fire, a program of ministry to young ex-offenders has been launched, under the name of St. Thomas Alternatives.

On the Northwest side we have just established our first new mission in the Hispanic community, La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora de las Americas (Our Lady of the Americas). This is in addition to four other parishes where the Eucharist is celebrated regularly in Spanish. Four priests are being trained in Spanish to join those already fluent in that tongue. These small beginnings show that our Church wishes to be a sign of hope in our large Latino population (over 300,000).

Third, a full time co-ordinator and development officer has been appointed, to superintend and distribute federal funds to inner city parochial projects such as summer employment for teen-agers, jobs for ex-offenders, job training and tutoring services to drop-outs and the urban poor.

Finally, let me summarize what I think should be the urban theology of the Church's mission, with a quotation from the Lambeth Conference of 1968, which some of us attended. It speaks of our mission in terms of the Church as a Supernatural Community first:

"The Church meets man in his need on the biblical basis of the solidarity of the human race, both in sin and in hope. We find our true identity and manhood in Jesus Christ and with one another in Him. It is in this faith that we approach such problems as Race, Want and Conflict" – and I would add, the Urban Crisis.

2. A Message from John S. Spong, Bishop Coadjutor of Newark

I entered the Urban Hearings looking for a vocation for the Church in the City that was both filled with integrity and true to the Gospel. I came, disillusioned by pious and utopian dreams that seemed to assume that the Church had the power to right all the wrongs of our society, and yet convinced that the Church had some power if we only knew how to use it. I came with the certain conviction that the Episcopal Church does not have to die in urban areas that are still crowded with human beings. I came to listen to voices that the church seldom hears – alienated voices, poor voices, hopeful voices, angry voices. I came aware of urban problems that anyone can catalogue: jobs, housing, health care – and yet they were not personal, but abstract. I needed to hear what these things did to people. I learned three things basically that I feel must alter our urban church strategy in the Diocese of Newark:

1. The inner city is populated by the victims of our economic system. They are the unemployed, the powerless, the exploited. Many of them suffer from cultural or linguistic alienation. They are devalued, and the image of God that we Christians believe is in them is violated. A church that will not address the forces that devalue any human life is not an institution that will be taken seriously in the city. We must get beneath symptoms and address systemic causes, and we can do this if we will.

2. The theological principle of Incarnation must be the *modus operandi* of urban church strategy. The church that clings to the style and values of a departed era or social structure will not survive in the city. A fortress church that exists to preserve an outpost of what used to be is doomed. Money that is spent to perpetuate that kind of church life is money that is wasted. If a church is to live in the city, it must develop an indigenous life – and indigenous liturgy. The church must belong to the people it seeks to service. Even the people who never come inside the church building to worship must feel that the church is their ally, friend,

co-worker, in the struggle for human justice. Only a church so perceived will live in the city.

3. The ministry of social service may well be important but it is not the appropriate focus for today's church. Social service is something done to or for the recipient. It is not appropriate today for two reasons. First, the church doesn't have the resources to be an effective social service agency. Second, social service finally makes the one served dependent. It ministers to effects – not causes. Time after time, the hearings emphasized the need for the church to identify with the movement for community organization and that funds available for a serving ministry be channelled to indigenous community organization structures, not expended in private church-run social service activities. Our task is to enable the citizens of the city to take charge of their own destiny, to fight their own battles, with the church, for Christ's sake, standing by their side as an enabler and an ally.

In Newark, under the direction of Canon Geoffrey Curtiss, we have begun to implement these three learnings in concrete specific ways. The shape of our church in Newark will be different next year because of the hearings in 1977.

Finally, let me say that I also learned to appreciate anew some of the traditional church roles. I see the church through its liturgy and preaching functions proclaiming and interpreting the sacredness of human life. I see the church opening its doors and its life to those who would be part of the "fellowship of the Holy Spirit." There is a lineliness, a lack of any sense of belonging, a rootlessness that marks many urban dwellers. The church can be the center of community. Finally, there is that dimension of hope that has always marked the Christian experience. A transcendent hope that is not simply an opiate of repression does and can grow out of the Christian experience and give meaning to those who dwell in the city. That hope must find expression, I believe, through the church to the city.

I suspect that when the Body of Christ in the urban areas of America begins to act on these learnings, many non-urban Christians will be made uncomfortable. Change is never easy. The primary hierarchical responsibility is to support, no matter what the cost, the efforts at change.

3. A Message from Furman C. Stough, Bishop of Alabama.

The Hearing had the form of a litany – a declaration of the condition, coupled with a pleading, followed by a response which easily could have (or should have) been "Lord, have mercy." And so the process repeated itself all day and half the night. To reflect upon this as a Christian person is to begin to see with more clarity that which we call "the urban crisis" might more nearly, in some

cases, be called "sin," and to understand that in some instances that is what we are confronted with. It helps to remember, also, that Jesus did not hesitate to use the word "demon," and that there were instances when these demons could only be cast out by prayer and fasting on the part of the Church. This latter could be a key to our power and particular mission in the future, and a clue to some of our failures in the past.

In addition, the Hearing has personally brought to me discoveries like this:

- New energy to attempt to deal with the situation.
- New allies have been found both within and without the Church.
- A clear understanding that of all people, we (the Church) have failed to help the city grasp a vision of wholeness and health.
- A new and strong impetus to work ecumencially.
- A new understanding that only hell can kill the human spirit and tragically it has occurred in some instances, but not in all cases.
- A new hope that the Church can be a vital component in the healing of the cities.

What the Hearing has meant to the Diocese remains to be seen, but some early clues are beginning to emerge. New configurations of persons have begun working in such areas as neighborhood restoration and stabilization, housing, unemployment, racism and relief for battered women. Undergirding all of this is a movement to coalesce the religious leadership of this city so that that leadership might speak to the moral dimensions of the condition as one voice, and give the type of guidance and hope that it is capable of providing. At the same time, similar efforts are underway in the economic community.

We know that we cannot be naive about the city and those forces that shape its being. We know that we must be as wise as serpents and as gentle as doves.

4. A message from the Rev. Floyd Naters, on behalf of Lemuel B. Shirley, Bishop of Panama and the Canal Zone.

As a priest in Colon involved with the Hearing from the very beginning, I speak of what it meant to me, the city of Colon and the Diocese. Public hearings are not a part of life in Latin America as in the U.S.A. Therefore, it took persuasion to commit people to testify. But they did come to the Hearing and spoke freely.

The city of Colon has many problems in common with the cities in the U.S.A. They are human problems which the church can no longer ignore or respond to in palliative ways.

To Colon, these hearings brought a ray of hope to a frustrated, disappointed, abused and exploited people. Through it they saw an institution seeking information and means to discover how it can become actively involved in the life and problems of the city. This was a major impact. It was unprecedented. The presence of the North American Bishops reinforced the seriousness and commitment of the concept of the Hearings in the eyes of the people.

It also meant that the church is no longer content with pledging "pie in the sky" and patience on earth. Rather it is committed to proclaim the love of God by responding to physical and moral needs, as commissioned by the Risen Christ.

These Hearings said that the church is aware of your problems and wants to be involved in becoming a part of the solution rather than being part of the problem. They brought hope, encouragement and a voice for the poor and powerless. Certain expectations were also developed which must not be ignored.

The Colon Hearing provided an opportunity for genuine ecumenical collaboration. The local support group was made up of Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Evangelicals, Salvationists, Methodists and Pentecostals. Testifiers were from all persuasions. Coming together to work on the Hearing proved that Christians of different backgrounds can work together when denominational trenches are set aside in the interest of a common goal – feeding the sheep. Ecumenicity has been made stronger in Colon as a direct result of the Hearing. True witness to the world makes more sense, and is even more powerful, when undertaken ecumenically.

The clergy and the people of Colon responded enthusiastically to the Hearings. This process has helped remind our people that renewal and a recommitment to the Risen Christ comes through commitment to His people. Praise God!! Now we must see to it that we do not become just another agent of disappointment.

One thing that came through loud and clear from the people to the church was: *We trust you* – we believe that you are sincerely trying to help, not exploit us – you can speak for us, because you speak for God – you are the only institution we believe will not betray us – we thank you for seeking ways to become involved directly in our crisis.

Personally, this surprised me. People still look to the church for guidance, support, leadership and spiritual strength! We had better provide it. The Hearing also brought out the fact that the church in Panama has power – lots of power – people power. We had better know how to use that power.

To the Diocese, the Hearing pointed out that there are new directions to take and new opportunities to serve the Risen Christ. I showed us where we can become involved with the life of the people. It brought to light the fact that the Episcopal Church can

become an agent in pressuring the business community to respond to the needs of the people and the community from which they earn their profits.

These Hearings put the Episcopal Church on the national map of Panama in a new light. People are now looking to us for leadership, where previously they looked only to the Roman Catholics. We have now begun to get out of our "Episcopal ghetto." I hope we continue to do so.

Because of these hearings, the Episcopal Church in Panama will be listened to when it speaks. We are now seen as a church who can and will speak for the poor and the powerless. We have finally discovered our place in Panamanian life at large — again, Praise God!!

It is my hope that this is the beginning of a new era in the life of the Panamanian Episcopal Church.

5. A Message from Robert H. Cochrane, Bishop of Olympia.

By many of the clergy and laity of my diocese I am seen primarily as a conservative evangelical catholic, more concerned with spiritual renewal than with social action. It is true that during these first two years of my episcopate this has been my major emphasis because this is where I am personally and because there is such a desperate need for the proclamation of the Gospel in the Northwest, where less than 25 per cent of the population has even a nominal Church commitment. But underneath my evangelical enthusiasm there lay a nagging and persistent concern to identify and confront the social implications of the Gospel I was trying so hard to preach. Not to be concerned about the world for which Christ died was, and is, a denial of that Gospel. But how to be concerned? And where? And with whom?

For me the Seattle Hearing of the Urban Bishops' Coalition began to provide some answers. In fact, the Hearing was somewhat like a conversion experience for me. For many long hours I sat and listened to testimony from the voices of alienation, hunger, unemployment, discrimination, and oppression in *my* city and in *my* diocese and I knew that as Bishop I had to do more and say more, in the Name of Jesus, to answer those voices. "Be our advocate," I heard them say.

Most of those voices testifying really cared very little about the Lord Jesus, but He cares about them and dare His Church do any less? Since the Hearing I have been more openly and aggressively addressing myself to the social imperatives of the Good News of God in Christ as these are manifested in the many areas of human need in Western Washington State. And the excellent summary of our Seattle Hearing will provide our diocesan convention and my program staff with guidelines for action in the years ahead. It was a valuable experience and I pray that the ministry

of the whole Church to the world may grow as a result of these Hearings.

6. A Message from John A. Baden, Suffragan Bishop of Virginia.

Mr. Robison from the Diocese of Virginia who did the recordings of our hearings, had spent the two previous days at a Conference on Evangelism in Philadelphia for Provinces I, II, and III. After the hearing in Washington I said, "Robbie, how do you feel?" He replied, "I feel as though I had spent two days with St. Paul (proclamation of the Word) and two days here with St. James (doing the Word)." We must find a way to bring them together.

As one listened to the reports it came out loud and clear that ministry is now going on in a great number of ways. Do we have the eyes to see and affirm this ministry?

The hearings bring clearly into focus that we can no longer do our little thing alone – our planning and work must be done with others, churches, business, labor, government, community, different cultures, and all of the people. No one group has all the information or the resources. We have some. Others have some and are ready to share.

The hearings pointed out our concern must be with people. They want us to be honest as to the task and to do our homework. Care must be exercised not to take on a saviour image and the building of false hopes. As you listened, it came clear the tremendous forces that face us on all sides in our American society. These forces effect the cities. They likewise effect suburbia and our town and country areas in the Diocese of Virginia. I began to see and feel the whole. It is so easy to say only one part of God's people hurt, when all hurt. No place is alone. We are all dependent upon each other.

The hearing in Washington said to me that God cares because many of His people were searching, sharing and praying to find the way. Only a few gave quick answers.

The hearings pointed out the changing role of the ministry, of the Church, clergy and laity. The Church, being people-centered, has great resources in its people and buildings to share. The hearings proved this.

As I listened, I felt that we were part of the problem because often we do not know what is in the area that God calls us to minister in – for instance, the people, different cultures, hopes, history and background. Likewise, often we do not know the resources of the community, business, churches, and government.

The hearings pointed out to me that we are surrounded by a great core of concerned people. What shall we do with these resources?

Absalom Jones Theological Institute
Quinland R. Gordon, Dean
Access Unlimited, Inc.
E. Carol Countryman, Coordinator
Activist for Women
Rita Rujiki Elway,
Communications Consultant
Ad Hoc Coalition of Religious Women
Elise Penfield
Alabama State Legislature
Earl F. Hilliard
ALIVE (Alexandrians Involved Ecumenically)
Elaine and Robert Peoples
Alliance to End Repression
The Rev. Martin Deppe
Appalachian People's Service Organization
Morris E. Hollenbaugh,
Urban Coordinator
Archdiocese of Arlington
John Yarling, Coordinator,
Office of Migration and Refugee Services
Asian/American Demonstration Project
Dorothy Cordova, Director
ASPIRA
Alfredo Santiago, Coordinator
Association of the Blind (Colon)
Mr. Lopez

Basileus Protos, Inc.
John Prince
Beat Representative Program
Gladys Ratliff, Administrative Assistant
Birmingham Citizens
Massey Gentry, Lou Anne Poppleton, H. W. Schnaper, M.D.
Birmingham Post-Herald
Frank Morring, Jr.,
Assistant Editor
Blackman's Development Center, Inc.
Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, National Director

Canal Zone Police Department
Carlos Franklin
Capitol Hill Group Ministry
Edward Goode, Director
Cathedral Shelter (Chicago)
Alvin Gee and Harry N. White
CETA Program, Washington, D.C.
Jesse F. Anderson, Jr.
Chase Manhattan Bank of Colon
Handel Lee, President
Chicago Board of Rabbis
Rabbi Mordecai Simon
Chicago Conference on Religion and Race
W. Harvey Smith,
Executive Director
Chicago EAST-Coalition
(Episcopal Asia/America Strategies Taskforce)
The Rev. S. Michael Yasutake
Chicago Police Department
Lt. Ernest K. Taylor,
Human Relations Section
Chicago Priest-Psychologist
The Rev. Carlos Plazas
Chicago Reporter
John A. McDermott,
Editor and Publisher
Chicago Welfare Rights Organization
Thelma Ponds
Chillum Community
Joseph Emmerich, Jr.,
Community Worker
Jonathan Jones and Michael Eskite, Youth Workers
Christian Mission of Panama
Y. Eastman
Church and City Conference
Michael S. Kendall, President
Church and Society Network
Joseph Frazier
Church Council Desegregation Information Project
Ann Siqueland
Church Council of Greater Seattle
David Bloom, Director,
Urban Ministries
City of Chicago
Lewis W. Hill, Commissioner,
Department of Development and Planning

Clergy and Laity Concerned, Chicago
Joan Elbert, Chairperson; Ronald Freund, Mid-West Director
Coalition on Hunger and Nutrition Needs, Jefferson County, Alabama
The Rt. Rev. Joseph G. Vath, Roman Catholic Diocese of Birmingham
Colon, Citizens:
Antonio Braithwaite, Federico Brown, Gina Chen, Ofilio Gonzalez, Raul Leis, Idalia Mapp, Gilberto Merchado, Miguel A. Rodriguez III, The Rev. Charles Shanley, Jana Spalding
Colon, City
Hector Aleman, President, Housing Commission
Edith Jimenez de Bethancourt, Chief Doctor, Health Department
Luiz Ortiz, Mayor
Colon, Commission for Community Development
Nicaner Ceballos, Director
Colon, Province
Eusebio Salazar, Director of Education
Committee for Study of Handgun Misuse (Chicago)
Catherine Zartman
Community Renewal Society (Chicago)
Donald Benedict
Country Doctor Clinic, Seattle
Thomas Byers, Marie Crocker
Crisis Center of Jefferson County, Alabama
Becky Harris, Rape Response

Dignity, Inc., Birmingham Chapter
Kerry Tindale
Diocese of Alabama
Camille L. Desmarais, Archdeacon for the Deaf
William A. Yon, Department of Church and Society
Diocese of Chicago
Richard Long, Bishop's Advisory Commission on Youth
Canon David Harris
Andrea G. Stone, Metropolitan Affairs Committee
Diocese of Newark
Martha Blacklock
William Ross Clegg, Vice President, Union of Black Episcopalians
The Rt. Rev. George E. Rath
Diocese of Ohio
Charles W. Rawlings, Director of Christian Social Relations
Diocese of Olympia
The Rt. Rev. Robert H. Cochrane
Diocese of Rochester
The Rt. Rev. Robert R. Spears, Jr.
Diocese of Virginia
Lloyd B. Addington, Futurist
Diocese of Washington
Joseph T. Howell, Project Manager
The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker
District of Columbia City Council
Sterling Tucker
Downtown Cluster of Congregations (Washington D.C.)
Jack McClendon, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church
Tyrone Pitts, Calvary Baptist Church
Leslie Smith, President, Church of the Epiphany

Ecumenical Center of Interamerican Communication and Action
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Eighteenth Avenue School (Newark)
Marian William, PTA President
Eighth Day Center, Food Justice Programs
Edward R. Sunshine, Director
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Roger Hickey (for Gar Alperovitz)

Fairfax County
James Scott, County Supervisor
Families for Action
Annie Norris

First National Bank of Birmingham
John Woods, President
FOCUS
Miguel Sanabria
FOLD, Inc.
Dave Lefcourt, Director
Friendly Fuld Neighborhood Centers (Newark)
Ida Bell, Executive Director
Gay Concerns
Michael Meyers
Grey Panthers
Ruth Lind
Great Lakes Asian Center for Theology and Strategies (ACTS)
Ken Katashira
Greater Birmingham Ministries
George Quiggle
Harborview Mental Health Center
William Womack, Director
Hospice Society
Michael Hamilton, Board of Directors
Housing Counseling Service, Inc. (Washington D.C.)
Katherine McDonnell, Director
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Jacquelyn Alicia Jupiter, Medical Student
Integrity
William Doubleday, Editor
Integrity, New York City
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Integrity, Washington, D.C.
Wayne Fortunato-Schwandt
Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility
John Collins
Ironbound Community Corporation
Victor DeLuca
Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization
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Logan Square Neighborhood Association
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Methodist Church of Colon
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Metropolitan Community Church, Good Shepherd Parish (Chicago)
Max C. Smith
Metropolitan Ecumenical Ministry
Arthur Thomas, Executive Director
Ministry of Criminal Justice
The Rev. William G. Johnson
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Myrna Salgado-Lopez, Director
Mother Thunder Mission
Martha Blacklock
Mujaras Latinas en Accion
Luz Maria Prieto
Municipal League of Seattle
Shan Mullin, President
Mustard Seed Program
Charles F. Lewis and Bennerea Daniel
Mutual Benefit Life
Livingston Goodman

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National Campaign Against Prisons
John Boone, Director
National Commission on Hispanic Ministries
Samuel Pinzon, Chairman; Herbert Arrunategui, Staff Officer
National Committee Against Grand Jury Repression
Steven Guerra, National Coordinator
National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy
Lee Webb
National Council of Churches
Commission on Regional/Local Ecumenism
National Gay Task Force, New York
Charles F. Brydom
New Jersey Bell Telephone
Furman Stanley

New Jersey State Department of Health, Division of Narcotic and Drug Abuse Control
John Farrell, Community Service Officer
Robert Coger, Coordinator for Primary Prevention and Education
Calvin Lewis, Field Representative
Newark Cherry Blossom Festival
Kathleen Galop and Gary Liss, Directors
Newark Citizens
William Henry, Security Guard at Newark Hearings
Stanley B. Winters, "Some Suggestions About a Church Role in Newark"
Newark Construction Trade Training Program
Clara Horsely and Andrew Perry
Newark Forum for Alternative Education
Bob Faella, Coordinator
Newark Human Rights Commission
Newark North Ward Educational and Cultural Center
John F. Cummins, Program Director
Northwest Rural Opportunities
Dave Alcorta, Director
Northwest University
Stanley J. Hallett, Center for Urban Affairs

Our Saviour Church, Brookland
Victor Lawson, Rector

Plano Child Development Center
Robert L. Johnson, Director
Princeton Theological Seminary
Gibson Winter, Professor of Christianity and Society
Private Sector Initiatives (Seattle)
Joe Garcia, Executive Director
The Progressive
Samuel H. Day, Jr., Editor
Project Encounter and St. Columba Neighborhood Club, Newark
Julie Concepcion and Aylin Lieonart
Project Link Education Center
Dorothy Holden and Sister Ann Marie Rimmer
Protestant Community Centers, Inc. and SCEEP, Newark
Prudential Life Insurance Company
Cole Lewis
The Puerto Rican Conference in Chicago
Ruben Nazario, President
Puget Sound Mutual Savings Bank
Dennis Halvorsen

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Refinery Workers Union (Colon)
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Frank Testa, Housing Chairperson

Safer Foundation (Chicago)
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St. Andrew's Foundation
Francis Walter, Director
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Solomon Jacobs, Chaplain
John Lord, Director, Alcoholism and Drug Addiction
St. John's United Church of Christ
The Rev. Richard West
St. Peter's Episcopal Church (Seattle)
Timothy M. Nakayama
The Salvation Army
Rose Marie Hintz
Save the Alcoholic
James David Harper, Director
Seamen's Church Institute (Newark)
James Whittemore, Director, and Robert Dawson

Seattle Central Community College, Immigrant Status and Social/ Health Services
Gregory Tsang
Seattle Council of Churches, Task Force on Lesbians and Gay Men
Cherry Johnson
Seattle Department of Human Rights
Vivian Carver
Seattle Low Cost Housing
Reuben Label
Seattle Office of Women's Rights
Susan Lane, Director
Seattle Public Review Board
Glover Barnes
Seattle Schools, Ethnic Cultural Heritage Program
Mako Nakagawa
Seattle Urban League
Jerome Page, Executive Director, and Kay Thode
Skokomish Tribal Office
Gary Peterson
South Park Calvary-Lighthouse Temple
James W. Parrott, Pastor
Charles Leber, Executive Presbyter, Presbytery of Newark
George Melburn, Lighthouse Temple
Spanish Episcopal Mission, Washington, D.C.
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Maso P. Ryan, President
Trinity Youth (Newark)
Geoff Curtis, Minister, Don Gage, President
Tulalip Tribes, Inc.
Wayne Williams, Business Manager
Unified Vailsberg Service Organization
Ted Hardgrove
Union of Black Episcopalians
Mattie Hopkins, Richard Tolliver
United Church Center for Community Ministries
Alfred Winham, Director
United Gospel Mission Church (Colon)
Waldaba Stewart, Pastor
United Indians of All Tribes, Seattle
Joan LaFrance
University of Alabama
Betty Bock, Center for Urban Affairs
Tommy Pike, Student
University of the South, Sewanee
Mark Johnston, Student, School of Theology
Urban Appalachian Council
Ginny McCoy Watkins
Virginia Criminal Justice System
Nancy Prichard
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Alan G. Vander Mallie, Senior
Washington (State) Association of Churches Task Force on Immigration and Refugee Concerns
Patrick Sursely, Chairman
Washington, D.C. Community Worker
Raymond Smith
Washington, D.C. Criminal Justice System
Lillian Queen
Washington, D.C. Department of Human Resources
Milton F. Gay, Jr., Director
Washington, D.C. Free Clinic
David Johnson
Washington, D.C. Urban League
John Jacobs, Director
The Washington Post
John Anderson
Washington State Legislature
William Burns
Washington State Department of Public Instruction
A. Barretto Ogilvie, State Bilingual Education Consultant
World Hunger Education Service
Patricia L. Kutzner

Appendix B **PANELISTS FOR HEARINGS**

Dina Altamiranda	Student of Religious Education, University Santa Maria La Antigua
Daniel Alvarez	Executive Director, CASA Central
Rebecca Andrade	Executive Director, Tri-City Citizens Union for Progress
Morris F. Arnold	Suffragan Bishop, Diocese of Massachusetts
Iris Beato	Attorney, Bethesda, Maryland
Frank Bromberg	Treasurer, Diocese of Alabama
Erna Bryant	Black Ecumenical Commission, Boston, Massachusetts
John M. Burgess	Yale-Berkeley Divinity School
John H. Burt	Bishop of Ohio
John Cannon	Executive Director, Ecumenical Metropolitan Ministries, Seattle
Lloyd S. Casson	Washington Cathedral and Assistant to the Bishop for Human Affairs
Marjorie L. Christie	President, Episcopal Church Women Diocese of Newark
William H. Clark	Bishop of Delaware
John D. Coburn	Bishop of Massachusetts
David G. Colwell, Jr.	Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle
Horacio Ducruet	Manager, Terminales Panama; Member, Board Zone Libre, Chamber of Commerce
Peter Foote	Archdiocese of Chicago
Wesley Frensdorff	Bishop of Nevada
Diana Gale	St. Mark's Cathedral Parish, Seattle
Magdalia Garcia	Community College Teacher and Law Student
Ernest Gibson	Council of Churches, Washington, D.C.
John P. Gorsuch	Rector, Church of the Epiphany, Seattle
Tony Harrison	Alabama State Representative
James Henry	St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Alexandria, Virginia
Suzanne R. Hiatt	Associate Professor of Pastoral Theology, Episcopal Divinity School
Thomas Hinsberg	Deputy Director, Department of Human Relations, City of Detroit
Matti Hopkins	Teacher, Chicago Public Schools
John M. Krumm	Bishop of Southern Ohio
Roy Larson	Religion Editor, Chicago Sun Times
Kevin Lawlor, C.M.	San Jose Parish Priest in Colon
William H. Marmion	Bishop of Southwestern Virginia
Richard B. Martin	Executive for Ministries Staff of Presiding Bishop

Appendix B **PANELISTS FOR HEARINGS**

Ted McEachern	Association for Christian Training and Service, Nashville, Tennessee
Coleman H. McGehee, Jr.	Bishop of Michigan
Marcos G. McGrath	Archbishop of Panama
Anne Monahan	Special Assistant to Sen. Javits (NY) Diocesan Council
Paul Moore, Jr.	Bishop of New York
Earl Newland	Reporter for *La Republica*
Edward Prichard	Attorney, Fairfax, Virginia
Jose Antonio Ramos	Bishop of Costa Rica
Francisco Reus-Froylan	Bishop of Puerto Rico
Cynthia Roberson	Archdiocese of Washington
Dillard Robinson III	Dean, Trinity Cathedral, Newark
Edward W. Rodman	Missioner to Minority Communities, Diocese of Massachusetts
Anne P. Scheibner	Diocese of Newark
Robert R. Spears, Jr.	Bishop of Rochester
William B. Spofford, Jr.	Bishop of Eastern Oregon
John Spong	Bishop of Newark
Malcolm D. Talbott	President, Rutgers University Foundation
Martin Tilson	St. Luke's Church, Birmingham
John T. Walker	Bishop of Washington
Milton L. Wood, Jr.	Executive for Administration, Episcopal Church Center
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Communications
Antoinette B. Swanger
Secretary
James Campbell
Consultant for Organizational
Change and Development (Detroit)

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