Letter from P. Potter (WCC, Geneva) to member churches of the WCC(Geneva) on combating racism in the 1980s, with attachments

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To Member Churches of the
World Council of Churches

cc. Members of Central Committee
Regional and National Councils

Re: Process of Consultation on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s

Dear Friends,

In March I wrote you about the decision by the Central Committee to set in motion, as soon as possible, a process of consultation on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s. I solicited your cooperation and active involvement in this process of reflection in different parts of the world which should lead up to specific recommendations to the Central Committee in August 1980.

I am grateful to all those who have already responded and have sent their comments and would like to bring you up-to-date about several encouraging developments taking place in the member churches as well as in regional and national councils.

In September, the Executive Committee received a progress report on the process of consultation, which I am enclosing for your information in an up-dated form (Appendix I). The Executive Committee also decided that specific questions be prepared for consideration by the churches and the different national and regional consultations (Appendix II). It is hoped that your written reactions to these questions will be shared with us together with the other reports and recommendations as part of the input by your region to the World Consultation to be held in the Netherlands on 16-21 June 1980.

Please send your written views well in advance of the June meeting so that we can assemble these in time in an appropriate way.

In my letter of 12 October 1979, I indicated that the Executive Committee also discussed the financial implications of the process of consultation and authorized a special appeal for SFr 500,000.---. A detailed description is enclosed (Appendix III).
Preparations for many national and regional consultations are already underway and ecumenical support for these meetings is a matter of the greatest importance. I would therefore urge you to do your utmost to mobilize and contribute to the financial support needed.

While the current process of consultations will, it is hoped, produce guidance for the World Council's programmes, what is far more important is that it should enable all the member churches to become more effectively involved, separately and together, in the struggle to break down the shackles of racial oppression and be instruments of God's love and justice for all human beings.

It is of great importance that you share this letter and the appendices with those in your church who carry particular responsibility in the field of racial justice and with groups of the racially oppressed in your country, so that they fully participate in the process of consultation.

With every blessing for this Christmastide,

Yours sincerely,

Philip Potter
General Secretary

Encl.
Appendix I - Progress Report
II - Questions for World Consultation
III - Special Project
IV - Mandate PCR
APPENDIX I

PROCESS OF CONSULTATION ON HOW THE CHURCHES MAY BE INVOLVED IN COMBATING RACISM IN THE 1980s

Progress Report (revised)

1. The Central Committee at its meeting in Kingston, Jamaica, January 1979 resolved:

ii) "in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism, to accept the proposal of the General Secretary that a process of consultation, to be set in motion as soon as possible, on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s be given priority. In doing this, account should be taken of the experience gained, the questions raised and the criticisms made during the ten years of existence of this programme.

The process of consultation should include meetings having a balanced representation and involving:

a) representatives of the member churches,

b) representatives of race relations' desks of member churches, national and regional councils,

c) representatives of the racially oppressed.

This process should include a major consultation whose recommendations and deliberations should be made available to the Central Committee in 1980.

Since many of the questions and criticisms raised are to be found in Central Committee document No. 17: Background Paper on Southern Africa, particularly Part III entitled "Issues and Dilemmas in the Present Debate" and Unit II Committee document 12e containing an evaluation of the background paper "South Africa's Hope - What Price Now?" these papers among others should form a basis for consultation and discussion as suggested above, without restricting them to the Southern Africa situation.

iii) The financial implications of this process of consultation should be considered by the Finance Committee at the Central Committee.

iv) The General Secretary should be requested to report to the Executive Committee in September 1979 on the progress made."
2. In March the General Secretary wrote a letter to all member churches, national and regional councils and members of Central Committee, informing them of the decision taken and urging them to take the necessary initiatives in their respective regions.

3. There has been a positive response from the following areas/countries:

**Africa:** In South Africa the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church and the United Congregational Church have indicated that they will participate in the process. The South African Council of Churches is considering holding a consultation in February 1980.

The Volta Churches Council for Development in Ghana has expressed interest in the process.

The All African Conference of Churches (AACC) has committed itself to participate in the process of consultation and is preparing a regional consultation of some 25 persons to be held in Nairobi, March 11-15, 1980.

**Asia:** National consultations are being prepared by the NCCs in Japan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka (3 consultations in November, December and January), Australia (March 1980) and New Zealand (November 25-25, 1979 in Hamilton). The results of these national meetings will provide resource to the CCA regional meeting.

The Christian Conference of Asia (CCA) has set up a preparatory group to organize a consultation in Asia to be held March 24-29, 1980 in New Delhi. The meeting would combine a follow-up of a workshop on 'Race and Minority Issues' held in November 1978 jointly sponsored by the CCA/URM and PCR, and would also be the Asian input into the WCC world consultation later-on. A CCA preparatory group has met in September.

**Latin America:** The Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias (CLAI en formacion) and the Comision Evangelica Latino Americana de Education Cristiana (CELADESC) have agreed to convene a consultation of church leaders in Panama from March 16-18, 1980.

**North America:** In the USA, a preliminary meeting took place on June 5, 1979 including US members of the WCC Executive Committee and the General Secretary. Dr. Oscar McCloud, a member of the WCC Executive Committee has accepted to be the coordinator of the process in the USA. He will be working with the US members of the Commission on the Programme to Combat Racism, the Working Group on Racial Justice of the Division of Church and Society and the Commission on Justice, Liberation and Human Fulfillment, both of the NCCC, USA. The point of reference will be the WCC New York Office.

In Canada, the Canadian Council of Churches has decided to initiate a consultation with the active support of member churches.

**Europe:** The British Council of Churches' Community and Race Relations Unit (CRRU) organized already two meetings, one of church leaders (July 26-27) and a public meeting (September 21-23).

A meeting of East European church leaders is to be held in Budapest from January 28-31, 1980, at which the process of consultation will be discussed.
In the German Democratic Republic, the Conference of Church Leaders of the Federation of Protestant Churches has prepared a paper on the issue of violence in the struggle against racism in South Africa.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, a first consultation has been held from September 24-27, related to the process of consultation and focusing specifically on basic theological issues concerning the dialogue between the Evangelical Church in Germany and the World Council of Churches. Decisions about further involvement in the process are soon to be taken. In May a small consultation of church and lay academy leaders was held in Arnoldsheim which resulted in an open memorandum entitled "Appeal for an Ecumenical Future", signed by over 100 theologians and church representatives challenging the EKD to participate constructively in the process of consultation. A further initiative by lay academies to hold a consultation in early 1980 is under discussion.

The Council of Churches in the Netherlands organized a consultation on November 2-3 with representatives of member churches, racial minorities, race relations desks and action groups.

The Nordic Ecumenical Institute (in the Scandinavian countries), in close cooperation with the churches in Eastern Europe, the Conference of Latin Churches and the Ecumenical Center in Brussels has agreed to be the convener of a European consultation in Stockholm, March 2-9, 1980. A joint meeting of the Presidium and Advisory Committee of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) indicated its support for the initiative and there was a special session about the process of consultation at the recent Assembly of CEC.

4. World Consultation

The PCR Commission at its May meeting has recommended and the WCC Executive Committee has agreed that a World Consultation be convened by the WCC as follows:

Purpose:

The Consultation is to consider how to continue the struggle against racism in its many forms in the 1980s in view of the profound changes that have taken place in the past ten years, and in particular

a) to find out from one another in our different regions and situations what qualitatively new aspects of racism - overt and covert - are emerging both within the churches and in society which need to be taken into consideration;

b) how to deal with these forms of racism on a local, national, regional, and world wide level, taking into consideration the experiences already gained, the questions raised and the criticism made over the past period.
The world consultation would consider the findings and results of the national and regional meetings and it would make specific recommendations both about the churches and the WCC's future role to the Central Committee meeting in August 1980.

Dates: June 16 - 21, 1980 in the Netherlands

Title of the consultation: "CHURCHES RESPONDING TO RACISM IN THE 1980s"

Number of participants:

120 persons, including PCR Commission members, staff and interpreters. Invitations to be decided by the WCC Executive Committee at its February 1980 meeting, in consultation with the member churches and regional councils of churches on the following geographical basis:

- Africa: 22
- Asia (including Australia & New Zealand): 18
- Europe: 10
  - East: 5
  - North: 4
  - South: 3
- Latin America & Caribbean: 12
- Middle East: 3
- North America: 20
- Pacific: 3
- Interpreters & Staff: 20
Total: 120

Press arrangements:

20 additional places should be given for media attendance. The WCC News Office will invite selected representatives of the media asking them to pool resources.

Agenda and material for the consultation:

These will be largely provided by the preceding national and regional meetings and will include critical material prepared within the regions by people knowledgeable in the field of racism. In addition, WCC Staff is preparing discussion papers on several basic subjects to stimulate the debate and the preparatory process. These include:

- WCC Statements on Racism
- Racism and the Unity of the Church
- Violence, Non-violence and the Struggle for social justice (resuming the debate)
- The future of the Special Fund
In order to help organize the World Consultation, a special consultant will be available for a period of eight months.

5. Financial requirements

The Central Committee decision requires extra funds. A Special Project for 1979/1980 in the amount of SFr 500,000.-- has been worked out to support certain national and regional meetings and for holding the World Consultation. A project description is appended for information and action. It is hoped that member churches and their agencies will urgently discuss financial support for the project and communicate the results to the General Secretariat. This is all the more important since the first consultations will already be held before the end of the year and the organizers depend on ecumenical support.
"CHURCHES RESPONDING TO RACISM IN THE 1980s"

Questions in preparation for the world consultation

(It is hoped that the following will be discussed at the different national and regional consultations and that written replies will be sent to the WCC General Secretariat together with any other reports and recommendations prior to the June 1980 world consultation.)

1. Since the WCC's formation and especially during the past decade its member churches have been concerned with the need to combat racism. White racism was seen as currently the most dangerous form of this phenomenon. Emphasis has been given to identifying and challenging institutional racism as reflected in social, economic and political power structures. The churches resolved to listen carefully to the victims of racism and to stand with them in their struggles for justice.

   Considering your situation today, and in the light of present action, research and theological reflection, should the above emphases be continued into the 1980s?

2. In this period we have had to recognise the varied situations in the World Council's constituency. Some churches have been victims of racism. Others have benefitted from or even fostered racism. A few have discovered themselves to include both oppressors and oppressed. Through the WCC's programmes, many churches have tried to help each other understand and begin to rectify their various forms of involvement in racist attitudes and structures. In this respect, links established with movements of the racially oppressed often have proved particularly significant, enabling the churches to perceive more clearly some of the implications of the Gospel.

   Has there been such a learning process in your church? How may WCC programmes aimed at furthering the process be made more effective?

3. Ecumenical efforts to challenge racism during the past decade have stimulated, in a number of churches, a particularly lively theological and ethical debate. Attention has focussed on such questions as the Christian doctrine of man, Church/State relations, violence and non-violence, economic power and national self-interests as influences upon church attitudes, and the relation between Christian faith and ideological commitment.

   In your church, are there new insights and actions emerging from this theological - ethical debate that should be taken into account as we enter the 1980s?

.../...
4. Christians are not alone in confronting racism. In some places the churches represent a very small minority. Even where Christians are relatively numerous, many of racism's victims may profess other faiths. Further, there are situations where ethnic tensions are complicated by religious components.

From your experience, how do the religious resources of different communities of faith bear upon efforts to overcome all forms of racism and ethnic tension?

5. The world scene has changed considerably in the past ten years. Groups struggling for racial justice have tried different strategies - ranging from consciousness-raising to economic pressure to military action - with different results in different places. Churches have experimented with various ways of learning from and relating to such initiatives.

In view of present developments and likely future trends, nationally as well as internationally, are there new analyses, strategies and methods of involvement that should be used in combating racism?

*
This project results from the decision by the VCC's Central Committee in Jamaica. In January 1979 it resolved that:

"...in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism ... a process of consultation be set in motion as soon as possible on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s ... In doing so, account should be taken of the experiences gained, the questions raised and the criticism made during the ten years of existence of this programme". The Committee recommended that "the process of consultation should include meetings having a balanced representation and involving:

(a) representatives of the member churches
(b) representatives of race relations desks of member churches, national and regional councils
(c) representatives of the racially oppressed.

This process should include a major consultation whose recommendations and deliberations should be made available to the Central Committee in 1980".

A series of national and regional meetings are planned by the relevant ecumenical bodies in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America and possibly the Caribbean and the Pacific.

The regional meetings will lead up to a world consultation of some 120 persons to be hosted by the Council of Churches in the Netherlands, June 16-21, 1980. The costs are as follows:

National and Regional meetings .............................................. SFr 183,000,--
(in Latin America, Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand)

World Consultation ......................................................... SFr 284,000,--
(including travel subsidies, interpretation costs, etc.)

Documentation, Secretarial Staff & Publications .................. SFr 35,000,--

Total: SFr 500,000,--

Geneva, September 1979
APPENDIX IV

PLAN FOR AN ECUMENICAL PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM:

(as adopted by 1969 Canterbury Central Committee)

I. INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON RACISM, NOTTING HILL, LONDON, 19-24 MAY 1969

1. Official statements of the WCC Fourth Assembly at Uppsala in 1968 emphasized the urgent need for the churches to undertake a vigorous campaign against racism, calling Christians "to seek to overcome racism wherever it appears". The Central Committee meeting after the Assembly authorized the staff "to give serious consideration to the ways in which a programme for the elimination of racism might be implemented".

2. As the first step in fulfilling this mandate, an international Consultation on Racism was held in the United Kingdom (London), 19-24 May 1969, to advise the WCC on an ecumenical programme of education and action for the eradication of racism. The Hon. Dr George MacGovern, Methodist layman and US Senator, chaired the proceedings. Dr Eugene Carson Blake served as secretary of the Consultation.

3. The purpose of the Consultation was to make a new exploration of the nature, causes, and consequences of racism in the light of contemporary conflict situations, the means being used to combat it, and the possibilities of new Christian witness in this area. As the WCC Executive Committee in its January 1969 meeting instructed that the Consultation focus attention on "the problems of white racism", not excluding "the consideration of various expressions of counter-racism or other forms of racism", the programme reflected this emphasis.

4. The Consultation consisted of 40 Christian leaders, both lay and clergy, involved in and concerned for the issues of race conflict, with 25 additional consultants. The planning and preparation of the Consultation were the responsibility of the Staff Coordinating Committee on Racism, chaired by Dr E. C. Blake. The organization was carried out by Mrs Kanda-Smart, Dr Baldwin Stjernes, and the Rev. David Cill.

II. RECOMMENDATION REGARDING AN ECUMENICAL PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM

1. Since its inception, the WCC has consistently denounced the sin of racism. The issue is now new to us. But today it arises with a new and terrifying urgency. The WCC has offered a strong lead in the past, but its studies and statements generally have evoked neither adequate awareness nor effective action. Further, recent study

Racism has been defined by the Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1968: "By racism we mean ethnocentric pride in one's own racial group and preference for the distinctive characteristics of that group; belied that these characteristics are fundamentally biological in nature and are thus transmitted to succeeding generations; strong negative feelings towards other groups who do not share these characteristics coupled with the thrust to discriminate against and exclude the outgroup from full participation in the life of the community" (The Uppsala 68 Report, p. 243), and by a Committee of experts of UNESCO: "Racism, namely anti-social beliefs and semi-which are based on the falsity that discriminatory inter-group relations are justified on biological grounds (...) Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inevitable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups" (Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice, UNESCO, Paris, 26 September 1967).

and dialogue have served to open up dimensions and implications of the problem never before realized. Thus the struggle against racism as it rapidly intensifies is now confronting the churches with a challenge to deeper understanding, fresh commitment and costly redemptive action.

2. The Consultation recommended to the WCC and its member churches lines of action for an ecumenical programme to combat racism. However, more important than any recommendation, it pleaded for a profound and renewed commitment from the churches—and specifically from the World Council of Churches—to offer a convincing moral lead in the face of this great and growing crisis of our times.

To make the recommendation quite concrete in the life of the World Council of Churches, the following prospectus is proposed for adoption:

A. The scope and focus of a new Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism

1. Racism is not an unalterable feature of human life. Like slavery and other social manifestations of man's sin, it can and must be eliminated. In the light of the Gospel and in accordance with its principles and methods, Christians must be involved in this struggle and, wherever possible, in association with all people of goodwill.

2. Racism today is not confined to certain countries or continents. It is a world problem. White racism is not its only form. It is recognized that at this moment in some parts of the world, like Asia and Africa, other forms of racism and ethnocentrism provide the most crucial problems. There is a strong element of racism in current forms of anti-semitism as well as in the discrimination against the lower castes in India.

3. It is the coincidence, however, of an accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of the white peoples, following upon their historical and economic progress during the past 400 years, which is the reason for a focus on the various forms of white racism in the different parts of the world. People of different colour suffer from this racism in all continents. Among situations are those of the Aborigines in Australia, the Maoris in New Zealand, the black majorities of Southern Africa, the Indians, Afro-Americans, and Hispano-Americans in the USA, the Indians and Eskimos in Canada, the Indians in various Latin American countries, the coloured immigrants and students in the UK and continental Europe (this is by no means an exhaustive list).

4. There was a period when 'colonialism' was the main feature of white racism. Some areas still suffer in this way. While many formerly colonial people have become independent, they still suffer from the aftermath of 'colonialism', part of which is the struggle for power between communities and tribes.

5. It is further recognized that the fight against racism in all its forms must be set within the context of the struggle for world community, including world development.

B. Rationale for an Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism

1. Growing tensions and conflicts between the races demand urgent action; time is running out. The pervasiveness, persistence and viciousness of racism has challenged many Christians. But a sense of the impotence of the churches to achieve reconciliation has immobilized many others. Many have even despaired.

2. We have sadly to recognize that in spite of the battle that has been fought against racism by churches, mission agencies and councils of churches, often with heroic personal sacrifice, racism is now a worse menace than ever. We have also sadly to confess that churches have participated in racial discrimination. Many religious
institutions of the white northern world have benefited from racially exploitative economic systems. Many church members are unaware of the facts of racism and of the involvement of their religious and secular institutions in its perpetuation. Lacking information about institutionalized racism and about the possibility of developing sophisticated strategies to secure racial justice, Christians often engage in irrelevant and timid efforts to improve race relations — too little and too late.

3. In our ecumenical fellowship there are churches from all parts of the world, some of which have benefited and some of which have suffered from these racially exploitative economic systems. What is needed is an ecumenical act of solidarity which can help to form the determination in race relations. To do this our action must cost something and must be affirmative, visible and capable of emulation.

4. The issue of reparations has been raised by some groups in the USA and the WCC Consultation at Notting Hill. It cannot therefore be avoided. Many of the churches which are confronted by this demand belong to our ecumenical fellowship, and are called upon to make a meaningful response to this issue. The concept of reparations, however, is inadequate, for it seeks simply to apportion guilt for the past and highlights a method of action which leaves out of account the need for acts of compassion, brotherhood and community which go beyond any financial payment. The Gospel speaks to us of the cost of reconciliation both to those who have suffered and those who have inflicted suffering.

5. We call upon the churches to move beyond charity, grants and traditional programming to relevant and sacrificial action leading to new relationships of dignity and justice among all men and to become agents for the radical reconstruction of society. There can be no justice in our world without a transfer of economic resources to undergird the redistribution of political power and to make cultural self-determination meaningful. In this transfer of resources a corporate act by the ecumenical fellowship of churches can provide a significant moral lead.

C. Call to member churches for self-examination and release of resources

1. We call upon churches to confess their involvement in the perpetuation of racism. Churches should make an analysis of their financial situation in order to determine the degree to which their financial practices, domestic and international, contribute to the support of racially oppressive governments, discriminatory industries and inhuman working conditions. The impact will be greater if this is an ecumenical act.

2. The forces seeking to liberate non-white peoples from the oppressive yoke of white racism have appropriately demanded the participation of religious institutions in restoring wealth and power to people. We urge churches to make land available free or at low cost to racially oppressed groups for community and economic development. Churches which have benefited from racially exploitative economic systems should immediately allocate a significant portion of their total resources, without employing paternalistic mechanisms of control, to organizations of the racially oppressed or organizations supporting victims of racial injustice.

D. Outline of a five-year programme of the World Council of Churches

Clearly a determined attack on racism must come as a commitment of the WCC and its divisions and departments and will involve:

1. Teams of inquiry focusing on selected areas in Latin America, North America, Asia, Australasia and the Pacific, Europe, Southern Africa, etc., to express ecumenical concern and to assist in formulating guidelines for ecumenical understanding and action.

2. Consultation on selected issues which obstruct common action in achieving racial justice, e.g. the problem of sharing economic and political power, including the demand for ‘separations’ which has been made in a number of quarters, and other proposals for overcoming the economic burden of historic and contemporary racism; the meaning of racial identity; anti-Semitism; inter-marriage.

3. Providing more opportunity for confrontation between those holding different positions on the meaning of racial justice and those advocating different methods for attaining it.

4. Examination of all the means available for promoting political actions towards the bringing about of racial justice, including economic sanctions, both on the part of the member churches and of governments.

5. Assisting the member churches in developing strategies for combating racial injustice.

6. Assistance of the ways in which the churches can stand for the rights of the victims of racism and meet their needs.

7. Examination of the programmes, budgets and structures of the World Council of Churches with a view to increasing support of efforts for racial justice.

8. Collection and circulation of the best analyses on racism — including theological analyses — and other data helpful to the churches for the information and education of their members.

9. Encouraging member churches and national and regional Councils of Churches to make the problem of racism within their own area a priority concern in their programmes.

E. WCC structure

Appropriate measures should be taken to correct the current racial and cultural imbalance in the structures, staff and decision-making bodies of the World Council of Churches. The Committee on Structure should endeavour to provide for the rectification of this imbalance when formulating its suggestions for change.

F. Staff and programme

1. This programme requires coordinated action by all Departments and Divisions. Therefore it is lodged at least until the restructuring of the WCC envisaged for January 1972 as a direct responsibility of the General Secretariat.

2. Assisting the General Secretary for this purpose not less than three STAFF members are needed: an executive secretary, an officer for international and ecumenical relations, and a secretary for research and documentation. They will prepare and execute and stimulate and coordinate — the programme outlined above, and will gather information and provide necessary technical expertise for the operations as a whole.

3. To advise and guide this structural unit it is proposed that there be established an International Advisory Committee of twenty specialists (including a number of Central Committee members).

4. A Staff Coordinating Group drawn from the different Divisions and Departments will coordinate their involvement in the overall programme.
G. Finances

1. Administration

Annual resources of $150,000 will be needed for a period of five years for the expenses of the suggested staff and their programme, based on the following rough draft budget:

- **Salaries**
  - $200,000
- **Travel**
  - $90,000
- **Office supplies and furniture**
  - $40,000
- **Cyclostyle**
  - $7,500
- **Translations**
  - $10,000
- **Allocation upkeep**
  - $10,000
- **Miscellaneous and unforeseen**
  - $42,400

Total expenses:
- **SFr. 342,400**
- Equals at SFr. 80,000 = **US$ 80,000**

Provision for expenses of Advisory Committee, terms of inquiry, consultations and publications:
- **US$ 70,000**

Total annual budget:
- **US$ 150,000**

The above budget should be financed out of the three basic budgets of the World Council of Churches — General Budget, Service Programme Budget of DICARWS, and Programme Budget of DWME.

2. Programme Projects

Authority will be needed to seek further resources under 'Programme Project' procedures for projects which will develop out of the work of the unit. These may include educational or aid projects for victims of racial oppression and support for projects which help to break down patterns of racism. The projects may develop directly from the work of the unit or be projects initiated by others which the World Council wishes to support.

3. Special Fund

It is further proposed:

- a) that a special fund be created by:
  
  i) the transfer to the special fund of $200,000 to be drawn pro rata from the following reserves of the World Council of Churches:

    - General Reserve: $449,438.78
    - Service Programme Reserve DICARWS: $931,294.43
    - Working Capital Fund DWME: $89,371.78

    Total: **$1,470,104.99**

  ii) an appeal to the member churches to contribute to the special fund at least $300,000.

b) that this special fund be distributed to organizations of oppressed racial groups or organizations supporting victims of racial injustice whose purposes are not inconsonant with the general purposes of the World Council and, in respect of funds provided from the reserves of those Divisions, with the general purposes of the DICARWS and the DWME, to be used in their struggle for economic, social and political justice.

c) that the Executive Committee be authorized to decide, on recommendation from the International Advisory Committee, the organizations to which the Special Fund shall be distributed.

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Our struggle is not against flesh and blood. It is against the principalities, against the powers of evil, against the deeply entrenched demonic forces of racial prejudice and hatred that we must battle. Ours is a task of exorcism. The demons operate through our social, economic and political structures. The root of the problem is as deep as human sin, and only God's love and man's dedicated response can eradicate it.

The World Council's programme is but part of that response. It is God's love and not the hatred of man that must ultimately triumph. By God's love, by the power of His Spirit, some day, soon, we shall overcome.