## THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE

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# RELIGIOUS FORUM

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# SPALDING UNIVERSITY

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# LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

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### P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

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MAYOR ABRAMSON: Good morning, everyone.

AUDIENCE: Good morning.

MAYOR ABRAMSON: That's good. That's good. A religious group, they sort of get into the thing. What about the front row seats? I mean what's the deal about, you know

AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Inaudible).

MAYOR ABRAMSON: Amen. Amen. I'm sorry we're starting a little late and I'm sorry some of the folks have had difficulty getting into Louisville. certainly isn't because of the beautiful weather that we're experiencing today. It has to do actually with the difficulties of the storms last night. And fortunately, good Lord willing, that has all passed by and we're now in a position where we can enjoy a beautiful day in Louisville, Kentucky, and welcome to Louisville, the President's Initiative on Race, and the distinguished leaders from the faith-based community gathered here this morning to discuss the all important goal of becoming one America in the 21st Century.

I say all important goal because changing

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demographics really makes diversity a reality in our nation today. Within the next three years, take the state of California as an example, the next three years there will be no single race or ethnic group that will make up a majority of the state's population. So change is happening all around us and the President has asked us as a nation to begin to dialogue and see how we can be prepared for that change.

Half a century from now, in fact, there will be no majority at all in the United States of America, in just one half a century. We'll all be just plain old descendants of Africans or Europeans or Asians or Latin Americans, and we'll be equal in number at least when that time comes to this great nation of ours.

While this country's promise of freedom, which is symbolized by the Statue of Liberty, brings people from all continents to our land in a wave of immigration as strong as it was a century ago, the question really remains, can we, we as Americans, deliver on that promise? As President Clinton said in announcing the Race Initiative on June 14, 1997, quote, "Building one America is our most important

mission, but money can't buy it. Power can't compel it. Technology can't create it. It can only come from human spirit."

And so it makes a great deal of sense that those who minister to the spirit, those from the faith community, we turn to you to talk about racial reconciliation and the ability to get along as a nation.

In Louisville we have already begun the discussion foreshadowing the national conversation that President Clinton hoped to engender with this Race Initiative. Denise Brown, who's head of our city's Human Relations Commission, spearheaded a race discussion across Louisville in the early 1997, just several years ago.

One of those discussions was held in Reverend T. Vaughn Walker's -- First Gethsemane Baptist Church -- and I know he's with us today -- where some 16 people gathered in a basement and they talked and they discussed and they dialogued. Sometimes there were moments of wonderful excitement and energy. Sometimes there were moments of great difficulty. But the bottom line was that the dialogue existed and people began to interact. No one will

tell you that that dialogue resolved all the differences or that it even came to a resolution in those days at the Gethsemane Church, but to begin talking at all is one big step, albeit one step on the road toward reconciliation.

I think it's ironic that we have for the first time in decades peace in our world. We have a booming economy. The job rate is up, the unemployment rate is down. And yet we seem so troubled in our spirits with racial and ethnic tensions mounting in our country and with huge concerns about our children. That's really, as of late, been on the front pages of every paper in this country. Last week Newsweek Magazine cover was entitled "God Versus Gangs." What's the hottest idea in crime fighting? The power of religion.

In our concerns about a nation whose young people seem so troubled, it's not just in the innercities across the United States but it's in those world communities also, as we have seen unfortunately as of late in Paduka, Kentucky, in Jonesboro, Arkansas, in Springfield, Oregon where young people with guns are murdering their classmates and their parents. We turn to religion for help. We turn to

religion for understanding of just what's going on and what we can do to uplift the spirit.

This morning, we turn to you, our religious leaders from throughout this region and some from throughout the country, for help in understanding our racial and ethnic differences. Can we be one America respecting and even celebrating in our diversity, in our differences, while embracing even more the bonds that are common among us all? Can we learn to talk together? Can we learn to act together to build one America?

The future of our country requires, in my judgment, that we answer that question yes. In fact, we answer both those questions yes. We have no choice, but to sincerely say yes will be very hard. Our hearts are willing but our history tells us that the road is very difficult and filled with a lot of obstacles. But I have hope and I know you do, too, that we can resolve and move forward together as a nation.

As the Chinese poet Lu Zon -- once said,

"Hope is like a path in the countryside. Originally,
there is no path but, as people walk all the time over
and over along the same spot, a path appears." I

believe our path to the future can appear if we take that first step, we take it together, and we take it today.

Welcome to Louisville, Kentucky.

(Applause)

MAYOR ABRAMSON: You know, it isn't every day when you're the Mayor of the City of Louisville that you have the opportunity to bring to the podium and introduce a president of an outstanding educational institution, a gentleman who's been with us here at Spalding for several years and has taken the student body from 1,000 to over 1,500 which happens to be the largest increase of any college in the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

He came to us from Georgetown University in Washington. Spalding University here in this community has been a tremendous institution for many, many years but Doctor Oates' leadership has taken it to a new level. Let me introduce to you the host here at the Eagan Center at Spalding University, the host of this conference, Doctor Tom Oates.

(Applause)

DOCTOR OATES: Good morning. It's truly an honor to welcome all of you to Spalding University

and to this conference. This program today is a wonderful example of the way in which Spalding University can and will cooperate with the City of Louisville and the faith community of Louisville to build a stronger and deeper faith for justice and peace. A commitment to justice and peace is actually in our mission statement in the very first line of our mission statement.

Spalding University is a Catholic university founded by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and, as such, the university both respects and supports the spiritual beliefs of all people. It may be interesting to some of you who don't know the university well that the university has never had a majority Catholic population, and we feel that is a way of living out our Catholicity. Spalding is also an urban university and, as such, the university has the responsibility to encourage and participate in discussions like this one, which strengthens this community.

I was asked this morning by Wayne Perky -very early this morning by Wayne Perky on the radio
interview if I felt programs like this were truly
productive or are they just so much talk. I thought

interesting question from a that was an I responded that I felt they were very announcer. productive because one of the great untapped powers in our society I feel is the power of faith and belief. We often hear about the power of war to disrupt our world, about the power of hate to divide people, but we seldom recognize and celebrate and act on the power of belief and the power of faith that all of you represent today. Programs like this one extraordinarily powerful and they can touch and mobilize our lives and transform our world if we let them.

So what we do today is, in my sense, the most meaningful kind of program we can have and Spalding University is honored both to host and to participate in it. I thank you all for being here.

My next responsibility is to introduce Bishop Thomas Kelly. Archbishop Thomas Kelly has been the Bishop of the Archdiocese of Louisville since February 18, 1992, 16 years. Before coming to Louisville, he served as the General Secretary for the Bishop's Conference in Washington, D.C. and he also served as the Auxiliary Bishop for Washington, D.C.

He holds a doctorate in canon law from St.

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Thomas University in Rome. Bishop Kelly is a strong and close friend of Spalding University and he brings to the university and to all of us in Louisville a warmth and compassion and a human side to the faith community. He also is, I think, arguably the best storyteller that I've met in a long time. I often share the podium with Bishop Kelly at graduations and he always has the best story. He is a person who I consider a personal friend and a mentor and I'd like to invite him to come and do our invocation this morning.

BISHOP KELLY: It was kind of Doctor Oates to refer to my background in Washington. I lived there for a long, long time and while I was there, and I think by then I had become a Bishop, the majority of the demographics of Washington shifted from white to African-American and I was preaching one day at the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, a great, big, huge place the size of a railroad station and I said to the folks assembled there, All I can say about this shift in our cultural and ethnic background and our population is this. I hope the new majority, that is the African-Americans, will be a lot kinder to us, the new minority, than we have ever been to them. That

still haunts me.

I'm very grateful for the opportunity to have a word as we begin this important symposium on moving toward oneness in America.

In your packages is a letter from one of our Louisvillians, Paul Whitely --, who quotes Doctor Martin Luther King. I'd just like to pick out a little paragraph to share. These are the words of Martin.

"So here we are moving toward the exit of the 20th century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a taillight behind other community agencies rather than a headlight, leading men and women to higher levels of justice."

Martin pointed the way for us against the sin of racism but moving toward a spirit of unity and of courage and conviction. It's in the light of that that I ask you to join me in prayer.

Lord, we honor your servant, Martin Luther King. He was a faithful witness to your word, even to the point of laying down his life for it. Now, increase our faith. Make us better witnesses to your word. Free us from our sinfulness, from racism and

violence. Banish the hatred that besets our world.

Fill us with the spirit of your love that we may work

effectively to establish in the human family respect

for one another, your gift of peace.

Oh God of perfect peace, racial discrimination and cruelty can have no part with you. May those who are racial enemies of one another abandon their fears and selfishness and be healed. May those gathered here before you who cherish the gift of peace and racial harmony be strong in our conviction to witness to your truth and love. May we hold fast to the good will that unites us. We ask this of You, Father, God of Peace, who live and reign forever and ever. Amen.

MS. GLASER: If you all can join me in thanking Archbishop Kelly. That was a really wonderful way to start the morning.

#### (Applause)

MS. GLASER: My name is Danielle Glaser and I'm with the President's Initiative on Race in the Outreach Division and, as you can see from your agenda, we've had a few minor changes. I am not the Reverend Doctor Suzan Johnson Cook, although I wish I was, and if she was here today, she would say this.

I'm so ignited, excited and delighted to be with you all here today, and she would really get you revved up. So I'll do the best that I can. But we would definitely like to thank Mayor Abramson and his staff for the great cooperation and hospitality, especially Morris Hemis --, and also Doctor Oates for letting us use the facility and his staff for their hospitality and support. If you could all join me in thanking them.

(Applause)

MS. GLASER: And before I go over the revised agenda for today and the accomplishments of the Race Initiative for the last year, I'd like to share a message from the President.

(A videotape is played.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I'd like to welcome you and thank you for participating in this important conversation about race in America. America has always stood for the shining ideal that we're all created equal. We haven't always lived up to that ideal, but it has guided our way for more than two centuries and, as we enter the 21st century, we know that one of the greatest challenges we still face is learning how we can come together as one America.

America will soon be the most diverse nation in the world. Will those differences divide us or will they be our greatest strength? The answer depends upon what we are willing to do together. We must confront our differences in honest dialogue, but we must also talk about the common dreams and the values that we share. We must fight discrimination in our communities and in our hearts and we must close the opportunity gaps that divide too many Americans in real life.

That is why I launched this National Initiative on Race and I'm very glad you're joining. Your views, your ideas, they're very important. I ask you to share them with Doctor Franklin and the members and the members of my Advisory Board. They're helping me reach out to communities like yours all across our nation. I look forward to hearing from them about the results of your conversation.

Please go back to your neighborhoods, your schools, your work places, your places of worship and continue this conversation about race. Take a leadership role. Together we can build a stronger America through the 21st Century as one America. Thank you for helping us to meet this most important

challenge.

DOCTOR JOHNSON COOK: Good morning. I'm Reverend Doctor Susan Johnson Cook. I am Pastor of Bronx Christian Fellowship and I'm the only faith leader on the President's Initiative on Race, and it's good to be here. Thank you.

(Applause)

DOCTOR JOHNSON COOK: Thank you. We have had a time. I know I'm filled with faith. We were on the ground five hours last night, finally get to New York. There was a storm all up and down the east coast. But even with my faith, I was glad to be on the ground. Amen. Must better to be down on the ground than up in the air crying Hallelujah.

(Laughter)

DOCTOR JOHNSON COOK: So I'm glad to be here. I'm a Baptist preacher from the Bronx and so it's just good to be here and to greet you on behalf of the President. I've had an exciting last 12 months with Dr. John Hope Franklin -- as our Chair and six other Advisory Board Members. We come from all different walks of life across America, but we bonded together and we've listened to people all across America, faith communities, corporate communities,

grassroots. We've talked with everyone, we've heard from everyone, and we're just glad to be in Louisville today and we really appreciate the hospitality in your receiving us. And please receive that from me.

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Today we have an exciting day. initiative was announced by our President just about a year ago. I was at the Hampton University Minister's Conference, which many of you attend. the largest gathering of African-American clergy in the world. I got a call from the President's office asking me if I would serve on this initiative. And, as we've gone around the country this past year particularly, we've had students on campuses. Approximately 600 college and university campuses have participated in dialogue. We've had more than 100 YWCAs and communities throughout the country. We've had 41 governors participating. It's been an interagency effort. Every Cabinet Secretary has been with us and many travel with us, and we also just recently had an ESPN forum on youth in Houston and it was wonderful, exciting event.

This forum for religious leaders is the second of two. We just held one recently on May 21st in New Orleans and it was a tremendous success. One

of the high points of the day was the breakout sessions that happened after the lunch hour where you would have an opportunity to dialogue. We don't want to just speak to you, we want to hear from you and want you also to talk to each other about race. And so we hope that we will be fully engaged this day and that we can learn together from these forums that true leaders can create and build one America in the 21st Century.

For today, our agenda. We want to do three things. The first is to gain an understanding of the increasingly diverse faith community. We come now from so many different walks of life. We want to identify the key elements that make for successful racial reconciliation efforts and we want to work together to plan ways in which we can further energize and mobilize our faith community.

Forum at the White House, a breakfast, and many of the faith leaders said this is what we need to do. We need to take the initiative to the people who really work in the community. And so we'll begin today with a speaker and then a panel to discuss the changing face of faith in America. President Clinton talked

about the fact that we know what we'll look like in the next millennium but we don't know what we'll be like, and so we want people to know what we'll look like in terms of religion as well as how we want to function together as faith leaders coming from all walks of life.

There'll be an opportunity for questions and comments from the audience following this panel. After that, we'll then discuss promising practices which is a key part of this initiative that we've seen around the country and then Reverend Doctor Tony Campolo of the Evangelical Association for the Promotion of Education in St. Davis, Pennsylvania will deliver the keynote address. He is somebody's preacher. And then we'll reconvene after lunch to hear a panel on the key elements of success. What makes some programs succeed where others fail.

And finally the critical part which I share with you involves each of you who are here, the breakout groups where you can discuss what you've heard, relate it to others and your own efforts and share ideas on what can be done. We really want to know some things that can be done because no one has all the answers as we face the issue of race. And so

I'll describe the classes later as we go further in the agenda.

At this point, however, it is my pleasure to present to some and introduce to others Doctor Diana Eck who will provide us with a multimedia presentation on the changing face of faith. Diana Eck is Professor of Comparative Religion and Indian Studies at Harvard University where she is Chair of the Committee on the Study of Religion in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. She's also a member of the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies as well as the Faculty of Divinity.

I've heard much about her and I got a chance to work with her at the Harvard Divinity School. It's good to see you again. And she's currently a member of the International Presidium of the World Conference on Religion and Peace. It is my pleasure this morning to introduce Doctor Diana L. Eck. Won't you receive her as she comes.

(Applause)

DOCTOR ECK: Have you got my thing up on the screen now? It's a great pleasure to be here and talk about the changing face of religion in America in the context of the President's Initiative on Race.

And I want to begin this by casting our minds back to 1965, a year in which many of you, I'm sure, were working on the Civil Rights Act, and talk about something else that happened in 1965 which was a new immigration act that brought to an end an immigration policy that had been shaped over the years by exclusion based on race.

That immigration policy had many chapters going back to 1882 with the first Chinese Exclusion Act and continuing right up through the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 that effectively closed off immigration, especially immigration from Asia and many other parts of the world. But with the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s, it began to be clear that we could not have an immigration policy based on racism if we were working against racism in every other aspect of our lives.

Robert Kennedy as Attorney General, speaking in favor of the Immigration Act in Congress, said, "Everywhere in our national life we are trying to eliminate discrimination based on national origin and yet it is still the basis of our immigration policy." And so the 1965 Immigration Act, in a sense a kind of a tandem of the Civil Rights Act, was a

catalyst of many of the kinds of the changes that we've begun to see in American society, especially in the last 30 years.

This new immigration, as it's sometimes called, from Asia, from Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, has changed the face of America. We know that it's changed our faith, our faces in terms of our racial composition, and it also has changed our faces in terms of our religious composition. We, the people of the United States of America. Who do we mean when we say we? Probably the most important question that any people ever face. And we can no longer speak of religion as if we lived in America of the 1950s in which the sociologist Bill Herberg — described us as a three religion nation: Protestant, Catholic and Jewish.

Today, our "we" as Americans include Buddhist Americans like the Hawaiian born Buddhist astronaut who died on the Challenger. It includes Muslim Americans like the first Muslim who was commissioned in 1996 only as a chaplain in the U.S. Navy. Muslim Americans like the Muslim major in the Oklahoma City Fire Department who spent two weeks working in the rubble of the Morrow Federal Building.

Our "we" includes Hindu and Jains and Sikhs and surgeons and political advisors from South It includes Native American legislators and activists. It includes Christians now of all races and denominations: Hispanic Pentecostalist, the black Baptists and Vietnamese Catholics and Presbyterians. It includes Jews from Black Coat Labrators -- to Reform women rabbis. It includes Baha'is and Unitarians and our we also has to include a wide range of people who exercise the freedom to stand outside all of our faith communities as ardent secularists or ethical humanists.

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So that's who we are, you might say, religiously now in the 1990s. More of us are Muslims than Episcopalians. More of us are Muslims than members of the Presbyterian Church USA with its headquarters right here in Louisville. There are nearly as many Muslims as Jews in the United States. Some four to six million Muslims, more than a quarter African-American Muslims. We don't take a religious census but we literally in one sense do now know who we are religiously beyond some of these rough statistics. How many Hindus? How many Buddhists? How many Sikhs and others? Of course, we're still

basking in the majority Christians of our various denominations but, large and small, our religious minorities in America have reshaped the religious landscape for all of us. It's not about numbers. It's about how we deal with our differences.

And we hear this term multi-cultural. Some people think multi-cultural is some sort of ideology invented by people like me in universities to describe what's happening in the U.S. Multi-cultural is a fact of our lives. This diversity is a fact of our city. This is our new cultural myth.

And my focus as a researcher in the last few years has been to develop a project called the Pluralism Project that really investigates the changing religious dimensions of this new multicultural myth. My students have fanned out over the summers to their home towns all over America to document the changing face of religious America. We produced a CD ROM which you see on the screen here asking three kinds of questions.

The first, a new religious landscape.

What changes have taken place in the religious landscape of our cities and towns with new Islamic centers and temples of Buddhists and Hindus. Second,

how are our religious traditions changing as they grapple with this new reality of America and its many problems in the 20th Century? Not just how are Buddhists doing as Buddhism takes root in American soil, but how are Christians and Jews doing as they begin to encounter the reality of Buddhist neighbors?

And a third question, how is America changing as the freedom of religion exercised by and cherished by America's founders is now cherished by Muslims and Buddhists and Sikhs and Hindus who have come to America as immigrants. And to talk about some of these questions, how we relate to one another, we invite an Orthodox Jewish Rabbi, a Native American Muskogee Crete Indian, a liberal Christian theologian, a Muslim seminist lawyer, and the Russian Orthodox -- sets the stage.

(A videotape is played.)

NARRATOR: What America means to Jews after centuries of being persecuted precisely because of the way we look -- and for the first time in a place where it's perfectly all right for them to wear a black top coat -- He appreciates it because America gives him a chance to be himself without losing his humanity.

NARRATOR: We talk about religious freedom in this country and yet the first people who were here are still suffering. Many people are very touched by the sensitivity that has to be shown to Jewish people and to the Hindus and to the Muslims, but yet you have a whole group of people who are already here who already had spirituality and no one realizes that this group is still fighting to be able to practice what they did freely before colonization. I can not say that I'm an American. I'm a Muskogee Crete Indian and that's who I am.

NARRATOR: I think what's powerful about America is that there is the possibility for exploring community amidst diversity. What's frightening is that we have a history of people imposing their own understanding of life on everyone else and so we don't have a good record of even being willing to engage around the question, but the possibility still exists that we can explore what it means to be a prolific society in ways that other countries don't have the possibility of exploring.

NARRATOR: It's a brand new experiment in human history that we have here, and I think we ought to be appreciative of that. It's an absolutely

phenomenal opportunity that's been given to the United States of America. We have people from all over the world. We have people of virtually every religious tradition there is. Whether we are going to make it as a people with this immense rich heterogenous population or whether we're going to burst apart into some kind of fragmentation is still a question in my mind.

NARRATOR: I used to be very critical of the U.S. in the early days. When I got into the reasons for this, I started seeing America for what I think it really is. Everybody has -- essentially it's a place where everybody has a seat at the table and can be counted and will not be silenced. and you might say, oh, but that, you know, it goes against everything we know about what's happening on race issues, etcetera. And I tell you yes, that's true -but the thing is you can stand up and say I don't like your racism, I don't like your parochialism. talk to somebody and say you're silencing me a -- I can talk about these things and struggle with it and fight about it so that the ideal of America one day will come to be true.

DOCTOR ECK: The religious landscape of

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America is changing in all of our cities and towns in ways that for many of us are invisible. If you want to look at the first generation of Islamic centers in the recent immigration, in the last 30 years, you would have to go to places like a former watch factory in Queens or a mattress showroom in North Ridge, California or a U-Haul dealership in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. You could drive right by and not notice there was anything different about this neighborhood.

But in looking for these places, we've gradually begun to see that there's a visible landscape as well and that the visibility of our communities of faith has also at time become their vulnerability, and we'll talk more about that later. But here's a glimpse of some of the landscape you may or may not have seen.

America has always had a religious landscape. Its mountains, forests, waters have been cherished by native people and throughout the history of this land, newcomers have brought their distinctive religious traditions. The multitude and range of Christian churches, the diversity and vibrance of Jewish synagogues have long been part of religious America.

Today the religious landscape of America is changing rapidly. In a leafy suburb of Boston not far from the starting point of the Boston Marathon, the Hindu Community of New England has built a new temple consecrated with the waters of Indian's Ganges River -- mingled with the waters of the Mississippi. It is one of dozens of brand new American Hindu temples on a hilltop in Chicago or in the suburbs of Atlanta, Georgia. There are Hindu summer camps in the countryside of Pennsylvania.

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Just off the interstate outside Toledo, Ohio a new musjud or mosque rises from the corn fields. Today the call to prayer may be heard in the new Islamic Center in New York City or in the old mother mosque of America in Cedar Rapids, Iowa or in the dramatic landscape of New Mexico. Buddhists light incense and offer prayer on the island of Honolulu and in the heartland of America in Oklahoma Building Buddhist temples has brought the architectural traditions of Asia to America. The largest Buddhist temple in the western hemisphere is in Hacienda Heights, California.

In Blairstown, New Jersey the Jains -- have opened a religious retreat center and in

Bartlett, Illinois this ancient religious community rooted in India has built a spectacular new temple. The Sikh community also has its roots in India. Its places of worship called Gudjuaras may be found from Glen Rock, New Jersey all across America to El Sabrante, California.

The ancient Zoroaster community comes to America from Iran and India and has built new temples in San Jose and in Garden Grove, California. A landmark Baha'i Temple rises in Wilmett, Illinois. A Shinto Shrine brings traditions of Japan to Stockton, California. A multitude of tiny botanicas signal the presence of a new Afro-Caribbean community and open air rituals link pagan traditions to the land.

All over America there are new neighbors today. The Cambodian Buddhist Temple and the Muslim Community Center are next door neighbors in Silver Spring, Maryland along with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Mongol Mundir Hindu Temple. Atonement Lutheran Church in San Diego sits right next door to the new Islamic Center and in Freemont, California a Methodist Church and a mosque are building side by side on the street they have named Peace Terrace. All these traditions have now made a physical difference

in America's religious landscape.

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That Methodist Church and the Mosque building on Peace Terrace in Freemont, California might well be an example of one of those promising practices. People actually affirmed being neighbors to one another, practicing it, living it out. We have a screen here that gives us an indication of what our quote "community of faith" looks like. It's not one community at all, but multiple communities, many religious traditions. And our challenge is to take this diversity and create something that we really could call pluralism. Diversity is not pluralism in and of itself. It's just diversity, a fact, not a vision. But pluralism is something we actually have to create. It implies not just live and let live diversity but the active engagement with one another across the lines of our differences. It's not the melting away of our differences but the symphony of our differences, if you want to put it that way, or perhaps even better, the jazz of our differences symphonies concluded and because are jazz is improvisational, but it requires creating music out of that difference by listening to and hearing the music of one another in the kind of dialogue that these

forums are intended to create. That is pluralism.

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But if we want to talk about how it's going in America of the 1990s in that encounter with religious diversity, we have some challenges to look at and this screen says Today's Challenges. probably about all of it you can see. But there are two pictures here. One of them in the upper left hand corner is a small image of the ground breaking of a new Islamic Center in Sharon, Massachusetts in the spring of 1993. This Islamic community had had a hard time acquiring property. In fact, it had been turned down by another suburb in Milton. It was then this suburb of Sharon, more than half Jewish, opened its arms to the new Islamic Center and this inter-faith ground breaking with dozens of Jewish and Christian religious leaders participating was a ground breaking in virtually every sense of the word.

The image in the lower right hand corner tells another story, and that's also an American story today. A mosque nearly completed in Yuba City, California burned to the ground by an arson attack in September of 1994, its arches and minarets lying in a pile of ash. As we know too well, our religious communities have as their visible markers those

institutions, those churches and synagogues cemeteries and mosques that stand in a way for the soul of the community. We know the history of black churches, of the desecration of Jewish cemeteries. But violence like the arson attack in Yuba City is often directed against unfamiliar religious institutions and in 1995 alone the Council on American-Islamic Relations, newly а organization that is somewhat like the Anti-Defamation League, reported the arson of a mosque in Highpoint, North Carolina in April, Springfield, Illinois in June, Greenville, South Carolina in October.

Today's challenges are many and, if we ask that question, will our differences divide us, as the President just asked, or will they be our greatest strength, we have to ask how is it going and how will we find out. How is it going, the creation of one America? Will our future will be one of inter-faith ground breaking or incidents of arson? Will we encounter one another across the lines of our difference or will we shrink from one another in suspicion and fear? Where do we look for finding answers to that question?

If you want to find out how we're doing,

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I would suggest this. Go to your zoning board where Vietnamese Buddhists, for example, in southern California struggle to get clearance to build a temple, where Muslims in Fairfax County, Virginia struggle against stereotype to get clearance to open a school.

Go to your local newspaper where incidents of vandalism are reported, often on the back pages. The Hindu Jane Temple in Pittsburgh, for example, broken into, its deity smashed and the word leave scrawled across the alter or a tiny Cambodian Temple in Portland, Maine, its door hacked down with an axe, the contents of the Buddha Hall strewn in the yard, the words "Dirty Asian Chinks, go home" written on the wall.

Or go to a public school, the front lines of encountering this new multi-religious reality with religious issues so complex on the ground in our public schools that the Dallas Independent School District convened a religious leader's task force of Buddhists and Sikhs and Hindus and Catholics and Muslims and Jews to provide advice. Or go to our colleges and universities where the presence of students of many faiths has challenged and, in many

cases, changed the shape of our chaplaincy. Come to my own university, that old Puritan university in the northeast, where the day after tomorrow on Baccalaureate there will be readings from the Holy Koran in Arabic and from the Hindu Hanasha in Sanskrit along with more traditional readings from the Bible.

Or go to our hospitals where questions of critical care for patients of many faiths are on the agenda or go to our corporations where the question of religious diversity in the work place is moving to the front burner. At Whirlpool the issue of religious accommodation for Muslims, at Sambo's, can a turbaned Sikh wear a turban in a family restaurant or at US Air, can a Muslim woman wear hajab a head scarf and work as a flight attendant? Or go to our public institutions where religious minorities are increasingly claiming a visible face in one America.

June of 1991, Aman Sarad Swahad of Brooklyn for the first time in history opens a session of the U.S. House of Representatives with a daily prayer. February of 1996, for the first time in history the Clintons welcome Muslims to the White House on the occasion of Edal Fitri at the end of the month of Ramadan. Or go to the burgeoning number of

inter-faith councils across America in cities and towns, Lincoln, Nebraska to Rochester, New York, where there are new instruments of relationship in the public square addressing issues of urban violence, of inter-religious understanding.

So how are we doing with all this difference? Are we practicing a symphony or creating cacophony? Is it jazz or is it just noise, the piercing interplay of sirens and gunshot? Are we a nation undergoing what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has called the disuniting of America? Too much pluribus, not enough unum? Or are we in the difficult process of creating a much needed and very important model of a multi-racial, multi-cultural, and multi-religious society?

The answer to these questions is being written now in this decade in cities and towns all over America in this critical chapter of American history and I don't have the answer to this question but I have brought along that group of friends with me who have their views about our differences. Thinking about differences in the public square. Will our differences divide us or become our deepest and most vibrant source of strength?

(A videotape is played.)

MARRATOR: There's a verse in the Koran I must mention to you. It says that "God has created us, nations and tribes, so that we get to know the father." So it is for communication, not for confrontation, that God created us as different, i.e., not to feel superior about each other but to know, to interact, diversity to be celebrated.

NARRATOR: I celebrate, I enjoy the multiethnicity of -- in every tradition because that helps me to understand something about the human nature, that we are not the same. We have multiple identities and multiple ways of looking at experience in life. So Christianity itself, Christianity alone can not provide a comprehensive way of living and attitude.

NARRATOR: There are a lot of people out there who still had that mentality that when you come to dialogue we've got to make them all Christians and that's not it at all. They're missing the point altogether because they're really coming to build some bridges and to further your own understanding about who you are and to say "I'm in dialogue with you because this is who I am and I want to know who you are."

NARRATOR: I have a feeling sometimes these conferences and so on, maybe not even accomplish as much as just going over the fence and talking to your neighbor. Dialogue can happen when I'm living next to a Christian neighbor and they find out I'm a Buddhist and at first they don't know what that means. But slowly they see that I'm taking out my trash every day, they see that I'm not burning bodies in the back Then they begin to interact with you as a human being and the kinds of things you might say to your neighbor who's of a different faith about the lawn, about taking out recycling, about the everyday things which on occasion include something about their religious life, a holiday coming up, or my religious I'm practicing meditation at 6 in the morning. I'm sorry the bells are ringing. That kind of thing has an actual practical effect in which neighbors of different faiths come to know each other in a very natural way.

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NARRATOR: I'm reminded of a time when my dear friend, the Anglican priest in town, on Christmas Eve -- I mean it's got to be the busiest time of the year for him. I mean, it's got to be crazy busy. What does he do? He comes to the Rabbi's house with

a present. This had your name on it. It was under our tree and we weren't sure you would know to come over to visit our tree to claim your present. That, to me, is religious diversity. When I invite him back to have Sabbath dinner with us, I hope he gets the same sense of loving generosity and treatment back from me.

NARRATOR: What matters is that people connect on a grass roots level and begin to learn about each other's lives. All of us become learners again when we approach the idea of really creating a pluralistic community. And it's really going to be hard work.

DOCTOR ECK: And that's our last word. And it's going to be hard for us. Thank you very much and at this point I'd like to invite the three people who are going to be our panelists for the rest of the morning to come forward. Doctor Robert Henderson, Kunwar Bhatnagar and Sister Aminah Assilmi. We'll begin with the panel in which each of them will talk from their own perspective about some of the things that are most on their minds as they think about these questions of religious communities and the race initiative. And then we're going to open it to you to

make your own comments and questions, coming forward to the mike. That will be after a few minutes. So if I can have our panelists come forward and be seated, we'll begin this next part of the program. Thank you.

(Applause)

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DOCTOR ECK: I'm going to be a strict disciplinarian. Each of our panelists gets about three minutes to say what's most on his or her mind about the issues that we're discussing today. we're going to have a bit of a discussion amongst But first let me introduce Doctor ourselves here. Robert Henderson, Secretary-General and the CEO of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is in the United States headquartered in Wilmette, Illinois. addition to being a leader of the national governing body of the Baha'i community, Doctor Henderson has published several articles and books on management systems in-service programs. Doctor Henderson.

DOCTOR HENDERSON: Well, good morning. I'm happy to be here this morning and I want you to know that in the Baha'i teachings, the eradication of racial prejudice and building of race unity is not only the driving social development principle but a spiritual commandment of our faith. The Baha'i

teachings hold that the eradication of prejudice is the supreme injunction of the Baha'i faith and the hallmark of a true Baha'i character.

Now the Baha'i teachings call for action on two fronts. One, the eradication of racial differences within the Baha'i community and, second, fostering what we call unity in diversity in the nation at large, and we've been at that for over 100 years. Some recent efforts come to mind and I would commend to your consideration promising practices. in 1991 the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the United States published a statement on the vision of race unity and its relationship to the destiny of the American nation.

Concerned about the proliferation of hate crimes and discord among the races and religious groups, the National Spiritual Assembly started a series of studies called Models of Unity, Racial, Ethnic and Religious, in which the specific objective was to identify where people are getting along, how they're doing, what kinds of transformational effects those efforts of inter-racial and inter-religious and inter-ethnic cooperation are having in transforming the character of our communities and our nation and

how widespread those are. We've now conducted them in four cities throughout the United States.

And currently the American Baha'i community, over 7,000 American Baha'i communities, are involved in concert with the President's Initiative in The Power of Race Unity. This is a handbook which has been distributed to those 7,000 communities who have been asked to hold at least 2,000 gatherings by the Year 2000. This puts it together and this video is being played BET, the Black Entertainment Network, soon on Discovery and the Odyssey channel, to give the vision of America's destiny of unity and diversity and the contribution Baha'is have been making to that.

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you very much.

(Applause)

DOCTOR ECK: Doctor Kunwar Bhatnagar is an old friend from a previous visit to Louisville, the leader of the Hindu Temple of Kentucky in Louisville, which I had the pleasure of visiting, and a professor of anatomical sciences and neural biology for the last 26 years at the University of Louisville School of Medicine. He is a scientist of national and international repute. Doctor Bhatnagar.

DOCTOR BHATNAGAR: I have three minutes

and in three minutes I can only offer a prayer so I offer a prayer.

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(Whereupon, Dr. Bhatnagar sang a prayer)

That's my prayer. I bring salutations to you from the Hindu Temple of Kentucky which is in Louisville and Hindu Temples everywhere in United States and abroad and other places. We at the Temple, do we only pray? No, we do more things than praying. Prayer is an integral part and let me offer my personal viewpoint that religion is a very personal thing between me and the supernatural, the almighty whom we call God. There are other people who intervene, who come in between us, but that is one definition of religion.

Hindu Temple, the changing face in Louisville really -- there are Indians, as Professor Eck said earlier, that in 1965 with the opening of the immigration laws, more and more people began to come I myself came in 1968 so I came to the United States in that era. My home is an example of integration. I have two daughters. One is married to a Jewish doctor and my other daughter is married to a Catholic person and I have grandchildren I do not know where they will marry. So this is true integration.

We all go to each other's services and, regardless of what we pray or what we do, we never question. We just enjoy each other's faith.

The Hindu Temple in Louisville, Kentucky is situated on Westport Road and 841. It is open. There are priests, there are deities, there are many deities in the Hindu Temple and the big, great western question is that why Hindus have to have so many gods, emphasis on gods. Western world has given a very poor translation of the word gods. There is only one god in Hinduism. That is Vishnu. All the other so-called deities, they are the highest realized being which are, again using poor terminology from English, minor gods.

So at the Hindu Temple we go to the charge of our duties in numerous fields. In science, we have a Nobel prize winning scientist from Chicago. Researchers, medical doctors, surgeons, computer specialists and you see this orange block here, whenever you see this sign, this boldly and pleasantly cries out saying that "brother, you have no fear here." Hindus accept every religion, every faith, everyone and there is -- I'm echoing some original words who came to this country in 1893. "I put this

on my shoulder and you have accepted me and my behavior." Hundred years ago Swami Bevikianay (phonetic) was walking in the streets of Chicago with this kind of robe. Somebody pulled his turban from behind on the street. Swami did not pull his gun out. He had no gun, by the way. He turned around to this man and he said, "What pleasure did you derive from this? What did you get?" The man was dumbfounded. He thought that this was an Oriental. For some reason he did not know, was a graduate of Calcutta University and he was speaking better English than many of the people could speak in 1893. So this great man Swami Bevikianay (phonetic), I will only bring you a small quote from him.

"After so much perpercia (phonetic) or austerity, I have known that the highest truth is this." I remind you Swami Bevikianay (phonetic) was not an average human being. He is present in all being. These are all the manifested forms of him and please pay attention to the next word, the next sentence that Swami said. "There is no other God to speak for. He alone is worshipping God who serves all beings."

This is President Clinton's Initiative on

Race. Charity and torture begin from my home but I'm taking a big leap and going straight away to the planet. My vision and my prayer is that we talk of race so that it is of our race. What race? We are, are we not, all human beings? We belong to human race. Once again, my greetings to you and I thank all those who gave me this opportunity for this brief presentation. Thank you.

## (Applause)

DOCTOR BHATNAGAR: And one concluding remark. I forget. I'm an absent-minded professor. How many of you have seen or read this book? The title is "Encountering God from Boziman (phonetic) to Benares" The author is Professor Diana Eck. I will say that anybody who talks about race or any such issues, this book should be a required reading. Thank you.

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you, Doctor Bhatnagar.

Our next panelist is Sister Aminah Assilmi who is the Director of the International Union of Muslim Women. She was raised a Southern Baptist. She chose Islam as her way of life in 1977. And Sister Assilmi serves on the Advisory Board for two of the most energetic new instruments of Islamic

participation in the American public square, the American Muslim Council and the Council on American Islamic Relations. Sister Aminah.

MS. ASSILMI: Salaam. In Islam we always are to greet everyone with a smiling countenance and a greeting of peace, so I begin with that. And then I move to tell you also that Islam in this country predates Columbus by several hundred years actually. Islam, in spite of that, is always represented as a foreign religion predominantly representative of Arab states. But that's not what it is. The Islamic capacity and we're striving to bring together people of all nationalities.

I represent in my own family so many different cultures and so many different religions. We have Southern Baptists, we have Methodists, we have Catholics, we have Hindus, we have Buddhists, we have those who follow what we call the Natural Way, the Native American way, and of course we have a Muslim, or two, or three. We also have all the different nationalities represented within our family because we come from Native American background, North African background, from European background.

With all the diversity just within my own

family, sometimes things can become interesting. But we have learned what is most important amongst all religions is that we were created by one God, by the creator of all humanity, and we, as we follow our own true traditions, know that we must treat everyone with equality, with respect, with sincerity and with love as is ordered by Allah, by tradition.

My family will not be torn apart by our religious differences or by our cultural differences. We believe that the way we've chosen to follow is what will be of most benefit and as we come to understand each other, understand our uniqueness, our differences, not try to change each other but to accept that, to respect that and this is a model of how peace will be achieved. This is how we can finally achieve the goal of wiping out discrimination, wiping out fear and, God willing, wiping out war.

There's a lot of misinformation about Islam. In fact, most of what you hear is going to be misinformation about Islam unfortunately. I'm frequently shocked by what I hear. There's a lot of prejudice against Muslims, especially any time something happens that involves the so-called Muslim countries. Over the years, I've experienced many

instances. When we bombed Libya, the newspaper ran a title in Denver, Colorado that said, We hit Libya, not Ana" which sounds like a child. That very same day when I was sitting in the Islamic Center, people drove by the nursery and shot holes in the mosque, blew out all of our windows of my car.

In California, when Iraq invaded Iran, my little boy, who was in the 5th grade, was beat up by a group of children five years older than he was. They used baseball bats because his name was Mohammed and yet when I went to school to try and find out what we could do, the school would not accept what I said even though there was another witness. She happened to also be a Muslim and they said these people always stick together and they did nothing to protect my child.

When I moved to Kentucky and my child was attacked repeatedly, his mother was ridiculed which caused a lot of trauma to him, and yet his school would not come forward and have any kind of program where we could introduce the children to Islam, to Muslims, to see that we were not something to be scared of and not something to be hated. We're Americans. We've chosen

our path, which is Islam, and Islam is a choice, it's not a birthright. It's not a heredity. It's a choice that we have made.

We choose also to remain as Americans. We love this country. We consider ourselves to be very valuable assets to this country and will continue to struggle to try and have other people come to know us so that you will see that we have nothing but peace in our hearts and nothing to offer you but that which you need. Salaam.

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you very much.

(Applause)

DOCTOR ECK: Well, you would think from some of the things we've heard this morning that everything was just fine in terms of our religious communities. We have the challenge from an earlier speaker. Are our religious communities the taillights or the headlights? And I think it's probably true that we hear more in the newspapers about the ways in which we're the taillights. It might be important to begin to share some of the ways in which there is vision and are some headlights here.

And I'm wondering, Doctor Henderson, if you would say something very brief about these models

of unity that you have discovered in various cities and towns across the country. Where is that we see places where people are coming together across racial-religious lines and doing what you might call pilot projects that would stimulate our discussion here?

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MOCTOR HENDERSON: I'd be happy to. You know, in the Baha'i teachings the Baha'i is believe in the oneness of humankind. We believe in the unity of religion. We believe that we are all the children of the same loving God and that our object is to bring about the unity of all humankind, the equality of women and men, the eradication of poverty. So one of the obligations of the Baha'i community is to examine how unity is made. We felt that it wasn't enough to analyze conflict and discord, which is everywhere. That's a part of the equation of social change, but it is not sufficient to bring about social transformation or individual change.

And so we felt that there was a need for a broad-based research on how people are coming together whether is and or not that pattern significant. And what we found was truly astonishing. First, we found the obvious, that inter-racial and inter-religious inter-ethnic conflict and is

everywhere. But then we found the not so obvious. We found that inter-racial, inter-cultural and inter-religious cooperation and development are also everywhere and we found things like the Peace Parish. We found black churches and white churches who had been separated 125 years ago coming back together, brought together by a person of another religion. Three women had met on their job.

We found neighborhoods that had been overrun by gangs and by drugs and violence where the parents of different races had been completely alienated, came together in a common concern about their children and were able to eliminate crime completely from that neighborhood, not with the Mayor's Gang Intervention Program, but with the power of unity.

We found a whole city in Pasadena where the city had taken, through an initiative of the Western Justice Center and the Baha'i, from the Mayor's office to Chief of Police to the school systems, the newspapers and so on, right on the aftermath of Proposition 187, a very different look at the transformation of that city and has decided to commit itself to becoming a model of unity and has set

a program, a multi-year program which they have since funded, to bring about that transformation.

And the importance of all these, and I've just mentioned a few of the many that I could mention, government initiatives, big university initiatives, hospital initiatives, corporate initiatives and so on. The importance of this is that in virtually every aspect of life there are these models of unity which are telling us that we have the vision, we have the emotional and spiritual wherewithal and we are beginning to learn the language and the practices of unity.

We felt that that information was important to organize so that we might better understand the constituent elements of bringing about unity, understanding, cooperation in social change.

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you very much.

Let me turn to Doctor Bhatnagar and simply ask about the city of Louisville. Do you see any evidence here of this kind of coming together across lines of religious leaders to create new instruments of cooperation in this city?

DOCTOR BHATNAGAR: Yes. I would say so because in the early '80s, since the early '80s I have

been part of Kentuckian Interstate Community and there are several inter-faith groups now working in Louisville and there are representatives here in the audience that have inter-faith (inaudible) the Jewish federation of Louisville and Capitol Hereditary Foundation. So I have seen evidence of inter-faith activities a great deal in the last 10 - 15 years and they are being very, very helpful. Most of these organizations have outreach programs available.

DOCTOR ECK: So if inter-faith passed the peak, for example, would do what? Are there programs that people could say, this is something that people do together?

DOCTOR BHATNAGAR: Yes, yes. We invite people from different sources and they have a board of leaders from various representative faiths and then they do many kinds of activities. I'll give you an example. Just on Memorial Day, a great Memorial Day service was held and eight religions came together. Each one of them offered their prayers and an entire litany of battles was read and they remembered all those great Americans who lost their lives in those battles. So all along the years there are programs like this where people from different faiths and

people from different walks of life are coming together.

DOCTOR ECK: We're going to turn just a moment to audience discussion, so be thinking of the kind of questions you'd like to ask these people or me and I see that our moderator has also arrived for the morning. Maybe you could moderate that part of the program.

And let me just turn to Sister Aminah Assilmi with another kind of question. You're a Euro-American Muslim and people definitely would notice that. That means you're a convert. You've embraced Islam as someone who was not born Muslim. Within the Muslim community, is there a sense of on the whole racial unity or do you kind of stand out among Muslims who have come from so many parts of the world to the Islamic Centers of America? What is your experience in this regard?

MS. ASSILMI: There's such cultural diversity at most of the Islamic Centers that I don't stand out any more than anyone else because we have so many countries represented and so many backgrounds represented. And that's one of the things I really enjoy. Our dinners are almost going to a United

Nations meeting that actually works.

DOCTOR ECK: So when you think about this issue -- I mean is there a distinctive way, and so many have embarked Islam because they really feel that Islam has made real on the promise of a non-racist religion. Is there a contribution that the Muslim community in Louisville and elsewhere is making actively to this discussion of race?

MS. ASSILMI: Well, actually, there are several things that FUMWA has going in particular. One of them, we started quite a few years ago working in the public schools trying to educate educators a little bit about Islam, correcting the misinformation in the textbooks. We began talking about Islam but then as we continued on, we discovered that it wasn't just our problem, that there was a cultural diversity that wasn't being taught. There was a cultural diversity that was being ignored and there were children who were being hurt and we couldn't stand by and watch that hurt continue.

So we started a program that we now do all over the country where we bring in women -- I don't know why we don't bring in men but right now we just deal with women primarily. Maybe because we're a

women's organization. But we bring in women of different faith groups and women of different Some of the schools would not accept a cultures. religious format, so it's called а cultural sensitivity workshop we conduct for educators and sometimes set up programs for the schools where we can introduce the different cultures and religions to the students so they can become familiar with these things.

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The fear comes from not knowing something. We'll more be inclined to be afraid of something that you don't know. So our hope is by letting people come know the different religions and different cultures, they can see there is a commonality and there's nothing terribly frightening about that. have a lot of other programs that we're working with, too, but this is the one right now that we're the most pleased with because we're seeing a difference in schools where they have accepted coming in and doing our workshops and doing the programs with the children. We actually have a week long festival that we try to do with the kids where the children have to see the culture other than one they have in their heritage and they have to learn and live that culture

in some small groups and then they can present their experience to the entire school and it's had a wonderful effect on the children when they try to live as a Hindu when they've never met one before.

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you very much. Ιt sounds to me as if, even from the panel here, we have a few things that might be written up for that list of 500 or should we make it 1,000 promising practices. But now is your chance to ask questions. We have some time for questions, responses from the panel. And, if it's not a question, your own comments or experience. We're asking people to limit themselves to no more than two minutes and if you can, make your way to the microphone in the center so that everyone can hear you. We have a pretty good space in this room but I think for our purposes it would be best if you came to a microphone so you don't have to raise your hand and, in many cases, if you do raise your hand, I might not see you. But if I do, I'll ask you to come to the microphone and I see someone coming right down the front aisle as I speak. So identify yourself. Perhaps contextualize yourself and your community here and tell us what's on your mind.

MR. SHARIF: Greetings. My name is G.A.

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Sharif. I just wanted to comment that inter-faith activity in Louisville is in a very high gear. We work with rabbis and priests and many other organizations. One incident that helped us most I wanted to share with you and then let it be --

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There was a -- there still is what is called Task Core Force for the National (unintelligible) and that group has been holding public celebrations in Louisville and then one year -this was about couple of years ago -- the head person of that committee invited a couple of rabbis and a couple of priests, including a Greek Orthodox Priest whom I am very close to them. So when they were invited they said, "Oh, this is great. We need to expand the prayer services" and in the planning meeting they said, "We need to include reading from the Koran and we want Doctor Sharif to read that. Immediately the Chairperson said, "I'm sorry. Му instructions from Colorado Springs is that this is a closed organization. Only today are Christians worshipping he held in this." And then immediately the rabbis as well as the priests, they protested, left the committee and they made it a front page newspaper article.

And that really helped a great deal, the fact that they came to the aid of the Muslim community and we are very appreciative of that. And therefore, there are many other things going on. Our friend Rabbi Ranumal (phonetic) is here. We work very closely. We had an inter-faith prayer service in his temple. So it's our pleasure to really participate in this. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you. Thank you.

MR. CYRUS: My name is Johanir (phonetic)
Cyrus. I'm originally a native of Persia, born in
Iran. I have a couple of comments, quick comments and
could be also in the form of a question to the panel.
I think there were a few times that the question was
raised by statements made by several people whether
we're going to make it. I came with the expectation
to this meeting today that we are going to make it.
We will have to make it. The question is whether this
generation or we're going to have to pass on the
responsibility to the next.

Sister's comments were very refreshing because in early '80s and late '70s I, as a Baha'i, found myself in a very odd situation, defending the

Islam and its teachings while my brothers and my relatives were being slaughtered in the land of their birth, Persia, in the name of Islam.

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My question to the panel is: How could we as leaders or servants of different religions come together, speak about unity, without regarding the founders of these religions as educators in one divine curriculum and agents in one divine court? also encouraged and stimulated presentation, Doctor Eck. I find examples of violence that you cited has really counted for the people to come together. What really I feel that has kept us Farsis together is spirit of apathy the indifference and denial. How could we address that?

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you very, very much.

(Applause)

DOCTOR ECK: Doctor Henderson.

DOCTOR HENDERSON: I want to make one comment about this. I have particularly emphasized the development of models of race unity but I want to make a comment on the other side because you pointed out the need for that. I come from the area of Chicago which is one of the great metropolitan cities anywhere in the world but right in the middle of

Chicago are 500,000 school kids, 85 percent of whom are black, 85 percent of whom are impoverished and 70 percent of the children entering the Chicago school system at the kindergarten age do not know their last name.

They are being failed in every way and one of the aspects of the failure is the disintegration of faith communities and their inability to reach out and provide the kinds of support, encouragement, moral and spiritual vision and practical assistance that a faith community is intended to provide. I think that Doctor Sharif's point is very valid. No matter what faith we are from, this is an emergency call to people who believe in anything constructive because we face a challenge which is at the core and the heart of our nation which will undermine the nation itself. no mistake. It is a threat to the internal order and national security of the nation. We have tremendous potential, but we also have tremendous problems that require a unified action by all of us.

(Applause)

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you. Thank you very much.

Doctor Bhatnagar would like a moment of

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response on this as well.

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DOCTOR BHATNAGAR: No. I thank you. I just want to invite two people who are in the audience here. One is Janet Irvin. She's the Director of Inter-faith (unintelligible) to comment on the organization and Helen Lang who is the Executive Director of the Asian Institute If you so kindly would like to comment. Thank you.

DOCTOR ECK: You're being called to the line. I would like to say just one other thing in response to the previous speaker, as well. Something that we must remember and that is that all over the world the issue of whether or not we can sustain multi-religious society is being challenged and we see disintegration of many formerly multi-religious societies, Lebanon, Yugoslavia, etcetera, long lines of religious, ethnic, cultural conflict. And we have to be clear that we're not living in some sort of isolation in the United States. We do have people from both India and Pakistan, people from both Iran and Baha'i.

Our question is: Are we going to recapitulate the strife of the rest of the world wi]thin our borders or are we going to create

something else? And I think the question that Johanir (phonetic) Cyrus raised is one that really prompts us to think about that in a very deep way.

MS. COBB: I'm Reba Cobb and I'm the new Executive Director for the Kentuckian Inter-Faith Community. Thank you for mentioning us. We are a 20 year old, actually a 19 year old multi-faith agency covering 10 counties, three in Indiana and seven in Kentucky. So we are an old organization that I think has helped historically to keep and move Louisville to a good, unified inter-faith community, and we will continue to work at that.

My question is this. I read your book, Diana. Some people in the audience may not know that you won the Gramer (phonetic) Award in Religion for that book in 1993.

DOCTOR ECK: '93, '95. I forget.

MS. COBB: It's a good book. I recommend it. I was on the committee that read the book and recommended you. I very much enjoyed your book.

But here's my question. In it you talk about pluralism and you talked about pluralism today and I understand the difference in the two words diversity and pluralism. But there is a huge fear

with people when we use the word pluralism. I have seen it, so I've stopped using it because people are frightened of it. Do you have a third word? Is there someone who can come up with a new way to say it because I understand diversity isn't totally correct but pluralism is frightening and it's the fear of not knowing.

and you can't sort of go around saying, well, this is what pluralism is all the time. Pluralism is not relativism. Doesn't mean you have to water down what you believe. It's really the engagement of our differences that pluralism isn't just wishy-washy tolerance, believe anything you want, but really begin to know something about these differences.

The problem is I think you're right. People are uncertain about this word pluralism. So if anyone has some suggestions to Rita's question, I'd like to hear them, too. What is that word that describes this one America that is not just the islands of difference with no connection with one another but the engagement of our differences in common purpose? I call that pluralism in the most positive sense of the word. But we may need some

language that describes this in a way that enables people to hear it. Thank you.

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MS. COBB: It's a dirty word. It's not a good word, so we need help. Thank you.

DOCTOR ECK: Thank you.

DAN ENGLAND: ...in Charles Town, West Virginia, and kind of a transplant from Atlanta, Georgia, into the Appalachian community. And in that context, I raise two questions. One to Doctor Anderson -- I mean, Doctor Henderson. You mention management systems, or management systems mentioned in the context of presenting you and the kind of work that you have done into the high faith community. Charles Town is kind of a unique situation now, as well as West Virginia, because of a Toyota plant that comes into Putnam county, the difficulty in bridging that cultural gap. The Appalachian context it seemed to me to be a very unique kind of situation to talk initiatives because often --

Now, here's the notion that the Appalachian hegemony would prevent one from being concerned about the arrival of other cultures. In West Virginia, it's less than 10 percent black and

when you get down to the "other," that usually includes Muslims, Hindu, and Asian-Americans. So, how do we initiate the context of a conversation in an Appalachian context that is usually so regarded as such a minority.

The second question, I wondered whether the presence of intolerance in culture differences is arrived because of our phobia about other persons, or because of transferred aggression in terms of what happens on the global front in other communities that we see are the conflicts and then persons of that religious or ethnic origin that happen to be present in a given community becomes targets of that aggression?

MS. OCHI: There's no question that that's the case. Let's just start with that because I know that Sister Assilmi has had that experience as well. That people, our neighbors, so to speak, come to represent global forces that we are afraid of.

MS. ASSILMI: And that is an absolute fact. But it's more so right now, apparent among those of us who are practicing Islam because we are held responsible no matter what our cultural background may be. We are held responsible for

anything that is done by any Muslim anywhere in the world. And, when people say that things are done in the name of Islam, or that -- sometimes it really tears me up because people have always claimed to do things in the name of their religion. The crusades and the atrocities that were done during the time of the crusades by the crusaders themselves, and they did this in the name of Christianity, yet that's rarely mentioned. And when it is, it's down played enormously.

And yet, when it's a Muslim, you know that this is Islam because it says so. You see in the newspaper any time a Muslim does anything wrong, you're going to know that it was a Muslim that did it because they always identify when we are Muslims. And yet, anyone else is never identified by their religion.

They didn't say the religion of Jeffrey Dahmer. They didn't identify what religion he was. I mean, just look at what happened in Oklahoma City. Right? First they claimed it was the Muslims who did it. It was terrifying for me. I was in Oklahoma City at the time. I was horrified. I was terrified. I was scared to death. My son was afraid. My father

had just died and we went to bury him because I'm originally from Oklahoma and we happened to be there at the time of the bombing. And it was Muslims. They were looking for the Muslims. And my son was so scared that he almost asked me to take my scarf off. He said, I'm afraid and I said do you want me to take it off? And he says, I do but I don't. I want you to do what's right but I'm afraid if they see us, they're going to pull us out and put us in jail.

And yet, Timothy McVeigh's religion was never identified. They never said what religion he was.

Things like this help to instill fear of all Muslims. I believe the media should be asked to either identify the religion of every person they speak of or do not identify the religion of any of them. And that would do a great deal towards making it possible for us not to fear each other.

MS. OCHI: Thank you very much.

Doctor Henderson, just a moment of response and then we're going to get on to our line.

DOCTOR HENDERSON: Yes. I really appreciate your comments, Sister, and I think that that problem is typical of the designation of all

minorities.

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I want to express special appreciation to the question that was asked with regard to our relationship to social and economic development. Because a great deal of work is being done now which indicates that trust and the development of social virtue is critical to both social cohesion and the development of economic prosperity. And that as we go into the future, the widespread availability of knowledge, universally available, will be the engine that drives social and economic development but only to the extent that communities and organizations are able to build trust and those other principles and spiritual characteristics. So much so that in a book by that name, <u>Trust: Social Virtue and the Creation</u> of Economic Prosperity, written by a man named Francis Fukuyama, the very last chapter is a call for the need for the spiritualization of economic life. Because of a growing recognition that these elements are not They are all organically interwoven disconnected. elements of our lives.

So, when we think about our spiritual missions, we don't -- we can't think about them as disconnected from the development of the society and

the development of the society's economy.

MS. OCHI: Thank you very much.

I'm very aware of our time here and I'd like to have each of the persons standing in line identify yourself briefly, say what's on your mind, also briefly, and we're just going to move through the line rather than have any response.

MS. RAMSEY: My name is Jenny Ramsey and I'm here from Lexington representing the Kentucky Council of Churches. But what I wish to speak about is something that I have experienced that is great hope, great hope for One America.

It's happening in Louisville. It's happening all over Kentucky. But in Lexington, I've been fortunate enough to be the chair of a task force for the faith communities of Lexington to come together to address welfare reform.

We've had 237 churches in faith communities, as we say, from the Bajas who have joined our table. There is an effort across Kentucky right now to bring together the faith communities to make a difference in the welfare to work particularly in family mentoring. It's happening and I wish to suggest a name, a word, to replace pluralism. Let's

1 call it community. Because that's what we're seeing 2 happening. 3 MS. OCHI: That's great. Thank you. 4 Thank you, Jenny. 5 On to the next. 6 Write that one up, too. That's good. 7 REVEREND CARTWRIGHT-TIGHE: I'm Reverend Ashley Cartwright-Tighe. I'm with the Christian 8 9 Church Disciples of Christ. I'm a pastor here in 10 Louisville. 11 And I got to thinking as I heard about all 12 the different initiatives on race that have taken 13 place in the last year about where the children fit And I began to think, wouldn't it be wonderful, 14 15 and I just want to know, is there anything being 16 planned within this concept with relation to children talking with each other dealing with the trust issue 17 and other things? 18 19 Thank you. MS. OCHI: That's a great 20 question. We'll pass that on to the organizers here as I think they should hear that. 21 22 BROCKWELL: My name is Charles MR.

I'm the pastor of the Fourth Avenue United

Methodist Church, three blocks down the way here.

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Brockwell.

we house the KIC.

I moved back into parish ministry last year after 28 years in higher education because of a deep concern about the American city. I think our civilization is at threat -- is at risk from what's happening in our cities. And that we must have communities of grace and reconciliation in the cities.

And, Doctor Henderson, you were speaking about the faith communities being active in what we call urban ministry. And the question that comes to my mind, and the one I was going to ask you to respond to but I assume we can't have time for that now, to have faith communities, those communities have to have persons of faith commitment. And so, my question is how can we, all of us, make our appeals to persons from our particular faith perspective?

I mean, when I call people to something,
I call them to a particular thing that has common
ground with others but is still different. How can we
do that work so that we do have faith communities that
can be active and still not have a war?

MS. OCHI: This is really the \$60,000.00 question. Very big question.

REVEREND HOPKINS: I'm Dan Hopkins with the Fiscal Diocese of Colorado, for years served as the social justice officer in Colorado with the Episcopal Church. And ran several dialogues over a few years on race and inter-faith relationship, and found in my discussions there many different things that were happening that were very positive, and continue to happen. But for the last six years, I've worked in the area of disability. And worked with churches, states, non-profits, and with for-profit corporations in ways to utilize, and involve, include people with disabilities.

I just want to get early on the agenda, since we're going to be talking about things that work and don't work, the issue of disability and involvement in religious communities. There are 54 million people in this country with disabilities. Early research says that 80 to 90 percent of them do not -- are not involved in any religious community. Eighty to 90 percent.

The issue came up on economic development.

Eighty-three percent of African-Americans with

disabilities aren't involved. Seventy-eight percent

of Latinos. And Native Americans are off the scale.

So, when we talk about inclusion, I just want to give a perspective. There are 20 million more people with disabilities than there are African-Americans in this country. So, when we talk about 80 to 90 percent, we're talking about, relatively speaking, no African-Americans being in any religious community anywhere in this country, to help to give you perspective.

So, clearly, that needs to be part of the dialogue with poverty, exclusion, are so -- it is strictly tied to disability. When you deal with, I don't know what the issue is, but basically 54 million is one-sixth of the population of this country. I think that most of us know that one-sixth of the population, clergy in this country, are not people with disabilities. And that generally speaking we ask people with disabilities to retire if they acquire a disability if they are clergymen. So, it's very important that we begin to add that to our discussion.

Churches were exempt from the Americans with Disabilities Act. The assumption was that their ethics and morality would lead them to making the adjustments that included people. It hasn't happened and it's not on the drawing board in most places. So, I really just thought I'd -- you can tell by the lack

of Braille bulletins, large print, hearing devices, and ramps in churches, or synagogues, or other religious edifices. So, I would simply say if we can keep that as part of this agenda today, it impacts a huge part of our population.

MS. OCHI: Thank you, Reverend Hopkins.

(Whereupon, applause.)

MS. ERWIN: I'm Janet Erwin with Interfaith Pastor Peace. I thank Doctor Bhatnagar for making me come up here and put in a plug for our organization.

We've been struggling for almost two years to get people to know that we exist. But, we have had some successes as Doctor Bhatnagar has said, with our interfaith Memorial Day service and we're also peripherally involved in a service that Rabbi Miles and Doctor Sharif have had the last two years that has to do with an interfaith Thanksgiving service which is extremely moving also.

Our big thrust really has been to try to get people to come together in small groups, six or eight people, to sit around and share a meal and just talk about their faith. Which I think is just an extremely important thing for us to do. Reba Cobb and

I just said to each other as we passed in the aisle, we have gotten our mandate. We are going to work very hard to try to take care of some of the things that you all have said.

Thank you very much for your inspiration.

MS. OCHI: Thank you.

MS. LANG: I'm Helen Lang with the Asia Institute which is an Asian cultural center here based in Louisville and we have been in existence for 11 years.

I want you all to know that it has been an uphill battle all those years but you have to hang in there. And at the beginning, we started as just a Chinese institute to teach Chinese culture to school children and to other groups that were interested. But two years ago we realized that in this global society, we must become more inclusive so we included the rest of the Asian countries. And we don't claim to be experts but we seek out to other members in the community and outside who are from other Asian countries such as Doctor Bhatnagar and Mrs. Bhatnagar here and others who are represented here of other Asian nationalities. And it is important that we give that kind of exposure to the grassroots, namely our

children. They are our future leaders. And we want them to know, like you have, some of you have mentioned, that this is the human race. And that we are all for world peace, and it's always been a constant with me, as well as social justice.

So, I want you all to be aware that there is such an organization here. We're not affiliated with any religious groups but those who come, all have faith. And that's the most important thing.

Thank you.

MS. OCHI: Thank you.

DOCTOR BHATNAGAR: Thank you. That was very well said.

MR. LOGAN: My name is Ron Logan and perhaps I'm of -- I represent no organization of social significance. I'm a pastor of the Mere Memorial Baptist Church here in Louisville. And I come here with no new vision but to rekindle an old one.

There was a gentleman by the name of Doctor Samuel Proctor that wrote a book, My Moral Odyssey. And as we hear the concerns here, we are reminded of the fear that we have with freedom of choice. And so, we would suggest to this initiative

to revisit that old vision. Certainly we must learn to embrace individuality and freedom of choice as well as we must be responsible for those choices.

So, we want to thank you and ask you, Samuel Proctor, My Moral Odyssey.

Thank you.

MS. OCHI: Thank you very much.

Two more.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Good morning. Giving honor to God. Just glad that you panelists and President's Initiative on Race, One America, is here. I don't know whether you feel the pain that we feel in Louisville, Kentucky and the State of Kentucky. It's painful, very painful to sit and listen. And listen to people talk about faith. Somewhere I read in the Bible faith without works is dead.

And I just encourage and challenge you when you leave this room, to go to the Hall of Justice and you'll see a disproportionate people color going through the court system without any rehabilitation. Go to the construction sites not only in Louisville but all over the State of Kentucky and you'll see four percent, sometimes less than that, people of color, women in the work force. And you're qualified. Go to

every school district in the State of Kentucky, 176 school districts and zero African-Americans as superintendents. It's painful, very painful.

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And, we wrote a document and left the document with you. I'm not going to go through it, but hopefully it will get to the White House. talk about one America, there's an economic part of this that needs to be dealt with. And in Louisville and the State of Kentucky, African-Americans, people of color, and many times women, are not a part of the economic mix. And it's by design. And we need President Clinton and initiatives like this to not only have discussions but if you go out in the communities before you have the discussions, then you will see the pain. You will feel the pain. For the first time, Sister, I felt somebody who felt like me. And whenever something negative is done in the community, I say, my God, I hope it's not an African-I feel your pain. I identify with your pain. Because we, as African-Americans, feel the same way.

Brother Henderson, we need some of those initiatives that you're working on in California to eliminate the drugs in our community. Because when

they go through our courts, our young men and young women go through our court system, there is no rehabilitation at all. It seems as though there's a design pattern to house as many people of color in jail to get them off the street and keep them off the street.

My brother from the University Louisville, I understand you saying things are looking good, but I'm feeling the pain every day. Things are not looking so good. And I hope this is not only a dialogue but I hope there is some action that will take place from workshops and meetings like this all over the city that before you start with the dialogue, go out in the community and see the pain that the folks are going through. And then you can really dig in and say here are some alternatives that can make this thing work. Because we are not one America. One black. One white. One people of color. white. One poor and one wealthy. We are not one America. And we can be one, thought, because it's going to take groups like yours. It's going to take a president of the United States to say I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired of this type of mess going on.

God bless you and thank you for coming.

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(Applause.)

MS. OCHI: Thank you.

One more.

MS. SCHERD: My name is Profula Scherd (phonetic) and I'm a vertically challenged person. So I always have problems, either tippie toe or --

I'd like you to -- I work on a college campus and when you say the word religion, it makes a lot of people want to walk away because separation of church and state.

I hope at the end today's discussion you will come up with a group of guidelines that we can live in a spiritual sense. To me, religion is the basis, the parameters. Spirituality is how I live my day-to-day life. One day a week, whether you are Hindu, or Jain, or Christian, or Muslim, or Bahrain, we gather with tour religious communities to get those guidelines. What I do the other six days of the week is what my role is in making humanity better.

And folks who are in higher education or school systems can go back and take those things for six days a week, and apply those toward day-to-day living, not one day a week when we all go together and agree. Because, if we get together, we are going to

agree.

So, I hope you will come up, or you as a group of us here, come up with guidelines that we say this is what we're going to do for the rest of the six days of the week, not just one day a week.

MS. OCHI: Thank you very much.

I'd like to thank all of our panelists this morning and I'd like to thank the President's Initiative on Race for bringing us together in this place so that this kind of community discussion can be repeated time and time again.

If it's true what we have heard, that individuals, whether individual Muslims or individual African-Americans somehow become representative of the whole population in a difficult sense, it's also true that because of the new multi-religious nation of the United States, individuals can also be the starting point for a much more positive dialogue. And as we've seen this morning, in the faces of individual neighbors, not neighbors in some other part of the world but next door neighbors right here, we begin both to see the pain and to see the hope. And hopefully to begin wearing down the path of hope as our invocation this morning asked us to do.

Thank you so very, very much.

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DOCTOR COOK: Won't you join me in thanking Diana Eck and all of our panelists this morning.

We appreciate all of your contributions so And I think we're on the right point in terms of what we've looked at. We've seen some hope around What we've called promising practices. we know around this country, especially in religious community, that there are many ongoing efforts that are designed to bridge racial divisions. And so, we need to capture some ideas and some lessons that have been learned from all of these efforts so that others can adapt themselves to their own circumstances. And we also need to know that people everywhere have a voice. That they're not just voices in the wilderness, but they're part of a larger America, a body of Americans who are committed to bringing us closer together.

And so, one of the initiative's top priorities has been to identify and shine a spotlight on what we call promising practices. These are community based and national efforts which have been designed to promote racial reconciliation and increase

positive dialogue and expand opportunities for every American.

To date, we have a web site and on our web site we posted 150 unique promising practices. And our goal is to include 500. We've heard from many people across the country by correspondence of our web site and we want to hear from you as well. There have been some examples of some things that have happened. For example, in Akron, Pennsylvania, what's call the RAP program, Racial Awareness Program, has created a network of Mennonite and Brethren individuals and churches around the country who are committed to ending racism in their community. And they provide anti-racism training, education, resource development, and consultations to Mennonite and Brethren in churches around the country.

In Baltimore, Maryland, the Interfaith Action for Racial Justice which was established by 110 different organizations, they're now in the midst of a five year initiative to increase inter-racial and inter-religious understanding in the Baltimore metropolitan area.

In my own state of New York, in New Rochelle, the Coalition for Mutual Respect, created by

both a rabbi and an AME, African Methodist Episcopal minister, strengthen the communication between blacks and Jews by sponsoring inter-racial affairs, picnics, theater parties, pulpit exchanges.

And so, we also want to shine a light on promising practices that you may be aware of or that you are doing. We'll include them in our compendium. In your packets, there is a form that says promising practices. And we ask that you might take that out now and just for the next three to four minutes if you will fill that out. And our staff person, Anna Lopez is here who will receive that just before our speaker for the day.

So, if you will take the time to do that. It will also give you a chance to get a little seventh inning stretch. I'm from the Yankees, they had a seventh inning stretch yesterday, the former World Series Yankees. I'm from New York. Yes. So, every now and then we know you need a break in the action. So, if you'll take three or four minutes at this time, we'll be happy to receive those. And Anna will collect those in a few moments.

It's in your packet. It's called Promising Practices. Attached is a three page

document. There's one sheet on that document that can be filled out.

Anna, you have a sample that you could hold up for them?

It's a stapled page in your packet and the last, or second or third page, is the one to be filled out.

This is Anna Lopez here. She will collect them, if you'll just raise your hand when they're done. We appreciate it. If you could just tear it off and give them the page that you're filling out. The other pages are for you.

Anna will continue. We'll give you another minute or so and Anna will collect those. And then we're going to introduce our speaker for our morning. Would you pass it to either aisle, inside or outside. Inside preferably, that would help in the collection process, at this time. Pass it to the inner aisle. That will help us tremendously. Thank you.

Thank you for your time and for filling out these forms for us. We appreciate them and you always can fill it out if you want to think on it a little further, and mail it in or fax it into the

office, which numbers are on your letterhead.

But if I could just have your attention, we want to proceed with the morning and we thank you for your attentiveness and for your patience. You've been a wonderful audience and we appreciate it.

I saw the sign for Indiana, so we're pretty close to Indiana from here? How many were rooting for the Bulls, though, last night? And the others from Indiana, how many were rooting for Indiana? They did well. I was on the plane during the whole game, so I just heard people cheering out in the airport. The other people were cursing beside me, but we made it. And we're glad to be here.

It is my pleasure and honor to present and introduce to others our speakers for this morning's session, for our second of our religious forums for the President's Initiative on Race.

I met Doctor Anthony Campolo several years ago but we've had for the last several holiday seasons an opportunity to share together our families. He and his wife, Peggy. They reside in St. Davids, Pennsylvania, having two grown children. Last year, with those of you who watched the President's inauguration and saw the inter-faith service, may have

seen him as he spoke with such eloquence there from the Metropolitan AME Church in Washington, D.C. But for years I have followed him and he's been like an engine that's gaining steam.

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He's a professor of sociology at the Eastern College in St. Davids, Pennsylvania and he's the founder and president of the Evangelical Association for the Promotion of Education which is an organization which is involved in educational, medical, and economic development programs in various third world countries which include Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The organization also has done extensive work among at risk young people in urban America.

His extensive speaking schedule allows him to be in demand across the nation as well as internationally. A best selling author, he has 26 books presently in print; a weekly television program, Hashing It Out that's carried by cable TV and is now in 28 million homes. He's also an associate pastor of the Mount Carmel Baptist Church in West Philadelphia as well as serving as an associate for the International Ministries of the American Baptist Churches.

I am so glad to present him today. He is insightful. He is delightful. He's exciting. He's igniting. I hope you won't be disappointed because he is anointed. Doctor Anthony Campolo.

Let's receive him.

REVEREND CAMPOLO: After that introduction I can hardly wait to hear what I have to say.

Religion is both a positive and a negative force in this whole racial struggle. We can see the positive sides and the negative sides. The positive sides are obvious. As we declare a God who calls us to be family and most religious traditions, certainly my own, would say that there is no Jew nor Greek, bonded nor free, civil nor barbarian, male nor female. Everyone becomes one. That oneness of humanity that faith is supposed to engender is a very positive thing that we see.

We also have to look at the negative side. Here we have to go deeper because it would be useful for us to look at somebody like Emil Dirkheim who analyzing religion sees it as an instrument for dividing people. In analyzing a group of Aboriginal people in the interior of Australia, he noticed that they were developing a set of traits and values that

made them quite distinct. Obviously, different groups of people have cultural characteristics that make them quite distinct from each other.

Secondly, little by little people in these tribal units in the interior of Australia came up with animals to symbolize the traits and values of their respective tribes. Such animals are called totems.

The third stage was most intriguing. Little by little they began to worship the animals but now Dirkheim is ready to raise the question. If people end up worshipping deities, which are nothing more than symbolic representations of their own traits and values, when they worship those deities, what are they really worshipping? Themselves. And so it is, according to Dirkheim, a great probability and possibility that a given group will construct a God that is nothing more than a projection of its own collective traits and values.

In reality we run into a situation that George Bernard Shaw described with eloquence. He said God created us in his own image and we decided to return the favor. Indeed that's true. I remember in my church when I walked into my Sunday School class one day and saw that the picture of Jesus that had

always been there had been removed. I belong to an African-American church and the picture was gone and somebody had put another picture of Jesus in its place. This new Jesus was black. I said, "Who put that there?" This young man who had this Afro - you remember the Afros - this one took up the whole room. He had beads, he had shades. He was very intimidating and he said, "I did, baby." I said, "He wasn't black." He said, "No, and he wasn't white either." He did not like me transforming God into an image that was different than he was and, vice versa, I didn't like what he did.

There's a Chinese Catholic church in West Philadelphia. If you go into the church there's a stained glass image of Jesus and you can imagine what Jesus is in this Chinese Catholic church. He's Chinese. It kind of blows your mind when you stop to think about it, but we have this tendency of creating a God in the image of our own groups and this is a very serious mess because then anybody that is not part of our group is somehow second rate spiritually and does not belong to the family of God.

What's more is religion at this point can become an instrument of oppression. For instance, if

a group of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants create a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Jesus or God, depending on where your theological construct is, then to go around and propagate that God to be missionaries that declare that God to other groups of people and call upon other groups of people to worship that God has a subtlety to it. People end up worshipping the God of their oppressors and, indeed, around the world people have raised this question.

We send missionaries to places like Africa and we get them to worship a Jesus which is nothing more than an incarnation of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, an incarnation of all the things that we're about. If we can get people to worship such a deity, what we really do is have them worshipping not God but worshipping us. This, of course, becomes a socially and psychologically oppressing thing.

So it is that religion insofar as it propagates deities that are incarnations of particular ethnic groups and call others to worship such deities are, in reality, using religion as an instrument of division, an instrument of oppression, an instrument where, in fact, racial disintegration is inevitable.

So we have to be careful, those of us who are in communities of faith, to ask a very simple question: When we preach our messages, when we declare our respective ideas of what God is like, are we, in fact, proclaiming a God that comes out of scripture or are we proclaiming a God that comes our of culture? Because there's a vague difference between the two.

So I have to at first warn all of us about the problems that are connected with such an idea because once you have made God in your own image, then you have no problems. You can go to war and you know that God is on your side. Why shouldn't God be on your side? God is one of you. You have made him into an expression of what you yourself are. You have deified your ethnic cultural traits and in so doing have, in fact, denigrated everybody else's social and cultural traits.

That kind of thing has got to stop. It means that theologians have got to go deeper in their understanding about God and the nature of God and how God functions in the world in which we live. We need a God who calls us together as one people, not a God that is an expression of cultural, social, ethnic individualities.

Religion can be an instrument for social change and, indeed, it is. One of the reasons why I think it's so important to deal with religion in the context of race is because we cannot solve the race problem without a change of consciousness or, as we Baptists say, conversion.

I'm Baptist. People sometimes ask what is the difference between a Baptist and a terrorist. The answer is you can negotiate with a terrorist. I say that only jokingly because I find some of the most --you're just getting that, aren't you? I find some of the most positive and some of the most negative things are happening within my own Baptist community. We must recognize that you cannot deal as was suggested in the questioning time with racial discrimination without dealing with all forms of discrimination simultaneously, which means that the church has got to come to grips with all kinds of discrimination whether it's discrimination against women, whether it's discrimination against given racial groups.

What is particularly upsetting these days, if we're going to deal with this issue, we all have to deal with the issue against certain sexual groups, not just women. What about the discrimination against the

gay communities? The minute we begin to use religion as an instrument of discrimination and oppression, and I know what we all want to say. We all want to say, "Oh, it's all right but don't you understand those people don't fall into the category of the household of God. I contend we all fall in the household of the community of God and we need to, in fact, declare that loud and clear.

What can the church do? The church, first of all, must recognize what was stated so well in the discussion time. The church must enter into economic concerns. I mean, C. S. Lewis once said that we must recognize that God is too great to be interested in religion alone. The economic factors are there.

I'm from the city of Philadelphia. We have horrendous levels of unemployment, especially among African-American males. Now, these are people that don't get counted because they never appear on the welfare rolls. They have never applied for welfare. They hang out on street corners and they are survival people. What are we going to do?

One constructive idea is very simple.

Inner-city churches, particularly in ethnic communities that are suffering from high levels of

unemployment need to become incubators for micro businesses and micro industries. In Camden, New Jersey, for instance, we have a program wherein we have started some small businesses in the church.

Most church buildings, I hate to say it, are a waste of property. They sit there from Sunday to Sunday in needy neighborhoods closed up. A building like that can house three, four, five small micro industries; a moving company, a T-shirt factory, a printing company, a company that recharges laser printer cartridges, a company that rebuilds generators and alternators for automobiles. Low tech, low skill industries that can produce incredible profits for the participants.

There's no reason why churches cannot do that, especially in a place like Louisville. You have a lot of churches here that are held together by members that no longer live in the community that drive in from the suburbs. Let me just say before you want to drive those people out, ask yourself this question: What skills do they have? In all probability you have accountants, you have lawyers, you have people who have experience in sales.

The church not only has a building that

can be an incubator for economic development, but it's got people in it who have skills and those skills can be mobilized to provide consulting teams that will enable these small micro businesses to get started. People, there is no freedom if there is no economic freedom.

And we've got to create jobs. The church has room for these businesses. The church has people who can serve as consultants for these people. The church even has an office to service all these people with telephones and duplicating machines. You can cut the level of overhead dramatically. You say, "Why are you saying this?" Because I don't think you can solve the racial problem unless you address the economic problems that are associated with racism in this country.

Therefore, I call churches and mosques and synagogues to seriously consider how they can mobilize their buildings and their people. The problem is that seminaries are too narrow. We teach them to do everything in seminary but what they ought to be taught. We come into the community and say, "We're here in the name of God to listen to your problems. What are you problems?" And the African-American

people in my neighborhood say, "I'll tell you what our problem is. We need jobs." So we set up a counseling center.

They come back the next year and we say, "We're here to listen to your needs. What are your needs? What are your problems?" "We need jobs." So we set up a basketball league. And then we hook up lights so they can play until 2:00 in the morning when they ought to be in bed sleeping getting ready for school the next day.

We come back and say, "What do you need?"
They say, "We need jobs." You know, they begin to get
the feeling that we're really not listening to them.
We in the religious community aren't listening to them
and we are afraid to get into job development because
preachers don't know how to do that and we're afraid
to relinquish our power to people in our congregations
who do know how to do that. We've got to get into
that mode of thinking.

There's another thing that we have to recognize. It's about time that the churches across this nation begin to treat their own people, particularly African-American people, as they have treated newly arrived immigrants. Nobody likes to

end of the war in southeast Asia and the end of the war in Vietnam hundreds of thousands of refugees from Cambodia and Vietnam landed on the west coast of this country. The Government did not know what to do with them. They were stashed away in prison-like camps. Somebody came up with the idea that we ought to call upon the churches of the country to adopt these families. All across America churches adopted Cambodian and Vietnamese families. The problem evaporated overnight.

Each of these churches taking in a family in reality did what? Found jobs for the people, integrated them into the schools, found them housing, bought them furniture, and African-American people in my community began to say, "What's going on here? Why are the churches of this country willing to do for newly arrived immigrants what they have been unwilling to do for their own citizens for the last 200 years?" That's a good question.

And so a group of us with Jim Wallace of Sojourners Community, myself, Gene Rivers, a few others, have gotten together and formed an organization called the Call for Renewal. The Call

for Renewal has a very basic premise coming here. We're not going to solve all the problems of the world but we're going to say is it possible for us to take 10,000 ethnic people who are economically oppressed, who are basically unemployed, who are about to be pushed off of the welfare rolls, and are we willing to get churches across this country to adopt those families and to give them hope and to give them sustenance and to help them to take their place in the societal system at large.

There's one more thing that we're into. We started a program which the president as given great support to called Mission Year. What we're doing right now is under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, and this goes for any religious group because the president has allowed 50,000 slots for this particular initiative, we're doing the following. Here it is: We're recruiting college and university students from across the country to drop out of school for a year.

It's a good thing to do because most of them don't know why they're there. You know what I'm talking about. Don't you? You ask them coming out of high school, "What are you going to do? What are you

going to be?" What do they say? If they don't know what they're going do and what they're going to be, what do you do? You send them to college.

ask the same question. "You're graduating. What are you going to do? What are you going to be?" What do they say? Not if they go to a good college like Eastern College. They don't say, "I don't know." They say, "I'm keeping all of my options open." I ask them, "If you had to take your final exam from last semester, would you pass them?" The answers is always, "I don't think so." Okay. So you forgot what you learned. What did you do with your textbooks? One standard answer, "I sold them." I say, "That's great. You forgot what you learned and you sold your textbooks." This is called higher education.

And so we think it is important for young people either before college, after college but, best of all, during college to take a year off and we're putting together in teams of four and five and six. We're only doing this in Philadelphia and Oakland, California, attaching them to a church and this is what they're doing. They're going around door to door knocking on doors. People answer a very simple

question. "Don't get the wrong idea. We're not here to drag you out to our church and try to lay a trip on you. We're here for one reason. We want to pray God's blessing on you and God's help for you and for all the people that live in this house. Will you let us do that? You don't have to invite us in. You can do it right here on the steps."

Even agnostics are going to say, "Well, it can't hurt."

"Let me ask the next question. Do you have some special concerns that we need to call upon the Lord?" It is incredible. They will open up. "Yes, my husband is out of a job. My son is flunking out of school. My daughter is pregnant. We don't know where to turn. My other son's in jail. We don't have any legal representation." Fine. We just pray for them.

When we get back to the church at the end of the day we sit there and go over the cards and say, "Here's a man who needs a job. Now, isn't there a job placement program in this city? Let's call them and tell them to go to 220." They're not going to go to the job placement center. Jesus never said they would come. Jesus said what? You go. Go and visit. Knock

on the door, invite them, and bring them along.

"Here's the boy flunking out of school. Can't we get him into that tutoring center over there that the synagogue is running down the street? They are running an after-school program. Shouldn't we get the kid involved in that?"

We find that in most cities you don't have to invent new programs. There's enough programs. Nobody knows they exist. We need a generation of young people that will go out and in the name of God knock on doors, pray with people, hear the sufferings of people. They will come back to school with a new idea of what America is about and what its problems are and what its needs are.

When the brother here said we suffer, we hurt, I tell you what has to happen if the young men and women who are privileged in educational institutions need to go out there and experience that hurt meeting people door to door, face to face. You say what if they get doors slammed in their face? Well, Jesus says in the 10th Chapter of Matthew when that happens say, "You're in trouble, sucker." No, he really doesn't say that. In the King James it says, "It's more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for

you on the day of judgment."

If they don't know what to say when people ask them serious questions, the Bible says don't worry. The Spirit will put the words in your mouth. I've had young people say to me, "You know, you're right." People ask me a complex question and I didn't know what to say and halfway through a stumbling answer I thought to myself, "This is brilliant. I think I'll write this down." The church has got to mobilize its young people to go out and meet people in the neighborhoods, pray with them, listen to them.

You say what do they do after they pray for everybody in the neighborhood? You do it again and again and again. I think the Mormons have got the right idea but the question is this; if they can get their kids to go out for two years, why can't we get our kids to go out for one year to listen? Not to talk, to listen, to learn, to pray with, to empathize with people who are needy. I believe in conversion but I believe the conversion is there.

The last thing I would say is we need to recognize that the God that we have come to declare is a God that does not reside in the sky somewhere. It

is said how can you love a God that you cannot see if you do not love a neighbor that you can see? I don't want to be nasty but in my Christian position I always say to young people, "If you're a racist, you don't have a social problem. You have a spiritual problem. You're not a Christian." If any man says that he loves God and doesn't love his brother, the Bible says what? He's a liar. That's pretty nasty. Isn't it? The Bible doesn't go easy on racists.

The serious thing that we have to recognize is that whatever we deem to be sacred, whether it's Allah, whether it's Yahweh, whether it's Jesus, we have to recognize that whatever we deem to be sacred is waiting to be encountered with people who are in need and people who hurt.

I'm walking down Chester Street in Philadelphia and this bum; dirty, filthy bum, soot covering his body from head to toe, homeless man dressed in a heavy coat sweating profusely, huge beard with rotted food stuck in it, holding in his hand a cup of coffee. He said, "Mister, you want some of my coffee?" I said, "That's all right." He said, "No, no, no." I realize turning them off is the wrong thing. I said, "I'll take a sip." I took a sip of

the coffee and gave it back. I said, "You're getting generous giving away your coffee. Aren't you?" He said, "Well, when God gives you something good, you ought to share it with people."

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I didn't know what to say to I said, "Can I give you something in return?" I figure he's going to hit me for \$5.00. He said, "Yeah, you can give me a hug." I was hoping for the \$5.00. He put his arms around me and I put my arms around him and then I realized something. He wasn't going to let me go. People were passing looking at this established man hugging this bum. I was embarrassed but little by little my embarrassment shifted to awe and reverence. I heard a voice echo down, "I was hungry. Did you feed me? I was naked. Did you clothe me? I was sick. Did you care for me? I was that bum you met on the street. Did you hug me? If you failed to do it undo the least of these, my brothers and sisters, you failed to do it unto me."

Any religion that does not teach its people to find the sacred, the ultimately sacred coming sacramentally through those who one finds as strangers, is failing. When white people find their God coming to them through black people and black

people find their God coming to them through white people, the end of rejection will begin because we'll find it impossible to reject one another if we feel we are rejecting ultimate reality when we do that.

I believe in St. Francis of Assisi who said we must view one another in a sacramental manner. When I say sacrament, all the Roman Catholics get happy because in Holy Communion they believe the bread becomes literally the flesh of Jesus and the wine becomes the blood of Jesus and they take the elements. Baptists, on the other hand, we believe in Holy Communion the bread stays bread and the wine is transformed into grape juice. That's the theology. In the middle are Anglicans and Lutherans and they believe that the bread remains bread and the wine remains wine but a sacred presence -- a sacred presence is here in us.

I don't know whether they're right or wrong but I do know this. There's one thing Francis says, that the discriminated against, the hurting, the poor, the downtrodden must be viewed sacramentally, what he is saying to us is that when we and people of faith as men and women who declare the message of God teach our people to seek the sacred waiting to be

encountered in others, this problem will begin to disappear.

We helped create it with our totemism. We had better participate in ending the problem or else one day we shall be held accountable and we will not be able to point to them and say, "They did it." The response will be, "No, you did it and you did very little to change the situation and change was needed."

Thank you.

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REV. DR. COOK: You can say amen if you At least it's a faith forum and we can say it. What a word. Our breakout sessions are Amen. Wow. in the afternoon and we were hoping the dialogue would begin there but I'm sure at lunchtime there will be some thoughts that have been provoked and that we will share with each other. We've had our soul food already though. Amen. Turn to somebody and tell them, "That was a message." Now, I'm a Baptist preacher. I got to hear a little something. Turn and tell somebody, "That was a message." Turn to someone else and slap them high five. All right. You all got that down. Look a there. Yeah.

Thank you, Dr. Campolo. It was a wonderful word. Thought provoking, inspirational,

insightful, deep. Deep. It was deep.

We are prepared to have lunch. Just before we leave I wanted to share with you some instructions. I thank all of our presenters this morning. They have all been rich and all have triggered us toward a new level and a deeper understanding.

If you lost a set of keys with a Lincoln key chain -- you'll take the Lincoln. You want the Lincoln. The owner of the keys that has the Lincoln medallion, if you can identify it, it will be at the registration table. If you'll meet my brother here, he will see you afterwards. Thank you.

Just in terms of our interest activity, one thing, I know that it was the high Jewish holiday and for some of our Jewish brothers and sisters could not be here. We thank you for sharing that with us and we will certainly take that into account. Thank you very much.

Secondly, we are going to reconvene in 45 minutes. It is now 12:20. We ask you to please be back at 1:10 back into the session. There will be box lunches available right outside of this room. You can eat and meet someone and greet someone and use the

entire area of the space that's behind us outside of these doors. We hope that you will meet and greet someone that you have not had a chance to speak with before. It's been a wonderful morning session. Please bless the food in your own way, however you choose to do that, and we will see you at 1:10. Thank you very much. (Whereupon, off the record for lunch at 12:20 p.m. to reconvene at 1:10 p.m.) 

## A-F-T-E-R-N-O-O-N S-E-S-S-I-O-N

2 | (1:10 p.m.)

DOCTOR COOK: President Clinton named Ms.

Ochi as the Director of the Community Relations

Service of the Department of Justice. Last year,

March 20th, 1997, she was unanimously confirmed by the

United States Senate and thereby becoming the first

Asian-American woman to serve at the Assistant

Attorney General level.

Let's give her a hand. I think that's a wonderful accomplishment.

(Applause.)

DOCTOR COOK: And she's got extensive, elaborative -- Extensive experience in building collaborative efforts partnerships between multiracial communities, law enforcement, and government agencies. And it makes her ideally suited to be not only at the head of an agency whose mission is to do that but also to be here with us today. I've had a real pleasure of getting to know her. She has already emerged as a key figure in the effort to elevate race relations in America and to establish racial reconciliation.

As one of thousands of Japanese Americans

unjustly interned during World War II, Ms. Ochi has a
deep commitment to equal justice which stems from her
own family's experience with racial discrimination.

She comes as one with experience and she comes as one
to moderate this afternoon's panel.

Won't you join me in welcoming Rose M. Ochi.

MS. OCHI: Good afternoon. My minister wouldn't accept that.

Good afternoon.

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: Good afternoon.

MS. OCHI: I'm really pleased to join you at this religious leaders forum. It's because through gatherings such as this we can learn to find ways to better work together in improving race relations in America. I know that you're having a good forum. I've gotten a chance to catch a little bit of this morning. I'm having a great day although we had a little bit of a bad start last night, stuck at the airport.

This morning I was rushing, hoping to catch a plane and an interesting thing occurred. As I entered the airport, this man caught my eye and he followed me. And he came rushing, and he kept

following me. And then he circled around me. And then he stood in my path. And then he stuck his finger in my face. And then he said, Connie Chung.

(Laughter.)

MS. OCHI: We all look alike.

I'm not Connie Chung. I'm Rose Ochi. And I'm director of the federal government's race relations arm. And I must tell you, our plate is very full with our failures to come to grips with racial intolerance and violence, and bigotry, and greed.

So, I am very happy to be able to moderate this panel today, to explore ways in which we can improve racial understanding and racial -- bring about racial reconciliation. We're going to be looking at what works.

In order to achieve the President's vision of one America, he often talks about this is not something we can mandate, legislate, or regulate. That we need to reach the hearts and minds of the American people. And that we need to enlist all segments of the community, and particularly the religious leadership.

For over 30 years, the Community Relations Service has helped communities to resolve racial and ethnic conflicts. And that we have worked hand and glove with religious leaders across the United States when peaceful relations were threatened. For example, in the aftermath of church arsons, we've been in over 230 localities helping to restore calm and to bridge the racial divide. One example of our work is we work with black and white ministers in Rocky Mount, South Carolina to find ways to deal with the polarization that takes place after a fire. We also moved into cities after hate crimes. An example is the brutal assault on a 13-year old African-American youth in Chicago by three white teenagers. We've been helping the archdiocese in their eliminating racism program.

The religious community has historically provided an instrumental role in improving race relations. And it's true that we have come a long way in the past several decades, but 30 years since the passage of the Voting Rights Act, 40 years since Brown versus Board of Education, racial prejudice and the corrosive effect of discrimination are still with us. In recent years, we have new targets, new victims.

This morning I heard individuals talk about pain, the disparate of impact the criminal justice system, about economic impoverishment, and the

lack of equal educational opportunities. So, while we have made great strides, much remains to be done.

Our panel today is made up of experts who are going to share their successes and our objective here is to try to identify and extract out the elements that made their success possible. Because we're looking at how we can transfer and replicate their successes in other communities.

Let me introduce the panelists. They will all take three minutes to make a presentation and then I will engage them in questions.

Our first panelist is Doctor T. Vaughn Walker. Doctor Walker is pastor of the First Gethsemane Baptist Church in Louisville for the past 15 years. He is a professor and department chair at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and holds a Ph.D. in theology.

Beverly Watts is the executive director of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. She has been cited in the Who's Who of Female Executives, Black Americans, Outstanding Young Women in America and in the South. Mrs. Watts has received numerous leadership and civil rights awards.

Inez Torres Davis is an associate minister

at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America located in Chicago. She was the first Hispanic rostered by the ELCA in this position. Her current work involves serving as the director of organizational development for women of the ELCA.

We will begin with Doctor Walker.

DOCTOR WALKER: Thank you very much.

I am a little concerned being called an expert and being a successful one. I'm not so sure that what I am here to share with you has been that successful. It's something we're beginning that we hope will be successful. And I'm not really sure who the experts are. Probably you sitting there.

I was asked to discuss a situation, circumstance, of two congregations here in the Louisville community who are trying to move forward with an effort in racial reconciliation. It is our conviction and surely my personal conviction that we start at every level, and that one of the levels that we must begin is at the local, personal level. And that there are some other things that one will do for the more corporate, expansive level.

The church I serve, First Gethsemane

Baptist Church, has entered into a partnership with

the Crescent Hill Baptist Church of this city, two Baptist congregations but very diverse. Crescent Hill a predominantly white congregation. Gethsemane is a predominantly African-American congregation. And beyond that and being Baptists, all -- both of us belong to the American Baptist Convention of the South. We both belong to the Southern Baptist Convention. Crescent Hill has joined the Progressive National Baptist Convention and First Gethsemane is a part of the National Baptist Convention. So, if nothing else, we like to go to conventions.

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But, we share a common faith in Christ. But beyond that, we felt that we ought to do more than what we've heard many congregations doing, black and white congregations, having exchange worship service. In fact, I literally refused to participate in that. I wanted to do something much more meaningful.

The pastor, Doctor Siss, at Crescent Hill, he and I are the same age. We graduated from the same seminary. Our wives both are named Cheryl. And we live one block away. But beyond that, we had very little in common. And so, we decided that we would do something together. And we've come together as two

congregations. Instead of having an initial worship service, we decided that we needed to decide what the agenda was.

And so, we have small groups from each congregation meeting together, meeting in homes. Young lady is here today who invited us to her home just recently. And we are sitting down talking about what the agenda should be for a racial reconciliation between these two Baptist congregations.

We have had, successfully, at Christmas, a Christmas party for one of the housing developments here called Park Hill. Had over 500 children that we were able to provide Christmas gifts for them and just have a party together. It was a wonderful opportunity for two congregations to share together.

We are going on together as two congregations. And just spending some time, just talking. But we found out that people just really need to spend time sharing one on one, not necessarily in a formal setting. We've also committed to build a home together for Habitat for Humanity, so that we could work together.

We felt that God is leading us to go much deeper into a relationship and that if we were going

to do this, we had to make a commitment over an extended period of time. We are in the process of writing a covenant, a real covenant that we hope will have substantive meaning to the two congregations. Something that says I do more than I come to your church on Sunday, you come to my church the next Sunday, and I preach there and you preach here, and then we go our separate ways.

whether that's going to be successful or not, we don't know. We are different. We are kind of conservative and they are much more moderate than we are, although some of the black Baptists think we are very moderate. And so, we're finding that we have differences but our differences should not inhibit our involvement together in meaningful ways as congregations.

We see this spinning over into the broader community where we serve. We are part of an effort with the Baptist Fellowship Center here in Louisville, a ministry of traditionally white Baptist churches and black Baptist churches, to do ministry together for more than 80 years. And we see members of our churches going to this ministry site, actually doing something for those in our community. And we're

committed to a joint effort by Long Run and Central District to bring together not only our congregations but congregations of the community. And that's what we believe is going to be ultimately our success story.

MS. OCHI: We can get back in asking you some questions. That's just wonderful. Thank you.

Ms. Beverly Watts.

MS. WATTS: Thank you.

Someone approached me earlier today and asked me if I was taking to the pulpit. Let me submit that I'm probably the evangelist for equality and that it is in that role that I take things very seriously. As I move across the state and hear the cries of more than 10,000 people about the discrimination they're suffering, I started to ask myself, is there a way we can make a difference. And if so, how do we do that.

About two years ago we started talking about how we could make differences in communities across the commonwealth and what we could do. Currently there are 15 local human rights commission and under the statute of the Kentucky Civil Rights Act, we have authority to help establish those. In a number of communities, they don't exist. But we

thought, what a way for us to identify people at the local level to deal with this issue because I believe the issue of race and race relations have always and always will be a local matter. It is a matter between people. It is a matter of one on one, one individual to another.

So, it was that concept that led us to look at how we could reach the most number of people with a limited staff. We contacted a partner called Kentucky Educational Television Network which beamed statewide. And we entered into a joint partnership. We said we want to do a program. We recognize that this will not be the end all, be all. But at least it's some place to start. We talked to them. We put together a one hour program that aired last August the 19th.

Before we got there, we did a lot of work. We went into some 15 to 20 communities across the state and we started to do a couple of things. We found people that were our allies. They were politicians. But most importantly, they were a group who had birthed this whole civil rights movement. They were church people. So, we contacted ministers in every community but we found that that was not the

only place to be. So, we also talked to politicians. We talked to advocates. We even talked to folks that some people thought we shouldn't be talking to, that was those who criticized us a lot. Some of those did not end up joining with us but some did.

As a result, we set up what -- six prebroadcast sites. We trained facilitators and we
taught the rules to those facilitators. If you're
going to do formal programs, you have to have people
who understand that they are really the rule keepers
and that they must keep order and civility between
people. Because we did not want it to break down into
shouting matches, or arguments, or anything of that
sort.

So, we found facilitators in every community. And we, by design, looked for facilitators who were black and who were white. By and large, this state is black and white. I talked to Inez who will talk to you in a minute. And I lived in Chicago. So, when I did it there, we usually had to have four facilitators, usually, depending on which neighborhood it was. And that was a serious consideration. So, when you look at if you want to do this and you look at -- I think you have to understand who the

environment is. I think you have to go with the flow, as they say.

And we, by design, found two people in every community who agreed to be facilitators. We found a committee in every community who organized these pre-conversation groups. Then we also set about the notion of having one of our staff people there to serve as a resource doing that. And we ended up with six.

We had one site at the studio in Lexington because had to tape in Lexington, Kentucky at KET. It was by far one of the largest. We learned a lot when we went out into the state. We found we didn't know everything and that there were a lot of groups already in existence. So, what we did was said, would you come in and have -- host this for us and most of them said yes. And we were happy. So, it was a matter of looking for where there was richness in communities already.

We identified 12 individuals from across the state who we said, would you do a one minute vignette on your view of race in the commonwealth from your community perspective. And again, we deliberately went out. We looked for people in every

segment. We had politicians. We had government officials. We had civil rights activists. We had just -- we had ministers. I think we had four of the 12. So, we realized that we needed to do that. And a police chief.

All of them had had in their various communities some interaction with the whole notion of trying to improve race relations. When they spoke, of course, it went longer than the minute and a half that we had set up for them. And we had to sort of say, what would be the one thing, if you had to summarize it, that you'd want said. Sometimes we took that comment. Sometimes we found there were richer comments throughout the body of the information.

We also, then, had the program. And we had four individuals. And again, by design, we had a co-host, a white female, and a black male. And then we had panelists who were black and white, male and female. So, we looked at things from a number of perspectives. The program lasted for an hour.

We currently have nine ongoing conversations going on at this point. Our best group is Church Women United -- and I thought I had to bring that up here -- in northern Kentucky. This group

decided that they wanted to do something. There were women in the city of Covington and women in northern Kentucky who had never really talked to each other. And they found, what, a common bond in their religion. And Church Women United has ended up being a great catalyst. They're currently putting together materials for the schools in northern Kentucky and they're trying to buy the films and put them in the schools. And we're going to talk to them and see if they can't just find the resources and go back and nudge the school officials to buy them because we think there's value in that, in doing that.

What have we learned? We're learning a lot. We're learning that it is still a local issue. As we go into communities, and I think we have five or six groups waiting for us to come in, the challenge is to find facilitators and people who are willing to host it in those communities. We're having a follow up program in August of this year on KET and we're going to do some things to evaluate where we've been. And we're really going to put together a report. We've done a newsletter that goes out and if anyone is interested in that, we'll be able to -- be glad to help.

And finally, let me just say that it's never over. It will always be a day by day process. That if we are to live the life and do the things that that carpenter taught us many, many years ago for those of you who believe, you know that you cannot build a house with all wood. You cannot build a house with all nails. It takes different kinds of pieces to build a house.

Thank you.

Inez Torres Davis.

MS. TORRES DAVIS: Anti-racism is one of Women's of the ELCA's emphasis into the next trienium, although we recognize it's a commitment that we're probably making at least for two generations. We have worked on this emphasis in a very promising way by using a program called Today's Dream, Tomorrow's Reality. We've established 47 teams nationwide. These are teams of women, one white and one woman of color. Depending upon the geographical location determines what that woman of color may be.

The key elements of our program are fairly simple. One, our program springs from our faith base. In our case, that is our faith in the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It's based on the

sacrament of our baptisms and the sacrament of the Lord's table. It also is based on the Lord's Prayer in John 17 when he prayed for our unity. And it is also based on the scripture that Tony already pulled out which was 1 John 4:17-20, that how can we claim to love a God we haven't seen when we can't even get along with the brothers and sisters that we do see.

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Two. Our program recognizes that none of us, not one of us, volunteered in utero to be born into a racial society. Therefore, the challenge before us is what are we prepared to do about the fact that we are born into a racial society?

The truth is that white people can choose to be ignorant of how racism works. People of color have never had that option. Therefore, it important that if anti-racism work is done, three, white people need to learn about how racism works and ownership take of the work οf combating dismantling racism. It takes white people to reach white people. When a person of color talks about racism, it can sound as though we're whining or making excuses. But white people are the ones that of the most interesting to most any organization who either abridge or tolerate racist practices within that

organization or institution.

Also, when a white person talks about a systemic and institutional racism, it is more believable because, four, understanding white skin privilege is central to the analysis of racism that needs to be done. Understanding the historical and practical applications of white skin privilege is part of the analysis that is required to practically, and tactically, address racism.

And then, five, the important accountability of white people to people of color must be firmly in place as the analysis goes forward so that white people won't just end up doing a study and -- without tackling the reality check that only -- and adhering and receiving the reality check, that only people of color can actually offer. People of color, you see, are the authorities on racism.

But all of this is futile unless, six, there is an accurate definition of racism used. The definition of racism that we use in our program is race prejudice, plus the powers of systems and institutions to support that prejudice. We have found in many attempts prior to this one that an inaccurate or incomplete definition of racism provides for us an

inaccurate and incomplete analysis.

And then, of course, point seven is the one that runs through our entire program. That it is an analysis that we are doing. We are doing an analysis of institutions and systems specifically Women of the ELCA is doing an analysis of ourselves. And we've begun this to the Office of Education that is within the program itself. Analysis must be done from within an organization or an institution if there really is going to be any real structural change and institutional regeneration.

(Applause.)

MS. OCHI: Our panelists have talked about using constructive race dialogues, same face cross congregations, racial reconciliation efforts, and talked about a race based program and how to reach out and engage larger society. And I'd like to start there and being with a threshold issue.

In large part, the civil rights advances came about because there was a spiritual appeal to the moral conscience of the American people. Martin Luther King's message really touched on those values. How do we return to a spiritual grounding in talking about race issues? And I'm going to also add on,

across religion, moving from a faith based effort cross religion, how can we come together on some common values, quality, fairness, and justice?

Anyone.

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My sense as a Christian is that to be Christian means that I cannot be a racist. Because I can't use my position as a Christian to hold power over others, to hold them at a disadvantage. totally contradictory to what it means to be a Christian for me. And so, as I relate to persons from other faiths, I relate to them, of course, because I'm a Christian, but with that same kind of respect and all that I think Jesus would have for those who are not believers. And that the church, I believe, the Christian church, has to model that. And I respect others who have a position from their perspective. But, if we cannot do that in the Christian church, as others would say that in their own faith, then I feel really my faith is in vain.

MS. OCHI: So your efforts of bringing together black and white congregations is a step in that direction.

Can I ask someone to comment about how do we move to embracing some of the core values, some of

the tenants upon which the nation was founded? Part of the conversation on how we talk about race.

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MS. WATTS: Yes. I think we have to really, ourselves, set our fear aside. I think we all have a fear of the unknown and we all sometimes when our own fears keep us from reaching out to other individuals. And I think we also have to stop looking at individuals as "the group" but an individual who may happen to belong to a group. And I think that's where the religious community certainly can help us more than any other because I think it is those teachings that teach us that we need to respect difference and we need to reach out to others.

You talk about fear. MS. OCHI: Our business is crisis response. And when we see the the acting out, whether results appears, vandalism of a Mosque or a synagogue, or the church arsons of black churches, we have seen that these tragedies have resulted in an opportunity to bring people across races and faiths. Can you talk about any of these experiences? I can give you an example of the other areas where you have land use matters, a Buddhist temple or a mosque, is planned for a suburban white community and there's community opposition.

What can we do in terms of inter-faith alliances to support communities that have suffered hate crimes and are undergoing the kind of tension brought about with changes in demography?

MS. TORRES DAVIS: I guess the words that come to my mind is what Tony said earlier where, at least for myself as a Christian, I was not told that people would come to me but that I should go to them. So, I think that being responsible, personally responsible for my own faith means I live my faith. And that would require that if and when those situations arise, that I speak to those who suffered such an injustice, such hate. And in a way that is practical, direct, and also shows that we're in this to be a partner.

Your earlier question, though, I'd like to also address that in the program that I outlined, there is no reason that program could not be replicable within any faith tradition. Because I think, and you mentioned those tenants on which this country was founded. It's very difficult for me as a woman of color to completely embrace those tenants since I was never considered or recognized in the wording of those things.

However, I believe that the spirit of goodness which is what always continues to rise, is also being called the spirit of truth which will continue to rise up, can have us now turn and say that even if those who stated these words in the beginning really didn't recognize the humanity of all who are now present, we can still pull out from them the purpose, the highest purpose. And my understanding is that is what all of these meetings are about, is to pull out the promising practices and see where can we find our inspiration. Where can we find a tool to use because our faith is indeed something that informs the way we live.

MS. OCHI: The time keeper is looking at me. I'm trying -- I'm facing this way so I can ignore her for a moment.

If you could just take a minute and I had a lot of questions, but grab one of them. If you were to start again, what were some of the lessons learned. What are the pitfalls or what was an element that made your program successful? Just reel down the road here.

Let's start with Beverly?

MS. WATTS: It would be all the

collaborators that we found in communities across the commonwealth. It would be that the facilitators and the ground rules. And it was really their willingness to get involved, to help to make a difference. And I think it's basically people that we always have to make a difference and it is that premise under which I live and I think others do as well. But, it is that that made it the most successful. And we're still learning.

By the way, for someone who wants to know, the Department of Education in Kentucky has something called Diversity Ambassadors for young people and it is a statewide initiative. So, if you're interested, let me know.

MS. OCHI: Reverend Walker.

DOCTOR WALKER: I think mine would be a personal situation that occurred in my life. I realized I've been in the ministry over 20 years, but I realized just a few years ago that I was not pastoring a black church. When I looked out at the congregation and I realized that people that I was ministering to were not all African-Americans, that God had called me to a much higher calling than to preach to black people. When I realized that, I

realized at reconciliation needed to begin in me first and then I needed to reach out to my brother. And so, if I had to start over, I would start over by recognizing I pastor the church of the Lord, Jesus Christ and not a black church.

MS. TORRES DAVIS: Earlier failures were caused by our inability to recognize the institutional systemic nature of racism. We thought it was enough for us just to hold hands and sing "We Shall Overcome."

Two, another thing that causes frustrations early on was our inability to identify the real stakeholders.

Three, tokenism causes some problems.

Tokenism can run rampant within communities of color whereas because you have me here, I'm supposedly to speak for all Hispanics. It doesn't work that way.

And, four, then the failure to continue to call the stakeholders to the table so there can be an ongoing dialogue as you work out the programmatic thrust of whatever you're endeavor to do.

MS. OCHI: Thank you very much.

Thirty minutes is tough but we're all going to be participating in the break out sessions

and you can pull from them some of the other handy hints and tidbits.

In closing, I believe the major challenge before us is to reclaim the Americans' conscious. And that we need to restore the real moral imperative of racial equality and to recreate a national consensus that discrimination is wrong. And that we turn this race debate back to its core concepts of equality, opportunity, and fair play. Because as long as our national creed is deeply rooted in these concepts, progress on race relations will ultimately be the measure of our civilization.

So, we look forward to working with you in the days ahead to arrive at an understanding that only together will we have a better future for us all. Thank you very much.

DOCTOR COOK: All of our presenters this afternoon, thank you so much for thought provoking dialogue. It's good to see you again. God bless you.

At this time, we are prepared for the break out sessions which we spoke to you about earlier today. The break out sessions will be an opportunity for you to engage in dialogue, to not only listen to one another but to also share your promising

practices. And hopefully come up with some suggestions and some solutions that we can take back to the Initiative and to Washington.

Each group will have a leader and each of you have the name tag with a number on your badge. As we leave this room and prepare to leave this room, we're going to ask that you will go out of the main door. And as you go, there will be staff and volunteers leading you towards the stairs. At each of the stairwells, there are signs that will share with you where your break out rooms are. Primarily it's on the second and third floor of this facility.

Groups 1 through 12 for the most part are down on the second floor and the other groups are on the third floor. But as you go and as you're directed, you'll be very clear. Every room is marked. The leaders will identify themselves and they will share with you the process that we will follow for this afternoon.

We're asking that you go and that you please return to this room at 3:20. It is now ten minutes until 2:00. If you'll return here at 3:20, that we may close together, hear from some of you, and then close our day appropriately. But you've been

1 most patient and we thank you. If you'll just exit to 2 my right, your left. The staff is ready to receive 3 you. 4 Thank you so much. (Whereupon, off the record for the break 5 6 out sessions.) 7 MR. WENGER: Let us begin our concluding session. 8 9 My name is Mike Wenger. I'm the Deputy 10 Director for Outreach and Program Development for the 11 President's Initiative on Race. And the first order 12 of business, my first obligation, is to say that Mrs. 13 Ramsey has a message. I don't know who Mrs. Ramsey is but the message is on the second floor in the 14 15 administration office, I understand. 16 In any event, let me first thank some 17 people. First, Mayor Abramson, Mora Temis, and staff in the Mayor's office for their incredible support and 18 19 leadership. 20 Second, Doctor Oates and the Spalding 21 University family for their incredible hospitality. 22 Doctor Campolo for incredibly an 23 inspirational message. Doctor Eck for being there

us were stuck on the ground

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Washington, D.C. and for doing a terrific job of moderating a panel which she didn't expect to moderate. The panelists; Reverend Suzan Johnson Cook, a member of the President's Advisory Board on Race; Rose Ochi, the Director of the Community Relations Service for the Department of Justice; staff of the President's Initiative on Race, Danielle Glosser, Karen Burchard, Lydia Sermons, and Anna Lopez; and White House staff member in the Office of Public Liaison, Debbie Mohill. And most of all, the facilitators and you, the participants in this forum.

I'm reminded of a -- one of my favorite quotes at all of these forums. I'm reminded of this quote by Margaret Meade who's a famed anthropologist. And she said quite a while ago, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful and committed people can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

And what we're about here is changing our little corner of the world and in so doing, hopefully we may truly change the world. Make no mistake about it. This is difficult, emotionally draining work. It takes courage to begin it. It takes courage to persevere. But it is essential that we persevere.

I stand before you as a member of what I guess I would call a mosaic family. I am Jewish. I am married to a born again Christian woman who was raised Irish Catholic. I was formerly married to an African-American woman and have three African-American children, all of whom are Baptists and have some Cherokee blood in them. And my son, who is now 25, is currently dating a Muslim woman.

So, I understand a little bit about the mosaic that is this country. And I want to tell you just a couple of quick stories which illustrate for me the importance of interaction and communication across racial lines, across ethnic lines, across religious lines.

Last September we went to Rhode Island to celebrate my mother-in-law's 75th birthday. And we took with us my five year old granddaughter. And she was the only African-American person in a group of 25 or 30 people at this party and she was the only subteenager. Five years old running around having a terrific time. Cute as can be and I say without fear of contradiction, she's the cutest five year old you will ever see.

In any event, my wife was sitting with my

mother-in-law's best friend. And at one point my mother-in-law's best friend turned to my wife and said, you know, she is just adorable. She is as cute as can be. Does she have any brothers or sisters? And my wife said, yes, she's got a three year old sister. And the woman, with no malice and only love in her heart because she'd been admiring Arianne, said, "Oh, do they live with their mother?" implicit in that question was an assumption, a stereotype, that most African-American women, most African-American mothers, are single mothers. most African-American fathers are not around to raise their children. And my mother-in-law, who ten years ago could well have asked the same question, perhaps with malice, turned with indignation to her best friend and said, "And with their father, too."

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Now, why is that important? It's important because the impact of that stereotype of my mother-in-law's best friend may well drive the nature of public support for the nature of welfare reform policies which we undertake in this country. And a variety of other policies.

I'll tell you another quick story. My son went to Morehouse College in Atlanta. And one day

several years ago he was walking down the street in downtown Atlanta with two of his friends, all of whom fairly I'd say olive skinned young people. No boom box. No baggy jeans. No loud voices. Just three young college men, middle class, looking for a place to spend their parent's money. And I can show you the empty wallet to prove it.

There's a white woman coming toward them. When she saw them, she crossed the street. When she passed them, she crossed back. Now, why did she do that? Clearly out of fear. Clearly out of -- I mean, I don't know this woman. But in all likelihood out of fear, out of some stereotype that she held of young black males which made her fearful. Now, why is that important? Because the impact of her fear on the nature of criminal policies which are supported in this country.

What I'm trying to say is that the stereotypes we hold, the fears we hold, drive public policy in this country. And so, we cannot allow those stereotypes to endure. We cannot allow those fears to rule. And that is why President Clinton created the President's Initiative on Race. And that is why we need you. Our time with the initiative is limited.

We can plant seeds of racial reconciliation. But that is all we can do.

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Today was just a beginning here. You, in Louisville, and elsewhere, have to nurture and cultivate these seeds, and plant new ones as we go forward. How? Through your promising practices, and I hope you will have turned in all of your promising practices forms to Anna Lopez. Through the ideas and information that came out today, and I hope you will turn in those forms as well that came out of the small group discussions. Through the use of the dialogue guide which was in your materials. Through the use of the promising practices compendium which will be issued at the end οf this year. Through a continuation of this dialogue on your own, in your communities, within your congregations, congregations, and ensuring that those dialogues lead to community action to address problems of racial divisions. And by living every day of each of our lives in recognition of our own responsibility to building one America.

Will we make it to one America? We all know how difficult the work is. There's an author who wrote a book, who's actually a professor of political

science at my alma mater, Queens College in New York City. His name is Doctor Andrew Hacker. And a couple of years ago he wrote a book entitled Two Nations. And in that book he asks, are we one nation under God or two nations manacled by race? The responses to the President's Initiative on Race would suggest that we may be moving ever so slowly toward one nation under God. We have had an enormously positive response all over the country to the President's initiative. But the continuing instances of discrimination, the persistent disparities that exist, in per capita income, educational attainment, among others, make it clear that we remain manacled by race.

So, the ultimate answer to Doctor Hacker's question depends on each of us. After all, we all share common values, a thirst for freedom, a desire for equal opportunity, a belief in fairness and essential justice, faith in a higher power. We all possess common aspirations. We all want a decent home, a fulfilling job, healthy and educated children whose dreams for a bright future are not a mirage but a vision of reality. And we all feel the same emotions. We all feel joy at the birth of a child, sadness at the death of a loved one, love for our

family, anger at people who disrespect us, hope for the future, and frustration at the daily barriers that we encounter. And we all aspire to the President's vision of one America in which we honor and respect the differences which make each of us unique and special while recognizing and celebrating the common thread which binds us inextricably together. An America in which justice and equal opportunity for all are a constant reality. An America in which we can all feel empowered to reach our full potential.

There's a wonderful quote from Duke Ellington. He said, "Every piece of music is in the piano. It's up to us to get it out." And to get that music out, to ensure that every American has the opportunity to get their music out, to be the best that he or she can be, we all have to take responsibility.

It's as Rabbi Abraham Heschel has said, we may not all be guilty but we are all responsible. And the future of our nation depends on each of us sharing that responsibility. That's what building one America is all about. President Clinton has said that building one America is our most important mission. Money cannot buy it. Power cannot compel it.

Technology cannot create it. It can only come from the human spirit.

The President's initiative on race is about touching the human spirit. And if we all take responsibility, we can, together, build one America. Not with money, not with power, not with technology, but with the spirit of hope and fairness which has brought us all here today.

And on that note, I want to thank you all for coming and for participating. And I want to introduce to you two people who will do the benediction. In New Orleans, the Religious Leaders forum we had a couple of weeks ago, it was suggested that one way to demonstrate the diversity of our faiths would be to have a benediction performed by several members of the clergy from different faiths. So, today we're really fortunate to have two men to help us conclude this forum and to give us the strength to leave here with a renewed commitment to building one America.

Rabbi Stanley Miles, during the past 20 years, has built a congregation at Temple Shalom in Louisville from fewer than 50 families to more than 200 families. He's a teacher, former chair of both

the Louisville Board of Rabbis and Cantors, and the Louisville Jewish Community Relations Council; former president of the Kentuckian Inter-faith Community; and a former and current commissioner on the Louisville and Jefferson County Human Relations Commission.

Recently, Rabbi Miles helped to initiate a monthly service of healing in his congregation. And he describes the purpose of his rabbinate as follows. Through the teaching of the Torah and the spiritual nature of worship, I hope to move myself and my congregation to perform deeds that will help repair the world.

Mr. Alfred W. Yazzie is the cultural advisor of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department and for the Navajo Nation Administration, and he's a renown Navajo chanter of the Navajo night way ceremony. He's a former Marine, a graduate of the FBI Academy in Langley, Virginia, and retired after serving for 24 years in the Navajo Nation's police force, rising to become its police chief.

Mr. Yazzie is from Fort Defiance, Arizona, and presently lives on his family land at Black Rock which is near Fort Defiance where he's writing several books on Navajo ethno-history and oral traditions

while serving his people as a healer and advisor, and teaching Navajo youth the centuries old customs and traditions of Navajo culture.

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Will Rabbi Miles please join us and then Mr. Yazzie.

RABBI MILES: During these days, Jewish people around the world celebrate the time of the giving of the ten commandants. It is interesting to note that the ten commandants were given in a desolate place, in a no person's land, in the wilderness of Sinai, belonging to no people whatsoever. The one -the two million people who stood at the foot of those mountains receiving those laws received them not only for themselves and their children, not only for the Jewish people, but for the entire human race. These laws stand for the principle of Tikkin Olam, of repair of our world. This is our task.

We, as we end this conference, feel as though we, too, are standing at a foot of a mountain, a mountain of the proportions of Everest because our job is difficult. Will we succeed? Partially. Will we complete the task? Probably not. Yet, are we free from this enterprise? Never. Never. Never. Never. We must join with all peoples of good will in order to

repair this world the Almighty has entrusted to us.

Kein Y'hee Ratson, may this be our collective and communal will.

Amen.

MR. YAZZIE: If you don't mind standing.

We'll use what we call the sacred corn

pollen as an offering to the Gods. Put a little bit

in your mouth to bless your body. And to make it into

God's, if you want to.

Mother Earth, Father Sky, to the Gods of this world, today we are gathered here, humble, not knowing what to say. But we are committed to do our best to make this a better world for our children, our future children. And we're asking for your blessings to make us strong physically and mentally so that from this conference with your permission, allow us to go forth from here in beauty. Allow us to go forth with beauty ahead, beauty behind us, beauty below us, beauty above us, and beauty all around us, and beauty from within.

We do know that we make mistakes. We do know that we commit sins. But we ask for your forgiveness. Make us strong this day and allow us to please our leader of this country. Allow his wishes

to become true, to make us understand one another. 1 2 And also, we ask for your blessings that

4 to the day when our women and children may walk the dark streets without fear.

we learn to live in peace because we all look forward

6 With this, let us return to our homes, to 7 our families, to our loved ones, to our people, to our communities, and to the things that we do physically 8 strong and mentally strong, and with happiness. 9

With this, let there be beauty towards us from the ends of the land, from the ends of the waters and the sea, from the ends of the skies, from the ends of the mountains, in all directions, from the high points, the low points, from all life around us. Let us learn to respect ourselves.

(Whereupon, speaks in Navajo.)

Amen.

Thank you very much for WENGER: coming and God speed.

(Whereupon, at 4:10 p.m. the forum was concluded.)

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