# Cultural Pluralism and

# Black Unions

by Calvin B. Rock

**B**lack (regional) unions in the North American Division are necessary structural accommodations which will enhance mobility among black workers — not just *vertically* but laterally. Contrary to the opinion of many, vertical mobility is not as important as lateral mobility, the movement within local conferences — administrative, departmental and pastoral.[1] There can be no question but that lateral mobility, often desirable but difficult in present circumstances, would be greatly facilitated were several black local conference presidents and committees interacting with each other within union boundaries.

Within the North American Division, there are 80 local conferences housing 3,673 individual churches. These local conferences are, in turn, housed in nine union conference structures. Eight of these 80 local conferences are administered by blacks who oversee churches which comprise approximately 90 percent of the black membership within the country. These black local conferences are scattered among several of the various union conference territories of North America where each, along with several white-administered local conferences, comprise a

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particular union conference. The structural model which this paper suggests would extract all eight black local conferences from the unions where they now hold membership and arrange them into two black union conferences (see map, p. 7). These two black unions would relate to the North American Division as do all other unions in the territory.

Are black unions a step backwards? Would society view them as a sign of the inability of white and black Adventists to work together? Would there be a decrease of interaction between black and white leaders or with white members and black members; and if so, would this delay the day of full brotherhood and understanding between the races within our church? Would not black unions (although open to all races) be an admission of defeat of the church's brotherhood posture enumerated in the statements of 1961 and in the "Sixteen Points" of interaction and accommodation which the church voted in 1970? Will the ends of black progress justify the means? Is this the best possible decision for us to make at this time? Or, to put it another way, are the results likely to be gained conpatible with the gospel ethic? These questions must be considered in the context of the sociological reality of cultural pluralism in American life.

The first part of this paper demonstrates that pluralism is by far the most pervasive

assimilation pattern in America, but that while for white America it is so because of voluntary choices in matters of cultural heritage and preferences, for blacks, pluralism is also due to forced separation. In other words, black America has always operated culturally much as a separate wheel, not as a component circle rotating, as most other cultural (ethnic) groups, within the main circle of American culture.

Having done this, the paper takes up the task (using the Seventh-day Adventist Church as a model) of showing how black dignity and progress will result from structural postures which allow for black solidarity (a positive view of pluralism) without encouraging separation or acquiescing to racism. The paper concludes by showing that the New Testament records a remarkable parallel which supports the position advocated in this paper.

S ocial scientists generally agree that the three major theories or models of assimilation in American society have been those of Anglo-conformity, the melting pot and cultural pluralism.

Anglo-conformity, a term introduced by Steward G. and Mildred Wiese Cole in *Minorities and the American Promise* (1954), denotes complete renunciation of the ancestral culture of the immigrants in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. Anglo-conformity espouses total faith in the desirability of maintaining English-oriented patterns as dominant and standard in American life and embraces related attitudes of "Nordic" and Arian superiority. Thomas Jefferson helped lay the foundation for this social axis when he wrote concerning immigrants:

"... they will bring with them the principles of the government they leave, imbibed in their early youth. These principles, with their language they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass."[2]

On the other hand, the melting pot theorists differ from the Anglo-conformists in that they argue for a biological as well as a cultural merger. They have envisaged all immigrant groups and all minorities as eventually blending themselves into the indigenous Anglo-Saxon American type. Anglo-conformity has been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in the American historical experience, but the melting pot theory has been a competing strain from the eighteenth century onward. Ralph Waldo Emerson gave this theory its clearest expression in an 1845 journal entry:

"Man is the most composite of all creatures. . . . well, as in the old burning of the Temple of Corinth, by the melting and intermixture of silver and gold and other metals a new compound more precious than any, called Corinthian brass, was formed; so in this continent, — asylum of all nations, — the energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles, Cossacks, and all the European tribes, — of the Africans and of the Polynesians, — will construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature, which will be as vigorous as the new Europe which came out of the smelting-pot of the Dark Ages. . . ."[3]

Also, Frederick Jackson Turner, best known for his book *Frontier Hypothesis,* became renowned in sociological circles for his bold predictions of cross-fertilization and "amalgamation of all American stock" which he hoped would be productive of a new national stock and world brotherhood. In 1908, Israel Zongwill produced the then popular drama, *The Melting Pot,* in which a young Russian Jewish immigrant who falls in love with a cultured Gentile girl states:

"Yes, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross — how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God."[4]

The romantic idealism of these theories has failed insofar as blacks are concerned. That the realities of assimilation for blacks in America have been neither Anglo-conformity nor the melting pot is abundantly

demonstrable. The fact is that neither system was designed with blacks in mind. Some blacks have approximated Anglo-conformity culturally and biologically as well. However, news of their African ancestry, be it ever so distant, invariably locks them perceptually into the black minority no matter how near or indistinguishable their features are to those of the "melted" majority.

A few theorists (e.g., Emerson) did consciously include blacks in their design for cultural assimilation, but most of the early literature shows no concern for inclusion of blacks in Anglo-conformity or biological melting. As the owners of slaves could preach that "God has made of one blood all nations" and pray "Our Father, which art in Heaven" and never perceive the black man as part of the family, so could generations of their descendants theorize about a "melted America" and take for granted that blacks were something separate and apart.

Not that blacks have not tried. Inundated by the psychological and material rewards of meeting the Anglo-Saxon "ideal type" of facial features, hair texture and fair skin, they bleached their bodies, straightened their hair and sought, by intermarriage with the lighter members of the race, to bring their features closer to the Anglo-Saxon model. Further, they have sought to infiltrate or integrate every segment of society in an effort to share the American dream. With the notable exceptions of the Marcus Garveys and Elijah Muhammuds, black leadership has acquiesced to one or the other of these two theories. Like the hopeful suitor, blacks have constantly rationalized demeaning comparisons only to discover that nature prohibits physical conformity without literal disappearance as a race. Two hundred years of slavery, 90 years of Jim Crow and two decades of "white flight" have made it clear that the invitation to melt was never really meant for them and that, in spite of what the law now says about separate but equal, grass roots (structural) assimilation is not a likely reality for blacks in America.

The third assimilation pattern is that of cultural pluralism, which is dominant not only for blacks and other racial or ethnic minorities but also for geographic and religious minorities.

While the constitutional fathers resisted ethnic community *de jure*, it existed *de facto* in first generation America as a result of group settlements built around the various waves of immigrants. Cultural pluralism was a fact in American society long before it became a theory. We had Dagoes, Sheenies, Hunkies, etc., before World War I, but it was about that time that John Dewey articulated the principle before the National Education As-

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sociation. Norman Hopgood, a prominent author of the day, wrote of America as a democracy which tends to encourage differences, not monotony, a place where we ought not to think of all people as being alike.[5] Randolph Bourne, a young essayist, also contributed to the movement when he spoke of a "transnational" America, a nation having threads of living and potent cultures, blindly striving to weave themselves into a novel international nation, the first the world has seen.[6]

Horace Kallen, a Harvard-educated philosopher, championed the cause of cultural pluralism in his *The Nation* articles titled "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot." He spoke of cooperative harmonies of European civilization, affirmation to be different, creation as a result of diversities, and the American way — the way of orchestration. The idealism of Kallen's sophisticated language has not been realized, but his general prophecy has. Even the core culture of white citizenship is largely pluralistic in religion and politics. In terms of demography or living patterns, America still has Polishville, Russianville, Little Italy, German Pennsylvania and Irish Boston, where rudiments of the life style of the original immigrants are still very evident. Will Herberg, in
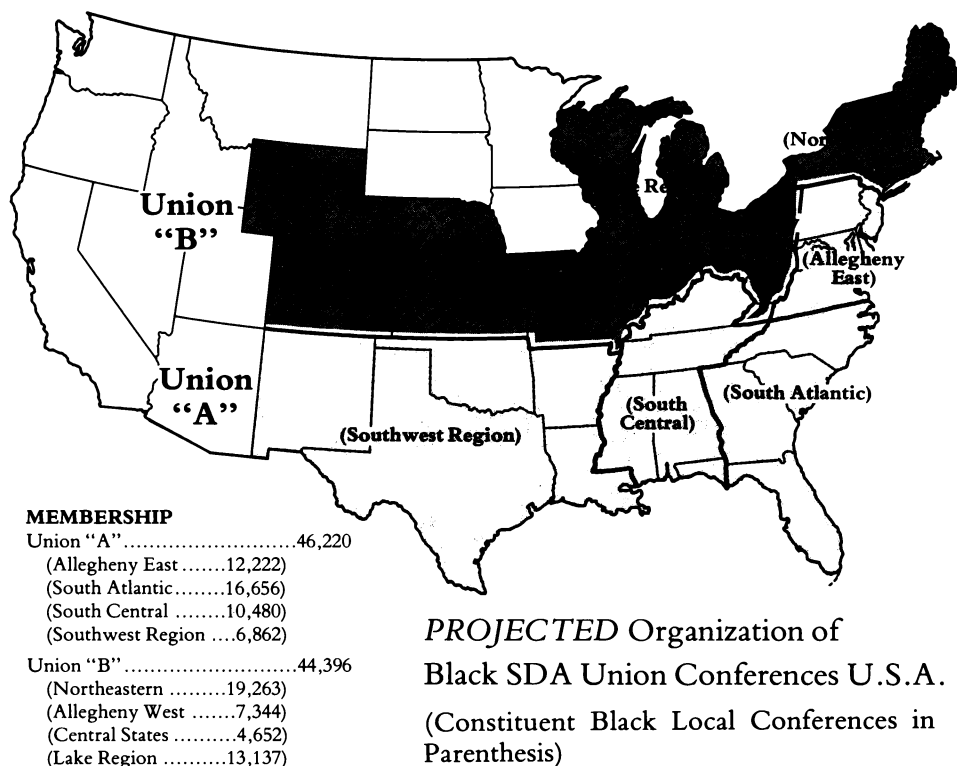
*Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, prefers to call the assimilation process of most immigrant groups the "transmuting pot" in which all ingredients are shaped like the ideal and differences become occasional. But for racial minorities (identified by color, i.e., blacks, Indians, Mexicans and Orientals), pluralism is not occasional; it is the overwhelming reality, and the darker the skin the more obvious that reality becomes.

This individuality of all minorities identifiable by color (especially blacks) is guaranteed by the boundary-maintaining mechanism which the core group imposes upon them. In *Minorities*, B. Eugene Griessman classifies boundary-maintaining mechanisms by which minorities are excluded from the core culture. The main ones include "physical boundaries (zoning and political restrictions), and social boundaries such as sanctions against private clubs and intermarriage."[7] These sanctions have resulted in what is known as structural *separation*. However, since it is by structural *assimilation* only that Anglo-conformity or the melting pot experience can take place, pluralism is predictably here to stay.

I t should be further stated that restrictions upon educational, occupational, geographic and social mobility have forced blacks to structure primary relationships chiefly within their own subsociety, thus strengthening and perpetuating their ethnicity. Migrdal, Steiner and Ross (1944) and later Bobchuk, Thompson and Orum (1962 and 1966) describe this tendency as the "compensation hypothesis." They say:

Since Negroes are deprived of the usual social and psychological satisfactions of everyday life, they are compelled to seek such satisfaction collectively through other means. Opportunities for association are restricted by explicit or tacit observance of segregation in public places of entertainment. The oppressive atmosphere of slum dwellings also does not offer a congenial environment for social activity. Quite naturally then, clubs and associations become focuses for Negroes' social life.[8]

It may well be, however, that cultural pluralism is not altogether the result of external forces. Ethnicity may well be an innate



MEMBERSHIP

Union "A" .......................... 46,220
    (Allegheny East ....... 12,222)
    (South Atlantic ........ 16,656)
    (South Central ......... 10,480)
    (Southwest Region .... 6,862)

Union "B" .......................... 44,396
    (Northeastern ......... 19,263)
    (Allegheny West ....... 7,344)
    (Central States ......... 4,652)
    (Lake Region .......... 13,137)

*PROJECTED* Organization of

Black SDA Union Conferences U.S.A.

(Constituent Black Local Conferences in Parenthesis)

characteristic of man. Weber talks about man's consciousness of common origin, Geerty speaks of "primordial group attachment" and Isaacs writes of "basic membership groups," all hinting that even if a society could be totally receptive to all immigrants and minorities, there would exist a degree of ethnic communality.

For whatever reason, race consciousness for blacks is very real. They are more than zoologically distinguishable people; they are a social and cultural unit, a historic group for whom color is an identifying symbol that intensifies their sense of solidarity. It should be clear that because of both the negative push of structural separation and the positive pull of group attachments, blacks have developed a distinct compartmentalized sub-nation status in America.

This situation has strengthened the need for black churches, where music, preaching and programming are beamed for their tastes; black families, where socialization of children and companionship of parents can take place along sociocultural lines of com-

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monly shared values; and black higher education, where the student can, if he chooses, earn his passport to respectability in a familiar atmosphere.

I wish to propose that while racism is chiefly responsible for the maintaining of this social atmosphere, it is neither racist nor capitulation to accept the facts of this very obvious and overwhelming reality. Neither the death knell to separate but equal (1954) nor the mercurial rise of black politicians in the last decade has changed the facts as outlined by the Kerner Commission: "This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."[9] Actually, with the notable exception of Mayor Thomas Brad-

ley's election in Los Angeles, most black electees only highlight the fact that blacks are more and more grouping themselves together in cities from whence whites have fled.

Those who would ignore America's historic and present realities and doggedly hold to their dreams of cultural oneness in this country would do well to consider the words of Bonhoeffer who makes the following illuminating comments on "acting in correspondence with reality":

For the responsible man the given situation is not simply the materials on which he is to impress his idea or his programme by force, but this situation is itself drawn in into the action and shares in giving form to the deed. It is not an "absolute good" that is to be realized; but on the contrary, it is part of the self-direction of the responsible agent that he prefers what is relatively better to what is relatively worse and that he perceives that the "absolute good" may sometimes be the very worst. The responsible man does not have to impose upon reality a law which is alien to it, but his action is in the true sense in accordance with reality.[10]

Those who think that the racial and political patterns of the church are different from those of the larger society are either naive or blithely unaware of history's teachings in this regard. Those who think structural accommodations in the Seventh-day Adventist denomination are evil must be reminded of the fact that we have always had them and that they were recognized by the prophetess in the early days when she advised, in the wake of the reconstruction, to let whites and blacks labor within their individual races. Those who used to tell us, "Don't come over for the gospel's sake" (a reasonable stance, by the way, in certain places in days gone by), should now be able to understand when we say we must organize our separation (not further separate or discontinue programs of brotherhood, but simply organize what already exists) for the *same reason* — the gospel's sake.

Those who think that the government's

reenforcements of civil rights during the last 20 years is the beginning of Anglo-conformity or melting pot experiences for blacks in America should reexamine the Kerner Commission's report and should see in the battles of Boston's Irish and Catholic communities, Chicago's suburban wars against open housing and the rapidly increasing (not declining) density of America's black ghettos ample reason to believe pluralism is here to stay and to be accepted and accommodated in our programming. Those whites and blacks who wish to hold on to their dreams are entitled to the privilege, but must the work of God suffer while we vainly work and wait for the structure of a whole society to change? As demonstrated by Mr. Carter's slip of the lip when he said he believes cultural subgroups have a right to maintain their ethnic purity, cultural pluralism is as American as baseball, Chevrolet and apple pie; and there is no research that I know of which supports anyone's optimism that time will change this fact.

M y point is that black unions are not morally regressive. They do not indicate lack of love or retaliation for past injustices. They are not ego trips for power-hungry people. They are not attempts to withdraw from the mainstream. They are, rather, a practical, dignified way of addressing serious logistical needs. They admit to cultural pluralism within and without the church and propose to eliminate all the current measures of forced structural assimilation and accommodations, however well intentioned. They say that Anglo-conformity and the melting pot do not exist and that candid realization of the facts of cultural pluralism and an authentic structuring of the work of a people already culturally separated from their brethren by living patterns, life style and cultural perceptions is infinitely better than trying to overcome all the resistance afforded by reality.

Segregation says, "We're better, ours will be an I - it relationship" (racism); ethnocentricity says, "We're right, do it our way" (Anglo-conformity); romantic idealism says, "We're fragmented, let's all pattern to the ideal construct" (the melting pot); cultural pluralism, in its positive sense, says simply, "We're different, we will accept and respect our cultural variety."

This position does not deny the obvious fact of degrees of sophistication in group or societal development as seen in the evolution and decay of cultures. This concept does not abdicate responsibilities of brotherhood nor ignore the many benefits of voluntary and structured cultural cross-fertilization. What it does deny, however, is the justice of having any group forced to either extreme of the continuum of social relations, segregation or amalgamation. Of course, cultural pluralism fully comprehends that in the course of time, contact and common experience (acculturation) may produce similarity of perception and life style. But it does all this without assuming a posture which begrudges persons equal access and opportunity as well as the right to perpetuate their lawful cultural distinctiveness. Thus, we conclude, without launching into any history of insults and slights, that because of the cultural realities of America both within and without the church, black unions have a right to exist.

Black unions would be a type of accommodation, but blacks are already experiencing many types of accommodation. We are accommodated at union elections when, after considerable negotiation, we wring out an agreement — much to the displeasure of many of our white brethren assembled — which provides "X" number of positions for blacks only. And to insure this agreement, only black names are put on the board (the one way, it seems, to guarantee success in secret ballots where the majority votes are white). We are accommodated at General Conference sessions when, for the same reason, all black North American Division delegates are extracted from their individual unions to choose delegates for the nominating committee. Thus, blacks operate for all practical purposes at the highest level of our political process as a quasi-black union, anyway. We are accommodated when, at meetings of our union presidents, various black brethren are invited to make certain that the black view is heard.

All of these and other measures have been employed in good faith, and we appreciate

them under the circumstances; but they just do not solve the problem. Blacks are still unhappy because much of their structuring is forced, if not contrived. Many whites are not happy because of the tactics blacks must use to accomplish the job and because of having to go along with what they regard as (in many instances) pressure tactics and with what they think are fabricated positions. Then to add to the problem, blacks who are placed in union jobs find themselves either ambassadors to the black people in their unions, thus falsifying the nature of their titles, or too busy to do the kind of coordinating of black needs mentioned in the earlier part of this paper.

One might, of course, argue that what our country (and our church) really needs is a commitment to alter the basic situation, to attack so vigorously the systems which, in the words of the Kerner report, have created and maintained this separate nation. That task, I contend is both improbable (considering the historic pattern of race relations in America), unreal (considering the physical magnitude of the challenge) and unnecessary considering Gordon's definition of pluralism as "a complete and honest respect for culture variation. . . ."[11] Griessman notes the following:

> Relations among groups can be visualized as a continuum with separation at one end and complete assimilation at the other. Pluralism is located between these poles. Pluralism implies pride of group, but it probably is true of groups, as of individuals, that respect for others is impossible without self-esteem. Admittedly, group pride can lead to tribalism; but it need not if it can be coupled with tolerance.[12]

This positive concept of pluralism applied to church organization is clearly explicated in the New Testament writings of Paul. The group relations issue, so pervasively treated in the Pauline epistles, impinged very directly upon the structure of the early church. John Yoder is most incisive when, in analyzing Paul's ethical philosophy, he states:

> In sum: the fundamental issue was that of the social form of the church. Was it to be a new inexplicable kind of community

of both Jews and Gentiles or was it going to be a confederation of a Jewish Christian sect and a Gentile one? Or would all the Gentiles have first to become Jews according to the conditions of pre-messianic proselytism?[13]

The model which Paul's writings create is clearly focused in his counsel regarding the relationships within the church of dialectical elements: circumcised and uncircumcised, slave and master, bond and free, parent and child, male and female, husband and wife, Jew and Gentile.

First of all, it is evident that Paul consistently recognized the diversity among believers in matters of culture as well as roles and functions. This is demonstrated by his running polemic with Judaism (and Judaistic Christianity in particular) evidenced in Galatians and Romans. This counsel makes it clear that the universalizing of salvation as called for in the Christian church supports the fact that there are no national, social, racial or other anthropological prerequisites imposed by the gospel and that it embraces all sorts of men.

Second, Paul's imagery of temple, household and particularly "body" in addressing and describing the church is here most significant. Characteristic of the apostle's language in this respect are his repeated references of the "many" (I Cor. 12:12, Rom. 12:5). Rather than general encouragement of dissolving of social roles and diversities, a task logistically inconceivable in light of the cognitions and structures of his day (although he did encourage slaves to be free if they could, I Cor. 7:21), the apostle's thrust in this regard was for a revaluing or reinterpretation of existing roles and relationships.

What is remarkable is not that Jews and Gentiles experienced meaningful integration at the level of primary relationships; this simply did not happen. Nor, as this paper seeks to demonstrate, is it likely to occur meaningfully with strong, contrasting cultures today. Furthermore, there is nothing in the Pauline epistles which shows this integration to be part of the New Testament gospel ethic.

What is most remarkable, however, is that in the early church widely differing cultures were uniformly affected by the gospel, that Jews and Gentiles could be separate and autonomous culturally and to a great extent structurally while yet maintaining consensus and unity in doctrine and brotherhood.

Third, those denominations which today house the ten percent of black Christianity which do not belong to black-administered denominations need not apologize because they recognize the right of that minority to

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maintain its culture and the resultant need of that minority to exercise self-determination on whatever levels of organization native intelligence is required. The New Testament should be a constant reminder of the fact that such a posture is not inimical to consensus in matters of institutional purpose, doctrinal unity and, as in the case of the Good Samaritan story and the Philemon-Onesimus relationship, full brotherhood when everydayness does produce contact. Paul's writings show that New Testament church governance was receptive to organizational lines which accommodated its cultural diversity.

Hans Küng, in *The Church,* makes a persuasive case for the existence of two major forms of organizational development within the New Testament church: 1) The Jerusalemic-Palestinian conception (seen in the book of Acts) which was developed by the original disciples and followed a constitution that tended toward presbyterial or episcopal forms, and 2) the Corinthian-Gentile conception which was structured in Pauline epistles and tended toward lines of charismatic leadership. Küng states, "It is necessary to accentuate the contrasts in the New Testament constitution of the Church, and to stress certain features, in order to be able to draw important distinctions in our examination of the historical reality."[14]

Having drawn the distinctions alluded to above, he gives four common features which

he sees as uniting the idea of a ministry exercised by special appointment (Jerusalem-Palestinian) with that of one inspired by the free gift of the spirit (Corinthian-Gentile). These common features which allowed diverse, distinctive operations to coexist within the church are: 1) belief in the original witness and commission of the apostles; 2) faith in the gospel including, particularly, receiving of baptism and participation in the Lord's Supper; 3) the spiritual nature of all the ministries of the church; 4) the subjection of the church's ministries to the discernment of the community of believers.

Küng concludes, "These are the common features which enabled Jerusalem and Corinth, the Jewish and Gentile Christian Churches to live together in one Church," and "explain why, when the later Church came to decide on the New Testament canon, it accepted and included non-Pauline as well as Pauline writings (or alternatively included Pauline as well as non-Pauline writings), as a valid and genuine testimony of its own origins."[15]

Fourth, the apostle taught that the church's witness of unity in diversity is its primary critique of society's social injustice. By use of the word "body," Paul denotes the necessity of a visible manifestation of the unity of the church (I Cor. 1:13; 12:1; Rom. 12:4,5; Eph. 4:15). We are not simply the "many," but the "many-in-one." "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ" (I Cor. 12:12). Again, quoting Küng:

It is not necessary for this diversity and variety to breed dissensions, enmity and strife. . . . As long as all have the one God, Lord, Spirit and faith and not their own private God, Lord, Spirit and faith, all is in order. . . . It is not the differences in themselves which are harmful, but only excluding and exclusive differences.[16]

Thus, the very existence of the church wherein Jew and Gentile, who formerly walked after the beggarly elements of the world, lived together in peace is a proclamation of the lordship of Christ. Praising God,

singing psalms and sharing a common hope (but not a common culture), each group had its life style leavened by the common denomination of the gospel of Christ. It was this that made the early church a spectacle, the visible manifestation of that mystery which for ages had remained hidden.

The principle of action which allows the diverse parts to live in harmony without discrimination or amalgamation is love, a gift which converts simple accommodation into glorified brotherhood because it involves what Yoder calls "radical subordination" of each to the other. This peaceful coexistence of disparate cultures that enjoyed a spiritual unity within the household of faith, was, in the absence of alternatives, the most revolutionary demonstration available to the early believers and the natural result of being in Christ. II Cor. 5:17 explains why: "When anyone is united to Christ, there is a new world. . . a new order has already begun" (NEB). Thus slaves and servants rendered faithful service but were received as brothers; the Christian Jews could not force the converted Gentiles to be circumcised and the Gentiles would cease eating meat offered to idols. All would avoid the appearance of evil. Furthermore, the leaders of the various ethnic groups could go to Jerusalem for counsel and debate and return to their separate cultural enclaves diverse in folkways and mores, but one in faith and belief. Not an altogether surprising development in the history of a people whose foundation was laid at Pentecost when each heard the gospel ". . . in his own tongue" (Acts. 2:6).

Given existing social and political structures as well as the church's eschatological expectations, we can understand why the apostle had no concept of any premillenial revolution of the social order:

> For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. . . . Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air. . . (I Thess. 4:15, 17).

However, the unheard of concessions and privileges which he demanded that oppressors and the advantaged give to the oppressed and the less-advantaged (male to female, master to slave, Jew to Gentile) were so radical a departure from existing social patterns that he is certainly exonerated from any charges of insensitivity toward social injustice.

While the church's alternatives for social protest have greatly expanded (we now have more latitude for direct action), the fact of our philosophical and doctrinal unity while maintaining cultural (and where necessary, structural) diversity remains our primary witness. Thus considered, cultural pluralism for the church in general and for blacks in particular is seen as something more than resigned accommodation to the status quo of racism or capitulation to what *is* in the light of apparent difficulties in obtaining what *ought* to be. Rather, it becomes a bold and dynamic concept, the actualization of which in the contemporary community of faith can help make of us, as it did of the early church, a witness for all people as well as a flaming protest in society against the inequities of the present social order.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Of course, vertical mobility is important, since union presidents have pivotal roles in local conference operations. They also chair all local conference elections and serve on most of the key decision-making bodies of the world church.

2 Quoted by Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York, 1964), pp. 90-91.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

7. Eugene B. Griessman, *Minorities* (Hinsdale, Illinois), p. 96.

8. Quoted in "Ethnicity and Participation: A Study of Mexican-American Blacks and Whites," *American Journal of Sociology*, 80 (1975), 1194.

9. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York, 1968), p. 1.

10. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (New York: MacMillan, 1955), pp. 227-228.

11. Gordon, p. 17.

12. Griessman, p. 17.

13. John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 220.

14. Hans Küng, *The Church* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1976), p. 536.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 538-539.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.