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National Urban League History

A SIXTY YEAR BATTLE FOR EQUALITY



For sixty years the National Urban League has been on the battlefront fighting for equality -- providing services and creating opportunities for Black people and members of other minority groups in jobs, education, housing, health and social welfare.

Since the mass migration of Southern Blacks into cities at the turn of the century, the League's methods and focus have been changed to meet growing social complexities and the needs of greater numbers of urban poor. But its objective has remained: to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in American life.

The National Urban League began in 1910 in New York City, as an outgrowth of three organizations helping Blacks adjust to the rigors of urban life in a society which discriminated against them. Always a coalition of concerned Black and white citizens, and basing its actions on careful surveys of economic and social conditions, the League was first to focus on the special problems of the urban environment and of being Black within it.

Meeting with business leaders, the League fostered breakthroughs in industry for Blacks. The League negotiated the appointment of the first Black intern in a New York City hospital, set up New York's first free private employment service, and established the first scholarships for Black social workers at the New York School of Social Work, Fisk University and other schools.

World War I saw increasing numbers of Blacks coming to Northern cities in search of jobs, and increasing conflict with other ethnic groups in competition for scarce jobs, housing and social benefits. The League's response was to sponsor a National Conference on Negro Migration in 1917. At a time when riots in cities were no less common than now, the League expanded until by the Depression local League affiliates existed in 44 cities. Responding to those times, League ran employment programs, provided youth recreation facilities, distributed food, and led health campaigns.

The need for defense workers during World War II opened new doors for Blacks and enabled the League to establish a 300-plant Industrial Relations Laboratory which by 1944 had provided 150,000 jobs previously denied to Blacks. Two hundred fifty-seven industry managements pledged to continue their war-time hiring practices after the war's end. The League's efforts were a major factor in the industrialization of the nation's Black work force.

#### Expansion After World War II

The League expanded its activities in other areas after World War II, helping two-thirds of a million people in housing, health, personal and family problems by the 1950's. And it continued, through its Pilot Placement Project, to place Blacks in new jobs formerly not open to them. For the first time, business and industry began to recruit on Black college campuses.

Then, in the early fifties, the League negotiated with labor and management in 132 cities across the country; and the League's new Commerce and Industry Council obtained pledges of intensive upgrading and increased

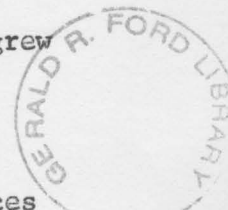


employment of Blacks from numerous corporations. By the late fifties an annual Equal Opportunity Day could be celebrated to demonstrate progress in equal employment, the need for greater effort, and the need for cooperation of labor and management to secure jobs for Blacks.

The League was ready with ideas and programs for the augmented pace of civil rights in the 1960's. Under the inspired leadership of the late Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director from 1961, until his untimely death in Lagos, Nigeria last March, the number of League affiliates increased to 98, while the League's professional staff grew from 300 to 1,200.

Five Regional Offices were established with a new Field Services Department; and these - together with affiliates, a new Washington Bureau, a Research Department and the National Office - worked together and with private agencies, industry and the Federal government to enlarge the scope and improve the content of League programs reflecting minority aspirations.

During the decade, the National Skills Bank became the largest and most successful placement program for minorities in the country, placing in 1969 alone, a total of 31,937 persons. But before disadvantaged people are placed they must be trained and the Urban League's On-the-Job Training program was born of this necessity. To date the League's OJT Program and its 36 Urban League affiliate subcontractors have trained, converted skills and upgraded 59,000 disadvantaged persons.





A Changed Life for Individuals

The case of Lonnie Kimble offers a good example of the OJT in action.

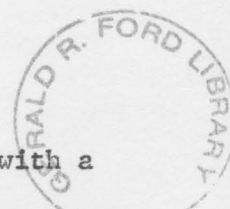
Kimble was raised in the rural South and drove a cotton picker as a teenager, working from sunrise to sunset for what many would consider a starvation wage. Like those for whom the League was founded in 1910, he took his hopes North to Rochester - with \$5 in his pocket, leaving his wife and child behind. The Rochester Urban League's OJT program helped him progress from sweeping floors to skilled work testing gears at a gear manufacturing company; and today, in his early twenties, he lives with his family in a small but pleasant apartment, on good pay for a standard work day.

The story of George Williams offers another example.

Williams, bitter, rebellious, unskilled, was a Black with a prison record looking for a job in the building trades where Blacks still face rank discrimination.

The Milwaukee Urban League branch of the Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP) sought Williams out, put him through rigorous preparation to take union tests and found him an apprenticeship on his own real, unrealized merits. Today he is working toward the ultimate promise of job security and good income: a union card.

LEAP is but one division of the League's Labor Affairs Program, which also involves communities in plans to make unions more responsive to community needs, offers help to minority contractors, and sponsors 10-week Labor Education seminars to identify and develop minority leadership within unions.



Thus, since the "demonstration" placement of the 40's and 50's, the League has moved to active large-scale recruitment of minorities into industry at all levels, to broadly-based efforts to increase the minority presence in unions, and most recently - through its new School To Industry Job Development Program - to preparation of minority high school students specifically to take advantage of commitments by firms to hire them. The League has always held that a man with one hand tied behind his back cannot be expected to compete equally. Its programs have been geared to make the difference.

#### New Programs of the Sixties

The Summer Fellowship Program has offered 675 professors and administrators from predominately Black colleges the opportunity to work in industry for a summer, to make teaching in the classroom more relevant. At the same time, 246 top Black executives in industry have been visiting lecturers at 12 Black colleges under the Black Executive Exchange Program, offering students in special credit-bearing courses their insights into the practical side of fields like accounting, marketing, chemistry, banking and management.

The League and its affiliates have also sponsored voter education campaigns, encouraged Blacks to "Make Black Count" in the census to receive their share of government entitlements, and been an important, sometimes founding member of effective national civil rights coalitions -- among them, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and the National Urban Coalition.



Mrs. Lettie Brown of Seattle and her children were one of 2,000 families moved into decent housing by Operation Equality, begun during the 1960's. Supported by public assistance and occasional odd jobs, she came to the Seattle Urban League with dreams of a neat and freshly painted house, perhaps a patch of green lawn, where she could safely raise five teenage children away from rats, filth and danger. Operation Equality, a League program, helped her not only to rent, but to buy, a completely remodeled house in a pleasant neighborhood near good schools - at a cost no more than the rent charged by her absentee slum landlord.

Operation Equality ended in 1969, but the League's Housing Division today has a larger focus: to make public housing relevant to the consumer, not - as presently formulated - just to those who produce houses. A recent National Look at Housing Abandonment exposed to the nation the causes and crisis of housing abandonment making life intolerable in inner cities. The new National Urban League Development Foundation offers financial and technical assistance for the development of innovative housing programs; NULDF is today doing the master city planning for Kinloch, Missouri, and helping local Urban Leagues across the country construct model solutions to the problems of inadequate housing for poor families.

In health, a critical area for Black people, the League's Consumer Health Education and Training program teaches community women how to change community health services and make them relevant to their needs. Family Planning has a network of outreach workers advising women of the risks of infant deaths, sickly babies and family planning, their basic message being: "Have as many children as you want, but have them when you want them." And the League's recent proposal, Toward A National Health Program has been important in Congressional deliberations on this issue -- coming as it does from the minority most in need of its benefits.





Veterans Affairs and Rural Development

When Whitney M. Young, Jr., went to Vietnam in 1966, the results of his talks with minority GI's was the League's Veterans Affairs Program, which increases justice and opportunities for minority servicemen, and helps them when they become veterans to obtain employment, education housing and welfare benefits. Men like Johnny Britt, who joined the Marines in his late teens because he was hanging around street corners doing nothing, came into League VA offices across the country broke, despairing, and at their wits end. With honorable discharges and Vietnam under their belts, they were back on the same old corner, without jobs or adequate education.

Today Johnny Britt is working as a cabinet-maker apprentice in San Francisco. With the firm guidance of the League's VA coordinator he has gone back to night school, obtained his high school diploma, and completed six months at a Junior College. There are thousands of Johnny Britts coming home - some need jobs, others need housing, education, further training, even counselling on their GI benefits. The League's Veterans Affairs Program has aided 35,000 veterans since 1967.

In 1968 Hancock County in rural Georgia elected a second Black to its three-man county commission, and turned to the League's Southern Regional Office for help in improving the county's dire economic condition.

The League spearheaded a town meeting, brought in government representatives and the Citizens and Southern Bank, opened a field office in the county seat, encouraged a survey by the Economic Development Administration, and helped residents develop the county's first new industry in years. It was a major new direction for the urban-oriented League. The Southern Regional Office now maintains Rural Development Centers in Alabama and Georgia, a disaster relief center for hurricane victims in Mississippi, and is rapidly expanding its services to impoverished rural citizens.





A New Thrust

Three years ago, after nearly sixty years of service to Black America, more than a hundred years since the Emancipation Proclamation, and in a new period of national crisis, the Urban League recognized that a strategy of individual response to local problems as they became critical, simply did not work. Direct services helped individuals, and often bridged the gap between disadvantaged minorities and a too-often uncomprehending white nation.

But to effect radical change, there was a new battlefield ahead: the root causes of minority deprivation in the economic, social, political and educational institutions affecting Black people.

The majority culture viewed these institutions as time-honored ways of doing and seeing things. The League saw them as racist. Thus the League's New Thrust was born -- to make a concerted, comprehensive attack on the problems affecting Black people, to challenge the related systems blocking their fulfillment as persons, to treat the illness instead of offering placebos to the victims.

Two issues became crucial to New Thrust: The use of League resources to allow community organization around concerns initiated by ghetto residents; and the development of model alternatives to current education, housing, health, economic and social welfare systems. The list of continuing New Thrust programs is lengthy. It runs the gamut from minority entrepreneurship, to coalitions with welfare rights and tenant groups...from minority leadership development, to police-community relations...from model Day Care centers and summer programs in the ghetto for Black college students, to carefully-designed Confrontation Seminars with key professional staff of white social service agencies.



Street Academies

The League's Street Academy Program was a precursor of New Thrust, identifying high school drop-outs through workers who knew the streets, and by bringing them through a staged series of store-front and preparatory schools at their own speed, proving that they could go on to college.

How do these youths break through when so many other fail? The reason is best expressed by an Academy student who said: "Here the teachers care about you as a human being. Sure they push you, but they don't push you out. They care." And he added: "This comeback is for real!"

The Street Academies, which began at the New York Urban League and spread to eight other League cities, have proven that an alternative education system can work as well and sometimes better than present urban schools. Perhaps it is indicative of the illness which New Thrust seeks to cure, that despite obvious and major successes many white institutions which formerly supported the New York Academy have recently lost interest. Greater efforts are needed, for the New Thrust League, like more vocally-oriented organizations, knows that those not part of the solution are part of the problem.

ERCOT, the Eastern Region Community Organization Training Project, is another example of New Thrust today. All 24 affiliates in the League's Eastern Region have employed para-professional community organizers to organize the working and non-working poor around community issues that concern them.

Efforts by an organizer at the Bergen County Urban League have led to the formation of tenant groups that have demanded, and received, correction of 475 local building code violations. Boston's organizers are helping that community's hospital workers organize for better wages, improved working conditions and reforms in services to patients. A regional ERCOT conference in January attracted considerable publicity with its grass roots opposition to the misallocation of national resources, and with its call for increased



Black control over decisions affecting Black lives. The League does not intend to surrender or to disengage itself until this job is done.

The Vision of Whitney Young

Back in 1963 Whitney M. Young, Jr., unveiled the League's Domestic Marshall Plan, calling for a massive ten year effort to eradicate the "discrimination gap" caused by "three centuries of abuse, humiliation, segregation and bias" against Blacks. Four years later, in an article in the Saturday Review, he was saying: "The promise of tangible gains must be accompanied by a timetable...We cannot say we will end poverty and then appropriate less than \$100 per person as we have done to date in the 'War on Poverty' program."

And in his last keynote address to the National Urban League's Annual Conference in 1970, Young was forced to tell delegates and guests from across the nation: "Beset by the twin evils of repression and recession, Black people today are fearful that even the limited gains of the sixties are in danger. We have seen that in spite of legal and legislative victories, racism is still alive in new and different forms."

Whitney M. Young, Jr., was not a man who discouraged easily. As the League entered the 70's - and at a time, he said, when the nation found itself at the crossroads between "the path of division, decline and oblivion (and) the path of progress, purpose and decency" - the League's late Executive Director proposed a new Strategy For The Seventies, which he defined as Unity, Coalition and Negotiation.

The Black community, he said, "must forge the union of justice with power," by imposing upon itself and its organizations "a community of spirit and a fraternal bond that will enable us better to negotiate from a base of



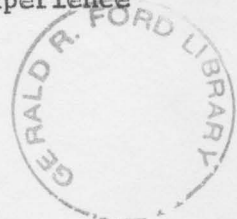


strength and unity." And he called for a coalition representing the entire spectrum of Black opinion, and those whites who share common goals to make "the just and the powerful deal with each other in a strategy of negotiation."

Which Way, America?

Since Whitney M. Young, Jr's., meeting with the President and his Cabinet last December 22nd, the National Urban League has been negotiating from strength - with major Departments of the Federal government, for increased cooperation between community-based social planning agencies and the Federal government. The results of these negotiations are discussed elsewhere in this issue of Contact.

But as the League asks, at its Annual Conference in 1971, the all-too-reminiscent question "Which Way, America?," it faces with courage, vision and determination a future at least as important as its legacy of experience and community trust.





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703-821-2600  
Gloria Green

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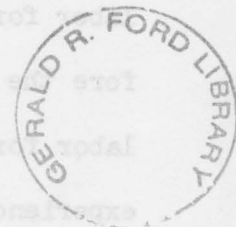
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Building for Equal Opportunity

55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

National Urban League  
Research Department  
May 26, 1971



## City Blacks Face Employment Crisis this Summer

The worst employment crisis in almost a decade is hitting the cities now, according to the latest economic review of the National Urban League. About 850,000 black people were looking for work in the spring, before the onrush of graduating students and additional Vietnam veterans into the labor force.

The League estimates that the total could reach about 1,000,000 black unemployed by mid-summer, with around 600,000 in big cities. The League is calling on the President and the Congress to declare a national emergency now, and to designate the 53 cities in major areas of substantial unemployment disaster areas, requiring massive job creation for essential public services at all occupational levels.

About 3 million black people and 30 million whites live in the 53 major areas of substantial unemployment. The blacks are mostly locked in the central cities. Within the cities themselves, and especially in areas of black concentration in the city core, average unemployment rates among blacks could range conservatively up to 25 percent, since area-wide rates (including suburbs) for all workers of whatever race average from 6 to 13 percent in the major

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metropolitan areas where unemployment is serious. In those places the black rates remains, as everywhere, substantially above the white.

The crisis will be especially acute among black teenagers in the labor force. Almost a third of them were unemployed in April, well before the summer upsurge in job seeking. Black teenagers entering the labor force this summer have several strikes against them -- they are inexperienced workers and black, and they are competing with both their white peers and all experienced workers in a continuing loose job market. The approximately 680,000 black teenagers in the civilian labor force in April and May could swell to 1,000,000 by mid-summer. They would be competing with well over 8 million white teenagers, whose unemployment rates are usually less than half the black rate. All teenagers will find the job hunt difficult this summer, but especially the black.

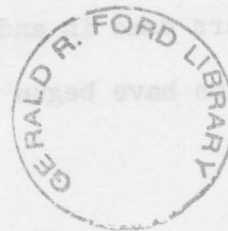
The crisis could be explosive among black veterans of the Vietnam war, who have learned technical and social skills in the military, and have high expectations. Yet their unemployment rate has been climbing steadily, and at last reading, in the first quarter of this year, was 15.1 percent compared to 8.6 percent a year before. An estimated 380,000 black veterans of the Vietnam war are likely to be in the civilian labor force this summer. Even if their unemployment rate stays about the same by the third quarter (a conservative prospect) close to 60,000 will be out of a job. These black veterans of the most unpopular war in this century will be competing with all the other unemployed plus an estimated 340,000 white unemployed Vietnam veterans. The unemployment rate of newly separated GI's, especially newly separated black GI's, has been greater than for all other groups of adult men during the past year. The largest group of returning black Vietnam veterans, the 20-24 year olds, is enduring unemployment rates of 20.9%. The embitterment and frustration of these men is unmeasurable.



To gauge the job market in which blacks will be competing this summer, Bureau of Labor Statistics data show that of about 4.7 million persons unemployed this spring, half a million, twice the number last spring, had been unemployed over half a year -- 27 weeks or more. Half of these very long-term unemployed workers are white men, usually the most successful in the job market. In spring 1969, when unemployment was at a 15-year low, only about 160,000 workers all told were unemployed for so long. About a fourth were black, and these people were called "hard core" unemployed, meaning, to some, unemployables.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics' May figures on employment and unemployment, to be released in a few days, and the June figures, not to be released until early July will not reflect the mid-summer situation, since the data will refer to periods before the closing of most schools. The June data, to be released in July, are to be collected in the week of June 7 and 12. The full impact of school leavers on the already depressed situation will not be a matter of public record until August.

The National Urban League with its Board of Directors assert that enough is known now to prepare for the summer, that it is unreasonable, and could be disastrous, to wait two months after the fact until all the statistics are in, but the damage has been done.



#### Other Indicators

Undue optimism is developing because of recent substantial reductions in interest rates and the cost of credit. Now people who already have money and are employed are more ready to buy or invest than before. Therefore, installment credit is increasing, the highest savings rate in 4 years is edging down, and construction activity, including housing starts, is on the upswing. Those who have, of course, can now have some more, at less cost.

Social security beneficiaries will increase the income stream by about \$1 billion in June when they receive a 10-percent increase in their benefits checks, retroactive to January 1. In the aggregate \$1 billion seems to be a great deal, but each of the over 26 million recipients receives relatively little and not all the money will be spent immediately and therefore lead by itself to any substantial boost to the summer economy.

Likewise, not all of the activity engendered by easy credit now will result in the sharply expanding employment needed in the last half of June and in July and August. Construction especially requires some lead time for land acquisition, and contract bids and award. Usually several months elapse between the issuance of building permits and residential construction of any magnitude.

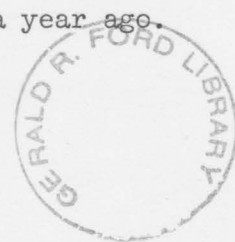
The inventory-sales ratio, which declined this spring, could rise as new orders come in and businesses stock up. New orders and industrial production have begun to rise already.

It is likely, therefore, that fuller employment of those already on the job will occur this summer and the unemployment rate could stabilize at around its present high level.

The unemployment figures above do not reflect those employed part-time, although they want full-time work. In the spring these workers numbered about 1.8 million whites and about 450,000 blacks. It is entirely likely that whenever employment picks up, the first step taken will be to put those already on the payroll back on a full schedule. In addition, over-time hours, which have been down over the year, could begin trending up. These are first steps and do not open up new jobs, especially for blacks. Vacancies in manufacturing have been running at about half of what they were last year.

Median family income fell (in constant 1970 dollars) and the number of persons officially held to be poor increased in 1970 for the first time in almost a decade. About one-third of all the poor in 1970 were black. Most black people rely solely on employment and wages. Also, unemployment already has risen more this year than last. Therefore, it is likely that real income has continued to decline for blacks in 1971, and the number who are poor has increased. Under such conditions more black youth than last year will be looking for work this summer to supplement family income at a time when white families also are feeling the pinch of hard times.

Pressure for several family members to enter the labor force also will result from high prices. The Consumer Price Index was still rising this spring, and in April the index was 4 percent above a year ago.





Industrial prices on the wholesale market have been rising substantially this year and will affect prices at retail in later months, so that the CPI is likely to continue upward, at least at recent rates, during the summer months. The U.S. city average was 20.2 percent above the 1967 average in April. In certain large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C. the increase has been greater than that.

The League pleads urgently to prepare today for the summer employment crisis. Strong and directed action should be taken now.

FOR LIBRARY

## KEY ECONOMIC INDICATORS

April 1971

| Group influenced,<br>and specific indicator | April |      | Change, 1970-71 |         |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|------|-----------------|---------|
|                                             | 1970  | 1971 | Amount          | Percent |

THE WORKER

|                                                               |         |         |        |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|--------|-----|
| *Unemployment rates--total                                    | 4.7     | 6.1     | 1.4    | 30  |
| Black                                                         | 8.3     | 10.0    | 1.7    | 20  |
| White                                                         | 4.2     | 5.6     | 1.4    | 33  |
| Ratio, black to white                                         | 1.8     | 1.8     | 0      | 0   |
| Teenagers--Black                                              | 28.7    | 32.1    | 3.4    | 12  |
| White                                                         | 13.4    | 15.2    | 1.8    | 13  |
| Adult men--Black                                              | 5.4     | 6.8     | 1.4    | 26  |
| White                                                         | 2.9     | 4.1     | 1.2    | 41  |
| Adult women--Black                                            | 7.3     | 9.3     | 2.0    | 27  |
| White                                                         | 4.0     | 5.5     | 1.5    | 38  |
| Married men                                                   | 2.3     | 3.1     | 0.8    | 35  |
| Unemployed--Total no. (000's)                                 | 3,552   | 4,694   | 1,148  | 32  |
| Black                                                         | 690     | 849     | 159    | 23  |
| White                                                         | 2,862   | 3,844   | 982    | 34  |
| Unemployed 15 weeks or more                                   |         |         |        |     |
| Total                                                         | 772     | 1,466   | 694    | 90  |
| Black men                                                     | 76      | 165     | 89     | 117 |
| Black women                                                   | 85      | 118     | 33     | 39  |
| White men                                                     | 424     | 777     | 353    | 83  |
| White women                                                   | 187     | 405     | 218    | 117 |
| Overtime hours (mfg.)                                         | 3.0     | 2.8     | -0.2   | -7  |
| Net spendable earnings (1967\$)<br>(worker with 3 dependents) | \$89.37 | \$91.13 | \$1.76 | 2   |

THE CONSUMER

|                                                   |       |       |       |    |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|----|
| Consumer price index (1967=100)                   | 115.2 | 120.2 | 5.0   | 4  |
| Wholesale price index (1967=100)                  | 109.9 | 113.3 | 3.4   | 3  |
| Industrials                                       | 109.3 | 113.3 | 4.0   | 4  |
| *New housing starts (pvt) 000's                   | 1,224 | 1,903 | 679   | 55 |
| Saving as % of disposable income<br>(1st qtr.)    | 6.7   | 7.2   | 0.5   | 7  |
| Purchasing power of consumer dollar<br>(1967=100) | .868  | .832  | -.036 | -4 |

THE PRODUCER

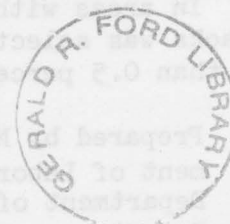
|                                           |       |       |       |     |
|-------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Industrial production index<br>(1967=100) | 107.7 | 105.0 | -2.7  | -3  |
| Inventory-sales ratio (Mar.)              | 1.58  | 1.54  | -.04  | -3  |
| Interest rates, prime commercial          | 8.06  | 4.57  | -3.49 | -43 |

THE NATION

|                                               |         |         |     |   |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------|---------|-----|---|
| *Gross national product (1st qtr)<br>(1958\$) | \$723.8 | \$732.7 | 8.9 | 1 |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------|---------|-----|---|

Note: Black refers to "Negro and other races."

\* Seasonally adjusted

National Urban League, Research Department  
June 1971

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT  
AND BLACKS AS A PERCENT OF THEIR CENTRAL CITY POPULATION

(Unemployment as of March 1971 and population from 1970 Census)

| State and major<br>metro. area of<br>subst. unemp. | Unemploy-<br>ment rate<br>Mar. 1971 | Blacks<br>as % of met.<br>CENTRAL CITY<br>population<br>1970 | State and major<br>metro. area of<br>subst. unemp. | Unemploy-<br>ment rate<br>Mar. 1971 | Blacks<br>as % of met.<br>CENTRAL CITY<br>population<br>1970 |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                    |                                     |                                                              |                                                    |                                     |                                                              |
| UNITED STATES                                      | 6.0                                 | 21                                                           | Michigan                                           |                                     |                                                              |
| California                                         |                                     |                                                              | Battle Creek                                       | 8.3                                 | 20                                                           |
| *Anah.-Santa A.-                                   |                                     |                                                              | Detroit                                            | 8.2                                 | 44                                                           |
| Garden Gr.                                         | 7.8                                 | 4                                                            | Flint                                              | 6.1                                 | 28                                                           |
| Fresno                                             | 9.2                                 | 10                                                           | Grand Rapids                                       | 9.8                                 | 11                                                           |
| *Los A.-Long Bch.                                  | 7.7                                 | 18                                                           | Kalamazoo                                          | 7.7                                 | 10                                                           |
| Sacramento                                         | 7.2                                 | 11                                                           | *Musk.-Musk. Hts.                                  | 11.3                                | 52                                                           |
| *San Bern.-                                        |                                     |                                                              | New Jersey                                         |                                     |                                                              |
| Rivers.-Ont.                                       | 7.3                                 | 14                                                           | Atlantic City                                      | 9.9                                 | 44                                                           |
| San Diego                                          | 7.1                                 | 8                                                            | Jersey City                                        | 9.2                                 | 21                                                           |
| San Jose                                           | 7.5                                 | 3                                                            | Newark                                             | 6.5                                 | 54                                                           |
| Stockton                                           | 10.9                                | 11                                                           | *New Brunswick-                                    |                                     |                                                              |
| Connecticut                                        |                                     |                                                              | Perth Amboy                                        | 6.9                                 | 23                                                           |
| Bridgeport                                         | 10.1                                | 16                                                           | *Paterson-                                         |                                     |                                                              |
| Hartford                                           | 6.4                                 | 28                                                           | Clift.-Passaic                                     | 7.0                                 | 27                                                           |
| New Britain                                        | 11.9                                | 4                                                            | New York                                           |                                     |                                                              |
| New Haven                                          | 7.2                                 | 26                                                           | Binghamton                                         | 7.7                                 | 2                                                            |
| Waterbury                                          | 11.4                                | 10                                                           | Buffalo                                            | 6.9                                 | 20                                                           |
| Illinois                                           |                                     |                                                              | Utica-Rome                                         | 8.0                                 | 6                                                            |
| Rockford                                           | 6.6                                 | 8                                                            | Oregon                                             |                                     |                                                              |
| Indiana                                            |                                     |                                                              | Portland                                           | 5.2                                 | 6                                                            |
| South Bend                                         | 7.4                                 | 14                                                           | Pennsylvania                                       |                                     |                                                              |
| Terre Haute                                        | 7.0                                 | 7                                                            | Johnstown                                          | 6.2                                 | 6                                                            |
| Kansas                                             |                                     |                                                              | Scranton                                           | 7.7                                 | 1                                                            |
| Wichita                                            | 10.7                                | 10                                                           | Rhode Island                                       |                                     |                                                              |
| Louisiana                                          |                                     |                                                              | *Provid.-Pawtucket                                 | 7.6                                 | 9                                                            |
| Baton Rouge                                        | 6.6                                 | 28                                                           | Washington                                         |                                     |                                                              |
| Massachusetts                                      |                                     |                                                              | Seattle                                            | 13.2                                | 7                                                            |
| Brockton                                           | 9.1                                 | 2                                                            | Spokane                                            | 9.4                                 | 1                                                            |
| Fall River                                         | 8.9                                 | **                                                           | Tacoma                                             | 11.0                                | 7                                                            |
| Lawr.-Haverhill                                    | 9.1                                 | 1                                                            | West Virginia                                      |                                     |                                                              |
| Lowell                                             | 11.5                                | 1                                                            | Charleston                                         | 5.9                                 | 11                                                           |
| New Bedford                                        | 12.0                                | 4                                                            | *Hunting.-Ashland                                  | 6.6                                 | 6                                                            |
| *Springf.-Holyoke                                  | 8.7                                 | 13                                                           | Wisconsin                                          |                                     |                                                              |
| Worcester                                          | 7.3                                 | **                                                           | Racine                                             | 8.8                                 | 11                                                           |

\* Note: In areas with more than 1 central city, the central city with the highest percent of blacks was selected.

\*\* Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data of the U.S. Department of Labor, Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment, May 1971 and from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Advance Reports.

(OVER)



# UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND BLACKS AS A PERCENT OF THEIR CENTRAL CITY POPULATION

(Unemployment as of March 1971 and population from 1970 Census)

|                                         | Unemployment rate<br>March 1971 | Blacks as % of met.<br>CENTRAL CITY<br>population<br>1970 |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Michigan<br>Saginaw                     | 6.3                             | 24                                                        |
| Minnesota<br>* <u>Duluth</u> - Superior | 7.4                             | 1                                                         |
| New Mexico<br>Albuquerque               | 5.2                             | 2                                                         |
| Ohio<br>*Hamilton - <u>Middleton</u>    | 7.1                             | 11                                                        |

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\* Note: In areas with more than 1 central city, the city with the highest percent of blacks was selected.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data of the U. S. Department of Labor, Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment, May 1971 and from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Advance Reports.



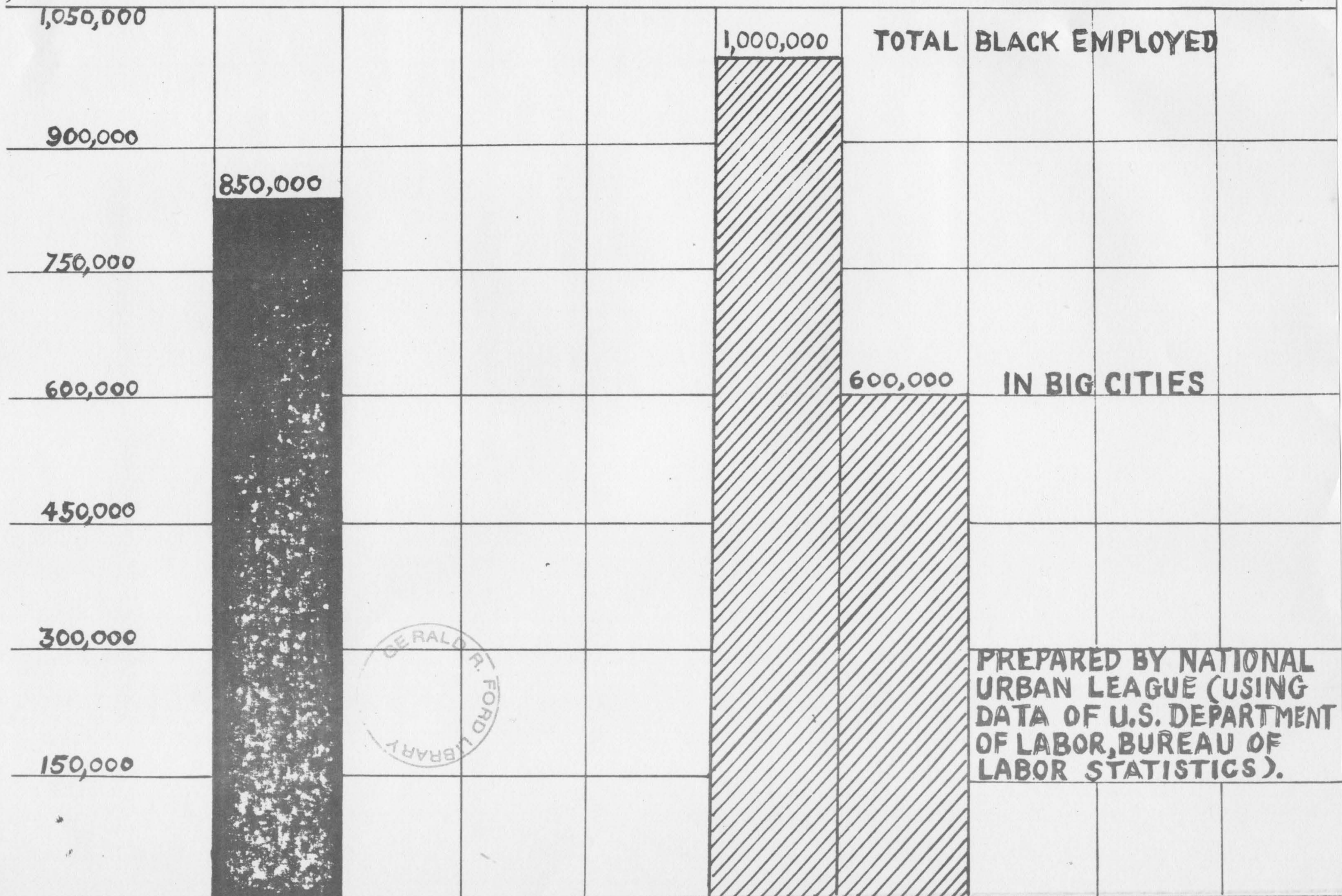
# BLACK UNEMPLOYED-- NOW AND SUMMER

1971

SPRING

SUMMER-- NUL ESTIMATE

UNEMPLOYED



PREPARED BY NATIONAL  
URBAN LEAGUE (USING  
DATA OF U.S. DEPARTMENT  
OF LABOR, BUREAU OF  
LABOR STATISTICS).

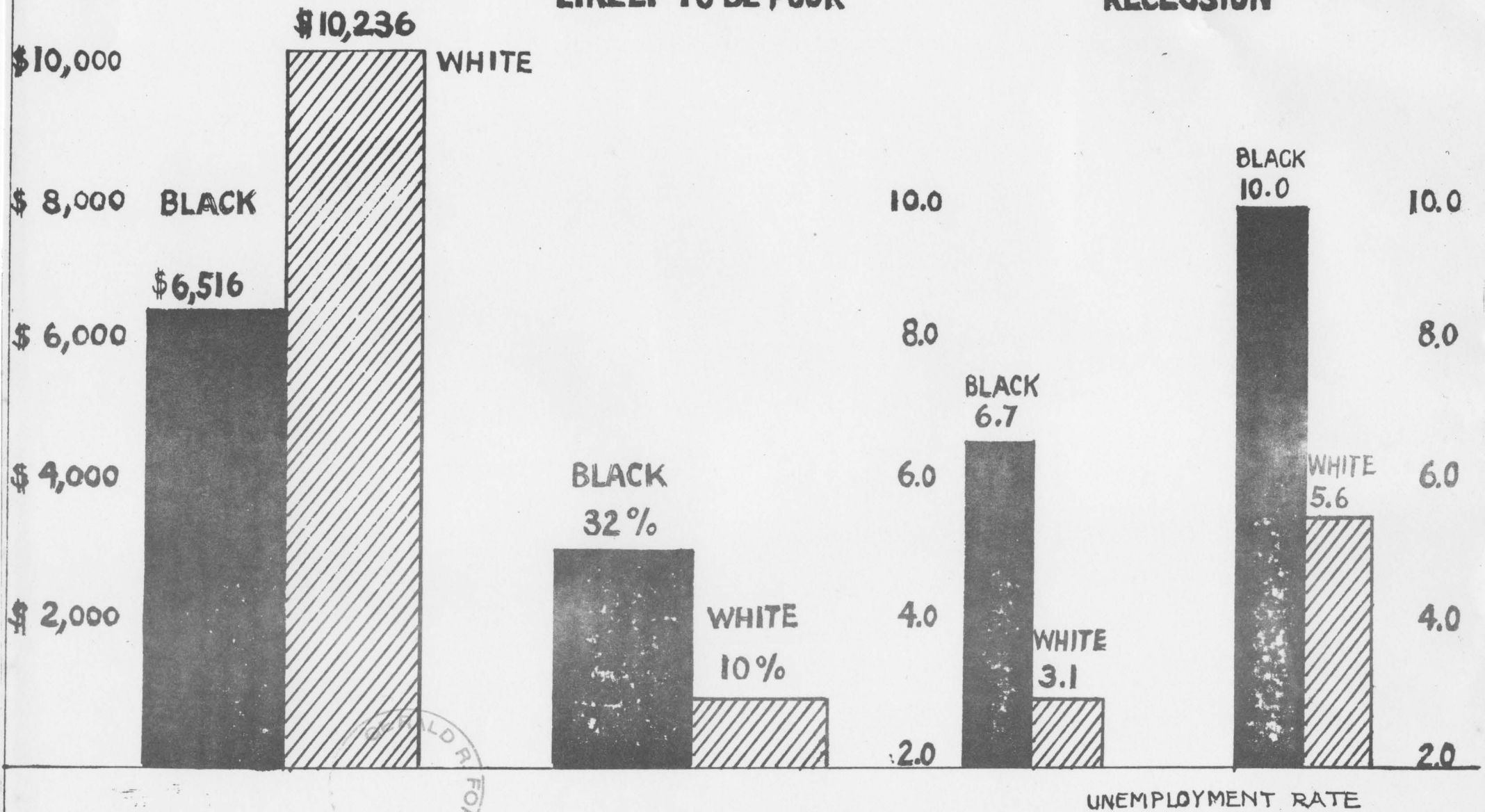
# THE ECONOMIC FACTS OF BLACK LIFE

## BLACKS

**HAVE LESS MONEY**

**ARE 3 TIMES AS  
LIKELY TO BE POOR**

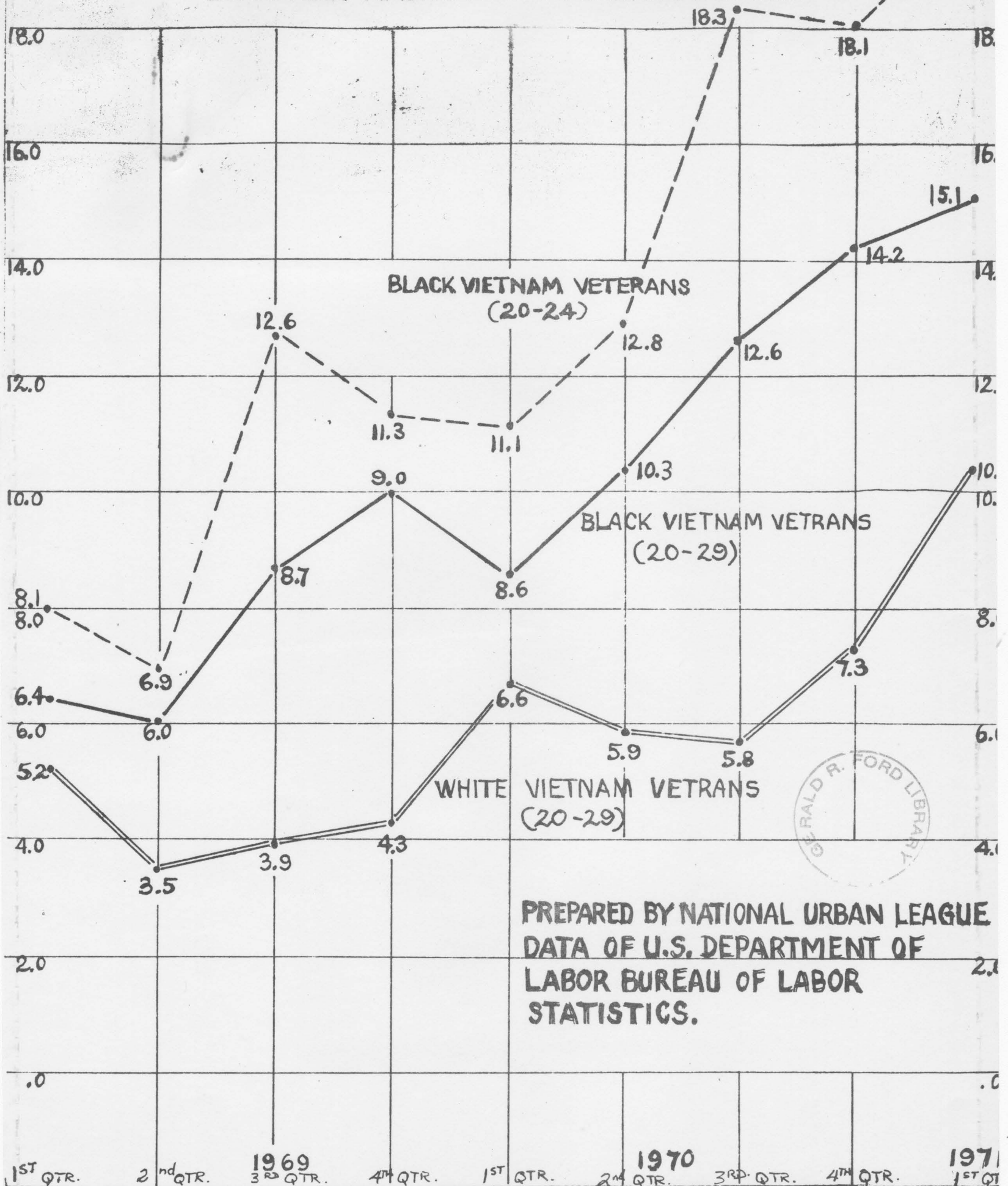
**ARE ALWAYS IN AN EMPLOYMENT  
RECESSION**



PREPARED BY NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE (FROM DATA OF U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND OF LABOR.)



# UNEMPLOYMENT OF VIETNAM WAR VETERANS IS RISING SHARPLY, ESPECIALLY AMONG 20-24 YEAR OLD BLACKS



SWELTERING CITIES AND BROKEN HOPES

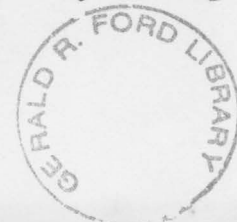
File under  
Urban League

PREPARED BY  
JAMES D. WILLIAMS  
DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS  
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE  
JUNE 9, 1971

A frightful kind of world exists within many of our cities, only dimly and rarely understood by outsiders until some tragedy, some forceful impingement upon the consciousness of those outside its boundaries, brings it into reluctant view. A strange world this is, profane and sacred, withdrawn and extroverted, but holding fast to its own counsel. Probed and studied to the last squalid room, their potential for good or evil still a mystery, their future direction a matter for conjecture, these worlds respond to their own heartbeats and in so doing they are frightening, for man deals fearfully with the unknown.

From the recent reports that have come into the headquarters of the National Urban League from affiliates in various cities on the mood and temper of their areas as summer approaches, we have attempted to tie together bits and pieces of information into something resembling a mosaic, where one thing relates to the other and out of it all emerges a unified impression.

There is a danger in this, for to assess what men will do at some future date under circumstances that no one can forecast, is to pretend an omnipotence reserved for the gods. Despite this danger, there are times when the odds in favor of failure are outweighed by the urgency of the moment...and this is such a time.



Are those who talk of a holocaust this summer right, or are those who dismiss such predictions as unrealistically remote, the proper oracles? Guided by the words in the reports we cannot point to the right or wrong view, but these same reports provide a terrifying impression of cities poised on the thin lip of an abyss, ready to topple over with the slightest imposition of pressure into a sea of flames.

### Warning Bells

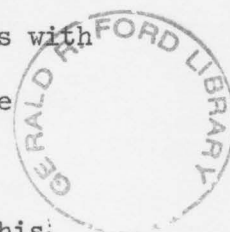
Warning bells sound in these reports. They carry a sense of impending and almost unavoidable doom, telling of beds of ashes ready to burst into flames, given the proper wind.

The familiar statistics are all there, the cold figures that weave a story of unemployment, poor housing, miserable schools, drug addiction, police brutality and community indifference to the rape of black neighborhoods. No new story this, but the depth of despair has increased, the sense of hopelessness has spread. It is as if men stand on a railroad track waiting to be smashed by an oncoming train, and yet no one takes any action to save them and they cannot save themselves.

Governments, national, state and local seem paralyzed. Business is too involved with profit and loss statements to become involved with people. No one seems really disturbed about the sullen black youths with idle hands and those no longer youthful with their dreams long since turned to sand.

A telling sentence from the Louisville, Ky. report says this:

"Disorders more severe than those that occurred in 1968 are more than a possibility because of the feeling among a significant element of the black community that Louisville has failed to come to grips with the problems that adversely affect their lives."





And from Akron, Ohio:

"The problems of unemployment of disadvantaged and minority persons are as severe now as they have ever been. The only apparent change is the almost complete lack of confidence in the system to do anything about it. There are many angry voices among the unemployed and crime and civil disruption are always a risk, but the overriding mood is one of hopelessness and helplessness."

An evaluation from Springfield, Ohio:

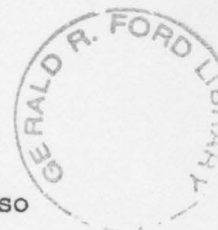
"We feel the greatest hazard to racial peace in Springfield is complacency on the part of the middle class blacks and whites in general. They still feel it 'won't happen here'. Yet, there are subtle undertones of general discontent in the black community. The vocal youth will explode as soon as any incident, no matter how small, surfaces."

Such warnings are not mouthed by confirmed forecasters of the coming of the apocalypse, but issue from men of reason who, on the basis of their own knowledge, have reason for gloom.

This is not to say that there have to be explosions, but to ignore that possibility is to close one's eyes to reality. There may also be some validity in the approach of those who urge that the least said about violence, the better the chances for avoiding it.

But then the question emerges as to what problem was ever solved by not talking about it, pretending that it just was not there? If, having been warned, some steps are taken to resolve pressing grievances, then something of value has been gained.

One possible approach was offered recently by the Acting Executive Director of the League, Harold Sims, when he suggested that 53 cities, where unemployment is highest, be designated as disaster areas, thus triggering an infusion of Federal funds.



A hurricane sweeps across the lush land of the Gulf Coast and it becomes a diaster area. A drought drags on in the midwest, corn blackens and dies, and a diaster is declared. And black unemployment flies up to 35 percent in some cities and it is described as the result of a turndown in the economy, and government does nothing. Thus the question is posed -- if government can act to ease the savagery of nature, why then can it not act to ease the savagery inflicted on men by other men?

Could it be that we have grown so inured to human misery, so convinced that the problems are so insoluable that wise men would attempt to frame no solutions that the capacity to understand the precariousness of the human condition has been dulled?

This department is not proposing any specific type of action. That is not our function. We have made an honest effort to pull together a story we believe that we should share with you. From it we hope that you can obtain a sense of what it is like in the inner cities of the nation. Nothing here is a revelation to you. But by placing these reports together there might be developed a feel for the dimensions of the crucial social problems that threaten to swallow this society.

No one section of the country has a monopoly on misery, and this is important to know. In the Mideastern region, Springfield, Ohio; Louisville, Ky.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Akron, Ohio; Pontiac, Mich.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Mich. and Dayton, Ohio reported on their situations as summer nears.

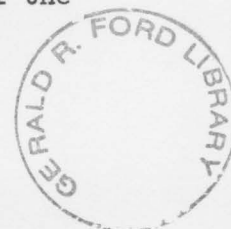


Some 3,000 black youth, ages 12-19, out of work in Springfield with no job market to provide part time work. The recreation programs that once reduced potential problems are the victims of budget cuts that guarantee their failure. The Police Department is seeking \$9,000 in Federal funds for a recreation program, but the black youth in the community regard the police with the same suspicion as their brothers in the larger cities.

Louisville "is faced with the very real possibilities of interracial friction if not actual violence in the months ahead." Massive programs are needed now in the areas of housing for the poor, and public employment for the growing number of unemployed now numbering 10 percent in the black community. The gloomy forecast for the future estimates that only 23 percent of the blacks needing manpower services will receive them.

"There has been no improvement in the negative factors contributing to the confrontations of the sixties" the report from Cincinnati states. "In all of the life chances areas, conditions have worsened except for those individuals who are prepared and are competitive."

Unemployment for blacks runs at a rate of 12 percent and in one area the rate for black adult males is 43 percent. There has been a decrease in the number of summer jobs available for youth and the report continues "due to job insecurity, there is a greater polarization of the races than was true in 1967. In short, Cincinnati has all the ingredients for a "hot summer."





Unemployment among inner-city residents in Akron is described at being of crisis proportions with an estimated rate of between 12 and 15 percent for blacks. Better than 40 percent of minority youth seeking employment are without jobs. Commenting on the plight of youth between 16-18, the report makes this observation:

"It is at these ages that our youth learn the patterns of behavior known as hard core unemployed. We often forget that people don't stop living because they don't work. Just as our lives are patterned around our jobs, they learn a way of life centering around a lack of work. We are then surprised when the abrupt offer of a job does not change the whole life-style."

Black youth between 16-19 in Oakland County, which includes Pontiac, Mich. have an unemployment rate of 40 percent while those 20 years and older have a rate of 14 percent. A high rate of drug addiction is reported among the young and unemployed, the Klu Klux Klan and other similar bigoted groups are actively recruiting members in the disgruntled white community and the Pontiac Police Officers Association has endorsed two anti-desegregation candidates for the School Board over the objections of black officers. There have been flare ups between white and black officers. The report sums up:

"The picture is clouded with racial hostility in Pontiac. Unemployment, the desegregation order, drug abuse, high crime index, and general unrest are signs which could be symptomatic of a hot summer here in Pontiac."



In Grand Rapids the unemployment among black youth is 50 percent higher than that of white and among adults the rate for whites is seven percent and for blacks, 15 to 20 percent.

Police community relations are strained and the problem of housing, which was the immediate cause of racial eruption in 1967, remains critical. The Grand Rapids report says:

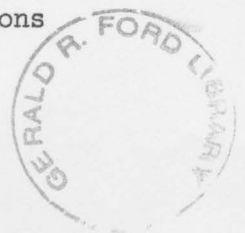
"Because of the aforementioned and social problems, coupled with open negative racial attitudes on the part of many white citizens and the constant demand for full and equal rights by black citizens, there is concern of a potential hot summer in Grand Rapids in 1971."

The Cleveland League reports the city as racially, politically, economically and academically divided.

"The Urban League of Cleveland knows that the high unemployment rate, the returning Viet Nam veteran, who bitterly has no job to go to, and the lack of any recreational funds to provide some outlet will result in much more than a "hot" summer with interracial friction, it becomes then, the business of survival."

In recent weeks, two major hotels have closed, City Hall has laid off some 1300 employees with another 800 scheduled to leave and most social agencies have cut back on programs retaining only skeleton staffs.

New racial disorders could be triggered in Detroit this summer, the League there reports, because of the unemployment rate now at a crucial 8 percent in the metropolitan area and 33 percent in the inner city. Recreational facilities in the city have cut back operations because of budget slashes, increasing the possibility of disorder.



"The city of Dayton will be a city of grave discontent this summer but not necessarily one of violence," the report from this city reads. "There will be moments of tension, some profound, some surface, but tension nonetheless. This is not to imply or say that Dayton has solved its problems of black-white conscience, nor that this city has made real progress towards such an objective. We merely suggest that Dayton is aware of the conflict that exists between pledge and plan as regards equal results for blacks. The awareness may well be the key that prevents violence."

With a 30 percent black population, Dayton has an unemployment rate for this section of the population that is close to 25 percent, while the overall rate is 5.5 percent. Less than one percent of the people in the construction trade are black and this is a situation that could produce confrontations.

Poor housing conditions are a major problem in Dayton and the school system has failed black children. In conclusion, the report took a hard look at the way things are, and then turned its eyes to what they might be.

"Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of the life of the city of Dayton. If it is not reversed and soon, this city will move toward two societies; one black and one white - separated and unequal. Reaction to our dual system has deepened each summer, such gut reaction always leads to confrontation.

"The direction can be reversed, but only when there has been a firm attack upon the problems that cause the division in our city, not an attack upon the symptoms. There must be a commitment by this city, that commitment must be massive and sustained, backed by the resources of our government, local, state and federal. There must be programs mounted on a scale that equal the dimensions of the problems. The attack must be now."





From the Midwestern region of the League, Minneapolis, Minn.; Fort Wayne, Ind.; Elkhart, Ind.; Champaign, Ill.; Omaha, Neb.; Springfield, Ill.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Madison, Wisc.; Marion, Ind.; East St. Louis, Ill.; Warren, Ohio; Wichita, Kan.; Peoria, Ill. and St. Paul, Minn. reported the following:

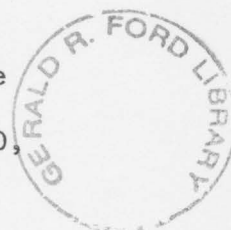
Minneapolis with a black population of 4.4 percent has a housing pattern that has blacks more heavily concentrated now in several neighborhoods than they were ten years ago.

Unemployment for blacks is 13.7 percent, as contrasted to the overall figure in the city which is below the national average of 5.6 percent. The black youth jobless rate is approximately 40 percent. A further dimension of the problem is seen in the 67 percent of blacks in the employed work force who are in service or labor occupations. The situation will get worse when black youths leave secondary schools and colleges for the summer.

"Although the problems of housing, narcotics and the disproportionate unemployment of blacks serve as indicators that there might be a hot summer in Minneapolis, the worsening of police community relations tend to present the most immediate potential for a major inter-racial flare-up this summer," the League report says.

Citing a median unemployment rate of 5.2, and one for blacks at 14 percent and for those between the age of 15-25, of 30 percent the Fort Wayne League sounds a warning.

"When it gets to the point a mayor campaigns for re-election on the point of ignoring the black community as he did in February and March of 1970, when tear gas is used indiscriminately, when young folks are deprived of recreational opportunities, when police use provocative repressive tactics, when there is a high rate of high school dropouts, when there has been no real effort to solve problems or events to relieve a part of the stress, when there are no jobs even for college students, when school officials are not responsive to children or their parents after they use the established mechanism to seek redress of long standing grievances, we can predict what will happen. It's all happened before."



Elkhart is a small city with a total population of 43,000 with blacks making up ten percent of that. The present unemployment rate in the county is 3.5 percent and for blacks it is 6 percent, with over 40 percent set as the figure for youth.

Following a series of racial confrontations at the local high schools, which eventually forced their closing, the League's Executive Director said:

"There are many underlying causes of the crisis that we have in this community. One major area is the problem of white racism be it conscious or unconscious. Until the blacks and other minorities get a chance to share equally in these requests and many others there will be no lasting peace in this community."

From Champaign the League Director reports his concern over racial conditions and his fears "that the summer will be a tense - if not a 'hot one'". Unemployment among blacks is extremely high, a Neighborhood Youth Corps program has been cut from 500 positions to 100, housing conditions are bad and tension has surfaced at the schools.

Total unemployment in Omaha is down to 4 percent but for blacks it is 18 percent and all indicators are that the picture will not change until the end of the year. Relations between the Police Department and blacks are strained and the League makes the predictions that Omaha will have another (for the fourth year) hot summer but the disturbances will involve older adults due to the serious unemployment problem.

The black community is reported as being tense because of the poor economic picture and the continuous display by police of their anticipation of a riot.



Black unemployment in Springfield is pegged at eight percent compared to an overall total of 4.2 percent. The report states:

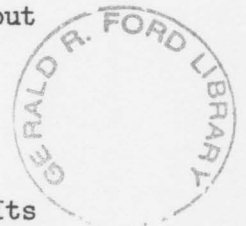
"Springfield has not had an incident or incidents of rioting or flare ups. We have been very fortunate through the years in this respect. This does not mean that it cannot happen here. The area that could become explosive is in unemployment, housing and defacto school segregation."

"While confrontation is not as frequent and overt acts of prejudice may not be as obvious, it is our feeling that polarization is on the rise and black people are becoming increasingly frustrated and embittered. Many blacks in the community are acutely aware that they are the victims of institutional racism. In spite of surface inclusion as a group, they continue to be excluded when decisions are made and when the community gets together on major activities," the Indianapolis League reports.

Unemployment among blacks is running in excess of 13 percent as opposed to 5.1 percent for the total population. The picture is especially discouraging for black veterans, 316 of whom sought services from the League in finding jobs in less than four months.

The unemployment of blacks in Madison is estimated to be about 65 percent of the total unemployment. The average income for whites is \$12,000 and for blacks \$6,000.

In East St. Louis, the city is almost hopelessly in debt. Its residents are largely poor persons and the value of the city's dilapidated property is declining. At least 30 percent of the city's families earn less than \$3,000 a year.





Evaluating the racial climate in Marion, the League there reported the current rate of black unemployment is ten percent, contrasted with six percent of the total work force. Possibility for summer employment for youth is very, very poor.

"The total overall racial climate is, while not improved, quieter as compared to the same time last year. However, a new dimension is present in the form of active right wing activity," the report continued.

As a basic steel community faced with an impending steel strike on or about August 1, Warren will probably experience an unusual amount of unemployment for blacks and other minorities. The majority of businesses and industries are laying off. Seeking summer employment for high school graduates and college students is almost useless.

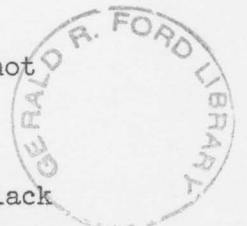
"We further find that a lot of blacks that are now employed, if they present any type of militancy or Afro type hairdos, beards, long sideburns, etc., they are constantly being harassed and threatened, sent home from work, and various other tactics are being used on them by their white supervisors, which we feel may well cause major interracial flare-ups," the League said.

Wichita, hard hit by the economic slowdown, reports unemployment running at 10.1 percent, and the figures for black adults 28 percent and black teenagers 47 percent.

"Tension is building up and subsequent social flare-ups if not violence may be expected," the League reports.

A conservative estimate in Peoria places unemployment for black adults at ten percent and for teenagers at between 25 and 30 percent.

"In addition to increasing unemployment among black workers, we are receiving reports which indicates considerable dissatisfaction



among those black workers who are employed because they are constantly being overlooked for promotions. Staff reports indicate that the ingredients of an explosive situations exist in this area.

"The summer employment outlook for black youth is dismal and is getting worse. Jobs for youth, especially black youth, will be practically nonexistent this summer for those boys and girls who do not qualify for the Neighborhood Youth Corps (which has been cut back by 20 percent). The NAB's program is currently inactive. The city government is indifferent to the plight of boys and girls seeking summer employment."

Black people make up three percent of the population of St. Paul and their unemployment rate is 13.8 percent as compared to 5.6 for the total community. Forty percent of the dwelling units are rated as sub-standard in the black community, and the dropout rate for black students is 16 percent and six for whites.

Evidences of continued police harassment and mistreatment, particularly of black juveniles continues to be an issue in the city.

The view from the Southern Region is no more encouraging than those from other regions. Reporting were Jackson, Miss., Columbia, S.C., Jacksonville, Fla., Albany, Ga., Knoxville, Tenn. and Tampa, Fla.

Unemployment is critical in Jackson, particularly among blacks, and more particularly among black students who are now getting out of school looking for summer jobs. This has special relevance since Jackson is a university town and the reports warns that "unless jobs can be made available, there could be very severe consequences."



An air of violence already hangs over the city. Unknown parties recently vandalized the sign at the Charles Evers Campaign Headquarters for Governor and bullet holes have been found in the windows of several black owned businesses and the office of the Urban League.

Police brutality is very much an issue in Jackson and in surrounding areas. Students have been stopped in their cars and asked where they were going. Refusing to give this information they have been taken to jail for resisting arrest and black male students have had their hair shaved off.

The most critical problems in Columbia are high unemployment, especially among young black males 16-23 years of age, lack of sufficient recreational opportunities for black youth, lingering attitudes which reflect bitter disappointment with the so-called Unitary School Plan and continued frustration over the general lack of basic services to black neighborhoods.

Percentage wise, the overall unemployment rate for blacks is approximately 17 percent and over 30 percent for black males between the ages of 16-23. There has been little concern generated by the white leadership over this problem.

"The recreational opportunities particularly for teen-age blacks are practically nil. This problem coupled with the unemployment problem and a growing usage of drugs by teenagers poses a serious threat to the well being of our black youth. The city of Columbia has shown little inclination to remedy this problem," the report stated.

Forecasting the future, the report said "the continued presence of these very serious problems in Columbia makes the possibility of civil disorder a near reality during the long summer months."





The issue of school integration was described as Jacksonville's most explosive area of concern. Increased confrontations between the black community and the school board and between black and white parents were seen as real possibilities.

"From the inception of the minimal integration, black students have borne the brunt of problems arising by being penalized severely while their white counterparts have not been punished on the same level for their participation and/or action."

Unemployment is also a key factor in the climate of Jacksonville. Joblessness has increased sharply among youth and there is the possibility that hundreds of young people, both unemployed and underemployed, will stage a confrontation with the construction industry which they believe has job opportunities available but only has minimal black representation.

Albany, Ga. cites recreation as one of its major problems noting that in 1962 the city closed all of its recreational facilities rather than integrate them. Out of three municipally owned swimming pools, the two white only pools were sold to white private groups. The city still owns one pool located in the center of the black area, which neither it or any private group will operate.

The rate of unemployment for blacks is 25 percent but it is "the upcoming crisis on recreation (that) just might prove to be kindling to a now invisible flame," the report declared.

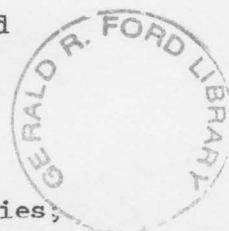
Many of the problems being experienced in Knoxville stem in some measure from the city's somewhat unique historical background. Slavery was never very much a part of the East Tennessee region and Knoxville was one of the few Southern cities of its size to have such a small black population.



"On the surface, Knoxville seems peaceful, and 'it is', on the surface. Knoxville appears to have none of the racism characteristic of most comparable cities of the South. Beneath the surface, however, there is a growing sickness which has festered and maintained itself for a hundred years. Knoxville has a racism that is more hidden, and therefore more dangerous, than most urban centers. There are historical reasons, traditions, and cultural barriers which explain the lack of any overt explosion or cataclysm between racial camps in Knoxville."

Nevertheless, there have been a series of confrontations in Knoxville -- between black citizens and public officials regarding the lack of adequate public services in predominantly black neighborhoods; between black residents and a major white merchant located in inner-city neighborhoods over such grievances as discriminatory hiring practices and poor quality of merchandise; between black tenants in public housing projects and the Knoxville Housing Authority, and between blacks and the school system and the police department.

Listed as causative factors in the creation of tensions within the city are (1) widespread poverty -- approximately 60 percent of Knoxville black families subsist at or below the poverty level as compared to 27 percent of the city's white families; (2) inequitable rates of unemployment and underemployment among black families -- unemployment runs as high as 40 percent in some black neighborhoods; (3) inadequacy of community services in the areas of police protection, garbage collection, streets and lighting, recreational facilities, schools, and health and welfare services; (4) housing patterns -- black families comprise 64 percent of all persons in public housing and own and rent a higher proportion of deteriorated and dilapidated houses than do white families;



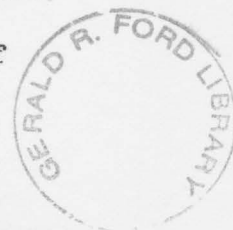
(5) inadequate school and educational facilities and inequitable school desegregation -- minority and disadvantaged youth are segregated into 12 schools in the inner city; (6) youth crisis - minority and disadvantaged youth are emeshed in a network of problems including poverty, broken homes, irrelevant schools, a lack of jobs and training opportunities, discrimination and the stigmatization of public housing dwelling.

Looking at the future, the League said this:

"The causative factors continue to deepen as the city government faces continued financial problems and limited resources. It had been the experience of the Knoxville Area Urban League that inequities in employment, housing, educational and community services and tense intergroup relations lie at the foundation of violent explosions in this city; and these problems continue to grow and the gaps continue to widen between blacks and whites. All these pervasive, long term conditions -- coupled with the mounting frustrations of black youth searching for unavailable summer employment -- give the Knoxville Area Urban League cause to forecast a shaky and precarious peace for Knoxville, Tennessee."

Tampa experienced a major riot in 1967 when destruction ran over a million dollars. Present unemployment among blacks is estimated at well above nine percent as contrasted to a total unemployment rate of 3.4 percent. There is a serious shortage of housing and great dissatisfaction on the part of black teenagers and many parents over the phasing out of all black high schools. Two of the cities largest high schools were closed during April due to racial incidents.

Responses from Leagues in the Northeast region were geared to a set of uniform questions. They were asked to give the current black unemployment rate in their community, to cite any glaring omissions





in the delivery of welfare services, describe any critical problems in housing, education or police community relations, to list any recent interracial flare ups, and offer a case illustration which dramatizes any of the above.

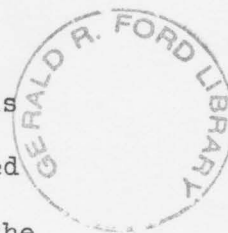
Affiliates responding were: Albany, N.Y.; Baltimore, Md.; Binghamton, N.Y.; Boston, Mass.; Buffalo, N.Y.; Elizabeth, N.J.; Englewood, N.J.; Hartford, Conn.; Lancaster, Pa.; Morristown, N.J.; Essex County (Newark, N.J.); New Brunswick, N.J.; New Haven, Conn.; New York City; Philadelphia, Pa.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rochester, N.Y.; Springfield, Mass.; Stanford, Conn.; Syracuse, N.Y.; Trenton, N.J.; Washington, D.C.; White Plains, N.Y.

Albany reported an unemployment rate of nine percent for black adults and 20 percent for youth. There is a reluctance on the part of the Welfare Services Department to meet with Welfare Rights organization workers and the total supply of housing in the city has been reduced by 6 percent in the last ten years.

A black unemployment rate of 20 percent was reported from Baltimore. Health services are lacking for welfare recipients. There have been no racial flareups but the "ingredients are here for trouble this summer."

The black unemployment rate in Binghamton of 23.5 percent is opposed to 7.7 percent for whites. Welfare services are not dispensed uniformly. The report predicted "if unemployment, especially among the young, does not improve there is great possibility of trouble this summer."

Boston listed a black unemployment rate of 24 percent. There are several problems in welfare services and black students have been conducting a boycott because of race related allegations.



Buffalo has a black unemployment rate of between 16 to 20 percent. Welfare recipients can only receive furniture after hearings in court. Black gangs are harassed unnecessarily by police who have need of training in human relations.

A tri-county unemployment figure of nine percent was given for a tri-county area by the Elizabeth affiliate. Bad housing and the absence of plans for new housing or rehabilitation were cited as problems. No recent flare ups were reported but the "potential is very strong for trouble this summer."

Ten percent was the black unemployment rate given for Englewood. Welfare recipients are not receiving enough for rent. There is a shortage of housing. There was a recent knifing incident in a school because of a racial slur.

Hartford's unemployment rate is 13 percent contrasted with the overall total of 6.5 percent. There are defects in the welfare system and problems in housing, education and police community relations.

Lancaster has a 6.3 percent black unemployment rate. The city is described as having a 95 percent segregation index. There is also a critical problem of drugs.

Morristown has a 6.5 percent black unemployment rate. Critical housing shortages exist for low and middle income people.

Essex County reported a black unemployment rate of 15.1 percent in Newark and 6.7 percent in Essex County. The welfare system has a number of defects involving such things as inadequate grants, cutting of payments, etc. Housing problems exist for large poor families, and in education a critical situation developed that attracted nationwide attention with a strike of teachers February 1 to April 19. Two recent racial incidents were reported.

New Brunswick has a black unemployment rate of between 11 to 12 percent. Problems exist in welfare services and in police community relations. In a recent racial disturbance in a high school cafeteria five persons were taken to a hospital for treatment.

Black unemployment in New Haven is between 12 to 13 percent. Problems were cited in welfare services, housing and education. Police community relations were described as average.

New York City has a black unemployment rate of approximately 15 percent. Welfare allotments are seriously inadequate and there is a serious shortage of workers. A critical housing shortage persists and more than 135,000 families are currently on the waiting list for public housing.

Officially, the black employment rate in Philadelphia is 10 percent but the Urban League sets it at between 15 and 20 percent. The official count is done at the Employment Office and many people have stopped looking and in other cases unemployment checks have run out.

The Food Stamp program is inadequate and there are no housing opportunities for the low income. There have been no recent racial flare ups "but tension is increasing. Very volatile situation--- if unemployment does not improve there is a great possibility of trouble this summer."

Pittsburgh has a black unemployment rate of 8.3 percent with the threat of a steel strike. The situation in housing, education and police relations is generally not very good. There have been no recent racial flare ups but "potential is there for trouble this summer, especially if unemployment problem does not improve."

In mid-February, there were 1,565 unemployed blacks in Rochester representing 15.5 percent of the black work force. This is contrasted to





the previous year when only 895 blacks were out of work. Education is a prime problem in the area.

Springfield has a black unemployment rate of only 3 1/2 to four percent but it is plagued with the problem of racial imbalance in education.

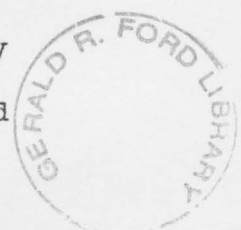
Out of a total of 6,000 unemployed in Stamford, some 1,600 are minority group members. The state has put a freeze on hiring all State employees resulting in omissions in services to the welfare clients. There have been some racial flare ups and more are expected before the closing of the schools.

The present black unemployment rate hovers around 9 1/2 to ten percent. There are problems in the education field on matters such as teacher assignments, attitudes and counseling. There have been no recent racial incidents "but potential for summer disturbances is there."

Trenton reports a black unemployment rate of over 19 percent and noted that 5,000 to 10,000 families have been cut off because of new criteria for eligibility. Housing problems are critical and there have been incidents at a high school. The forecast is that the "potential is there for trouble this summer."

Black unemployment in Washington is set at between nine and ten percent and higher for veterans. New instructions relating to food stamps are very confusing and is creating a paper nightmare for the Welfare Department. Housing poses a problem but there has been substantial improvement in police community relations. No recent racial flare ups have occurred. However, the "potential is there for trouble this summer."

White Plains has a black unemployment rate of approximately nine percent. There have been several recent racial flare ups around racism in education.



As the reports demonstrate, opinions vary from city to city on the status of their social climates. One fact is clear in almost all the reports, however, and that is that unemployment and the lack of recreational facilities are two volatile ingredients that have the built-in potential for creating trouble.

The spectra of a "long hot summer," has been raised again and again over the past few years, until it is on the verge of losing all meaning. We have tried to avoid raising that possibility, but on the basis of these reports, this is indeed a difficult task.

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