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# To Be Equal



Column No. 46

BLACKS AND THE TUBE  
by  
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

The ambiguous relationship of black people with the television industry continues.

In many areas blacks make up a majority or large minority of television viewers. Nationwide, blacks form a disproportionate market for products advertised on the home screen. Most blacks rely on television broadcasts for their prime source of news.

But within the television industry and related businesses, blacks are few and powerless. Studies indicate that a fifth of all television stations have no minority employees, a third of all stations have no minorities in higher salaried positions, and four out of five had none in managerial positions.

It is clear that the television industry, like so many other businesses, has relaxed its initial push to recruit, train and hire black employees. The difference though, is that television stations operate under government license and their hiring practices should be taken account of when the Federal Communications Commission reviews license renewal applications.

The FCC has been noticeably lax in this. FCC denials of license renewals were unheard of until this fall when Alabama's state educational network was reportedly denied renewal of its license for its blatant discrimination in hiring and programming practices.

License renewal time is the period when minorities and other citizens' groups have maximum leverage in pressuring stations to fulfill their stated obligation to substantially meet the community's needs and interests. Now Congress is about to extend license periods from three to five years, and it will also ease qualifications for such renewals.

This will put the industry further beyond the reach of citizens seeking changed policies and greater access. It remains to be seen whether the FCC will continue its all but automatic renewal of license applications or whether it will apply the new, looser standards, with more zeal.

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The Commission should adopt a strong affirmative hiring policy, and it should also be more aggressive in assuring that stations carry out their obligations to the public by providing educational and quality children's programming, in addition to its entertainment broadcasts.

The FCC recently adopted a new policy statement on children's broadcasting, after a long fight by concerned parents' groups. It cut the allowed advertising time on children's programs and, without getting very specific, says that broadcasters "have a special obligation to serve children."

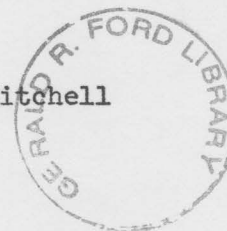
Advertising directed at children is a live issue not adequately dealt with by the FCC. Cutting commercial time by a few minutes still doesn't deal with the high pressure tactics used in selling to children, who are not capable of understanding all the nuances of ads.

Advertisements are often unscreened for health and safety factors, often make exaggerated claims and hook kids with offers of free toys or gimmicks. Children thus demand products that have little nutritional value and are bad for their growing bodies.

Most vulnerable to these pitches are minority and low-income youngsters, who watch television more often than others. The average first-grader has already spent more time in front of the tube than he later will in a college classroom. Along with high pressure commercials that make them want to buy things their parents can't afford or are not good for them, these kids are also learning distorted values. In a few years, their realization that they've been exploited will breed cynicism and mistrust of adults.

In its hiring practices, its stereotyped programming, its influence on children, and its commercial messages, the television industry has yet to merit the trust of the people it supposedly serves. This is something that should concern the industry itself, the FCC, and you, the viewer.

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74-TBE-46  
11/27/74

## CITY GOVERNMENT CHANGING

by

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Blacks and minorities are caught in the middle of the trend of changing city and regional government structures.

Just as blacks in some cities have finally reached the point where they've got some political clout, along comes a "good government" movement to dilute that political power by broadening the base of local government through merger with outlying areas.

This poses a cruel dilemma for black people.

On the one hand, there is the reality of power -- blacks holding high local offices up to and including the mayoralty. On the other, is the reality of tax resources -- tapping suburban wealth for the revitalization of the inner-city.

The cruelest part of the dilemma is that there are no easy solutions. Each city is different. Each particular case has to be studied and examined from the standpoint of how decisions will impact upon blacks.

Most important is the need to avoid easy assumptions that don't square with reality. Many people assume, for example that a city-county merger will mean more funds for city services, but isn't it even more likely that suburbanites will be more anxious to tax the city's downtown business sections to pay for the roads, sewer lines and other expenses of the growing suburban economy.

Another assumption is that blacks should not bargain away their political power within the city, especially if it has a black mayor. But many city charters are "weak mayor" systems in which real power is held by special districts, school boards, autonomous agencies and regional boards.

So there are pros and cons that will change as local factors change, but the one important point for black people is that we must become involved in the process of bargaining and shaping plans for metro government or for restructuring city government.

If regionalism comes about without reference to blacks, black people will suffer for it. That's why it is important to educate and mobilize the public to deal with

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the issues, so that the community's representatives can make the trade-offs that will protect the best interests of the black community, and even to veto metro government if necessary.

While restructuring local governments could have great impact on the communities they serve and on the services people need, no one should think that shuffling some boxes on an organizational chart will cure everything.

Even radical change in local government structure could easily leave the power arrangements within the area unchanged, services unaltered, and the pattern of inner-city black poverty and suburban white wealth unbroken and unaffected.

A lot of "good government" forces find this hard to accept. Like earlier pioneers for civil service and similar reforms they think switching to metro government or other forms of regional government will solve urban problems.

But those urban problems can only be solved by the removal of racial barriers, by full employment, and by a massive infusion of money to provide the housing, health and other services people need.

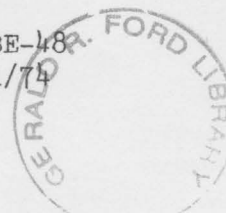
Structural reform is not a substitute for real changes in the way our society handles human needs and aspirations. But because it can be a force for good or for evil, black people must give it their attention. Already, many cities have switched over to some form of metro government. In some blacks have fared well, in others, not so well.

As yet our experience with this new experiment in government is tenuous -- the jury is still out. But the totality of black experience indicates that change can be just a new way of old exploitation. The best guard against this is for black involvement in the political structure of the community, and most especially, the maximum black participation in elections.

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December 13, 1974

Dear Stan:


I am enclosing a copy of Vernon's Equal Opportunity Day Dinner speech on which I have indicated several relevant portions. As you recall, the main thrust of the speech was the need for a ringing reaffirmation of the nation's belief in equality, and the start of a movement toward reconciling the segments of our society that have drifted apart.

From our position, these seem to be among the nation's most compelling needs and those that could properly be addressed in the State of the Union Message.

I am also enclosing a copy of the position paper Vernon presented to the President at their recent meeting. This takes primarily a programmatic approach and embodies our basic recommendations.

Thank you very much for your concern about our views. If I can be of any further assistance, please let me know. Meanwhile, have a Happy Holiday.

Sincerely,

  
James D. Williams  
Communications Director

Mr. Stan Scott  
Special Assistant  
to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

JDW:DW  
encls.

*Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible*



RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Prepared at the request of the President of the United States and presented at his meeting with black leaders, October 25, 1974 by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director, National Urban League.



This paper presents some recommendations for Presidential action on major issues of special importance to 25 million black Americans. Our recommendations proceed from several assumptions central to our thinking. The first of these is that the economic and social conditions faced by black people has seriously worsened in recent years. Past gains have been wiped out by growing inflation, unemployment and continued discriminatory practices. By the government's own definition, only one in four black families can be considered to have achieved the living standard that is the norm in this nation.

A second assumption is that there is much the federal government -- and the President -- can do to improve these conditions and to significantly lessen the despair and bitterness that increasingly engulfs the black community.

Finally, we are encouraged by the very fact of this meeting, and by the willingness of the President to enter into a dialogue on issues of importance to black citizens, and by the very request for recommendations, to which this paper represents our response.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

:Moral Leadership. The residue of Watergate, including the continuing trials and the reaction to the pardon of former President Nixon, has severely shaken public confidence in our institutions. This is shared even more widely among black citizens who have felt that the former President was openly antagonistic to their concerns and aspirations. On issues of importance to the black community, such as crime, welfare and integrated schools, the former Administration appeared to have framed its public positions in terms directly hostile to black people. It is this all-too recent experience that accounts for the dismay many of us have expressed over President Ford's press conference references to the Boston busing crisis. The issue is not the President's personal attitude toward busing. The issue rather is the President's responsibility to uphold the rulings of the courts, and his responsibility to encourage lawful compliance with those rulings and to avoid anything that may increase racial tensions.



Restoring the faith of black citizens in national leadership and in the institutions of government will require the assumption of moral leadership on the part of the President. By moral leadership, in this context, we mean the affirmative use of his unique national forum to tell the nation that the long, noble struggle for equal rights and equal opportunities has not yet been won; that he is personally concerned with making his Administration a vehicle for winning that struggle, and that he is deeply concerned with the plight of black citizens and with the need for continued progress in civil rights and in economic and social equity. This goes beyond rectifying the errors in handling the Boston situation, although we urgently recommend Presidential involvement in demanding complete compliance with the Court's rulings.

We believe the President should, at the earliest opportunity, make a major national address on civil rights. He should pledge not only his support for expanded opportunities for black Americans, but should also pledge his leadership in this cause and help to galvanize renewed Congressional



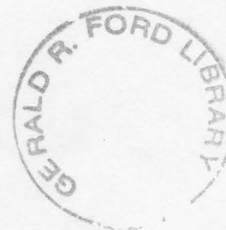
bi-partisan cooperation along the lines that categorized the creative period of progress in the 1960s. When black people heard President Johnson, standing in the well of Congress, proclaim "We Shall Overcome," they felt that their concerns and those of the nation were as one. When they heard that President Nixon chose to follow a policy of "benign neglect," they felt excluded from the national polity. A strong Presidential statement along the lines we have suggested will go a long way toward assuring black people of their full partnership in the nation, and will help guide white citizens to the path of cooperation in our multi-racial society.

:Employment. In all candor and without exaggeration, the problem of unemployment is at crisis dimensions in the black community. It is absolutely essential that the Administration's response to widespread joblessness among black people be appropriate to the scale of the problem. The proposed Community Improvement Corps fails to meet that standard.

In our view, the extent of unemployment has yet to be appreciated. The official nationwide rate of



5.8 percent of the work force represents a gross underestimation of the problem. It does not include some three million people involuntarily working part time, many millions more who have given up hope of finding a job and are not registered as "unemployed," and women whose entry into the job market is prevented by lack of day care facilities. We believe true unemployment in this nation is in the double-digit area. Even if we use the suspect official rates, we find that black unemployment is double that for whites, or about ten percent; that ghetto areas experience rates of up to twenty percent, and that more than a third of young blacks are jobless. In addition, official statistics show that 1974 saw a sharp rise in the numbers of black male family heads unemployed and a similar rise in long-term black male unemployment. Both of these represent an alarming reversal of long-term trends. Along with this has been an appreciable decline in black labor force participation and in black multi-earner families, indicating a contraction of economic opportunities far beyond that suspected by economists. This situation



suggests that the black community is already experiencing a major economic Depression demanding vigorous national action.

The proposed Community Improvement Corps falls short of the bold imaginative effort needed. We have demonstrated that the six percent "trigger" has no relevance for blacks. It measures nationwide unemployment, thus ignoring areas of high local unemployment, which includes many major cities. High ghetto unemployment and center-city unemployment figures are often hidden by standard metropolitan area statistics. In addition, the CIC would amount to only a temporary work relief program serving a small fraction of the jobless.

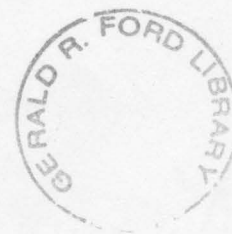
We recommend an immediate federal program of public service employment that would create one million jobs in needed public services immediately, with training, a career mobility component and special efforts to include young people and residents of high unemployment neighborhoods. This recommendation is among several proposed by the Black Economic Summit Meeting and, as a co-convener of that Meeting, we take this opportu-



nity to associate ourselves again with its recommendations.

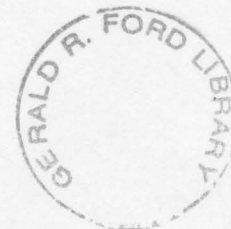
:Appointments. We have noted with approval the recent appointment of black citizens to important Presidential Commissions on manpower, inflation, and clemency. We urge that this principle be extended to other major areas of the Administration, especially in appointments to major operating positions in the Cabinet, the sub-Cabinet, the Executive Departments and regulatory agencies and the judiciary. There is within the black community a vast pool of trained, skilled and experienced administrators capable of filling major national positions. Black people have played prominent roles in past Administrations and even in the Nixon Administration, although to a more limited extent. As the inevitable personnel changes take place in the coming months, we believe it to be of prime importance that black people have their fair share of visible, policy-making positions at the highest level of government.

:National Health Insurance. Although we disagreed with the health proposals presented by the Nixon



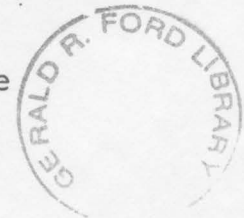
Administration, we considered them an important first step toward stimulating national debate and achieving a system of national health insurance. If anything, the need for federal action has grown in recent months, with the effects of inflation making further inroads on the quality of health care available to all Americans, and especially to black Americans whose increased unemployment and continued economic distress have drastically reduced access to medical attention and to employer and private insurance programs. We support a comprehensive national health system that is consumer-oriented, federally-supported, and assures dignified, quality health care for all Americans, regardless of race, economic circumstances, or geographic location. We strongly urge that the present Administration present to the nation its plan for a national health insurance system at the earliest possible time.

:Welfare. The mandate for overhauling the welfare system is clear. Galloping inflation has not been matched by allowance increases of a commensurate scale with the result that there has been a sharp decline in real income among the very poorest of our



population. The much-publicized stabilization of the welfare rolls is a result of more stringent state and local requirements, and not of lessened poverty. Federalization and uniform national welfare standards would not only result in improved support for those most in need, it would also represent a major sharing of federal revenue with state and local governments in that it would free local revenues for other governmental functions.

We recommend then, that the Administration present to Congress a new welfare plan, including a decent benefit level, federal administration and uniform standards. And we urge that the President take the opportunity of presenting such a proposal to educate the public to some important facts about welfare. In addition to stressing the humane obligations society has to those who cannot work because of the malfunctioning of the economy, family obligations or personal problems, the President should depoliticize and defuse the racial content of previous discussions of welfare. There are, for example, more whites than blacks on welfare rolls, contrary to popular assumptions. Rather than being stacked with "chiselers," welfare



rolls are overwhelmingly made up of children and individuals and families that cannot now work, even if jobs were available, and they include significant numbers of people who do work but must have supplemental payments in order to survive. Half of all blacks who are poor do not get any welfare assistance at all. The public needs to know these facts, and it needs its President to tell it to them.

:Housing. The current housing crisis is not only a matter of temporary high interest rates. It is a compound of problems including sky-rocketing land costs, racial exclusion from predominately white suburbs, discriminatory zoning regulations, the disinvestment by financial institutions from mortgages in urban areas, high construction costs and other factors that, together, have placed the price of a home far beyond the financial capabilities of the average family. For the poor, the problem has been further compounded by the freeze on federal housing programs and by massive abandonment of inner-city housing. Ghetto housing constitutes the shame of this nation, and visits to some urban sections remind one of war-time devastation. Bad



housing conditions are a prime source of crime and of ill-health.

We urge federal action that would include not merely experiments in housing allowances, which should not be instituted without consumer safeguards, but also in adding to the existing housing stock for low-and moderate-income families. The immediate goal should be to raise construction of new housing units to the 2.5 million unit annual standard set by the Congress, and to expand the availability of housing for families earning below median incomes through active programs of rent allowances, neighborhood maintenance and rehabilitation projects, direct and indirect housing subsidies, construction of new housing units, and strict enforcement of federal civil rights laws. The government should also support formulation of a national land policy to insure rational growth.

We wish to point out that this, and other of our recommendations, can be largely self-supporting. Public service employment can be paid for through taxes on new earners and the resultant lower welfare



costs; health insurance amounts to shifting the dollars presently spent in the health care system to an insurance fund; and housing programs can be paid for by tax reforms that change the present system under which deductions of mortgage interest by affluent homeowners amount to a federal subsidy far greater than the cost of federal housing programs for the poor.

:Clemency. The President's amnesty program, while a commendable national effort at reconciliation fails to touch the bulk of black young men, who are not to be found among the ranks of draft resisters or deserters but among those who served their nation and were separated from the service with less than honorable discharges. Often, such discharges reflect less on the young men than on their superior officers who exhibited unenlightened racial attitudes and who often applied grossly discriminatory practices in meting out discretionary punishments. In addition to this is the related problem of "coded" honorable discharges, officially discontinued but undergoing a revival. Together, these issues impact negatively on hundreds of thousands of young men, many of them black, whose employment prospects are severely damaged although they served their flag and country.



We urge immediate and compassionate action to neutralize the effects of such discharges and codes, and to give these young men a fresh start on life. Some form of Presidential action for them is long overdue for they have truly "suffered enough." It should be obvious that the impact of military discharge practices that follow a man through his whole life is almost always unrelated in scale to the nature of his shortcomings or of his offenses during military service.

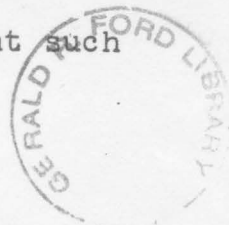
:Crime. The rising crime rate is a matter of concern for the nation as a whole and especially for black people, who are the prime victims of criminal acts. The rhetoric of recent years, largely confined to "get tough" appeals and constitutionally dubious proposals that have not been matched by limiting the incidence of criminal activities, is a proven failure.

We believe the time is ripe for new federal initiatives to deal with the crime problem. New programs of citizen participation in crime prevention, reforms of the criminal justice system, neighborhood-based probation programs, services to accused offenders,



and other programs aimed at cutting crime are necessary. But most important are steps to deal with the root causes of criminal behavior. We know that the typical accused offender is young, poor and less educated. As the ranks of such persons grow we can expect crime to increase. Therefore, an anti-crime effort must be grounded in programs directed at improving the education of poor youngsters, at creating jobs for them, and at improving the living conditions of their neighborhoods. There can be no short cuts to the long-term solution of the problem, and we urge this Administration to recognize the interrelationship between social conditions and crime.

In this regard, as in welfare and similar issues, we consider it of the utmost importance for the President, personally, to help educate the American people and also to help break the vicious stereotypes that plague black citizens. The persistent identification of black people with welfare and with crime have seriously impeded efforts to improve the living conditions of black citizens and to relieve the sufferings of the poor and of those who have been diverted into petty criminal behavior. To some extent such



stereotypes were reinforced by some for political purposes, and they constitute a tragic slur on the overwhelming numbers of black people who are law abiding and who retain their dignity and their high aspirations in the midst of appalling social conditions. It is in the nature of leadership to foster a sense of community and of moral purpose that can help to bring people together behind common goals. It is this sense of community that is lacking today, and it is that lack which is in large part responsible for the social breakdown resulting in higher crime rates.

:Energy. The experience black people faced during the energy crisis must not be repeated. Many thousands of jobs were lost, oil prices were used as excuses for rent gouging, and millions of people shivered through a heatless winter. Black neighborhoods were prime victims of red-line practices that cut them off from access to home heating fuel and gasoline. It is this experience that makes it essential for the government to have a winter energy contingency plan, framed with the involvement of the black community,



to insure adequate access to energy resources for the poor during any possible recurrence of an energy shortage. Despite assurances that the situation is well in hand, the ever-present threat of new embargoes by Mideast oil producers, and the dependence on mild weather make this an important consideration.

:Education. Controversies over busing have obscured the real shortcomings of the educational system, a system that has not provided many black children with the skills and training needed for success in our complex economy. We believe that federal support for integrated schools will go a long way toward improving education for all children, and we also urge the federal government to undertake support for demonstration projects, for parental involvement, for measures that help to equalize local school district expenditures, for funds needed for compensatory education programs and for special programs serving youngsters who need more educational resources. We also urge continued federal support for the black colleges, which have been the backbone of black accomplishment in this nation.



:Social Programs. One positive indication that the Administration is serious about the needs of the poor would be continuance of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It has proved its usefulness and the broad support it marshalled during its recent struggle for existence demonstrates that this is an agency that has been successful and has achieved support across the political spectrum. Other social service programs, too, are in trouble, and the Administration should save proven programs that fill important needs. We are concerned, for example, that innovative research in education will be paralyzed by cutbacks in the National Institute of Education, and that other areas of research and demonstration projects will go by the boards in an attempt to cut federal spending. Other areas, such as Defense, offer more attractive possibilities for budget-cutting than do those programs that may help solve long-standing domestic problems aggravated by inflationary pressures and economic recession.

:Revenue Sharing. Experience with the general revenue sharing experiment has shown it to be a serious failure and we urge that the Administration reconsider its



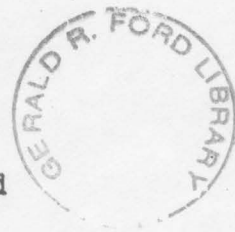
commitment to it. Analyses of expenditures by local governments show that poor people and minorities have not been beneficiaries of federal funds funneled into local governments. Anti-discrimination guidelines have not been enforced. In most cases revenue sharing funds have been less than the amounts previously available to localities under categorical grant programs. Local governments have used revenue sharing funds for general purpose spending that would otherwise have to be drawn from locally-raised revenues, applied federal grants to lowering local tax rates, and on occasion, have undertaken frivolous projects. In contrast to categorical programs, revenue sharing represents an immense transfer of federal resources that is unmonitored, and retards pursuit of national priorities. The program was devised as a means of sharing the federal bounty but today it is the federal government that is in a deficit situation and state and local governments that may be in the aggregate, in a surplus situation.

We believe that the present revenue sharing program should be replaced by federal programs that channel funds into priority concerns in localities. Federal



assumption of welfare costs, programs in jobs, health and housing and some mass transit operating costs would, for example, constitute a revenue sharing program that helps bring services to people where they live and gives the federal government the ability to direct funds to priority concerns and to demand the accountability tax dollars deserve.

:Voting Rights Act of 1975. The Voting Rights Act will come up for renewal in 1975 and we urge the Administration to forcefully announce its support for extension at the earliest possible time. We would hope that this Act, which has been directly responsible for the political participation of millions of black citizens and has been the instrument that helped to bring democracy to some sections of our country, be greatly expanded to make registration and voting more feasible for more people. The National Urban League has documented the barriers to political participation that now exist in almost all localities and extension of the Act to include some form of permanent personal registration such as registration by postcard, would go a long way toward increasing citizen participation in our democracy and toward countering the demoralizing effects of recent revelations.



The limited nature of this paper should not suggest that there are no other issues of pressing concern to black Americans. The neglect of recent years, the economic situation, and the persistence of racial discrimination have compounded the multiplicity of problems afflicting black citizens today.

We have outlined some of the most urgent issues and made recommendations that, taken together with those of the Black Economic Summit Meeting, represent some of the solutions to the serious difficulties black people are experiencing. We fully recognize that these are difficult days for white citizens, too. In that context, we would point out that every single one of the recommendations we have made would also apply to white citizens and would help bring about an equitable solution to many of the difficulties facing all Americans.

We have shown, however, that regardless of the fact that other citizens share one or another aspect of our dilemma, the black minority has assumed a disproportionate share of the shortcomings of American society. The case for urgent federal



action is clear and overwhelming. The case for the President's personal involvement and public participation in such efforts is as great. We see the current national situation not as a problematic dilemma incapable of solution but as a great opportunity to fulfill the dreams and aspirations our nation has professed.

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NUL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY Dinner  
The New York Hilton Hotel  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1974



We meet at a time of grave crisis for our country. It is in a crisis of legitimacy, in which the private and public institutional life of the nation has been called into doubt.

The free institutions of self-government themselves, have been cast in a shadow. The Presidency has been devalued by the crimes of the previous Administration, and the failure of the Congress to rise above provincial interests has resulted in a profound distrust of that institution, as well.

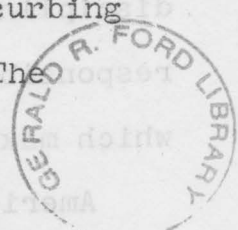
The list of professions and institutions viewed with suspicion by the public could be extended indefinitely. Opinion polls consistently show a growing cynicism and restlessness on the part of people who feel their rights have been trampled on, their hard-won gains eroded, and their futures endangered.

The worsening economic crisis has encouraged this mood. People who are losing their jobs or having difficulty buying the essentials of life are in no mood to wear WIN buttons they can't eat, or to respect established professions and institutions that appear to exploit them.

This growing, as yet unfocused discontent, represents a crisis of legitimacy for free institutions. A society that aspires to be free and representative relies on the implicit approval of its people and on their faith in its institutions.

If those moral underpinnings of institutional life are damaged, then the delicate fabric of the society and its claim to legitimacy, are in danger of becoming unravelled.

So the fundamental problem this nation faces today is not the technical problem of halting inflation, ending recession, curbing pollution, or any of a number of other important issues. The fundamental problem is the moral one of restoring faith in self-government and democratic institutions.



In a sense, this statement of the problem is a throwback to the message of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, a movement that unfurled the banner of equality and pointed out the contradiction between the nation's actions and its values. The ultimate message of the civil rights movement was that unless the nation eliminated racial discrimination and created an open, pluralistic, integrated society, the very existence of democracy would be endangered.

That has now come to pass.

From a wrecked economy, Watergate, an energy crisis, stagflation, and now, worldwide famine, there emerges a picture of a world so complex, so beset by overwhelming problems, so apparently unmanageable, that many ordinary citizens take refuge in privatism and social irresponsibility.

Bleak as this picture may be, there are grounds for hope. The pendulum of history often swings contrary to our hopes and aspirations and, just as often, swings back again. This nation suffered a similar crisis of legitimacy during the Depression, when its institutions had so obviously failed, and its future looked grim.

In the darkest of those days Walter Lippmann wrote that Americans "are looking for leaders who will talk to the people ... about their duty, and about the sacrifices they must make, and about the discipline they must impose upon themselves, and about their responsibility to the world and to posterity, about all the things which make a people self-respecting, serene and confident."

America found that kind of leadership, conquered the Depression, won the war that followed, and built the most productive, most affluent society known to man. Now that society is once again in trouble.

Once again, it is faced with a problem that, reduced to its essentials, is a problem of leadership. A nation of more than 230 million people must find its way through the medium of a leadership that articulates its goals, its policies, and above all, its moral values.

A nation enmeshed in the thicket of self-doubt and confusion can be led back to the high road of prosperity and equality only if its leaders can rise above the contending clash of expedient policies to recapture the fundamental principles of the society.

What does this mean in concrete terms? It means that it is the function of leadership -- political, private and public -- to educate

the public to the need for change. It means that leadership must devise policies responsive to the needs of the people and consistent with the goals of democracy.

I believe this month's election results reflect the desire for such leadership. The electorate sent its leaders a message, a message that says: stop inflation, create jobs, end the recession.

It was a message that united blacks and whites, if only in the privacy of the polling booths, in support for liberal candidates and a rejection of conservative ones. It was a message that says political leadership should stop its manipulation of socially explosive issues and provide the economic stability and prosperity that can heal the fissures in our society.

It is a message that should be heeded by the Congress. Democrats who asked for a "veto-proof Congress" now have one, and with it comes the responsibility for a Congress that is not only veto-proof, but also responsible and forward-looking. And Republicans concerned for the fate of their party should take note of the fact that its liberal wing bucked the Democratic trend to win re-election, while its conservative ranks were decimated by the voters.

But important as Congress is, Americans have always looked to their President for national leadership. Mr. Ford has come a long way from Grand Rapids, but the country is wondering whether he's come far enough. He has talked of his admiration for another Middle American who emerged from Congressional obscurity to have national leadership thrust upon him -- Harry Truman. Truman, the man



from Missouri, fought for civil rights and even split his party rather than knuckle under to the segregationists.

I hope Mr. Ford's admiration for Truman will extend to his assumption of that kind of leadership, to boldly stake out a position that represents the needs of the nation as a whole rather than the narrow, provincialism of a part of it.

Certainly, his action in Boston's racial confrontations was not in the Truman tradition. I wish he had heard what was said to me by a white student in Greenville, South Carolina last week.

"Mr. Jordan," she said, "if we can integrate our schools down here, why can't they do it in Boston?"

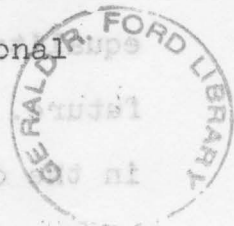
And the answer to that has to be -- they can do it in Boston too, if the leadership of this nation, starting with the President himself insists on it. We look to the President to heal our nation, not to divide it further. Especially after his meeting with black leadership last month, Mr. Ford now has a better feel for our concerns and our needs, but he also should understand a basic fact of American life -- that the fundamental needs of most blacks and most whites are the same.

Blacks and whites need jobs. Blacks and whites need an end to inflation. Blacks and whites need policies that recover human dignity and confidence in leadership. Blacks and whites have been set against each other because of a political economy based on scarcity, a system that seems rigged to make justice for one a loss for another.

national leadership thrust upon him -- Harry Truman. Truman, the man

Throwing rocks at school buses won't solve the problems of poor whites, and it is up to Presidential leadership to make them understand that. This leadership role is too crucial to the future of America to be lost in the self-defeating manipulation of symbols that has helped to bring us to the present crisis of institutional legitimacy.

A leadership trapped in expediency and a nation trapped in anti-social privatism need to recapture the moral fervor and



he will fulfill the rendezvous with destiny that is the hallmark of great leadership.

And we believe in America. We believe in America's infinite capacity to change, to reassert its hallowed values of justice and equality for all, to respond to the visions of a braver, bolder future. We believe -- based on history and on the ultimate faith in the decency and common sense of the people -- that America can respond to enlightened, idealistic leadership.



# Washington Urban League, Inc.

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STERLING TUCKER  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 24, 1974

Mr. Stanley S. Scott  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Scott:

The Board of Directors of the Washington Urban League appreciates the support we received from you recently in response to our request for assistance when our Street Academy Project was terminated by the National Institute of Education.

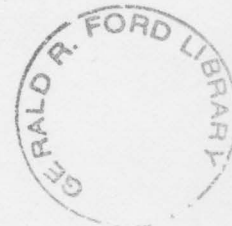
Because of the interest shown by you and other segments of the community, the National Institute of Education has agreed to continue supporting our Academies.

Please accept my invitation to visit our Street Academy sites at 1900 Galludet Street, N.E., and 6029 Dix Street, N.E. We would like you to see this experimental plan in action and to know that the 300 students are aware that there are people who care about them.

Sincerely,

Benjamin J. Henley  
President

BJH/cs



HEALTH & WELFARE  
COUNCIL

AFFILIATE OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Contributions to the Washington Urban League are tax deductible



STERLING TUCKER  
6505 16TH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20012

December 24, 1974

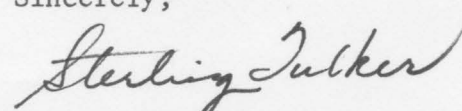
Mr. Stanley S. Scott  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Scott:

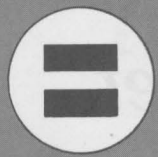
Thank you for responding to my request for assistance when the National Institute of Education terminated the Washington Urban League Street Academy Program. Because of your interest and support, and the kind words of others like you, the National Institute of Education reviewed its decision and decided to support the Project for an additional 30 months.

The 300 students at our Street Academy sites are grateful for the opportunity to continue their education in our experimental program. We are grateful to you for helping make this possible.

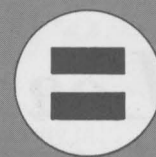
Sincerely,

  
Sterling Tucker





# The Urban League News



Vol. 5, No. 1

JANUARY 1975

*Jordan Calls for Bold Leadership*

## Economic Crisis Concern Speakers at EOD Dinner

Grim predictions for continuing economic decline plus calls for increased corporate involvement in Urban League programs and appeals for vigorous and visionary national leadership dominated the speeches at the League's 18th Annual Equal Opportunity Day Dinner held recently at the New York Hilton Hotel.

The League's Equal Opportunity Awards, given to two individuals — one black and one white — were presented to Andrew F. Brimmer, former Governor of the Federal Reserve Board and currently Professor at Harvard University's Graduate School of Business Administration, and William M. Batten, recently retired chief executive of the J. C. Penney Company. Both were honored for their contribution to the cause of equal opportunity.

National Urban League Executive Director, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., the dinner's main speaker, said the nation is in a "crisis of legitimacy in which the private and public institutional life of the nation has been called into doubt."

He stated that the problem is one of leadership, and suggested that bold action was necessary to reassert progressive policies and moral values. This was, he said, the meaning of the recent election results.

Continued on page 8



Seen holding their Equal opportunity Day Awards are Mr. William Batten, [second from left] and Dr. Andrew Brimmer. NUL Executive Director Mr. Vernon E. Jordan Jr., is at left and Mr. Frank Cary, chief executive officer, IBM is at extreme right.

*Characterised by thoroughness of discussions*

## RAMPS 1974: *Introspective, Realistic*

The recent Review, Analysis and Medium Range Planning Session (RAMPS) of the National Urban League was a combination of (1) an introspective examination of what the agency has accomplished during the past fiscal year, (2) what it expects to accomplish during the present fiscal year, and (3) the production of a Medium Range Plan projecting NUL activity for a three-year period beginning July 1, 1975.

Of the three elements, the last was the most important, representing as it did another major step after the development in June of a coherent and realistic 16 point five-year long-range plan that will serve as a road map in detailing the route toward the achievement of specific NUL objectives.

### Intensive Preparation

Long-range plans are common in industry but the NUL is one of the few social service agencies that has sought to utilize such planning as a method of ensuring the maximum possible benefits from available resources.

Attended by members of the Executive Office staff, and directors and deputy directors of NUL departments, regional offices, and the Washington Bureau, the three-day RAMPS, October 17-20, at the Western Electric Education Center in Hopewell, N.J., was preceded by weeks of intensive preparation by NUL staff, coordinated by the RAMPS Task Force which developed the format, conducted several seminars to clarify procedures, and handled the flow of materials generated by the various NUL departments and regional offices.

To provide a comprehensive look at the individual units within the NUL, each department and regional office was asked to prepare its own presentation focused on two broad areas.

- A. A review of the major accomplishments and obstacles experienced by the department in the 1973-74 fiscal year.
- B. An analysis of the major goals and accomplishments the department set for itself for the 1974-75 fiscal year.

### Favorable Projections

Each unit was required to list its goals for the present fiscal year, explain the rationale behind selecting each goal, present its action plan to achieve the goals, cite the milestone for the department in the present fiscal year, list the obstacles to achievement of the goals and forecast its projected accomplishments for the balance of the year.

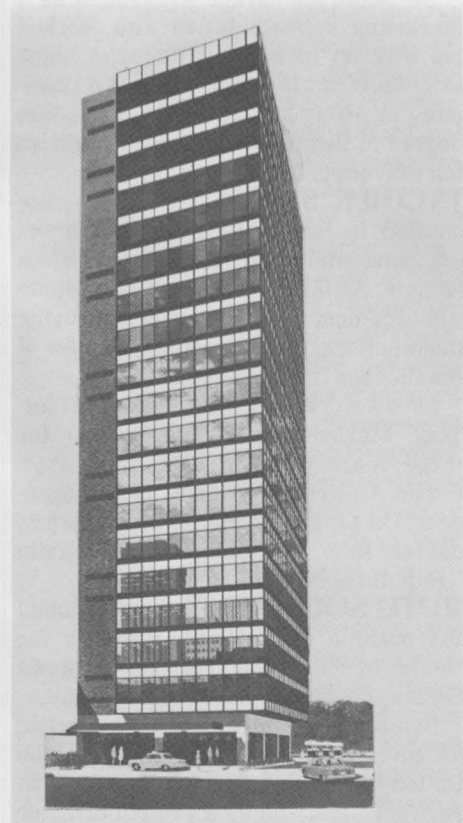
Continued on page 8

*The Economic Crisis and the Black Community is the subject of discussion in the special supplement of this month's News. Turn to page three for the details.*

## League, UNCF Move in February

The National Urban League and the United Negro College Fund will move to much-enlarged new headquarters at 500 East 62 Street in New York City in February, it was announced recently by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League, and Christopher F. Edley, Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund.

Continued on page 8



New Headquarters

## League Opens Regional Office In Chicago

The National Urban League has announced that on January 2, 1975 its Mid-Eastern Regional Office in Akron, Ohio and its Mid-Western Regional Office in St. Louis, Missouri, were consolidated to form the Central Regional Office located in Chicago, Illinois.

By centralizing the two regional operations in Chicago, the 39 local League Affiliates in the middle states will benefit from the city's strategic position as a focal point for many national agencies and corporations.

Moreover, the consolidation will be more economical in terms of daily delivery of technical assistance to the affiliates. Functionally, the new office will retain most of the customary practices of a National Urban League regional office. The Regional director will fill the traditional role of over-all administrative/management and supervision of the regional office and the staff will continue to provide program assistance to the affiliates.

### Provide Liaison

The staff will continue to assist in grantsmanship efforts as related to project development. They will disseminate to affiliates information about trends in various program areas and will provide data on specific problems upon request.

An important function of the Central Regional Office will be to provide liaison between affiliates and between state governments and the Urban League Movement in the Mid-United States.

Continued on page 8

Suggests recommendations beneficial to all citizens

## League Presents Civil Rights Program to Ford

The National Urban League, on October 25, submitted President Ford a major position paper outlining recommended major initiatives in civil rights.

The paper, prepared at the request of the White House, was presented to the President by the League's executive director, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., at a meeting of civil rights leaders with Mr. Ford.

Pointing to seriously worsened economic and social conditions faced by black Americans, the NUL called for federal action, including personal acts by the President himself "to significantly lessen the despair and bitterness that increasingly engulfs the black community."

The NUL recommendations include:

- Presidential moral leadership in civil rights, including a request for the President to make a major civil rights address, demand compliance with court integration rulings, and steps "assuring black people of their full partnership in the nation."

- A "federal program of public service employment that would create one million jobs in needed public services immediately," to counter the current economic depression among blacks.

- Appointments of blacks to "visible, policy-making positions at the highest level of government."

- A national health insurance program "that is consumer-oriented, federally-supported, and assures dignified, quality health care for all."

- Overhaul of the welfare system with "a decent benefit level, federal administration and uniform standards."

- Housing programs to "expand the availability of housing" for low and moderate income families.

- "Immediate and compassionate action to neutralize the effects" of less than honorable discharges and coded discharges.

- "New federal initiatives to deal with the crime problems," stressing citizen initiatives and reform of the criminal justice system.

- Formulation of an energy contingency plan to prevent emergency gas and heating problems in low income communities.

- Educational programs to provide "skills and training needed for success in our complex economy."

- Preservation of social programs.

- "Reconsideration of federal commitments to general revenue sharing programs and their replacement by allocations for priority concerns.

- Extension and expansion of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which is scheduled to expire next year.

Pointing out that it is addressing itself to only "some of the most urgent issues," the NUL suggested its recommendation would be beneficial for all citizens. The League maintained that "We see the current national situation not as a problematic dilemma incapable of solution but as a great opportunity to fulfill the dreams and aspirations our nation has professed."

## Minorities to Get Construction Jobs



A \$4, 759,000 contract between the National Urban League and the Department of Labor to prepare 2,262 persons for construction jobs in 31 cities was recently signed by Secretary of Labor, Peter Brennan (seated, center) and NUL's Executive Director Vernon Jordan (seated, left). Also present at the signing was Napoleon Johnson (seated right) director of NUL's LEAP program. The contract continues for another year an outreach program the league has conducted since 1967. The program is supported through a cooperative effort of labor, management and the minority community.

## Cite Racism in Symphonies

Describing the present position of minority symphony musicians as "disparaging and discouraging," the Symphony of the New World, an 85 member integrated orchestra recently made public the results of a survey of 54 leading symphony orchestras which was conducted last summer in conjunction with the National Urban League.

The survey found that of the 4,690 regular musicians in the 54 surveyed orchestras, only 67 of the total were minorities. This figure represents a trifle more than one percent of the total. In most cases these minority musicians had only recently been hired, the survey points out.

It also discovered that there are not more than three minority musicians in any of the surveyed orchestras except the New Jersey State Symphony which has six, including its black conductor, Henry Lewis.

In addition, the findings indicate that the minority musician receives less than one-half of one percent of the \$75 million annual symphony payroll.

Utilizing questionnaires prepared by the Symphony of the New World, local Urban League affiliates in the 54 surveyed cities gathered the requested data and then relayed the information to the symphony for final analysis and interpretation.

Pointing out that minority musicians have, since the mid-19th century, participated in America's symphonic culture. Dick Campbell, president, Symphony of the New World, attributed the lack of growth in minority participation since then to "systematic racism, cronyism, nepotism and unionism."

Prompted by the results of the survey, Campbell and his associates plan to develop a national pool of minority musicians with the hope that it can serve as a "clearing house" for all American symphony orchestras seeking to integrate their ranks.

"We will also continue to give experience to young graduates of music schools," said Campbell. "And plans are being developed to create a New World Youth Orchestra."

## Leaguers on the Move

**THOMAS GALE** has assumed the responsibility of National Urban League Housing Coordinator and will serve in this capacity for a six-month period ending May 1, 1975.

He will be responsible for conducting a broad-ranging technical assistance program to Urban League regional offices and affiliates around the provisions of the new Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

**JOHN GAYNUS**, director of the Experimental Housing Program under the old subcontract held by the National Urban League Development Foundation, has become half-time Director of the Experimental Allowance Project and half-time Acting Associate Director for Housing.

He will be responsible for the ongoing dissemination of information, materials and housing policy to the regional and affiliate offices and will assist in the provision of technical assistance as determined by Director of the Department of Community Development.

**HERBERT A. GRANT**, President of the Board of Directors of the Urban League of Southwestern Fairfield County will be honored in the historical Bicentennial Memorial Edition of Community Leaders and Noteworthy Americans.

**A.L. McGEE** has recently joined the St. Louis Urban League as Deputy Director. McGee is from Kansas City, where he was Area Sales Manager for the Mobil Oil Corporation.

He began his career with Mobil as a marketing representative and worked his way up to become the first black sales manager for a Midwestern oil company in 1971. McGee holds a masters degree in Business Administration from the University of Missouri.

**JACOB E. SIMMS** has been appointed to the position of Director of Communications for the Chicago Urban League. As director, he will be responsible for communicating and conveying the functions, programs and activities of the Chicago Urban League.

Simms worked as a correspondent for Time Magazine's Chicago Bureau for three years prior to his joining the Public Affairs Department of the Standard Oil Company. He holds a masters degree from the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

**RUTH SOUMAH** recently assumed the position of Associate Director for Health in the National Urban League's Community Development Department.

Before joining the League, she worked as an educational counselor for the United States Information Services in Accra, Ghana and as a project director with the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York City.

# Inflation and Recession: Blacks Suffer More

By Dr. Andrew Brimmer

The combination of inflation and economic stagnation has had a proportionately greater adverse impact on blacks than on the nation at large. Blacks are carrying a considerably greater share of the loss in jobs and the rise in unemployment. At the same time, the ravishes of inflation (which has been so heavily concentrated in foods) have created a desperate situation among poor black families.

So far in 1974, as the economy has struggled with the adverse impact of the oil embargo in the early months of the year and also with a decline in real economic activity over the last three quarters, blacks have also been suffering relatively more than their white counterparts. For example, between April and October, the total number of jobs rose by 713 thousand; but the number of jobs held by blacks rose by only 50 thousand. Thus, the blacks' share of the gain was only 7 percent—although they constitute over 11 percent of the labor force. During the same period, the total number of unemployed workers rose by 1,023 thousand, but the number of jobless blacks rose by 261 thousand. In this case, blacks represented 26 percent of the increase.

As we look ahead to the coming year, it is obvious that we will continue to face severe inflation, a stagnant economy, and rising unemployment. Consequently, I believe we—as a nation—must take steps promptly to moderate the worse effects of a deteriorating economy.

## Civilian Labor Force

In October, 1974 there were 10,479 thousand blacks in the civilian labor force—which numbered 92,004 thousand. Thus, blacks constituted 11.4 percent of the total. So far in 1974 (unlike the situation in 1973), the black work force has expanded somewhat more slowly than the labor force for the nation as a whole.

The slower expansion in the civilian labor force was particularly marked during the first half of the year. To a considerable extent, this was probably a reflection of the drop in labor force participation rates during the second quarter of the year. Although total unemployment was rising during the first quarter (mainly due to the adverse impact of the Arab oil embargo), the labor force participation rate for all black workers edged up slightly in the first quarter. However, a sharp reversal occurred during the April-June months. In this period, the participation of black men of all ages declined significantly as youths and young men 20-24 years of age withdrew from the labor market. Adult black men 25 years of age and over (those most likely to have family responsibilities) also experienced a sharp decline in the degree of labor force participation. Young black women aged 16 to 25 years increased their rate of entry into the labor force, but adult women 25 years or older withdrew on balance. These declines in labor force participation may in part have reflected a pessimistic view of job opportunities.

## Employment

Employment opportunities for black adult men and teenagers have been relatively more adversely affected by the current slowdown in economic activity than those of their white counterparts. There are several possible explanations for this. One is that black men are heavily concentrated in blue collar jobs. For example, more than 40 percent of all blacks work in these occupations as compared to about one-third of all white workers. As is generally known, the economic slowdown has had much of its impact on these blue collar occupations as their unemployment rate rose substantially while joblessness among white collar workers through October, 1974 remained little changed.

In addition, about 20 percent of all black workers are employed in private service occupations—in hotels, motels and other recreational industries. About 10 percent of all white workers are similarly employed. Thus the relatively larger concentration of black workers in these blue collar and service occupations which were most affected by the slowdown may account in part for the relatively weaker employment situation among blacks than among white workers.

## Employment

In October, there were 1,144 thousand black workers without jobs. Total unemployment amounted to 5,542 thousand, so blacks represented 20.6 percent of the total. This was almost double the blacks' share of the civilian labor force and of jobs. The unemployment rate among blacks was 10.9 percent in October. For all civilian workers, the rate was 6.0 percent, and for white it was 5.4 percent. Thus, the black-white proportion is again 2 to 1.

Adult black men accounted for a large proportion (nearly three quarters) of the first quarter's increase in joblessness as their unemployment rate rose from 6.7 percent to 7.1 percent.

## Outlook

In the months ahead there is likely to be upward pressure on the unemployment rate as real economic activity is expected to decline further. In fact, for 1975 as a whole, real output may not register any net gain—and it may decline further. At the same time, the rate of inflation may dampen only moderately. Under these circumstances, the unemployment rate for the labor force as a whole may well reach 7½ percent by mid-year. If so, the unemployment rate for blacks—already in the neighborhood of 11 percent—could climb to 13 percent or beyond.

## Impact of Inflation

In the meantime, the raging inflation that has plagued this country for the last several years has had a particularly adverse impact on blacks. The sharp increase in oil prices and the continued upward pressure on food prices have combined to lift the annual rate of inflation (as measured by the Consumer Price Index) to the neighborhood of 12 percent for 1974. Looking ahead to 1975, the pace of inflation may ease somewhat, but the CPI may still increase by more than 9 percent.

As more and more observers are realizing, inflation in the United States has had a particularly devastating effect on blacks. The reason is not because they are black but because food prices have risen proportionately much more than other prices; blacks are relatively much poorer than whites, and blacks spend a proportionately large share of their incomes on food.

## Competing Objectives: Seniority and Equal Opportunity

Before concluding these remarks, I would like to focus briefly on an issue of major concern to all of us interested in equal opportunity. At this juncture, it appears that the national campaign to broaden job opportunities for blacks and other minorities—as well as for women—may be an early casualty of the deepening recession. With unemployment mounting, lay-offs (especially in the industrial sector) are reaching farther and farther up the seniority ladder.

We ordinarily think of employee seniority in terms of trade union agreements which generally require lay-offs be made inversely to the duration of employment. Since blacks are still relatively recent entrants to numerous industrial occupations, they typically have considerably less trade union-related seniority than their white counterparts. (Of course, there are some noticeable exceptions—such as automobiles and steel where blacks have accumulated a significant amount of seniority). But it is also important to recognize that—even in sectors of the private economy in which only a small fraction of the workers are unionized—custom and usage have led to company-employee relationships that are tantamount to seniority rules.

Consequently, we should expect private employers to face increasingly the hard choice between pressing on with the task of expanding opportunities for new-comers and adherence to traditional seniority practices.

Thus, we see shaping up a serious conflict between two objectives, both of which rank high on the nation's human and industrial goals. As the chairman of a leading industrial firm observed to me recently, both sets of claimants have very strong cases, and there is no obvious way to resolve them in the short-run. I share this view. For this reason, leaders of American industry will have to exercise an extraordinary degree of imagination in the quest for ways to foster a continued expansion of equal opportunity for women, blacks, and members of other minority groups—while remaining faithful to the seniority commitments they have made to other employees.

## Concluding Observations

But, above all, if the economy is permitted to grind down upon itself, both of these objectives—along with a number of others—will be undermined. A deepening recession is the worse kind of environment in which to seek a broadening of economic opportunity. Therefore, the most important task we face at the present time is the adoption, of a set of coherent national policies which would prevent the economy from deteriorating further in the coming year.

Several elements ought to be included in a revamped program:

- We should immediately broaden the coverage and increase the benefits available under our unemployment compensation system. After all, we know that joblessness will be both widespread and rising during the coming winter.

- We should create a large-scale public service employment program which can provide jobs for at least 800,000 workers. Such a program would be particularly helpful to young people.

- The Federal Administration should abandon the call for a 5 percent income surcharge on family and corporate incomes above \$15,000. With the economy drifting more deeply into recession—with the decline in real consumer spending playing a major role—we should not impose an additional burden on consumer incomes.

- Moreover, some modest tax reduction for low income groups should be made. This would help to ease the adverse effect of inflation on those least able to bear it. It will be recalled that such a tax cut was strongly endorsed at the recent White House conference on inflation.

Dr. Brimmer is Henry Ford Foundation Visiting Professor at Harvard University.

# See President's Economic Proposals as 'Preferential Mistreatment' of Blacks

By Dr. Robert Hill

Upon revealing his plan to cut Federal spending by \$4.6 billion by June 30, 1975, President Ford called upon all Americans to "share the burden and divide the misery." But an examination of the Administration's proposals to fight inflation reveals that blacks and the poor will continue to bear the major share of the misery and sacrifice. The black community which had not recovered from the 1969-70 recession, is being forced into a depression to save the nation from a more severe recession. Such "preferential mistreatment" of the blacks, other minorities and the poor is apparent in most of the Administration's key proposals to "Whip Inflation Now."

## Public Service Employment

In his October 8th Message to Congress, the President presented a public service employment program under \$500 million would have been authorized when the national unemployment rate averaged six percent over a three-months period, an additional \$750 million when it averaged 6.5 percent for three months and \$1 billion more when the three-month average reached seven percent.

But one hitch to this \$2 billion public employment program, as originally proposed, is that these funds would not go automatically to localities across the nation with high rates of joblessness. They would go only to those "labor market areas" (the equivalent of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) that had an average unemployment rate of 6.5 percent or more for three consecutive months. Thus, numerous central cities with unemployment rates over 6.5 percent, for example, might not qualify for these special funds since their metropolitan area unemployment rates would invariably be less than 6.5 percent. Clearly, funding allocations for public service jobs would be available only to unemployed persons who had exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits. Since the Ford plan includes an additional 13 weeks of unemployment insurance benefits, the number of jobless persons eligible for these public service jobs dwindles even further. Congressional estimates are that the original Administration jobs program, if fully funded, would have created less than 300,000 jobs — only 5 percent of the 6 million unemployed workers across the nation. Thus, both houses of Congress have prepared alternate job bills with the number of job slots sharply increased.

But even if these jobs became available at the local level, there are no assurances that racial minorities and the poor would be adequately represented. In fact, past experiences with public employment programs (particularly PEP) suggest that blacks, other minorities and the poor will again be sharply underrepresented. This is even more probable today when local governments are being forced to lay off thousands of public employees in order to reduce their inflation-ridden budgets.

## Unemployment Insurance

It is commonly believed that most unemployed persons are not really experiencing serious economic hardships because they have a variety of "income cushions" available, such as Unemployment Insurance (UI), Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), and public assistance. It is not realized, however, that thousands of unemployed persons do not qualify or receive any of these income supports and those who do, often receive amounts that are insufficient for the support

of their families. For example, much publicity has been given to the availability of SUB benefits to unemployed workers, but such benefits apply almost exclusively to workers in the major auto industries. And auto workers account for about only two percent of all unemployed workers. While most unions have some strike funds available, they do not have funds for unemployment benefits like the auto industry. But even the SUB funds are being rapidly depleted.

Similarly, it is widely believed that most jobless workers receive unemployment compensation. The fact is that most unemployed persons are ineligible for unemployment insurance. Only persons who have been laid off their jobs can qualify. New entrants to the labor force (such as young people or students), re-entrants (such as housewives with prior paid labor force experience), and persons who have left their jobs are all automatically ineligible for unemployment compensation. In non-recession periods, these ineligible often comprise three-fifths to two-thirds of the nation's unemployed; during this current recession they constitute about half of the jobless workers.

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*The American economy belongs to the American people. The burden of halting inflation must not be placed on those least able to shoulder the costs . . . while economists debate whether or not we are in a recession the black community is enmeshed in a depression of the first magnitude.*

Black Economic Summit Meeting 9/21/74

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Even those black workers who are potentially eligible for unemployment benefits are less likely to receive them than are unemployed whites. For example, in 1973 only about two-thirds of the unemployed blacks who were laid off their jobs received unemployment compensation, compared to 98 percent of the unemployed white job losers. A major reason for this disparity is that blacks are less likely than whites to be employed in jobs that are covered by unemployment insurance. Most farm laborers, domestic workers and state and local government workers are not currently covered by unemployment insurance. There is, however, some evidence to indicate that racially discriminatory enforcement of agency regulations is also contributing to this disparity. As a result, otherwise eligible black workers are often disqualified or have their unemployment benefits terminated prematurely because of alleged violations, such as unexplained sickness or other conduct on the job.

The administration's proposal to extend UI coverage to the large number of workers who are presently ineligible because of their type of employment is an excellent one. Blacks, in particular, would benefit from this extension because of their overrepresentation in jobs not covered by UI. But even this expanded coverage would not help those ineligible for UI because they are new entrants into the job market, have not been on the job long enough to establish eligibility or who left their job for good cause. What economic cushion does the Administration propose for them?

## Unemployed Parent Program

There is one existing income program, if expanded, that could provide needed income support to unemployed heads of household — the unemployed parent segment of the AFDC program.

Although it is widely believed that families with unemployed male heads cannot qualify for public assistance, this is not the case. The Supreme Court "man in the house" edict of 1968 firmly declared that even families with step-fathers who were not the natural fathers of the children in that household could qualify for some public assistance. Moreover, 25 states outside the South today (including some of the most heavily populated in the nation, such as California, New York, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Pennsylvania) have Aid to Families with Dependent Children — Unemployed Parent Segment (or AFDC-UP) programs. In addition, families in which the male heads are blind, disabled or otherwise handicapped can also qualify for public assistance.

Thus, many families headed by men can and do receive public assistance. In fact, contrary to popular belief, most white families on welfare are headed by men. Fifty-five percent of the 2.3 million white families on welfare in 1972 had male heads of households, compared to only 28 percent of the 1.4 million black families receiving public assistance.

Although black men heading families are more likely to be unemployed and poor than white men heading families, they are less likely to receive public assistance. This anomaly exists even though blacks are less like than whites to be eligible for unemployment insurance benefits and only unemployed workers who are ineligible for UI benefits or have exhausted them can qualify for AFDC-UP. Thus, the sharp underrepresentation of blacks among AFDC-UP recipients is apparently due, in part, to racially discriminatory practices of state and local welfare agencies.

This preferential mistreatment of blacks must be rooted out immediately. Adequate support must be given to all unemployed heads of households with no income cushions. This is especially crucial during this deepening recession when unemployment benefits are being rapidly exhausted.

Unfortunately, not only has the current Administration no plans to expand the AFDC-UP programs for unemployed heads of households, but intends to sharply reduce federal outlays for social services. We are told that the federal government will cut spending by (1) significantly reducing welfare payments during a time of rising unemployment and poverty and (2) by increasing the already high costs of food stamps and Medicare to the poor and the elderly.

Clearly, such insensitive and punitive measures against racial minorities and the poor is not "sharing the misery and burden." This preferential mistreatment of blacks, other minorities and the poor as the expendables in the so-called War Against Inflation must be strongly resisted by those who are genuinely committed to improving the quality of life for all Americans.

Dr. Robert Hill is Director of the National Urban League's Research unit located in Washington, D.C.

# Black Economic Issues 48 Years Ago

To add historical perspective to this issue's discussion of the current economic crisis and its relationship to blacks, we offer reproductions of three articles that appeared in the April 1937 edition of the now-defunct *Opportunity Journal* published by the National Urban League from 1923-1949. It is interesting to note that economic commentators today are hinting at the possible reestablishment of the Works Progress Administration, a complex system of government employment programs which is mentioned in the following articles. Mr. Robert C. Weaver, author of the first article, was an adviser on the Negro Affairs, Department of Interior and a consultant on President Roosevelt's Committee on Vocational Education. Dr. Ira De A. Reid was a professor of sociology, Atlanta University and at the time of original publication had been appointed senior social economist, Social Security Board. Mr. Lawrence A. Oxley was chief of the division of Negro Labor, U.S. Department of Labor.

## *The Value of Federal Employment to Negroes*

By Robert C. Weaver

Employment of a representative number of Negroes in Federal service and on Federal projects is important principally because of its numerical possibilities for directly affording occupational opportunities and because of its value in establishing precedents for other employers through the nation. Briefly, the points of emphasis are those pertaining to the present opportunities and techniques, the adequacy or inadequacy of these techniques, and the most effective approach to the future in this field of endeavor.

The traditional lines of employment in the Post Office, Government Printing Office, and Census Bureau, and in the custodian service, are familiar to all of us. The present administration has opened new opportunities typified by the offices of Adviser on Negro Affairs and others performing similar duties. The Resettlement Administration and the Public Works Administration have given employment to

Negro architects, engineers, and project managers.

The occupational distribution of Negroes, as reflected by census data, indicated the availability of a large labor supply in the fields which are tapped by governmental construction. Thus, the degree of employment open to Negroes by the programs of the Works Progress Administration, the Public Works Administration, and the Resettlement Administration offers great potentialities for the employment of Negroes. A new approach to the problem, however, is reflected in the activities of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration which has prohibited discrimination against Negro skilled workers and has then defined this discrimination. The technique, which was described in this magazine at an earlier date, established prima facie evidence of discrimination based on census figures and incorporates such a criterion in the specifications. It is important to indicate

that this procedure, based as it is upon census figures, is limited to the preservation and restoration of job opportunities which have existed in the past and does not attempt to open new fields of work for Negroes. It should nevertheless, offer an interesting field for further study, analysis, and evaluation.

The trend toward establishing practically all Federal jobs under Civil Service, as indicated by the President's Reorganization Program and other developments in Washington, makes it imperative that occupational programs for Negroes in this field should encourage them to qualify through Civil Service examination for Federal positions. In the case of employment on construction projects, a new and impartial analysis of the relationship between colored workers and organized labor is necessary, and centers or agencies should be established to familiarize colored artisans with new materials and new methods in building construction.

## *The Social Security Program*

By Ira De A. Reid

The Social Security Act of 1935 represents a major advance in the attainment of economic security for the individual and for his family. It was devised to provide some safeguard against the insecurity of modern life through cooperative action by the Federal and State governments, thus making possible fullest consideration of the local economic and social problems while maintaining a national unity of program and purpose. As its various benefits become operative in the several states the program will increasingly demand intelligent, trained and qualified workers. Today these

employment possibilities appear limitless.

The general fields of activity covered by the Act are Unemployment Compensation, Old Age Assistance, Old Age Benefits, Security for Children, Aid to the Blind, Extension of Public Health Services, and Vocational Rehabilitation. The Old Age Benefits provision is administered by the Federal Government, while the other features are administered by and through the States enacting Social Security acts. Thus there will be available jobs in all of these fields in the Federal as well as in the State set-ups.

It will be impossible to enumerate all the specific occupations that will be available under the acts, but it is already evident that trained professionals in many fields will be needed — actuaries, accountants, economists, lawyers, publicists, personnel workers, statisticians and social workers, for example. Then there will be need for administrators, interviewers, investigators, field workers, and clerical employees in administrative and research process. As the program grows and changes these demands will change — and in all probability, increase.

## *Government Employment And Negro Youth*

By Lawrence A. Oxley

Never before in our history has there been such concentrated attention of experts, leaders in industry and labor, and the general public upon problems of mass unemployment and changing occupational trends. The Negro, along with all other groups in America, has been through the effects of the terrific dislocation of industrial and agricultural life with its profound repercussions in family circumstances and family relationships; and he continues to suffer from those experiences which make the search for greater job assurance, earnings, and protection against the major vicissitudes of life inevitable.

The United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor, either directly or indirectly with its affiliates, is related to the activities of every community in the United States. The Service is established under the terms of the Wagner-Peyser Act passed by the Seventy-Third Congress, effective July 1, 1933. The United States Employment Service is interested in all aspects of Negro occupational

adjustment and in cooperative efforts to study this problem. Since June 1936 the United States Employment Service has been engaged in a survey of the services to Negroes by Employment Service Offices in eighteen selected states. About eight and one-half million, or a little over two-thirds of the twelve and one-half million Negroes in the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1930) make their homes in those states included in the area studied. The purpose of the survey is to describe in the case of each city the socio-economic and racial environment in which the local employment service operates; the industrial opportunities available; the size and movement of Negro population and workers; job opportunities for Negroes and depression fluctuation of these opportunities; the general inclination of employers, and of organized labor toward the employment of Negro workers; and the attitudes of the Employment Service personnel.

In a large number of the states the Employ-

ment Service has chosen their staff members through merit examinations, and it is significant to note that a large number of competent Negroes have qualified as a result of these examinations, and over 100 have been appointed to Employment Service staffs in ten states and the District of Columbia. These Negro workers are classified as office managers, supervisors, senior and junior interviewers, and as stenographers, clerks, et cetera.

An increasing number of college trained young men and women are availing themselves of the opportunities offered throughout the country to take competitive examinations and have their names placed on eligible lists for appointment. Applications and inquiries are made to the appointing authority in the state in which the person lives. The opening up of new work opportunities through governmental enterprises and agencies is not relief in its usual sense; it is wise provision against demoralization that would lead to greater relief need later on.

# Black Depression: Economic Summit Responds

By Don J.B. Rojas

Black gatherings and meetings discuss economic problems, exclusively or in part, had their beginnings in the period immediately following emancipation. Newly-freed blacks, most without property or other economic resources, many without skills, frequently met to discuss problems and map out strategy. For it was felt that concerted activity, more than individual effort, was the best possible approach to the monumental challenge of organizing production while simultaneously defending their freedom against white vigilantes unable to adjust to the reality of constitutionally-free blacks.

During the Depression years, three National Urban League annual conferences brought together blacks from across the country to discuss the most pressing minority issue of the day — black employment.

## Historical Events

On July 17, 1967, the first National Conference of Black Power was held in Newark, New Jersey, only three days after that city had experienced one of America's worst riots. More than a thousand representatives of 228 organizations attended the conference and resolved to speak with one voice, then and in the future, to the need for black political power and to militate for the elimination of the heavy economic burdens blacks were forced to bear.

Such meetings of socially-conscious blacks do not enjoy central positions in the annals of American history yet they were historical events of great import precipitated by specific socio-economic realities.

And by their own dynamics they made visible new sets of contradictions whose resolutions call for continued struggle.

Today, the black liberation movement has assumed new dimensions. The Civil Rights era has ended. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave black people the right to vote and the right to free access to places of public accommodation. The burning tasks of the 70's is to ensure the implementation of these rights but more importantly to restructure our economy so that there are jobs and decent living standards for all.

## Blacks 'Hurting Bad'

So the major contradiction of this era is the growing economic disparity between black and white Americans; one that's being dangerously exacerbated by the double-barrelled attack of inflation and recession.

When Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, called for a renewed series of black leadership meetings in his keynote address to the 1974 annual Urban League Conference, he was underscoring the need for collective discussion and action on the aforementioned contradiction.

Jordan did not specifically call for a black economic summit meeting but the implication was clear. The national economic health was deteriorating to chronic proportions and all economic indicators, including the less-than-credible government estimates showed that blacks were hurting and "hurting bad."

In short, the material conditions of blacks were worsening. So, in the long tradition of issue-oriented black gatherings but moreso in abeiance to the historical principle that man's social existence determines his ideas and actions, a black meeting to discuss the current economic situation was almost inevitable. It took place at the Statler Hilton in Washington, D.C., on September 21 and 22.

Some weeks prior to the meeting, five key black leaders called for the meeting and issued invitations to a cross-section of black organizations.

There five leaders — Dorothy Height, president-elect, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director, National Urban League; Charles B. Rangel, chairman, Black Congressional Caucus and Roy Wilkins, executive director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People — choose to convene the Black Economic Summit Meeting one week before President Ford's economic summit. It was hoped that a consensus of opinion on economic issues plus a number of black-initiated proposals could be presented to President Ford for his perusal prior to his Summit the following weekend.

## Sense Of Urgency

And so with all preparations complete, the meeting begins. Some 80 representatives of black social, professional, business, academic and labor organizations representing a cumulative constituency of some six million souls are sitting in U-shaped formation in a large unspectacular room. There are no television cameras, no insistent newspaper reporters; the press has been deliberately uninvited. This is to be a serious family rap session with no theatrical performances designed to attract media attention.

With ties loosened, jackets off and shirt sleeves rolled up, the representatives get down to the business at hand. The first day's objective is to create a preparatory draft of a position paper reflecting a consensus of opinion on economic problems and containing specific recommendations for curative action. A committee is formed, by democratic consent, to duly note the expressed sentiments, delineate the main points of discussion, list the recommendations and prepare the first draft.

There is much discussion on the floor concerning wage and price controls. It is sometimes spirited but never uncontrollable. Tax reform and reordered budget priorities are accorded much attention and so too is the need for a public service employment program. The mood throughout the day is serious and earnest. Although history is being made, no one has time to meditate on the philosophical ramifications of this event or on its future impact on posterity. They are all infused with a sense of urgency. Black people are in the midst of a depression and the onus is on them to make America and world aware of this dilemma.

## Call For Action

The bulk of the delegates have now recessed for the day but the Draft Committee's work has just began. For the next eight hours, 16 men and women, aware of the burdensome responsibility of drafting a document that accurately mirrors the views of all the representatives, work feverishly at their task.

Aided by copius amounts of coffee they write and rewrite, edit and reedit. By 2:30 A.M. the combined Human energy supply is just about ending and so too is the first draft. It turns out to be a minor triumph for cooperative effort.

The next day the first draft is submitted to the assembly of representatives for approval. With some minor modifications the document is agreed upon by all and returned to the Draft Committee for final preparation. The end result is a 20-page position paper entitled "The Economic Crisis and the Black Community: A Call for Action from the Black Economic Summit Meeting."

"Bold and creative approaches will be required to adequately meet human needs and to ease the burden of inflation on the American consumer — particularly on blacks, other minorities and the poor," says the position paper.

It proceeds to list the crucial economic problem areas that impinge on the well-being of blacks and other minorities: Employment, Child Care, Education, Health Care, Welfare, Food, Energy/Utilities, Black Business, Community Development and Housing. It also suggests a number of measures to alleviate these problems.

It is this section of the position paper that reflects the seriousness of purpose with which the Summit was conducted and the sophisticated level of economic awareness that characterised the discussions. The paper is solid if not flamboyant, sound and pragmatic if not revolutionary. Devoid of rhetoric, its language lacks the metaphorical sweep of the Civil Rights style, corresponding more to the analytical approach of the 1970's brand of activism.

The ripple effects of this historic event are now beginning to manifest themselves in the black communities. Worsening material conditions plus awareness of black communal meetings, such as the recent summit, combine to sharpen visibility of the contradictions that plague minorities and the poor.

On the other hand, governmental response to the black economic depression remain myopic in vision.

The Black Economic Summit Meeting called for a public service job program "of no less than one million jobs" yet to date the President's proposed legislation in this area would provide less than one third recommended number of jobs.

## Legislative Response

It also recommended extended government support for low-and-moderate income housing and community development but experts consider it highly unlikely that the Administration would favor any new effort to expand existing community development programs.

The Summit called for the establishment of "firm, across-the-board price controls," but President Ford still remains fixed in his opposition to such a move.

If the governmental response to the Summit's recommendations are all so negative then what on earth did it achieve? Some argue that it was an exercise in futility, a vain attempt to build castles in the air; the official response was predictable from the start.

On the surface, these arguments appear plausible. But we must remember that 80 black leaders representing divergent interests and ideologies unhesitatingly journeyed to Washington, at their own expense, deliberated seriously for two days and arrived at a consensus position on economic problems. None entertained themselves with false expectations of government panaceas but they came together because when crisis faces a people, collective action is imperative.

Meaningful black coalitions addressing specific issues are indeed possible. They are also essential if, as Vernon Jordan puts it, black folk are not to be left at the starting gate of the changed society that is emerging around us.

Don J.B. Rojas is Editor of the Urban League News. Copies of the position paper can be obtained from him.

## League Helps Families Fight Housing Discrimination

High on the list of recommendations forwarded to the President and Congress at the end of the recent black Economic Summit Meeting was one calling for immediate steps to address "the serious housing crisis affecting black and poor communities."

Among the specific measures suggested by the Summit to deal with the housing crisis was that funds authorized under the Federal Comprehensive Planning Assistance Program be more "equitably targeted to minority communities."

For some time now, the National Urban League has not only advocated equitable fund distribution but has also been actively involved in the implementation of the assistance program.

As subcontractors to Abt Associates, a research organization located in Cambridge, Mass., the National Urban League has designed a housing information package for program participants in Pittsburgh, Penn., and Phoenix, Arizona. The package contains an introduction to the program plus information on housing and neighborhood choices landlord/tenant relations and housing discrimination.

### Demand Experiment

Abt Associates is contracted with the Department of Housing and Urban Development to conduct the "Demand Experiment" component of the program. Under this experiment, approximately 1800 households at each project site — Pittsburgh and Phoenix — receive housing allowances for a period of 36 months.

In addition to providing the design and delivery of housing information, the League is also responsible for the Equal Opportunity Services Component of the experiment. An anti-discrimination lawyer is retained by each of the project sites to assist families who encounter discrimination in their search for housing.

According to John Gaynus, acting associate director for housing in the League's Community Development Department, the Experimental Housing Allowance Program is helpful in that it offers direct cash assistance for the purpose of acquiring safe, sanitary and decent housing.

However, Gaynus maintains that Federal housing policy should go beyond mere experiments in housing allowances. "As recent NUL recommendations to President Ford point out, the immediate goal should be to raise construction of new housing units to the 2.5 million unit annual standard set by Congress," he says.

**FIGHT RACISM  
INEQUALITY  
INJUSTICE  
SUPPORT THE URBAN  
LEAGUE**

## Affiliates in Action

**CHICAGO:** The Chicago Urban League under the leadership of Executive Director James Compton has been actively involved over the last month in the areas of crime prevention and women's rights.

Concerning the effort to lower the level of crime and violence in the Chicago area, the League has proposed an overhaul of the criminal justice system that, while protecting the constitutional rights of the accused, would produce more realistic punishment for those found guilty.

In making the proposal public, Executive Director Compton stated that the Chicago Urban League had long worked on the south and west sides of the city to eradicate the conditions that breed crime.

"And while we do understand the desperation and hopelessness that permeates much of the inner-city, we cannot condone or justify the developing crime wave that is threatening to engulf the people in these areas, he said."



**James Compton**

Asserting that the Urban League Movement has always fought diligently for the rights of women, Executive Director Compton recently opened a conference on "Women in Non-Traditional Areas of Unemployment" sponsored jointly by the CUL's Labor Education Advancement Program and the Women's Bureau/ESA of the U. S. Department of Labor.

The one-day conference, held at the McCormick Inn, was designed to make women aware of the opportunities available in employment areas traditionally dominated almost exclusively by men.

Panel discussions centered around issues such as the laws affecting the employment rights of women and the roles of employers, unions, educators and counselors in the determination of women's employment patterns.

**LITTLE ROCK:** The Little Rock Urban League has begun a state-wide drug services program to help reduce the many problems created by the illegitimate use of drugs.

The program's counselors and outreach workers and working in several communities in Central Arkansas to encourage drug-dependant persons to undergo drug detoxification as the first step in reorganizing their lives.

When the drug-user's recovery has proceeded to the state where he can function somewhat in the community, all of the Urban League services will be made available to him under the leadership of the Drug Services Department.

**DETROIT:** In its continuing effort to make the streets of Detroit safe for all its citizens, the Detroit Urban League, under the leadership of Dr. Francis Kornegay, has been working with crime prevention agencies to develop the League's Citizen's Campaign for Crime Prevention.

With the aid of the FBI, the U. S. Secret Service, the Detroit Police Department and other crime fighting agencies, the League recently sponsored a one-day information program specifically directed toward businesses and vendors who distribute goods in high-crime areas.

Among the topics discussed at the program were strategies and techniques for holdup prevention, counterfeit currency identification techniques and ways to secure businesses from losses incurred through breaking and entering.

**LOUISVILLE:** The Louisville Urban League has signed an agreement or written commitment with a group of the city's landlords in an effort to bring properties up to city housing code standards.

The agreement in part says that the League has agreed to paint the exterior of the houses that are vacant in the 15th and 16th Oak Street block providing the landlords will place the poor recipients of housing allowances in these houses.

In other activities, the Louisville League has prepared a booklet dealing with law enforcement procedures and legal rights of citizens in hopes of improving relations between the police and the community.

After the handbooks are distributed, the League plans to hold a series of meetings with community organizations, businessmen, youth groups and others to explain its contents and discuss ways to improve relationships between the police and citizens.

**SEATTLE:** A study published this Fall by Seattle UL has shown that, in employment, earnings and education, a decided racial gap between Seattle's black and white citizens still exists and in some cases is growing.

Despite a marked increase in the hiring of minorities by city government since 1969, the unemployment rate for blacks in 1970 was 11.9% compared to 8.3% for all citizens, the study showed. In one area, 16-19 year old black males had an unemployment rate of 25.6% compared to 17.5% for all 16-19 year olds.

The study showed continuing discrimination in its comparison of earnings of blacks and whites with similar educational or occupational backgrounds. In 1970, \$2,249 a year separated the incomes of black from that of whites with four years of college, and black professionals earned on the average \$3,849 less a year than other professionals in Seattle in 1970.

"The social and economic gap between our white and minority citizens requires dynamic local leadership and bold, comprehensive planning" to promote equal opportunity, the study concluded.

## Deplore State of Minority Health Care

In order for the sub-standard health services presently existing in the minority communities of America to be uplifted, massive doses of Federal funds need to be injected into public health programs and health legislation needs to be placed higher on the nation's list of priorities.

These were the conclusions of some 70 policy-makers, administrators, planners and educators in the field of minority health care who recently attended a one-day conference in Racine, Wisconsin.

Sponsored by the National Urban League in cooperation with the Johnson Foundation, the conference explored a variety of health issues that impact on the country's minority communities.

### Inferiority Complexes

Dr. Jeanne Spurlock, deputy medical director of the American Psychiatric Association and a National Urban League Trustee, told the conference that although black self-esteem had been enhanced by the the civil rights movement, blacks today, and particularly black youth, still suffer from psychologically-harmful inferiority complexes.

"Many black children I have known, both in professional and social circles, clearly indicate black awareness and loudly proclaim 'black is beautiful' yet in many ways reveal negative feelings about being black," said Dr. Spurlock.

In the absence of the complete eradication of racism, she concluded, one possible solution to this problem would be to increase the number of qualified black psychiatrists and to encourage critical institutions and associations to establish broad-based programs providing mental health services for minority group populations.

Speaking on the impact of urban health care delivery problems, Dr. James Houghton, executive director of the Cook County Health and Hospital Governing Commission said that the process of finding new methods for delivering adequate health services to minorities must be speeded up.

### Politics of Health

Another conference speaker, Dr. John Holloman, president of the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation, said that to make health care a right, blacks and other minorities must influence legislation that uphold this right. And the only way to do so is to help create a national health policy by registering and voting for candidates with progressive health platforms, Dr. Holloman said.

In assessing the results of the conference, Larry Borom, director of the National Urban League's Community Development Department, claimed that the meeting helped to sharpen the recognition of a tie-in between the electoral process and the health care needs of minorities.

"Although basically an educational conference," said Borom, a general commitment was made by the participants to aid the Urban League's health programs and others operated by similar agencies."

# RAMPS 1974

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The projections for the remainder of this fiscal year were generally favorable, but there was evident concern that the unsettled state of affairs in Washington, the reduction of government expenditures for social service programs, and the darkening economic picture constituted negative factors.

Seen in its proper perspective all of

the various segments of RAMPS were directly related to the effective functioning of the NUL, and provided staff with a broad view of what takes place inside the agency.

In concluding the meeting, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., the Executive Director of the NUL, noted the thoroughness of the discussions and their value for the League.

## League, UNCF Move in February

Continued from page 1

The League and the College Fund purchased the previously-unoccupied 20-story building — today known as York Tower but soon to be rededicated as the "Building for Equal Opportunity" — last February, from its joint owners, Chemical Bank and the Ford Motor Credit Corporation.

The two agencies simultaneously sold their current headquarters, a seven-story office building at 55 East 52 Street, to Magpat Realty Co., which is seeking to acquire most of a city block to construct a new office complex. The purchase price of the new building and the sale price of the old building were the same.

A \$350,000 grant from the Kresge Foundation, and a \$10,000 grant from the Charles Hayden Foundation, are being used to adapt the interior of the new building to the needs of the two agencies.

The League will occupy floors two, three, and six through 16, of the new building, bringing together League operations which in recent years have expanded to include three leased floors at 477 Madison Avenue, close to the League's present headquarters. The League's Economic, Community Development and Citizenship Education Departments, and its New York-based Research Department offices, will thus rejoin League executive, administrative and public affairs operations in the same building.

The League's Eastern Regional Office will also occupy space in the new headquarters.

The moving date has not yet been set, nor have dedication ceremonies. Persons communicating with the League should continue to write or call the League at its present offices.

## Regional Office In Chicago

Continued from page 1

Also, through state legislative contacts it will monitor proposed legislation and develop affiliate programs related to state activity.

By utilizing the League's new management information system, the Central Regional Office will be better able to pinpoint fiscal and programmatic deficiencies and to formulate plans for correctable action.

Finally, the new office will work for increased funding from public resources in the region and will attempt to develop contacts for possible expansion of the Urban League Movement in the middle states.

Clarence N. Wood, director of the Mid-Eastern Regional Office has been appointed director of the new Central Regional Office while Clarence Thomas, director of the Mid-Western Regional Office has been moved to head the Southern Regional Office in Atlanta.

Mr. Wood, a native of Birmingham, Alabama, is a former executive director of that City's Urban League. He holds a bachelor of arts degree in history from Fisk University and has pursued graduate study in social work at the Universities of Illinois and Chicago.



William M. Ashby, who was the first director of the Urban League of Essex County in Newark, N.J., is greeted at an 85th birthday party by Charles L. Sanders, the league's present director. Ashby was head of the league in Newark from 1917 to 1927.

## Equal Opportunity Day

Continued from page 1

"I believe the election results reflect the desire for such leadership," Mr. Jordan stated. "The electorate sent its leaders a message, a message that says: stop inflation, create jobs, end the recession.

But it is up to the President, he said, to provide national leadership. Condemning Mr. Ford's actions in the Boston busing confrontation, the civil rights leader said: "Throwing rocks at school buses won't solve the problems of poor whites, and it is up to Presidential leadership to make them understand that."

Mr. Jordan pointed to the basic identity of interests among whites and blacks and said both need jobs, an end to inflation and "policies that recover human dignity and confidence in leadership."

Using the impact of inflation on the black community as the theme of his speech, Dr. Andrew Brimmer said the combination of inflation and economic stagnation has had a proportionately greater adverse effect on blacks than on the nation at large.

"Blacks are carrying a considerably greater share of the loss in jobs and the rise in unemployment," said Dr. Brimmer. "At the same time the ravishes of inflation, which has been so heavily concentrated in foods, have created a desperate situation among poor black families."

According to Dr. Brimmer, a severe inflation, a stagnant economy and rising unemployment will continue through 1975. Thus the nation must take steps promptly to moderate the worse effects of a deteriorating economy.

One such step, he said, should be the creation of a "large scale public service employment program which can provide jobs for at least 800,000 workers."

Underscoring the necessity for corporate involvement in Equal Opportunity programs, Mr. William Batten said corporations should regard their social responsibility from the viewpoint of enlightened self-interest.

### Farther To Go

He warned that equal opportunity is still a goal and not yet an achievement.

The challenges are all around us, he said. "As a nation, we have much farther to go than we have come. It is true that we have made legal progress but, as we know, laws are only the starting point. The real struggle is in the hearts and minds of men and women.

We will win that struggle because we must. The alternative simply is not acceptable."

The dinner was chaired by Mr. Frank Cary, chief executive officer of IBM and entertainment was provided by internationally-acclaimed opera singer, Shirley Verrett.

A monthly publication of the National Urban League, Inc., 55 E. 52nd St., New York, N. Y. 10022. Donald H. McGannon, President Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director Telephone (212) 751-0300, ext. 324 Printed in U.S.A.

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The Urban League News

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# To Be Equal

Column No.6

BLACK HISTORY WEEK & THE HISTORIANS  
by

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.



Black History Week is an annual event, usually celebrated in schools with special discussions on black history and great black figures of the past and present. By and large, it is a positive step toward heightening the consciousness of black and white children of the great contributions made by black Americans to our common history.

What makes this year's Black History Week somewhat different from the past is that the core experience of black history itself has come up for re-evaluation by historians. And this new re-evaluation tells us a lot more about the current climate of attitudes toward blacks than it does to enlighten us about the past.

One of the most talked about studies of the past year was a book purporting to change our view of slavery by using computer-based studies. The authors, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, come up with the rather startling conclusions that the slave experience was not as bad as previous historians had painted it.

Their motives appear to be based on the feeling that portraits of docile slaves and brutal masters have to be revised in the light of their supposed new findings. They claim that it is wrong to blame the present plight of black people on the slave experience, that it is more clearly the discrimination of the post-slavery period right on up to our own day that best accounts for black-white disparities.

On that last point most can agree, but by portraying blacks entrapped in slavery as relatively content, their masters as benign, and the entire wretched system as relatively humane, the authors just set up a new mythology as wrong as the openly pro-slavery historians of the early 1900s were.

If the system was all that good, why did so many blacks run away? If they were fed as well as the authors claim, why are plantation records so full of stories about slaves stealing food? Why are there so many eyewitness accounts of brutality and neglect? Most important today, why was such a book written and why has it found such wide acceptance?

...more...

Other historians have ripped apart many of the authors' assumptions. They've pointed out how they've fed statistics from one or a few plantations in one part of the country at one particular time, and come up with fancy mathematical projections that led them to generalized -- and wrong -- statements about slavery.

I'm willing to leave the technical discussions to their peers, who have held numerous conferences and written many learned articles largely disproving this new revision of history. My primary concern is the rush with which the media and the public adopted a revision of the past that serves to soothe America's guilt and to rob contemporary blacks of one of their moral claims against the nation.

Scholarship always reflects the times. No matter how far into the past it delves, it tells us as much about the times in which it was written as about the dim past. During the years of open segregation and the institution of Jim Crow, the dominant scholars were neo-Darwinists who saw life as a battle in which only the fittest will survive -- and you know who that would be.

Later scholars, living in a more democratic era, reflected the stirrings of the civil rights movement of the fifties and sixties and revisionist historians of that period changed the view of the past to take into account the feelings and needs of black people for the first time.

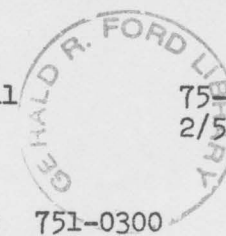
Now, the wheel seems to be turning again. Not only are some historians going back to benign views of evil times, but the academic world is churning out studies purporting to show that education won't improve the outlook for black children, that integration doesn't work, that blacks have lower IQs, that -- well, you get the idea.

What all this says to me is that the moral climate of America is changing from one charged with the seeking of justice to one seeking to cover up the need for change. And in the vanguard of this new cover-up are scholars who should be devoting their skills to helping to build a humane society, not creating false pictures prettifying an evil past.

###

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# Washington Urban League, Inc.

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February 10, 1975

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Attn: Ms. Pat Hughes

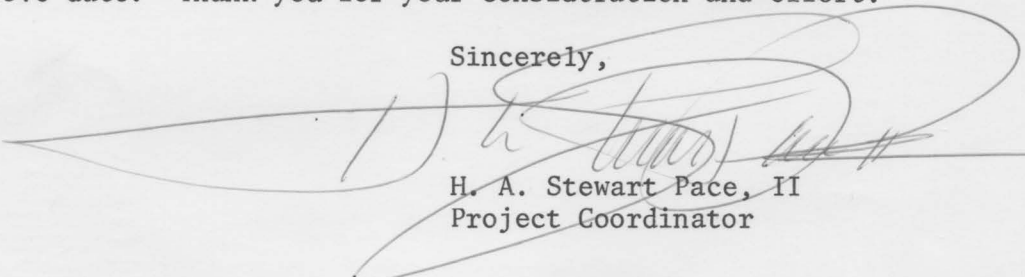
Dear Stan:

Enclosed you will find for your edification and perusal the Washington Urban League's final draft of our Minority Business Profile. This was compiled to assist those minority business people seeking aid from government-funded local business development and technical assistance organizations serving the Washington, D.C. area.

We are submitting this Profile for your review, comments or corrections you care to make regarding the accuracy and veracity of statements pertaining to the scope of services you offer. Please share with us any additional information on your organization.

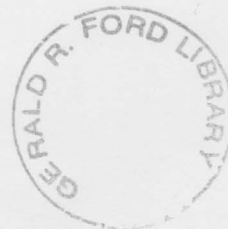
Our deadline for the printers is February 22nd. We would appreciate your cooperation in this matter by returning the Profile to us on or by the above date. Thank you for your consideration and effort.

Sincerely,

  
H. A. Stewart Pace, II  
Project Coordinator

HASP

Encl.



HEALTH & WELFARE  
COUNCIL

AFFILIATE OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Contributions to the Washington Urban League are tax deductible





WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE

A PROFILE

OF

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ORGANIZATIONS  
SERVING THE MINORITY BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C. AREA

Washington Urban League, Incorporated  
1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W. - #604  
Washington, D. C. 20036  
(202) 265-8200

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE

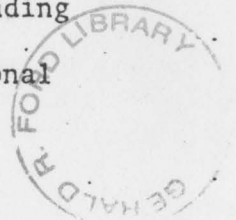
Although organizational membership in the Washington Urban League includes residents of Maryland, Virginia and Washington, D.C., the Washington Urban League primarily services the District of Columbia. The corporate charter and by-laws of the Washington Urban League were adopted December 13, 1938; the status of tax exemption was awarded December 7, 1953, and the Internal Revenue Service acknowledged compliance with the 1969 tax laws in April, 1970. The current membership of the agency totals approximately 9,000. The League has 70 staff members and the Board of Directors has a current membership of 33.

With a \$1,500,000 budget, the Washington Urban League is currently operating a number of programs which attack such problems as racial discrimination, inequality, unemployment and poverty. Funding sources include the United Way, local and federal government grants, foundations, and the National Urban League.

### PHILOSOPHY AND ACTION STRATEGIES

The Washington Urban League is firmly committed to the equalization of life results between black and white citizens. And, while directing its major attention to the problems of the black ghetto, the League is committed to interracial teamwork and an open society free of restrictions based on race and creed and to the belief that lasting solutions to the problems of Black people and minorities will be achieved only through integrated effort.

The Washington Urban League seeks to change those institutions which oppress and isolate ghetto residents and prevent them from participating fully in American life. However, the League does not speak for the disadvantaged. Rather, it works to develop a strong people's voice.



## FOREWORD

The Washington Urban League has long recognized the difficulties of minority business persons and those who aspire to enter business in obtaining vitally needed technical and other developmental assistance. In many cases minority business persons have not known of the availability of free technical assistance, in other instances assistance has been requested but results have been slow to come, if they came at all.

The federal government has spent large sums of money in an attempt to convince the non-white community that notions of black capitalism are viable and that the administration is firmly committed to economic assistance to the minority business community.

Whether this is so or not only the minority business community, from its individual and collective experience, can say. What we here at the Washington Urban League are saying is that if the assistance is there we want you to know about it and to use it as your needs dictate.

Whenever the minority business person in this community has asked for such assistance and not been satisfied we want to know about it so we can determine who failed and why.

In the final analysis what we all seek is an environment conducive to the economic growth and stability of this area's minority business community.

A healthy and prosperous minority business community will mean more jobs for our people and a greater turnover of money in the District of Columbia and other minority communities in the Washington, D.C. area.

Working together we can get results. It's your next move.

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1974

Agency	Director	Agency Objective	Loan Packaging Assistance	Lease Negotiation Assistance	Market Studies	Feasibility Study	Accounting System	Inventory Control Systems	Preparation of Business Plans	Business Counsel	Business Opportunities	Business Loans	Business Training	Business Transfer Assistance
District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce 1420 'N' St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 232-7075	James L. Denson	The Chamber of Commerce can perform an essential role in organizing the leadership resources of the area so that its business community will affirmatively address its resources and talents for organization, initiative and imagination to the solution of many community problems and participate in and enhance business growth.												
Referral, Research and Information Services														
District of Columbia Development Corporation 1120 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (452-1030)	Thomas Countee President	Stimulate economic and housing development in the District's inner city in a well-planned, well-coordinated and more efficient manner. The corporation will actively and aggressively assist and facilitate minority developers and businesses through financial and technical assistance.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Furniture and Retailers ** Association for Minority Enterprise 306 'H' St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001 (638-6122)	Lawrence N. McClenney	Exists to alleviate the many problems in the home furnishings industry today particularly as related to minority home furnishings retailers. Problems such as indifference from banks, finance companies, industry sources and often, customers, and problems which stem from these attitudes of indifference which results in an inability of minority retailers to locate, hire, buy, advertise, place retail papers, or promote properly.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X



\*\*Furnishing Retailers Association for Minority Enterprise, Inc. is a national trade association funded to give a variety of assistance to its members who are located in the District.

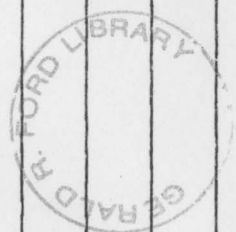
MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1974

Agency	Director	Agency Objective	Loan Packaging Assistance	Lease Negotiation Assistance	Market Studies	Feasibility Studies	Accounting Systems	Inventory Control Systems	Preparation of Business Plans	Business Counseling	Business Opportunities	Business Loans	Business Training	Business Transfer Assistance
Interracial Council for Business Opportunity 733 15th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 628-3877	William Jameson	OMBE funded as local business development organization has four main functions: outreach, providing information, packaging and the provision of management and technical assistance to existing or potential minority businessmen and businesswomen.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Latino/Hemisphere Development Corporation Court House Square 1400 Uhle St., Ste. #601 Arlington, VA 22201 (703) 841-9092	Louis Galvez	To enhance the participation of minority entrepreneurs, particularly the Spanish-speaking, in the American free enterprise system. This is being done by providing management and technical assistance to minority entrepreneurs in the D.C. area interested in starting new businesses or strengthening existing ones, and by coordinating and matching available resources with their unmet needs.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X



MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1974

Agency	Director	Agency Objective	Loan Packaging Assistance	Lease Negotiation Assistance	Market Studies	Feasibility Studies	Accounting Systems	Inventory Control Systems	Preparation of Business Plans	Business Counseling	Business Opportunities	Business Loans	Business Training	Business Transfer Assistance
Metropolitan Retail Liquor* Dealers Association, Inc. 2021 'L' Street, N.W. Suite #500 Washington, D.C. 20036 (872-0980)	Malcolm W. Diggs Executive Director	Provides resources and assists its members in the areas of planning, management, marketing, inventory control, accounting, advertising, promotion, public relations, training and education and legal counseling. Participates in group bargaining and buying. Performs liaison with liquor wholesalers, distributors and suppliers in combination deals, discounts, sale items, promotional packages, etc. Has the capabilities to solve the particular problems and overcome or remove obstacles which plague minority retailers. Exists to foster the development of new dealers and enhance development of existing ones.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Metropolitan Washington Business Resource Center 1129 20th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (833-3077)	Darryl Hill	Provides service in these three areas: (1) capital development, (2) marketing and procurement, (3) management and technical assistance. The organization also serves as added resource to BDOs. If BDOs cannot provide assistance they will, but clients have to be referred by BDOs. Primary difference in functions of BRC is that it does not do packaging as do BDOs.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X



\*The Metropolitan Retail Liquor Dealers Association is funded to provide a scope of services to the minority retail liquor store owners in the District of Columbia.

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1974

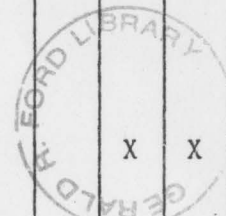
Agency	Director	Agency Objective	Loan Packaging Assistance	Lease Negotiation Assistance	Market Studies	Feasibility Studies	Accounting Systems Construction*	Inventory Control Systems	Preparation of Business Plans	Business Counseling	Business Opportunities	Business Loans	Business Training	Business Transfer Assistance
Minority Contractors Resource Center 1750 'K' St., N.W. Suite #350 Washington, D.C. 20006 (833-9570)	Frank Kent	Facilitate participation of minority construction contractors in the building of the rapid transit system in the Washington Metropolitan area. The staff offers assistance in bidding, fiscal management, estimating, construction management, field supervision, obtaining bonding and working capital. Assists in developing joint venture strategies for general contractors or subcontractors relating to public or private construction opportunities.	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
One America 1330 Massachusetts, N.W. Suite #205 Washington, D.C. 20005 (628-2216)	Elaine Jenkins President	OMBE funded as local Business Development Organization has four main functions: outreach, providing information, packaging and the provision of management and technical assistance to existing or potential minority businessmen and businesswomen.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	



\* (1) Provide technical assistance toward purchase of equipment, supplies and materials for construction contractors.  
 (2) Assist in efforts to obtain material storage facilities; provide clerical support startup.  
 (3) Bonding, 8-A packaging for local contractors, estimating - bid preparations assistance.

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1974

Agency	Director	Agency Objective	Loan Packaging Assistance	Lease Negotiation Assistance	Market Studies	Feasibility Studies	Accounting Systems	Inventory Control Systems	Preparation of Business Plans	Business Counseling	Business Opportunities	Business Loans	Business Training	Business Transfer Assistance
Urban Business Educational Association 1625 Eye St., N.W. Suite #609 Washington, D.C. 20006 (785-8211)	Carolyn Walker	(1) Has student program which gives grants and stipends to six (6) MBA candidates at Federal City, and upon graduation aids graduates to find positions with minority businesses or start their own. (2) Has area real estate brokerage program which matches minority businessmen with sellers or lessors of commercial property.								X			X	X
Washington Black Economic * Union Development Corp. 1900 'L' St., N.W. Suite #301-2 Washington, D.C. 20005	Frank Washington President	OMBE funded as local Business Development Organization has four main functions: outreach, providing information, packaging and the provision of management and technical assistance to existing or potential minority businessmen and businesswomen.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Washington Business Development Center, Inc. 1730 'M' St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (785-3380)	Michael Wallach President	OMBE funded as local Business Development Organization has four main functions: outreach, providing information, packaging and the provision of management and technical assistance to existing or potential minority businessmen and businesswomen.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X



\*Local Business Development Organization and Local Development Company. WBEUDC provides management and technical assistance to minority contractors; it is not a bonding agent, however, it does prepare performance bond packages and submit them accordingly to bonding agents.

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1974

Agency	Director	Agency Objective	Loan Packaging Assistance	Lease Negotiation Assistance	Market Studies	Feasibility Studies	Accounting Systems Construction*	Inventory Control Systems	Preparation of Business Plans	Business Counseling	Business Opportunities	Business Loans	Business Training	Business Transfer Assistance
Washington Council * for Equal Business Opportunity 1211 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (293-5752)	Joseph Jackson Executive Director	OMBE funded as local Business Development Organization has four main functions: outreach, providing information, packaging and the provision of management and technical assistance to existing or potential minority businessmen and businesswomen.	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		



\*Estimating (Bid Preparations Assistance). Bonding, 8-A packaging for local contractors.

These are national minority consulting professional firms who can provide the same service to the local minority businesses and minority entrepreneurs in the District of Columbia area as the local BDOs.

A. L. Nellum & Associates, Inc.  
1025 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
(202) 659-3390  
Alfred E. White

Bert W. Smith, Jr. & Associates, CPA  
201 Kennedy Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20011  
(202) 291-6661  
Bert W. Smith, Jr.  
Leon Walker

Evaluation Technologies, Inc.  
1121 Arlington Blvd.  
Arlington, Virginia 22209  
(703) 525-5818  
Lawyer A. Martin  
J. K. Waite

Lecount R. Davis & Associates, Inc.  
666 11th St., N.W. - Ste. #745  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
(202) 347-7335  
Lecount R. Davis  
Michael T. Archie

Mark Battle Associates, Inc.  
1413 'K' Street, N.W., Ste. #1100  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 737-5600  
John H. Hall

Mercermedia, Inc.  
1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Suite #623  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
(202) 833-1224  
Elizabeth E. Mercer

Ofield Dukes & Associates, Inc.  
716 National Press Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20004  
(202) 638-2299  
Mr. Ofield Dukes

Sam Harris Associates, Ltd.  
1660 'L' St., N.W. - Ste. #707  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
(202) 833-8035  
Samuel E. Harris  
Wilton L. Mahaffey

