

-45:15 "To Fulfill these Rights"-
1965

White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

Statement by the President on Announcing a Conference on the Problems of Negro Americans. October 5, 1965

Last June, in addressing the graduating class of Howard University, I announced that a White House Conference would be held this fall and with this theme: "To Fulfill These Rights." I described its object to be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is about to secure."

I am pleased to announce the Conference will be held in Washington on November 17 and 18. To provide leadership and guidance for those who participate in the Conference, I have asked a most distinguished American, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, to serve as honorary chairman. Working with him as cochairmen of the Conference will be Mr. Morris Abram of Atlanta and New York City, and Mr. William Coleman of Philadelphia. Both Mr. Abram and Mr. Coleman have earned widespread respect as men of the law, and as men of deep personal commitment to the cause of civil liberty.

We are entering a new and far more difficult phase of our national effort to ensure that all Americans participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous of Nations.

It is, therefore, especially fortunate that we have men with such impressive credentials willing to devote their time, energy, resourcefulness, and creativity to the Nation's most difficult domestic problem.

Because of the gravity, scope, and importance of this issue, it is apparent that it cannot be considered in an effective way without more extensive preparations. The November conference will draw together men and women

with long experience in the fields of housing, employment, education, social welfare, and the like. They will point the way toward new efforts to include the Negro American more fully in our society. In the spring of next year, a larger conference of concerned Americans will convene in Washington to consider the conclusions and recommendations of the November meeting.

We look forward to these deliberations with high hope and confidence—hope that through the vision of dedicated men and women in both private and public life, we may find the new avenues of opportunity for Negro Americans—confidence that those for whom we labor will one day walk down those avenues toward full participation in a great society.

NOTE: Speaking to the graduating class of Howard University on June 4, 1965 the President said:

"Therefore, I want to announce tonight that this fall I intend to call a White House conference of scholars, and experts, and outstanding Negro leaders—men of both races—and officials of government at every level.

"This White House conference's theme and title will be "To Fulfill These Rights."

"Its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure.

"To move beyond opportunity to achievement.

"To shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin.

"To dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong—great wrong—to the children of God."

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

October 23, 1965

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

PROGRESS REPORT ON NOVEMBER
CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE

The President has received the following progress report from Morris B. Abram and William T. Coleman, Co-Chairmen of the November planning session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights":

"On October 5, 1965, you appointed us as Co-Chairmen of the White House Conference, serving with Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Honorary Chairman.

'We have undertaken your charge to organize the White House Conference on Civil Rights called for in your Howard University address of June 4, 1965. In that address you stated the theme and title of the Conference: 'To Fulfill These Rights'. You defined the objective of the Conference as enabling the American Negro to 'fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement. '

'You have asked us as a first step to convene on November 17th and 18th a small group of 'men and women with long experience in the fields of housing, employment, education, social welfare and the like' to 'point the way toward new efforts to include the Negro American more fully in our society. '

"We are pleased, as you are, that Mr. Berl I. Bernhard has accepted the responsibility as Executive Director for the November Planning Session. As former Staff Director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, and as an attorney active in many civic and civil rights efforts, he is well equipped to give this planning meeting informed and able leadership.

'We have sought the advice of knowledgeable persons in the fields of civil rights, labor, religion, business, and social welfare, as well as scholars and experts. Aided by these discussions we have developed plans for a November session which will explore in depth and in their interrelationships issues and proposals in such areas as employment and economic security, education, housing, family stability, administration of justice, and government and private resources for change.

'We have enlisted the services of experienced individuals capable of drawing upon the best thinking now available in the public and private sectors.

"We hope the November meeting will identify the principal obstacles to the achievement of equality and justice, and outline fresh, creative and innovative approaches to solutions. At the conclusion of the Planning Session we will submit to you a report which will include ideas and proposals resulting from the sessions, and our recommendations for additional work to be done in preparation for the Conference in the Spring.

"The White House Conference in the Spring, convening a broadly representative group of citizens, will have the capacity to assist you in arriving at and carrying out concrete recommendations for action.

'We are mindful that the White House Conference must not only make recommendations for programs, but that it must, as you have said, 'light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America. '

The President expressed his satisfaction with progress made thus far to carry out his pledge of last June at Howard University. He urged Messrs. Abram and Coleman to examine every barrier that prevents the Negro American from achieving his full share in our society. The President expressed his belief that no question was of greater significance to present and future generations of Americans -- no matter what the color of their skins. The Nation looks to this planning session, and to the Conference that will follow in the Spring, for a profound and candid search into the roots of Negro deprivation, and for guidance in making America's promise for each of her citizens a reality.

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**PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"**

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

October 28, 1965

The enclosed material is being sent to you as background information for the November 17 - 18 Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." The full Conference will be held in the Spring. We expect that this fall session will produce meaningful discussion in identifying the principal obstacles to the achievement of equality and justice and in outlining fresh, creative and innovative approaches to difficult solutions. We will be forwarding further information and reports to you as they develop. Please feel free to call our office regarding information on these sessions.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

Andrew J. Young

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #V
THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE
Dr. Hylan Lewis

SUMMARY

This planning session has a concern for the influences on contemporary family life, especially family life among Negroes. It is assumed that the aims of the working session are to propose policies and programs for the immediate future as well as long-term directions and programs. The agenda paper refers to some of the issues and some of the facts having to do with:

1. The effects of low income on family life
2. Family composition among Negroes--its characteristics, factors influencing it, and its consequences
3. Plans and programs aimed at strengthening family life, especially among the low income population.

Among the issues: the nature and extent of family disorganization among Negroes, the reasons given for it, the outlook for it, and of course what to do about it.

The measures of family disorganization most frequently used are the incidence of families headed by females, illegitimacy, and the attributes and behavior of the disadvantaged male. The nature of the prognosis and programs proposed are heavily conditioned by whether the indications of "family breakdown" are seen primarily as a heritage of slavery or as responses to current conditions.

Among the facts:

Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. The increase in the proportion of female-headed households has been less than five percentage points in 15 years, with no rise in the last five years. The evidence is that Negro-white differences in family structure diminish when controlled for income and that differences by income are more striking than differences by color; that factors attributable to the effects of inequities in housing, employment, health, and education account for a large amount of the difference between the figures for Negroes and whites.

The family and family behavior among Negroes show great range and variability; especially overlooked and underrated is the diversity among low income Negro families. When these are overlooked for any reason, there is danger that the depreciated, and probably more dramatic and threatening, characteristics of a small segment of the population may be imputed to an entire population.

Family and personal strengths, resiliencies and demonstrated capacities for change found at all levels are a prime resource to be taken into account in planning programs aimed at strengthening family life among Negroes.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the goals for all families?

Are there special goals for different categories of families?
--e.g., Negro families? Negro low-income families? Negro families in urban ghettos? urban problem families? rural problem families?

2. What is the most important single thing that needs to be done now to improve the quality of family life generally? For low-income families?

3. What should be the general objective with regard to low-income Negro families:

(a) to propose a model to which all families should conform?

(b) to offer the kinds of economic and social supports that seem best suited to allow families to work out their own forms and functions?

4. Among the Federal Government's efforts to strengthen the family which programs seem to be moving effectively in needed directions --i.e., programs such as the following:

Aid to Families of Dependent Children

public housing, and other Federal aid to housing

day care

vocational training and rehabilitation

employment counseling and services

training and use of non-professional aids

family counseling and education

medical and survivors' insurance

foster family and group family care

social and protective services for children

Federal aids to education

5. What features in such programs require modification?
6. What innovations are required in current programs if they are to achieve their objectives of helping to strengthen family life?
7. Are the more adequate economic resources needed by low-income families to be supplied solely by improving the employment opportunities of family breadwinners? If so, how? If not, how?
8. What about non-job sources of family income--e.g., the family allowance? the negative income tax? the guaranteed annual income?
9. Assuming that children can be helped more effectively if their parents are involved, and that so far few major successes that stand up to scrutiny have been achieved in this direction, how shall effective involvement be accomplished?

And, if some parents are unreached, or unwilling to be involved, what should our approach be with reference to the child?

10. Are surrogate male models desirable and feasible for boys and girls without fathers? If so, what kind and how introduced?

Do any of the current programs--Big Brothers, neighborhood counselors, more male teachers, adult or near-adult aides in nursery schools and day care centers--offer promising leads?

11. Should day care centers offer, not only custodial care and opportunities for socialization, but also cognitive enrichment to enhance school readiness?

What about such questions as: Is cognitive enrichment being sought at the expense of social and emotional development?

Is nursery school cooperativeness cultivated at the expense of independence and coping abilities?

Are the intellectual gains reported after preschool training likely to be stable? Or are they to be threatened by unfortunate school experiences later--overcrowded classes, with split shifts, inadequate teachers?

12. How translate into social policy and action the evidence that low-income Negro parents have high educational aspirations for their children?

- v -

13. In administering large programs aimed at eliminating the effects of poverty and discrimination on families, what principles of administration should be followed, and how can this be accomplished?

For example, what are the relative advantages and disadvantages of Federal vs. local direction?

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contemporary Family Forms

The Father--Present and Absent

The Present Mother

Children and Daytime Care

Births Out of Wedlock

Child Rearing Practices

Some Familiar Generalizations

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AGENDA PAPER #V
THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE
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...the family is rooted in human nature -- in human nature conceived not as a bundle of instincts but as a product of social life;...the family may take protean forms as it survives or is reborn in times of cataclysmic social change; and...we can predict with some assurance the persistence of the family but not the specific forms which it may take in the future.1/

The viability of families, especially low-income families, is critically relevant to our national design and commitment "to fulfill these rights." The purpose of this agenda paper is to serve the working group's examination of stresses and potentials for contemporary families. The discussion is cued to "outside" as well as "inside," and to contemporary as well as historical, factors affecting the course and quality of family life, particularly among low-income Negroes. The aim is to focus attention on the policy and program implications of current family facts and issues. The agenda paper has been prepared with these goals of the planning session in mind:

- (1) the proposal of directions and long-term programs that seem most promising for eliminating or reducing the factors that make for family stress and instability, and for maximizing the realization of family potentials
- (2) the proposal of some specific programs, services or activities to be accomplished within a stated time.

It is through the family that the individual enters into the privileges and liabilities bestowed upon him as a citizen. And it is through the family that the effects of his citizen status first impinge on his inner circle and his inner self. The family acts, not merely as conduit, but rather as agent, reagent and catalyst. It defines the

child's world for him; and it, initially, defines him to himself.

The functions of the family are discussed chiefly in terms of what it does for children, and the emphasis is accurate. Yet the viability of the family depends on the satisfactions and supports it offers to adults, since it is they who determine whether a family unit survives or dissolves. Moreover, what the family can offer to its children depends on the psychological, social, physical and economic status of the adults who preside over it.

It is often claimed that the United States is a child-centered country and, like most claims, this one is occasionally challenged. If we were child-centered, ask the challengers, would we be spending on education only a fraction of what we spend for defense? Would our most family-labeled program, Aid to Families of Dependent Children, have focused for so many years on the sex morality and employability of the mother, with so little official regard for the care of children while the mother works?

I. Contemporary Family Forms

A major issue in any discussion of the Negro family is the higher proportion of female-headed households among Negroes compared with whites.^{2/} The genesis of such families is, by some, attributed to slavery. Others reject or place little emphasis on slavery as an explanation, as compared with current conditions. For example, it has been suggested that

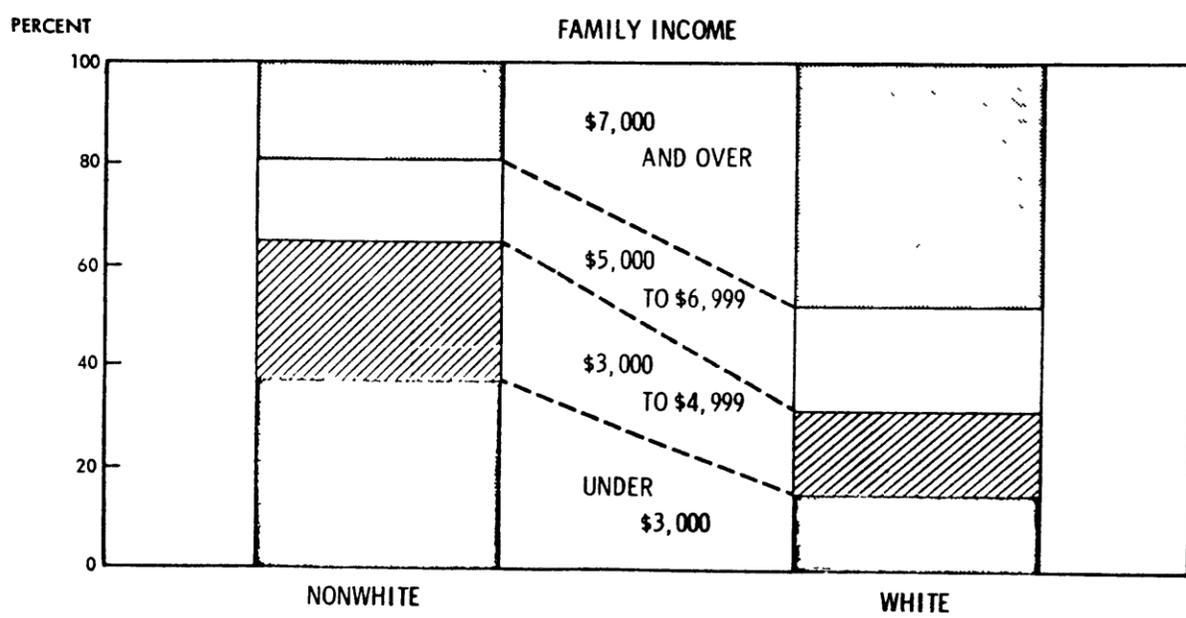
...not enough is known about...present family forms and functions and about the behavior patterns which are distinctly urban products with a dynamic and history of their own. The forms, as in the case of the family headed by the female, may be the same but the context in which they fit and function has probably changed in important details.^{3/}

In one sense, the disagreement about the influence of the slavery heritage on current family forms and practices appears largely academic. We are dealing with the problems and potentials of today, as they are manifested today. Although historical influences may affect kind and degree of potential for growth, it is not necessary to agree on underlying causes in order to perceive present problems and build upon present potentials.

In another sense, the controversy is not academic, for it colors opinions about the nature and extent of differences and similarities between Negro and white families at very low income levels. Those who emphasize the historical influence point to differences; those who emphasize post-slavery influences point to similarities between the two.

The habit of analyzing data by color rather than by income level has tended to support the slavery-specific hypothesis. Since a much larger proportion of Negroes than of whites are on the lowest income levels, what look like statistically significant differences between Negroes and whites may actually be differences between socio-economic

2 OUT OF 5 NONWHITE FAMILIES HAD INCOMES BELOW \$3,000 IN 1964.



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

levels. But if the figures are presented only in one way, the other possibility is obscured. Studies of prenatal care, for example, indicate that in effect one is comparing the prosperous with the poor in all three of the following comparisons: white mothers with nonwhite mothers; married mothers with unmarried mothers; all mothers who do with all mothers who do not obtain prenatal care.^{4/}

The Lefcowitz paper compares a variety of qualities for Negroes and whites who are poor and for Negroes and whites who are not poor.^{5/} In effect, Negro and white comparisons are made after a rough standardization for income. These data suggest that:

1. When controlled for income, Negro-white differences in family structure diminish. Differences by income are more striking than differences by color.
2. When Negro and white children with similar incomes are compared, differences between them in educational achievement diminish and the differences by class appear more striking than the differences by color.
3. There is far more difference in employment status by income than by color.
4. The relative position of men with respect to women, economically and educationally, is the same for whites as for non-whites.

In short, some differences diminish and others disappear. On the other hand, even within income classes, some striking differences remain, differences that may be attributed to two qualities. First, a time-consuming, sophisticated analysis may be required to discern what quality that overlaps with ethnic status is operating. For example, the number of children born per 1,000 mothers is greater for Negroes than for whites. However, the migration pattern of Negroes is different from whites and rural background, like income level, appears to be a powerful factor affecting fertility. If one could standardize white-Negro fertility figures for rural background and for income, would a difference continue to appear?

A second quality that creates difference between Negroes and whites is, obviously, the impact of discriminatory treatment. If the rate of home ownership is higher for whites than for Negroes, even within income classes, can there be any doubt that discrimination by real estate and financing firms is responsible? As another example, the mortality rate of young Negro men exceeds that of white men.* Obviously, this increases the incidence of Negro broken families.

* At ages 25-30, 7 per 1,000 white males and 16 per 1,000 Negro males are likely to die. These figures are not adjusted for income. White young women can marry-up into a comparatively large pool of non-poor white young men. The relative opportunity for Negro young women has been much smaller.

We may come to three general conclusions:

1. Plainly, and overlooking the fact that most Negroes are poor, there are more female-headed families among Negroes than among whites.
2. Poverty accounts for a large measure of this difference. If the qualities of poverty were removed from statistical comparisons, figures for Negroes would move much closer to those for whites.
3. Locatable factors emerging in general from discrimination--health, housing, employment, and so forth--account for a large measure of the difference between figures for Negroes and for whites.

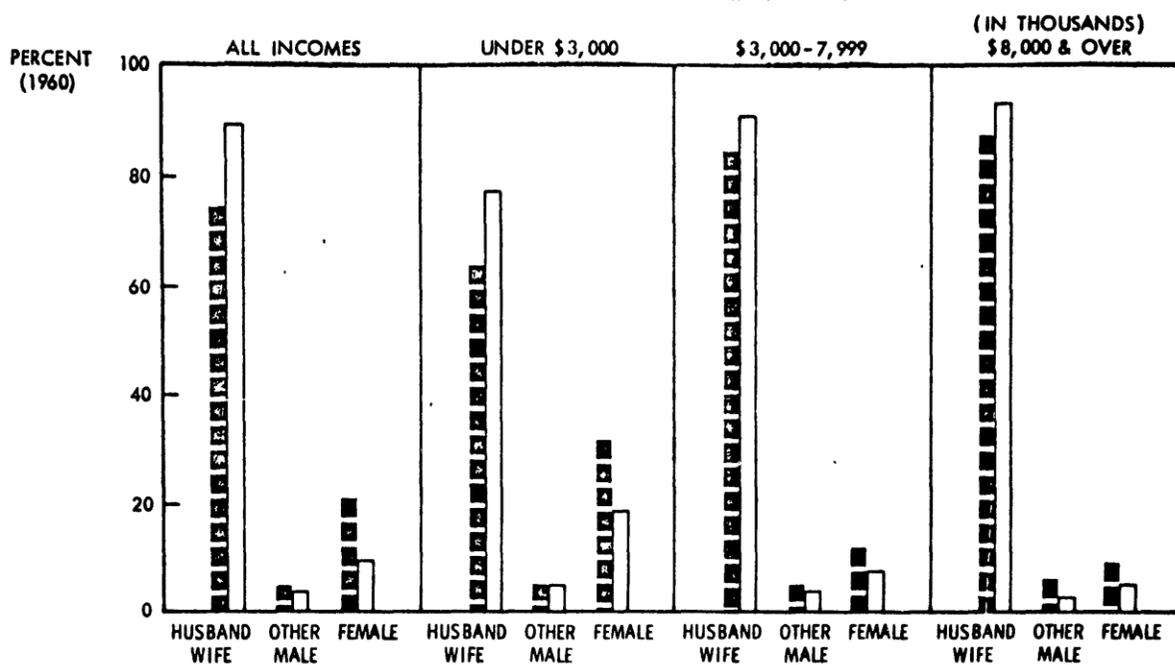
Opinions differ about the rate of increase in the proportion of female-headed families.^{6/} Some, citing the increase in the proportion of nonwhite families headed by women, from 1949 (18.8%) to 1962 (23.2%), see a headlong deterioration, a rapid "crumbling" of the low-income Negro family. Others point out that the rise from 1949 to 1964 was 4.4 percentage points in all (that is, less than one-third of one percentage point a year); that it was gradual from 1949 (18.8%) to 1959 (23.6%), and that from 1959 to 1964 it has remained relatively stable. They conclude that there exists a plateau, or perhaps a gradual but not acute increase in the over-all proportion of broken homes among low-income Negroes.

Those who hold the rapid-deterioration view urge strong action to halt an accelerating breakdown. Those who hold the plateau view urge strong action to remedy adverse conditions that have existed far too long. There is consensus between the two schools of thought with regard to the existence of a long-standing disparity between white and nonwhite rates, and the need for strong and prompt intervention. Differences lie: (a) in interpreting the current situation as a crisis vs. a long-term manifestation; (b) in the attitudes of alarm and hostility that may be held with regard to an erupting crisis, as compared with the problem-solving approach that is more likely with regard to a long-continued situation.

The Father--Present and Absent

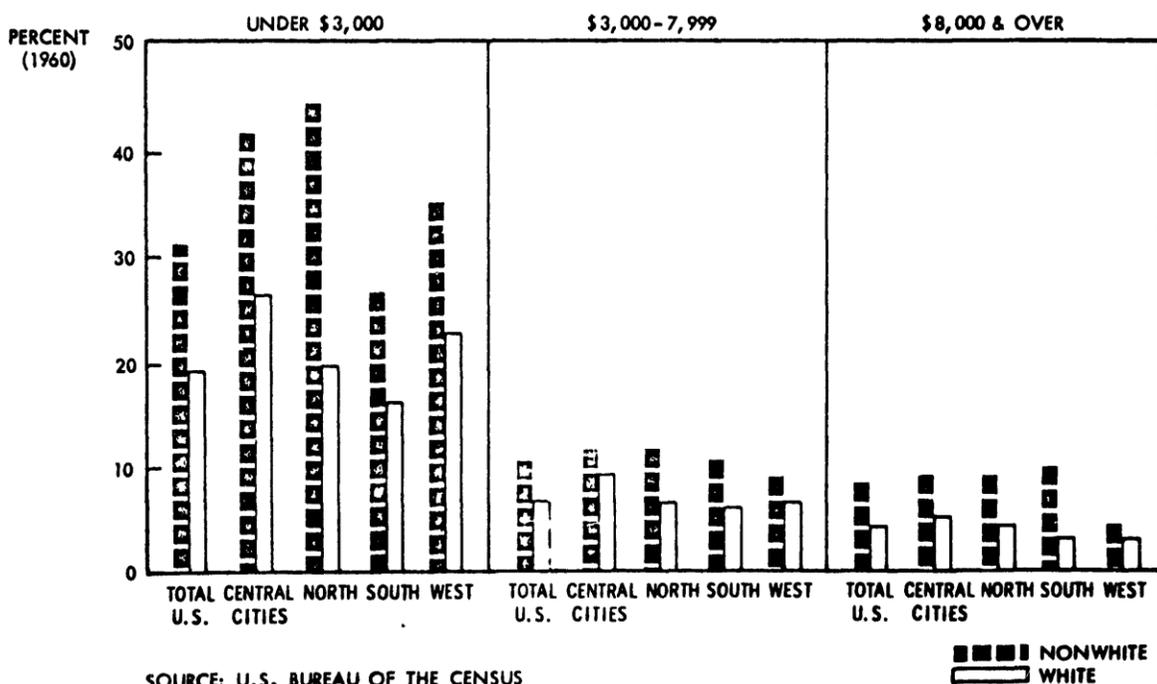
The two-parent family is modal in the United States, which is to say that it is the norm for American Negroes. Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. At the upper income levels the proportion rises and at the lower income levels it falls. Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that when we speak of the female-headed household we are talking about a minority, even among the poor. The fact that family composition is especially flexible among the very poor means that, although at any given moment, two-thirds of the Negro families in the urban slums include two parents, individual children at various times of their lives may move from two-parent to one-parent homes and vice versa.^{7/}

ALL FAMILIES
 AT ALL INCOME LEVELS, MOST FAMILIES HAVE MALE HEADS
 BUT FEMALE HEADS ARE MORE PREVALENT AMONG NONWHITES



FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS

THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE FAMILY HEADS FALLS SHARPLY WITH RISING INCOME;
 IT IS MOST PREVALENT AMONG THE POOREST FAMILIES IN LARGE CITIES AND IN THE NORTH



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

At the same time, outside the slum areas, family stability is the rule rather than the exception. In focusing on family homes, as Erikson has pointed out, the present father tends to be forgotten. Forgotten also is the fact that we know very little about him. We do not even know whether there is evidence to support an occasionally voiced impression that the stable Negro home is more patriarchal than the stable white home.

The great majority of our children--some 87 per cent--live in a home with two parents. Most of the rest live in a one-parent home, and in most cases that parent is the mother.

Few would deny that a harmonious two-parent home offers the best prospect for a child to reach his full potential. On the other hand, a substantial minority of American children, over six and a half million of them, live in a home headed by a woman. It is reasonable, therefore, to review current assumptions about the one-parent home and what it means for the developmental prospects of the children who grow up in it.

It has been our habit to view any deviation from our modal family pattern as an aberration. A number of research findings have tended to reinforce this habit. The question may be raised, however, whether a form that includes so many children and has produced so many effective and apparently happy adults, deserves a less negative status. Perhaps the time has come to recognize the one-parent family as a family form in its own right.

Among reasons urged for re-assessment of the one-parent family as a family form in its own right are the following:

1. The one-parent family is with us and shows no sign of becoming less frequent.
2. There is reason to believe that children in such families are adversely affected by the negative assumptions which cluster around it.
3. Through time and space the family has absorbed a vast array of different forms and still has continued to function as the family.
4. The modal American family may not be as functionally two-parent or as "patriarchal" as is sometimes assumed.
5. Analysis of research findings concerning the one-parent family fails to support a sweeping indictment of its potential for producing children capable of fruitful and gratifying lives.

1. The first proposition is supported by a vast array of statistics. The march of these figures is reminiscent of figures concerning the working mother. Not many years ago, conferences were discussing whether

mothers should or should not be permitted or encouraged to work. At present, the main focus of discussion is rather, what kinds of daytime care or other supervision should be established to help the working mother fulfill her dual role. (A subject which is touched upon at somewhat greater length below.) In any case, although there is hope that effective economic and social measures can reduce the frequency of one-parent homes, it seems unlikely that the numbers will be drastically reduced in the very near future.

2. With regard to effects on children of popular assumptions about the one-parent home, the evidence is chiefly presumptive. Specialists in child development provide persuasive discussions and data bearing on the growth of positive and negative identity. There is no lack of evidence that children are alert to the classifications implicit in questions at school about father's occupation, in social differences between mothers who do and do not have a spouse, in the activities of children who do and do not have a father to take their places and do things with them. The fact of a father's presence or absence is ineluctable; the subtle or overt responses to that fact on the part of adults and other children are in themselves responsive to popular assumptions, and are capable of change as those assumptions change.

3. Although relatively few have made an intensive study of family forms through time and space, most students of problems relating to families are aware that, as Witmer and Kotinsky put it:

All the evidence points to the infinite capacity of the family to change--to change its composition, to redefine the way it shares the care of children with other social institutions--and yet to retain its over-all responsibility for them.^{8/}

4. The extent to which children in two-parent homes are reared at home and taught at school by women, during their formative years, has been the subject of extensive comment. Without assuming that this is to their advantage, some raise question about the extent to which it reduces the contrast between children in one-parent and in two-parent homes.

5. Correlation between undesired behavior or attributes and the one-parent home has been a repetitive research finding. The broken home has been reported as associated with emotional maladjustment, poor school achievement, juvenile delinquency, and illegitimacy. However, when data are controlled for socio-economic status, such correlations often fade out. The relationship is more often apparent in studies that have not made a point of such control. Its occurrence is too frequent to require documentation here. Its absence under adequate statistical controls is less familiar but is reported in a number of studies.^{9/}

In this connection it is sometimes pointed out that studies which claim adequate controls also have shown children doing better in warm, stable one-parent homes than in two-parent homes with tension and friction. If such findings are trusted, the implication may be an underlining of the need to offer to one-parent homes the kinds of support that would enhance the mother's ability to be a competent, unharried and undefeated mother.^{10/}

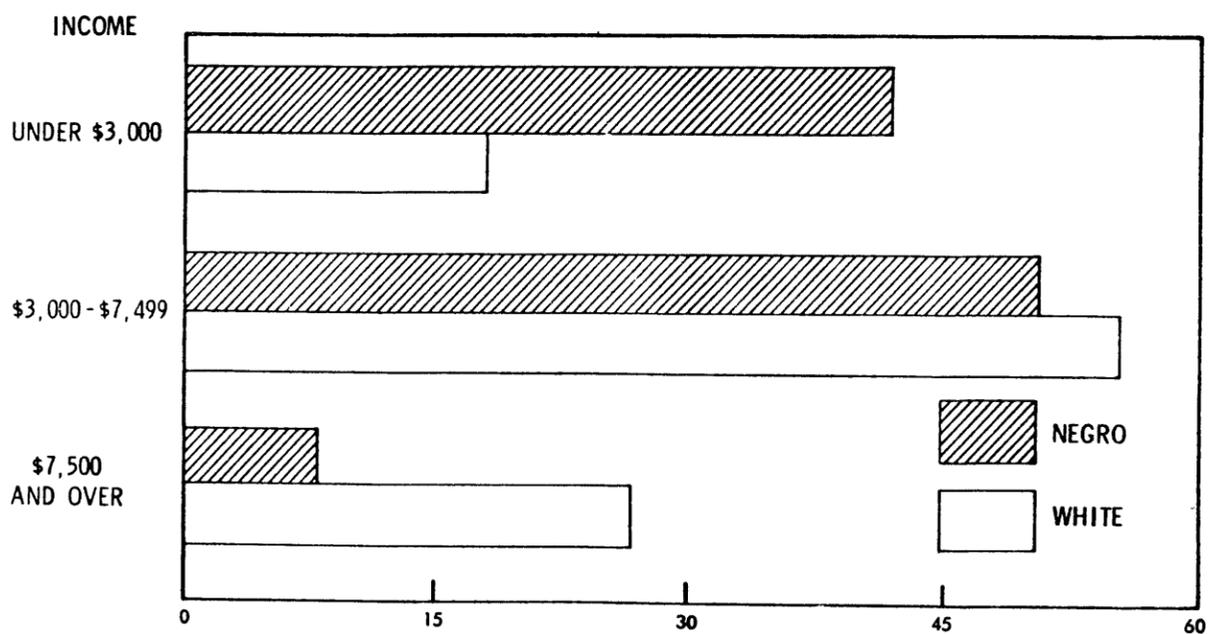
The proponents of the views summarized above do not by any means advocate the one-parent family as the most desired type. What they do advocate is: (1) recognition of the one-parent family as an existing and fairly common form rather than a sick form or a strange deviation from normality; (2) recognition that a sound one-parent home may be better for a child than a torn and strife-ridden two-parent home; (3) devising of ways to enhance the ability of parents without partners to provide a sound one-parent home.

The choice, unfortunately, is not necessarily between a warm, stable, adequate two-parent home and a one-parent home. No one would hesitate to prefer the former for any American child. To avoid the separation of the parents does not, however, insure for the child a "good" or "adequate" home. Evidence available so far does not justify the assumption that any two-parent home is better for a child than any one-parent home; or that the intactness or broken-ness of the home is, in itself, the variable that determines whether or not a child will reach his full potential. As in so many cases, it is an extremely important variable, the net effect of which depends on a number of other important variables. And as in so many cases, the net effect can be helped or hindered by community attitudes and supports.

The relatively frequent dissolution of marriages among low income Negro families is generally attributed, by students of the subject, to the disadvantaged economic position of the Negro male and the consequent downgrading of his role and status within the family, his own self-esteem, and his readiness to struggle with continuing and insuperable family responsibilities.^{11/} A new determination to improve the economic status of Negro men coincides with a widening of information about and access to the means of birth control. Some see in this convergence a likelihood of mutual reinforcement. A man with a stable income is more ready to accept the responsibilities of family head than one whose economic position is precarious. At the same time, the responsibilities of a family head are more manageable if the size of the family can be planned. The most optimistic prognosticators add that marital stability is likely to be enhanced by the convergence of male ego satisfaction, female respect for him as a breadwinner, and ability of each to give and to receive sex satisfactions without fear of undesired pregnancy.

Early indications suggest that in general people will reach out for services when they believe the services will meet a felt need, and specifically that birth control information and assistance can increase the

**ABOUT HALF OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE URBAN FAMILIES* HAD INCOMES
1) OF \$3,000 - \$7,500 BUT MOST OF THE REMAINING NEGROES HAD LOWER INCOMES
WHEREAS MOST OF THE REMAINING WHITES HAD HIGHER INCOMES**



1) AFTER TAXES, 1960-61 *INCLUDES SINGLE CONSUMERS
SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

interest in receiving prenatal health care. "Our experience so far in the maternity and infant care programs gives us hopeful indications that the institution of family planning services more than doubles attendance at postpartum clinics and, in some programs at least, seems to have a favorable influence in attracting women to prenatal clinics early as word gets around that the services are available."12/

The Present Mother

In a fatherless home, the mother carries a multiple burden: as head of family, as breadwinner, as home-maker, as mentor, comforter and caretaker of children. Some psychologists hold that, during the first two years of a child's life, the father's presence is more important for his psychological, physical and economic help to the mother than for his direct effect on the child's well-being. (This assumes, of course, that he does give such support.)

The one-parent mother of very low income is likely to be either a working mother or a relief recipient. In either case she is likely to be more fatigued, less healthy physically and more subject to depression than a prosperous mother. If she is "on relief," she and her family may be living on less than a subsistence budget--although recent modifications in welfare practices and policies may bring about some modification of this situation.

If she is a working mother, the same comparisons would hold, plus the problem of arranging supervision for the children while she is out of the home. Mothers without husbands are far more likely to work than other mothers with children under eighteen; and nonwhite mothers are more likely to work than white mothers. They are also likely to receive lower pay.

The effects on children of having their mothers work outside the home are hotly debated. Research findings show strong convergence on three conclusions: (1) that almost no generalization holds true for all working mothers or all their children; (2) that many popular assumptions about working mothers and their children do not stand up under challenge; (3) that the mother's working, in itself, is only one among many factors impinging on children, and may well be a secondary factor.

Primary factors appear to condition its impact on children and family life in three chief ways:

(a) The type of arrangements made for the child's care and supervision during the mother's absence. These are partly the result of attitudes, assumption and behavior, which affect the child whether the mother works or not. But to a large extent they are the result of resources available to her.

(b) The way the child perceives and reacts to the mother's absence. This is also a result of basic factors--including his own special needs--which again affect the child in any case.

(c) Parental attitudes and behavior, including specific reactions to the mother's outside work. These, once more, are largely the product of basic factors which would affect the child in any case, although in special instances the working mother situation may have a secondary influence on their impact and interaction.^{13/}

The conclusions listed above have been reported by a number of independent investigators. They leave unanswered a good many questions that cannot be discussed here. They also drive home a realization that the very mothers most likely to have no option about working outside the home are the ones least able to arrange for adequate supervision of children while the mother is out of the home.

Some of their problems were highlighted by studies conducted in the late fifties and mid-sixties. The Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau contracted with the Bureau of Census in February 1965 for a new survey to obtain information on the child-care arrangements of one specific group of working mothers: those women who worked 27 weeks or more in 1964, either full or part time and who had at least one child under 14 years of age living at home. There were 6.1 million mothers in this group. These mothers had a total of 12.3 million children under 14, one-fifth of all U.S. children in this age group. The number of mothers in the labor force with children under six numbered 3.6 million.

A number of different child-care arrangements were reported:

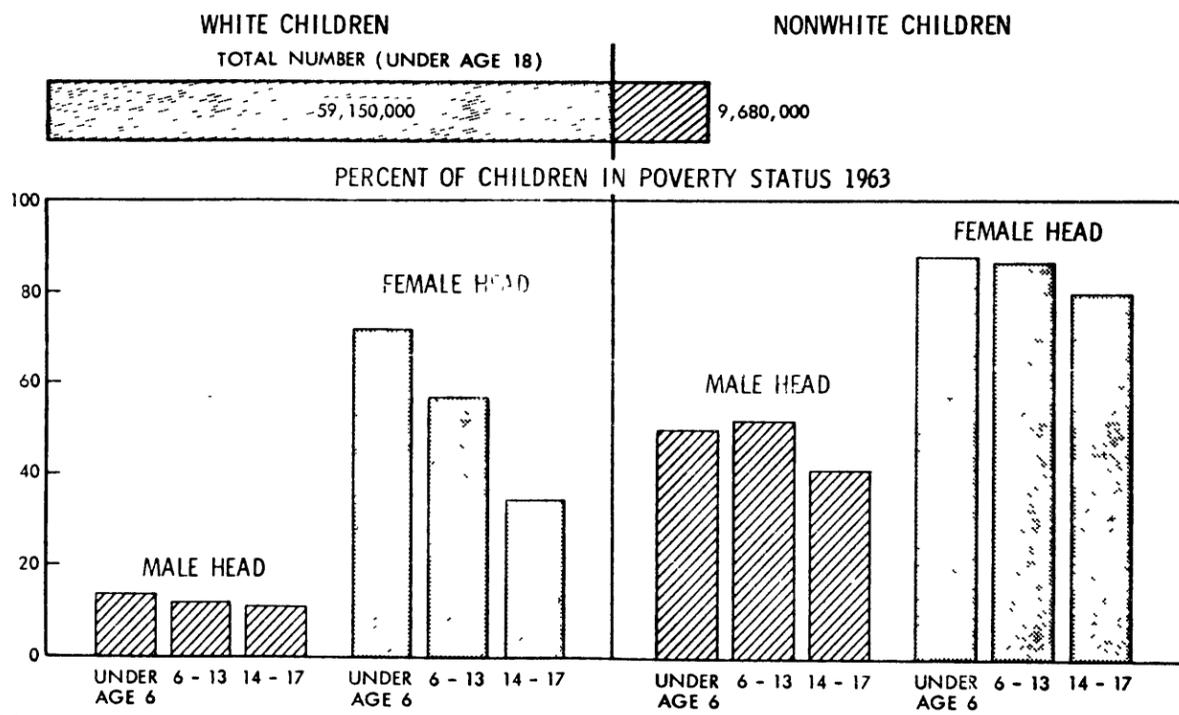
Almost one-half of the children (46 per cent) were cared for in their own homes, usually by a father (15 per cent) or by another relative (21 per cent) and less frequently by a nonrelative (10 per cent). For 5 per cent the relative caring for the children at home was a child under 16 years of age.

Care in someone else's home (15 per cent) was reported much less frequently than care in own home and was equally divided between care by a relative and by a nonrelative.

Group care (in day centers, after school centers, etc.) was reported for 2 per cent of the children but this type of arrangement also varied by age, being 4 per cent for children under 3, 7 per cent for children 3 to 5, and 1 per cent or less for children 6 years of age or older.

Eight per cent of the children in the survey were

OVER 80% OF THE NONWHITE CHILDREN LIVING IN FAMILIES HEADED BY FEMALES AND 40 - 50% OF THOSE IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS WERE POOR IN 1963



SOURCE: MOLLIE ORSHANSKY, "WHO IS AMONG THE POOR" SOCIAL SECURITY BULLETIN, JULY 1965

expected to care for themselves, an arrangement that varied by age, amounting to 1 per cent for the children under 6, 8 per cent for those 6 to 11, and 20 per cent for children 12 or 13 years of age.
14/

The picture is not reassuring, especially if one considers that the "latchkey" children for whom no arrangements are made are probably over-represented among the lowest income families, that the proportion of children in group care remains very low, and that some of the arrangements reported are sketchy in the extreme. Studies of children under the AFDC program show a larger proportion of children with no daytime care arrangements. It should be added that some of these studies also have revealed great concern on the part of some mothers about the lack of child supervision, and ingenious arrangements by a few of them to have the children report regularly by telephone.

Children and Daytime Care

In recent years, new and systematic efforts have been made to increase the quantity and quality of day care facilities for children of working mothers, and new legislation has given impetus to these efforts. Nevertheless, the 1965 figures suggest a large gap to be filled.15/

Although research results indicate that outside employment of the mother does not, in and of itself, affect children adversely, a good many believe that it is better for children to be in their own homes with their own mothers during the first two years. Even if present measures do not demonstrate adverse effects, they say, we are not able to tell whether the own mother's care would be better for them. This discussion, invoking "the Bowlby thesis" on the one hand, and, on the other, accounts of the many "fulfilled" men and women who were raised by nurses and governesses, will probably not be resolved in the near future.

Meanwhile, new controversies are flaring about the need of pre-school children to obtain training for school adjustment and achievement of a kind believed not to be provided in their own homes. Should day care centers offer, not only custodial care and opportunities for socialization, but also cognitive enrichment to enhance school readiness? The hotly debated and many-faceted subject of preschool care for children of low income families is equally pertinent to discussions of education and discussions of family life. It includes consideration of what mothers offer to children and what a specific mother offers to a specific child under specific circumstances, as compared with what trained and responsive day care attendants or nursery school teachers can offer. It includes questions about whether cognitive enrichment is being sought at the expense of social and emotional development; of whether nursery school cooperativeness is cultivated at the expense of

independence and coping abilities; of whether the intellectual gains reported after preschool training are stable, or fade away under the impact of unfortunate school experiences in over-crowded classes, with split shifts, and teachers often hampered by inadequate teaching or by their own unconsciously acquired habits.^{16/}

Closely linked to problems of preschool and later education is the role of the parent in his child's schooling. There is ample evidence that low-income Negro parents have high educational aspirations for their children; and that they (like the rest of the American public) see education as the magic key to wealth and happiness. It is equally clear, however, that they tend to view themselves as having no role in the child's education, aside from housing and feeding him while he goes to school. The school is seen as a foreign and fearsome place, where a parent goes chiefly when summoned because his child has failed in his work or gotten into trouble

There is a widely accepted dictum that small children cannot be helped toward school readiness and social competence if their parents are not involved. Many programs are based on this principle, some very ingenious and apparently effective. Nevertheless, on-the-spot visits often reveal that glowingly-described programs in fact are able to "reach" very few parents, at great cost and investment of staff. The great break-through in parent and family life education has yet to be made, at least for the low income groups. Pending it, the question remains whether one must assume that any child whose parent is unable or unwilling to be "reached" is himself beyond the reach of programs designed to open up for him the way to the kind of life that most people in this country consider a good life.

The use of non-professional aides in nursery schools and day-care centers is urged as one means of combatting both the problem of parental involvement and the problem of insufficient adequate male models. Some centers for daytime care of children from low-income families encourage the mothers to serve as aides, thus increasing their involvement, giving them practice in enhancing intellectual stimulation and interpersonal response, establishing them as active collaborators in the school program, and--in some instances--augmenting their income a little. Some of these centers strive to promote active school-home partnership by arranging for parents to visit the schools their children will later attend and to become acquainted with the teachers in whose classes the children will be.

Some success has been reported in the use of teen-age boys as nursery school aides, including "delinquents" and "near-delinquents." The children respond with eager warmth to these "big men" in their lives. The youthful "big men" in turn, appear to derive great pleasure and profit from the response of the children, who treat them as responsible adults and thus evoke warmth, responsibility and enhanced self-respect.

Recently some parents whose children are in a preschool enrichment program met with the teachers to express their concern about the lax discipline in the school. Children were not smacked when they failed to obey adults, and were not scolded if they were "ugly" to each other. The teachers explained that they were trying to instill inner controls that would continue to operate when the children were too old to spank, and when so many low-income parents feel their children have moved beyond parental control. After considerable discussion, both parents and teachers expressed satisfaction.

The observers, however, were left with a number of questions that echoed concerns expressed by others: Are the children being "socialized" in a way that will be a disadvantage to them in their own neighborhoods?

Are the school and home environments incompatible in a way that will be detrimental to the children and to family cohesion?

Will the encouragement of spontaneity and autonomy in the nursery school equip them badly for the atmosphere of the usual public schoolroom?

Is the cognitive being stressed at the expense of other elements?

Births Out of Wedlock

A number of statements frequently made about births out of wedlock are supported by evidence which--even allowing for vagaries of national reporting that include over-reporting and under-reporting, as well as lack of reporting from some 15 States--still affords solid support for these particular generalizations.

It is solidly established, for example, that numbers of births out of wedlock have increased strikingly in the past twenty years and that rates have tripled since 1938. Rates are far higher among Negroes than among whites. In fact, the majority of children born out of wedlock are nonwhite, although only 12 per cent of the population are nonwhite.

There is also ample and unchallenged evidence that illegitimacy rates are much higher among the poor than among the prosperous. If further evidence were needed on a virtually unchallenged generalization, figures on rates in high and low income tracts should be sufficient. Pakter and associates, for example, found that the proportion of births out-of-wedlock in relation to total nonwhite births varied from a high of 37.5 per cent in the Central Harlem district to a comparative low of 8.9 per cent in the Pelham Bay district.^{17/} It is difficult to say to what extent differences should be ascribed to greater use of contraception and abortion by the non-poor, to more frequent marriage because of pregnancy among the non-poor, to higher fertility rates among the poor and among nonwhites, and to differential reporting.

A few points, also based on available figures, are less recognized and publicized. Some of these relate to the increase in rates of illegitimacy, by which is meant the number of births out of wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women of child-bearing age. The rise in rates (as differentiated from numbers) has been relatively steady over several decades, and has paralleled to a considerable degree changes in birth rates generally. This rise represents a long-term trend and not a sudden upsurge. Moreover, in the last six years reported (1957-1963) the rates have oscillated at about the same level, rising or falling one or two points or less, but in effect representing a six-year plateau. Thus, the current picture is a rise in numbers and a leveling off in rates of non-wedlock births.^{18/}

The rates for teen-agers have increased less than the rates for other age groups over the past twenty years, and in the last eight years reported their rates have remained relatively constant. The rates for those fourteen and under have not increased since 1947. The population explosion has multiplied numbers in that age group, but rates have remained constant. True, the figures derive from estimates, but this is true of all figures on unmarried mothers and there is as much reason to trust one part of them as to trust another part. Thus any recent increase in the magnitude of problems relating to births out of wedlock is attributable to increase in population rather than to changes in the way people are behaving.

The figures just cited refer to all births out of wedlock, since rates for white and nonwhite are not available separately. Until recently, rates were undoubtedly increasing faster among nonwhites than among whites. Recently, however, nonwedlock births have increased faster among whites than among nonwhites.^{19/} This minor shift in relative rate of increase does not, of course, alter the large and long-standing difference between white and nonwhite illegitimacy rates nor answer the question noted above, concerning it.

Although rates of illegitimacy have not increased during the past six years, numbers have multiplied, reaching 259,000 in 1963. Unfortunately, social and medical services have not kept pace. It has been estimated roughly that probably less than one-third of our unmarried mothers receive social services near the time of the child's birth. Presumably still fewer receive them at other times.

No careful observer asserts that the insufficient services we do have are distributed evenly or efficiently. With regard to social services, it has been estimated that in 1961 about one unmarried mother in six received services from a public or voluntary child welfare agency.^{20/} Three-fourths of the mothers served by such agencies in 1961 were white, although the majority of the children born out of wedlock in that year were nonwhite. From this we can estimate that nearly one-third of the white unmarried mothers and less than one-tenth of the nonwhite were served by public or private child welfare agencies.

On the whole, the unmarried mothers served by voluntary child welfare agencies, maternity homes and family service agencies tend to be of higher socio-economic status (including somewhat higher education) than the average for all unmarried mothers in the United States. They also tend, as do those served by public agencies, to be younger and more likely to place their children in adoption. About 70 per cent of the white babies born out of wedlock and less than 10 per cent of the nonwhite are legally adopted.

Failure to receive services does not necessarily mean that service has been sought and refused. On the contrary, a major deterrent to receiving social services is that the unmarried mother-to-be sees no need of them. It should be added that her definition of her needs and her conception of the kind of help social agencies give seldom coincide with agency definitions. Moreover, if all unmarried mothers did seek agency help, the agencies would be unable to cope with the demand.

In the case of medical services, problems of eligibility and of arranging for care bulk far larger than with social services, and many women--married or unmarried--wait until they are in labor in order to obtain emergency service because they are not eligible to receive prenatal care. Far too few mothers, married or unmarried, receive adequate prenatal care and many receive none at all. However, still fewer unmarried than married mothers-to-be receive such care.^{21/}

Those who have studied the problems of low-income Negro unmarried mothers on the whole subscribe to the belief that the most effective way to decrease nonwedlock births in this group would be to improve the economic situation of the low-income Negro male. Census tract data and special studies show that as income increases rates of non-wedlock birth, like the frequency of female-headed homes, decrease.^{22/}

How illegitimacy rates will respond to dissemination of birth control information and devices, remains to be seen. Some predict that, after moderate delay, there will be a radical decrease in the number of births out of wedlock. Those who question the prediction hold that among low-income Negroes a positive value attaches to having a child, both as an affirmation of masculinity or femininity and because children are prized in themselves. This view, in turn, is countered by reminders of nonwedlock children left in hospitals by mothers who do not want to keep them. It seems reasonable to assume that given the information and materials they need, at least some unmarried women will take steps to avoid pregnancy. It is possible also that the possibility of family planning would encourage men to enter and maintain the continuing obligations of marriage--the more so if, at the same time, their own economic stability is improved.

Recent changes in policies with regard to AFDC are also cited as a possible influence in decreasing illegitimacy rates. Among other

features, these changes modify the "man in the house" rule, which is said to discourage marriage, on the one hand and, on the other, to encourage over-reporting of illegitimacy through fear of losing the relief check if it is known that there is a stable relation with a man.

The often-heard statement that no stigma attaches to illegitimacy among low-income Negroes usually carries the implication that no stigma means no penalty, and that this means it doesn't matter whether one is born in or out of wedlock. This implication runs contrary to abundant evidence. To be born in wedlock and to have your children born in wedlock is a decided social plus, and a gratification.

The plus value of regular marriage is stronger than the minus value of no marriage. The lack of marriage is by no means a matter of indifference. Some low-income mothers pray for boys in order to avoid "trouble" for their daughters, and when trouble comes there is grief and anger, even though you stick to your own, take care of your own, and never turn them away. There is also a revulsion against forcing a marriage between a girl pregnant out of wedlock and the putative father, unless they really love each other. The question is - is an unhappy marriage more desirable than an out-of-wedlock birth? A girl may wait until she is "sure she loves him"--even though the assurance comes after the baby is born.

Both national statistics and special studies make it clear that women move in and out of married and unmarried motherhood, so that many families include both legitimate and illegitimate children. The pattern is familiar also among middle and high income whites, although with them it is more usual to have one illegitimate child (which may or may not be placed in adoption) and then marry and have children only in wedlock.

Attitudes toward illegitimacy and toward marriage are clearly linked with the economic position of the Negro male. A male head of house who is not a bread-winner and provider is a hazard to the happiness of the marriage, and his loss of economic status is so great a hazard to his intra-family status that he may decamp, either to protect his own ego or to make his family eligible for support from AFDC. Recent changes in the AFDC program are aimed against the second reason for family desertion.

One reason why it is difficult for middle-class observers to fathom attitudes toward sex and marriage among the poor is failure to recognize that values may be honored by people who do not adhere to them in daily life. This discrepancy between what one believes and what one does may arise from conflict between different sets of values observed by the same individual, and different hierarchies of values held by different nations, socio-economic classes, or individuals. Food and shelter for self or family may rank higher than scrupulous honesty; avoidance of an unhappy marriage may rank higher than legitimate birth status, and the value hierarchy may be constant in an individual's life

or may change according to the situation.

Rodman posits the "value stretch," which he describes as broader among the poor than among the prosperous. The very poor, he says, "share the general values of the society with members of other classes, but in addition they have stretched these values or developed alternative values, which help them to adjust to their deprived circumstances." ^{23/} Thus, the "lower-class value stretch" refers to "the wider range of values, and the lower degree of commitment to these values, to be found within the lower class." Some commentators raise question whether the "stretch" is wider among the low income groups than among those with middle or high incomes, or merely more perceptible to middle-class observers. The behavior of the prosperous with regard to taxes is mentioned in this connection, as are sharp business practices, sexual infidelity, and the frequent placing of career advancement before the needs of family or country. No one has devised an accurate measure of stretch-difference. It seems clear, however, that on all socio-economic levels people can consciously believe in certain values, even while they continue to act as if those values did not exist. ^{24/}

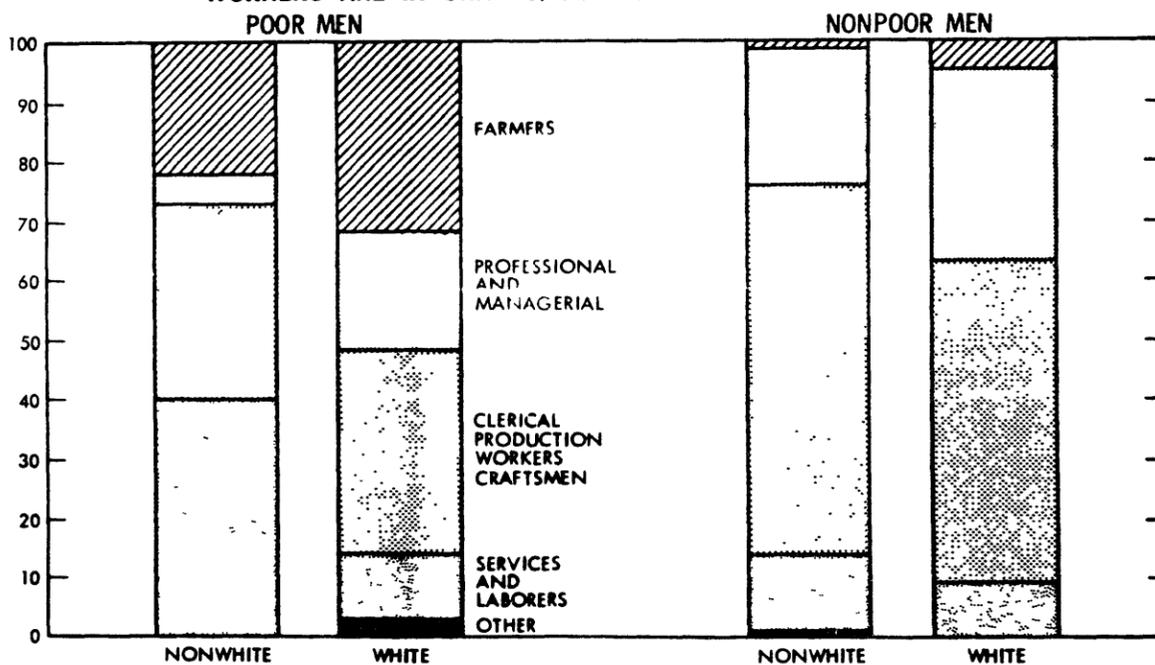
Child Rearing Practices

A number of differences between the poor and the prosperous with regard to child-rearing practices have been described, and attempts have been made to relate some of them directly to school achievement, social satisfactions and later vocational adequacy. Among the differences frequently cited: The poor are less likely to encourage a child's interest in exploration, discovery, inquiry; they are more likely to reward inactivity and passivity as attributes of a "good child;" they are less likely to enhance and reward development of verbal skills through precept and approval; they are more likely to display repressive and punitive attitudes toward sex, sex questioning and experimentation, and a view of the sex relationship as basically exploitative; they are more likely to rely on authoritarian methods of child rearing; they are more likely to discipline by corporal punishment, harshly and inconsistently applied.

Little challenge is raised against these generalizations, although many are quick to point out that some of them are almost inevitable in crowded dwellings where adults are harried, depressed and fatigued.

Some other generalizations about child-rearing practices, as about attributes of the poor generally, arouse more objections. Some of the objections relate to the investigators' use of "culture-bound instruments"; some to the claim that the traits involved are direct products of the "reality world" in which both parents and children dwell. These kinds of challenges have been raised against statements that children are reared to low esteem of selves and parents, present time-orientation, impulse gratification, fatalism, emphasis on "keeping out of trouble" rather than positive achievement, lack of goal commitment.

AMONG POOR MEN THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF NONWHITE WERE IN FARM, SERVICE AND LABORER OCCUPATIONS; THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF WHITE WERE IN CRAFTS, PRODUCTION OR CLERICAL WORK. AMONG THE NONPOOR, THERE ARE FEW IN FARMING AND THE BULK OF BOTH NONWHITE AND WHITE WORKERS ARE IN CRAFTS, CLERICAL OR PRODUCTION WORK.



1/ POOR BY SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CRITERIA. BASED ON A 1963 INCOME OF \$1,580 A YEAR FOR A NONFARM SINGLE PERSON UNDER 65 (\$1,470 AGED 65 AND OVER), TO \$5,090 FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF 7 OR MORE PERSONS. THE POVERTY LINE FOR SINGLE PERSONS AND FAMILIES LIVING ON A FARM WAS PUT AT 60 PERCENT OF THE ABOVE.

SOURCE: OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Objections are raised also to implications that some of the attitudes and psychological sets listed in the preceding paragraph are basic traits rather than responses to immediate environment; and that they apply globally to an income category or neighborhood. For example, a study of child rearing practices among low income families in Washington, D. C. reports that the amount of diversity among low income families is overlooked and underrated in popular and scientific thinking.^{25/} In addition, the study supports the following propositions:

1. The life chances and the actual behavior of low income families are not to be confused with the cultural values and the preferences of families so classified.

2. A great deal of behavior among low income urban families reflects a straddling of behavior and of goals associated with deprivation and poverty on the one hand, and of behavior and of goals associated with higher socio-economic status and affluence on the other hand.

3. Among a considerable proportion of low income urban families observed, failures to conform in overt behavior to the so-called middle class values are due less to any lack of recognition of, and affirmation of, middle class values than they are due to such factors as (a) lack of money to support these values, (b) a process of diminution in the will to do so, and (c) a lessened confidence in their own, and especially their children's, life chances in the present and future.

4. Most parents in low income families tend to show greater conformity to and convergence with the ascribed standards of parents of middle and upper income in what they indicate they want than in their actual behavior.

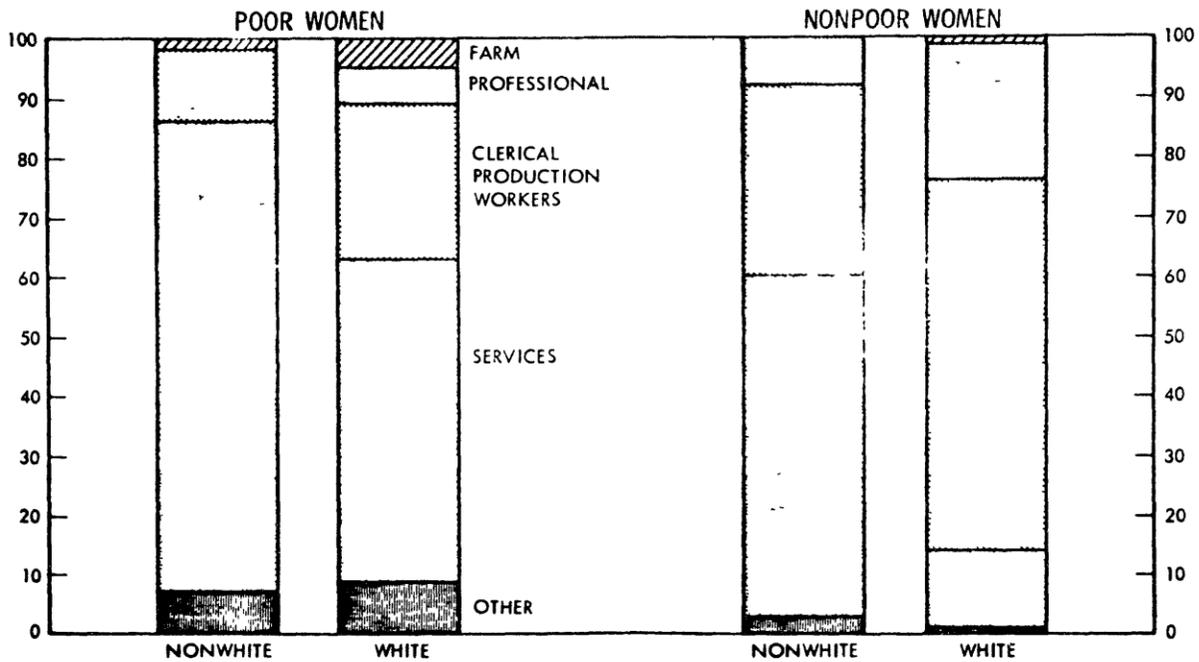
5. The range and the specifics of the child rearing concerns of low income parents approximate closely the range and the specifics of child rearing concerns ascribed to upper and middle income families. The specifics of child rearing concerns and the priorities attached to particular concerns vary from family to family.

6. The amount of family income and the evenness of its flow makes a significant difference in child rearing priorities acted upon by parents.

7. Major priority among families with low income tends to be given to meeting basic physical needs -- food, clothing, and shelter.

8. The need to invest a significant proportion of energies into meeting basic physical needs on inadequate income can result in a kind of compartmentalization of child rearing concerns.

AMONG WHITE AS WELL AS NONWHITE POOR WOMEN, MOST WERE IN SERVICE OCCUPATIONS; AMONG THE NONPOOR THE MAJORITY OF THE NONWHITE WERE STILL IN SERVICES BUT THE MAJORITY OF THE WHITE WERE CRAFTSMEN, CLERICAL OR PRODUCTION WORKERS.



✓ POOR BY SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CRITERIA. BASED ON A 1963 INCOME OF \$1,580 A YEAR FOR A NONFARM SINGLE PERSON UNDER 65 (\$1,470 AGED 65 AND OVER), TO \$5,090 FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF 7 OR MORE PERSONS. THE POVERTY LINE FOR SINGLE PERSONS AND FAMILIES LIVING ON A FARM WAS PUT AT 60 PERCENT OF THE ABOVE.

SOURCE: OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

9. With few exceptions, low income parents do not approve of the circumstances in which they now live or in which their children are being brought up.

10. A major aspiration of low income parents for their children is to see their children do better in life -- especially in jobs, education, and family behavior -- than they have been able to do themselves.

11. Many low income parents assess their own child rearing performances in terms of whether they have made advances over the child rearing circumstances and performances of their own parents.

12. The economic and social roles wished of, and expected of, the low income male as husband and father by wives, mothers, and children are not different from those of the middle and upper classes, but his abilities -- and the family and community consequences of his inabilities -- to fulfill these roles are different.

Some Familiar Generalizations

A great many generalizations are made about the poor, often without differentiating among various categories of people and life styles found on the lower income levels. In general, the ill-defined group referred to as "the poor" does not include the stable, respectable working class. Nevertheless, certain characteristics are reported in inverse relation to income from top to bottom, (e.g., education, physical and mental health, regular employment, adequate housing, privacy, membership in organizations).^{26/} Some of the attributions come from studies based on inadequate breakdowns, so that in our studies as in our life, class distinctions become blurred.

The term "culture of poverty" is used by Oscar Lewis in a dynamic sense to express the interplay of circumstance and attitude. There is no special issue when the term is used in this way. Issues arise when the term is used to mean a world outlook or style of life that has become a thing in itself. At this edge of the term, there is an implication that the source of such a world outlook lies in other people -- parents, peers -- who hold the same attitudes and that the attitudes persist, whatever their relation to reality.

Many of the attitudes and much of the behavior of persons enmeshed in "the culture of poverty" are a response to facts of life. One author writes about the effects of prolonged malnutrition:

...various functional changes occur. These functional changes are manifested clinically by symptoms usually placed in the neurasthenic syndrome. They include such common complaints as excessive fatigability, disturbances in sleep, inability to concentrate, 'gas,'

heart consciousness, and various queer bodily sensations... Occurrences [of these symptoms] as a manifestation of tissue depletion of certain nutrients is undoubted.

As for drive and ambition, a study describes "depression, apathy, and lethargy" as consequences of malnutrition. The tendency to blame others rather than one's self has also been attributed to inadequate nutrition.^{27/}

The following effects have been attributed to poor housing:

...a perception of one's self that leads to pessimism and passivity, stress to which the individual cannot adapt, poor health, and a state of dissatisfaction; pleased in company but not in solitude, cynicism about people and organizations, a high degree of sexual stimulation without legitimate outlet, and difficulty in household management and child rearing; ...relationships that tend to spread out in the neighborhood rather than deeply into the family.^{28/}

The ways in which some of these effects are produced are almost self-evident. Poor health is a consequence of the effects of poor housing in contributing to accidents, to respiratory and skin diseases, and so forth. Poor health has its attitudinal and behavioral consequences, of course. The effects of crowding are possibly less apparent but are felt through their effects on privacy, on time and opportunity for communication, and on the tendency to live out-of-doors. Living in congested neighborhoods, where tenants are transient and physical hazards are real, produces in many a constant sense of loneliness, helplessness and anxiety.

With regard to the higher level of aggression attributed to the poor, one report comments that, in encouraging their children to fight back, slum dwellers show a realistic perception of the social problems in their neighborhoods. This view receives support from a low-income father who said of his son: "I...knock the hell out of him, 'cause he can't be no sissy and grow up in this here jungle."

One frequent generalization made about the poor is that they have less belief in their control over their own destinies than the prosperous--less sense of autonomy. And to this, another commentator responds--why wouldn't they?

Perhaps the most frequent generalization of all is that the poor have a shorter time perspective than the prosperous, that they are present-oriented rather than future-oriented. A number of challenges to this one have been heard lately, especially with regard to the

Negro poor. Those who question the blanket accuracy of the present time-orientation generalization, add that in many instances future time-orientation just doesn't make sense for many of the poor. Nevertheless, they claim, when it does make sense to people of any income level, they plan for the future.

Many of the middle class have been recruited from the poor, many of the poor have middle class tastes and preferences. Time orientation may not be a culture trait or a unitary trait. It may be rather a multiple and realistic response to the multiple aspects of life as it presents itself, with future-oriented planning and performance where that makes sense, and present-oriented response where the future is unpromising and unpredictable.

It has been argued from cases and from large-scale but partial experiences (e.g., moving poor people into public housing, which rapidly turn into slums) that the attitudes and behavior--however they began--persist well beyond the need for them. Virtually all evidence lies in a contrary direction, that upward mobility is accompanied by change in values. The difference between the impression and the evidence may depend on whether a shorter or longer time span is considered or whether one element of reality (housing) or several (schools, nutrition, job opportunity) are changed.

There is abundant evidence of resources for change among Negro families, particularly among the children. Dr. Robert Coles writes:

...I was constantly surprised at the endurance shown by children we would all call poor or, in the current fashion, "culturally disadvantaged."

What enabled such children from such families to survive, emotionally and educationally, ordeals I feel sure many white middle-class boys and girls would find impossible? What has been the source of the strength shown by the sit-in students, many of whom do not come from comfortable homes but, quite the contrary, from rural cabins or slum tenements? Why do some Negro children--like the ones I have studied--behave so idealistically and bravely, while others go on to lives of uselessness and apathy, lives filled with hate, violence and crime?29/

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PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

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AGENDA PAPER #8
EDUCATION
Dr. Kenneth Clark

THE SCHOOL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: AIMS AND ISSUES

Wednesday Morning Session

1. The Current School Desegregation Picture

What are the salient developments and trends?

in northern urban communities?
in southern urban communities?
in southern rural communities?
in border communities - rural and urban?

What are the developments and trends in higher education, technical and professional training?

What are some of the constants and what are some of the variants?

What are the implications of these for social policy?

2. The Current Role of Government

What specific role is government playing in the school desegregation process?

the federal government?
the state government?
the local government?

What about compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

3. Immediate and Specific Desegregation Needs

What is the most important thing that can be done now?

by the government - federal, state, local?
by the community or designated parts of it?
by individual citizens?

Wednesday Afternoon Session

Some Specific School Desegregation Issues

1. What should be done, if anything, about the practice and concept of:
 - neighborhood school patterns?
 - open enrollment, freedom of choice, and other voluntary transfer plans?
 - the Princeton plan and other forms of pairing?
 - rezoning and changing feeder patterns?
 - 4-4-4 plan?
 - tracking and other efforts at ability pairing?
2. What should be done, that is not being done, about:
 - the displacement of Negro teachers in some areas?
 - the intimidation of Negro parents in some areas?
 - requiring or encouraging suburban school systems to help meet the educational needs of central city children?
 - broadening the base of participation in policy-making?
 - increasing Negro and low-income representation in the staffing of education institutions?
 - revising and adapting courses of study and methods of teaching, particularly in center city schools?
3. In view of existing and prospective programs of federal aid to education, what should be done to:
 - assure that school construction funds are used to diminish rather than preserve or extend de facto segregation?

provide for a combination of desegregation and the high quality of faculty and instruction that will stabilize desegregated enrollment?

require as a precondition of aid the kind of metro planning for the school systems that will commit local policy and practice to the twin goals of desegregation and quality?

bring state law and policy into support of these goals?

THE SCHOOL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: NEW TECHNIQUES AND PROGRAMS

Thursday Morning Session

Techniques and Programs - Current

1. School Enrichment Programs

What has been the experience, and what can be expected with reference to the various programs that operate at different age levels, such as:

the Great Cities type of program; the school as a center of neighborhood activities and services?

Child Development Centers (Head Start) and other preschool programs; cognitive and cultural programs?

Higher Horizons and special college preparatory programs designed to remediate or compensate?

the pairing of institutions of higher learning - e.g. Tuskegee Institute and the University of Michigan?

programs of exchange and cooperation - e.g. the Educational Improvement Project of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools?

What changes or innovations need to be made in current programs if they are to meet their objective of providing better training for all, and especially for the disadvantaged?

2. Training for the World of Work

What has been the experience, and what can be expected with reference to the various job-oriented programs, such as:

special vocational training?
remedial training and re-education?
training for non-professional careers?
vocational aspects of continuing education for adults?

What changes or innovations need to be made in job-oriented programs
for which the public schools have some responsibility?

Thursday Afternoon Session

Techniques and Programs - Projected

1. What should the goals of educational planning be?

selective rebuilding?
reorganization on a large scale?
2. What are the priorities, time schedules, and means of implementation
for the indicated changes and innovations in such areas as:

teacher recruitment and training?

administrative recruitment and training?

the educational policy-making apparatus and process?

the organization and distribution of schools - e.g. educational
parks, consolidations?
3. How can popular support be mobilized for the changes and innovations
in education necessary "to fulfill these rights"?

* * * * *

PLANNING SESSION
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AGENDA PAPER #1
JOBS, JOB TRAINING AND ECONOMIC SECURITY
Dr. V. W. Henderson

Proposed Agenda

I. Questions and Issues on National Economic Policies

Inquiry into national economic policies -- fiscal, monetary, manpower, employment, and area development -- should permeate the discussion session on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security. Policies in these areas are of special significance to Negro workers and income recipients. Policy implies more than the existence of programs and practices which have some impact on the problem at hand. A policy requires the explicit recognition of goals and the formulation of a coherent program for realization of those goals. Important implications for the employment and economic situation of Negroes are associated with alternative economic policies and program approaches. Some of the questions and issues to which the two-day discussions should be addressed follow:

- A. Would achievement of full employment be sufficient to alleviate significantly the range of employment problems which currently handicap Negroes?
 - 1. What gains in employment and economic opportunities can Negroes expect if we achieve the "interim goal" of 4 per cent unemployment?

2. What structural deficiencies in the Negro labor force can be attacked through national economic policies? What policies and programs should be pursued to get at these deficiencies?
 3. What is the role of job creation programs, both in and outside the Negro ghetto, in meeting the employment and income problems of Negroes?
 4. What are the alternative approaches to job creation programs that will reach Negro members of the working-age population and utilize present skills while providing for the development of new ones?
- B. What role should tax policies play in accelerating achievement of racial equality in economic outcomes and results?
- C. Will national economic policy, oriented toward stimulating aggregate demand, get to the root problems of low per capita incomes among Negroes?
- D. How may social needs be converted into jobs, and what are the alternative approaches?
1. What can be done through public policy and private action to marshal idle Negro manpower in an attack on accumulating unmet public needs?
 2. About 8 million Negroes, 40 per cent of the nation's Negro population, live in 70 cities. What policies and programs should be concentrated on these cities to reach Negro workers with comprehensive programs to improve their economic situation?
 3. What priority should be given to public works program and work projects in an attack on Negro employment problems and in developing Negro human resources?
 4. Should a special program of direct employment be undertaken in the more distressed Negro communities that will permit the unemployed as well as those not in the labor force to work on projects which will alleviate physical deficiencies in their own environments?

- E. How can private enterprise be more effective in generating human resources development and use among Negroes?
1. What incentives can be provided through public policy to encourage private employers to increase programs in Negro human resource development?
 2. What incentives can be provided through job policy to encourage employers to apply some of the gains from increased productivity to measures aimed at easing human resource adjustments in the labor market?

II. Profile of the Negro Labor Force

The exploration of the profile of the Negro labor force should focus on an inventory of present and future skill resources and their allocation in the economy. The discussion of these questions should form the basis for prescribing future action.

A. The Employed Worker

1. In what significant ways do the characteristics of employed Negroes differ from the characteristics of employed whites with respect to wages and salaries, occupations, industry attachment, educational attainment, minimum wage coverage, unemployment insurance coverage, union membership, etc.
2. To what extent are already existing skills in the Negro community not being utilized in the job market? What job categories, if expanded, could be readily filled by qualified Negroes?
3. What skills are available in the Negro community for new kinds of jobs which the Government could stimulate, e. g., nonprofessional jobs in the human services (health, education, welfare, recreation, community organization, etc.)?
4. To what extent are workers in low status jobs screened from promotable skills?
5. To what extent is the reservoir of existing skills affected by technological change?

6. To what extent are Negroes in the labor force outside the structure of laws designed to protect the working man?
7. What incentives and subsidy programs would best encourage industries to locate in the vicinity of the Negro labor force?

B. The Underemployed Worker

1. What barriers in the traditional corporate setting restrain the Negro worker from full realization of his potential?
2. How can underemployed Negroes be identified, and the degree of their underemployment ascertained in terms of actual and potential qualifications? What should be done to reduce underemployment among Negroes?
3. To what extent are Negroes economically underemployed in comparison to whites when both groups are standardized with respect to age, educational attainment, participation in the labor force, and sex?

C. The Unemployed Worker

1. In what significant ways do the characteristics of the Negro unemployed differ from the characteristics of the white unemployed with respect to labor force experience, age, educational attainment and skills, previous occupation, industry attachment?
2. To what extent is unemployment among Negro workers connected with technological change and shifts in manpower requirements, seasonal factors, inadequate growth, frictional factors, geographic and occupational immobility, racial discrimination in employment as such, other forms of racial discrimination?
3. How can we best improve assistance to the long-term unemployed?

D. Those Not in the Labor Force

1. Why have many of the long-term unemployed withdrawn from labor force participation and are reluctant to enter again?

2. What programs are needed to reach the prime-age Negro males with low labor force participation?
3. What special efforts are required to extend and improve the public employment services?

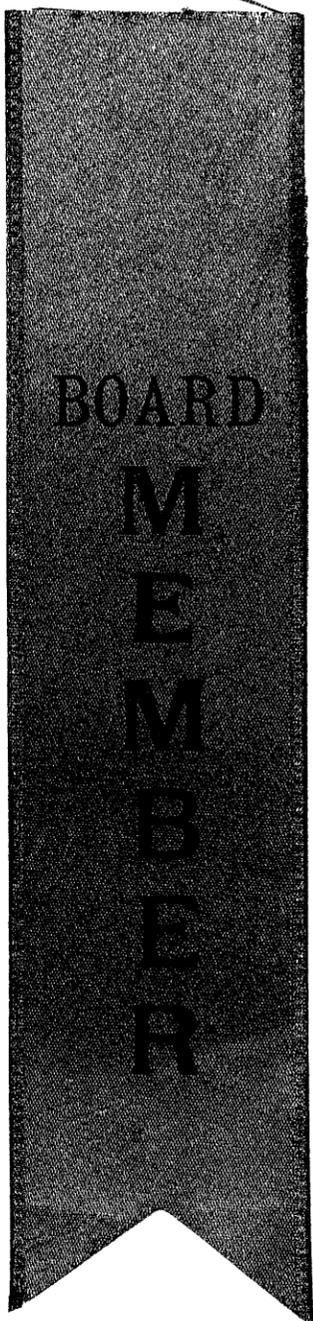
E. The Rural Worker

Panelists may want to consider and evaluate --

1. The current loan programs that are administered by the Farmers Home Administration, with special reference to the E O Loans, Title III.
2. The new farm program as it applies to non-commercial agriculture, which includes 99 per cent of the Negro farm operators.
3. The lack of a national farm labor policy, with special reference to hired farm labor, including migrants.
4. The organization and institutional services and programs provided by Federal, state, and local governments to the rural workers.
5. The extension of minimum wage and other provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and collective bargaining rights under the Taft-Hartley Bill to hired farm workers.

III. New Programs and Attitudes

- A. Since employability in our economy, particularly in recent years, is related to skills and work-experience, what are the training and re-training programs, existing or proposed, that are relevant for employed and unemployed Negro workers and youth?
 1. Apprenticeship programs
 - a) What are the current practices of unions, construction contractors and their association and industry with regard to Negro workers and youth?
 - b) What is the role of public vocational schools and government agencies such as Employment Service and Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in this area? What, if any, modifications and improvements are needed?



-6-

- c) What is the relationship of city, state and Federal government to apprenticeship training, especially in regard to public construction and licensing activities?
 - d) To what extent should policy move from reliance on qualifications alone to facilitate integration in the apprenticeable trades?
2. On-the-Job Training
- a) To what extent is training emphasized as opposed to hiring workers with skills previously acquired?
 - b) Can on-the-job training be utilized effectively in public and private institutions such as schools, hospitals, recreation facilities and welfare agencies to:
 - 1) Provide needed additional manpower?
 - 2) Free professionals to concentrate on professional tasks by greater utilization of non-professionals from group to be served?
3. Other Programs
- a) How effective are the present government-supported training programs?
 - b) To what extent should institutions concentrate on training Negro applicants to hurdle existing qualification barriers (testing, etc.) and to what extent should there be emphasis on the changing of those qualifications (FSEE, AFQT, employment tests, apprenticeship examinations)?
4. The Overall Role of the United States Employment Service
- a) Should its mandate be updated in view of increased emphasis on skills in labor market and growing labor force?
 - b) What is its relationship to other channels of employment and other institutions which implement manpower and education policy?

- c) How can its operation be made more efficient?
- d) Are its services adequate for older workers, members of minority groups and workers with limited education and low-level and obsolete skills, especially in service occupations?

B. How can greater economic stability be developed among under-employed and unemployed Negro workers by changing the social definition of jobs, the requirements for entrance into them, particularly in the service-producing industries and occupations such as health, education, recreation and welfare?

- 1. Can and should "non-professionals" be introduced as paid workers into public and private institutions in this area as teacher aides, psychiatric aides, research aides, block workers and community organizers with realistic training programs to encourage effective participation and promotion?
- 2. Should coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act be broadened, and the minimum wage be raised? If so, in what industries in particular?
- 3. Should collective bargaining rights be extended to these occupations and industries?

C. The Negro Entrepreneur

- 1. To what extent should government resources be devoted to the encouragement of a class of small businessmen in the Negro community?
- 2. How can Negro businessmen be drawn into the mainstream of American commerce?
- 3. What new institutional arrangements, banking, etc., are necessary to provide the proper climate for increased entry into the entrepreneurial class?

IV. Enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunities

A. Title VII

- 1. What has been the experience since the July 2, 1965 effective date?

2. How can the most effective cooperation be achieved between the Federal, state, and local fair employment commissions in fulfilling the objectives of Title VII?
3. Should the Commission be supplied with firmer adjudicatory powers in addition to mediation and conciliation functions?
4. What other improvements might assist the Commission in achieving the statutory objectives?

B. Federal Contract Compliance Program

1. How can the use of the Federal spending power through Federal contracts be more adequately used to further equal employment practices in many industries?
2. Has the "affirmative action" provision of the Executive Order and the Plans for Progress program made a substantial impact on minority employment?

C. Government as the Employer, Federal, State and Local

1. What changes have occurred regarding the equal employment opportunities of minority group employees on the Federal level?
2. Is the Federal government doing all that it requires of private enterprise in terms of affirmative action, such as in-service training, etc?
3. What improvements can be suggested in order to further the program of fair employment practices among the state and local governments?

- D. In achieving equal opportunity, would the resources of the government be better harnessed by a different allocation of responsibilities among the agencies?

V. Barriers to Upward Mobility and Equal Employment

- A. What new techniques should be developed to deal with tokenism, concentration of minority groups in low wage jobs and lack of in-service training for upward mobility?

- B. How can the techniques used by some unions to perpetuate discriminatory employment practices be broken down?
 - 1. Revision of labor-management agreements employing segregated lines of progression and discriminatory uses of seniority provisions?
 - 2. Consolidation of segregated locals without further disadvantage to members of the minority local?
- C. What new laws or techniques are needed to cope with private groups and individuals who perpetuate discriminatory practices in employment through economic and political influence?
- D. What "Affirmative Action Programs" should industry, unions and private organizations develop in order to create greater opportunities for Negroes?

AMERICAN EDUCATION TODAY: THE CASE FOR REORGANIZATION*

KENNETH B. CLARK

The Present Picture

It is now clear that American public education is organized and functions along social and economic class lines. A bi-racial public school system, wherein approximately 90 per cent of American children attend segregated schools, is one of the clearest manifestations of this fact. The difficulties encountered in attempting to desegregate public schools in the South as well as in the North point to the tenacity of the forces seeking to prevent any basic change in the system.

The class and social organization of American public schools consistently makes for a lower quality of education in the less privileged schools. The schools attended by Negro and poor children have less adequate educational facilities than those attended by more privileged children. Teachers tend to resist assignments in Negro and other underprivileged schools and generally function less adequately in these schools. Their morale is generally lower; they are not adequately supervised and they tend to see their students as less capable of learning. The parents of the children in these schools

*Prepared for the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" November 16-18, 1965, Washington, D. C.

are usually unable to bring about any positive changes in the conditions of these schools.

The educational inefficiency which characterizes these schools results in:

1. marked and cumulative academic retardation in a disproportionately high percentage of the children who attend these schools; the process begins in the third or fourth grade and increases through the eighth grade;
2. a high percentage of dropouts in the junior and senior high schools; these students are characteristically unequipped academically and occupationally for a constructive role in society;
3. a pattern of rejection and despair and hopelessness resulting in massive human wastage.

Given these conditions, American public schools have helped to block economic mobility for some and have tended to intensify class distinctions in our society. To the extent they do this they are not fulfilling their historic function of facilitating mobility among Americans.

In effect, the public schools have become captives of the middle class in our society. The controlling middle class has not as a rule geared the schools' programs to aiding others to move into the middle class. It might even be possible to interpret the role of the controlling middle class in some school situations as that of

Kenneth B. Clark
Page 3

using the public schools to block further mobility.

What are the implications of this existing educational anomaly?

It is a serious question whether the Nation can afford the continuation of the wastage of human resources at this period of world history. We cannot conclusively demonstrate a relation between educational malfunctioning and other symptoms of personal and social pathology such as crime, delinquency, and urban decay, but there is strong suggestive evidence that these are correlates.

Increasing industrialization and automation of our economy will demand larger numbers of skilled and educated workers and fewer uneducated workers. The manpower needs of contemporary America require society to pay the added burden of re-educating the mis-educated. This is a double taxation. To the costs of inefficient public education should be added some of the costs of crime and family instability and some of the consequences of an artificial constriction of the labor and consumer market.

Beyond these material disadvantages are the human costs inherent in the thwarting of the demand for equality of educational opportunity. This thwarting contributes significantly to a cycle of socio-economic pathology--poor education, menial jobs, unemployment, family instability, group and personal powerlessness.

The obstacles which interfere with the attainment of efficient public education fall into many categories. Among those obstacles are those which reflect historical premises and dogmas about education,

Kenneth B. Clark
Page 4

administrative realities, and psychological assumptions and prejudices.

The historical premises and dogmas include such notions as the inviolability of the Neighborhood School concept - a notion which might include the belief that schools should be economically and racially homogeneous.

In evaluating these historical premises as a basis for the reorganization of school systems to meet contemporary needs, one is required to determine as realistically as possible the relative advantages of neighborhood schools versus the disadvantages of racially homogeneous schools which are educationally inefficient.

The administrative barriers involve such problems as those incurred in the transportation of children from residential neighborhoods to other areas of the city. Here again the issue is one of the relative advantages of maintaining the educational status quo versus the gains that come from following the strong imperatives for change.

The residual psychological and intellectual biases take many forms and probably underlie the apparent inability of society to resolve many of the historical and administrative problems related to providing quality public education. Initially, the academic retardation of Negro children was explained in terms of their inherent racial inferiority. The existence of segregated schools was supported either by law or explained in terms of the existence of segregated neighborhoods. More recently, this justification of segregated schools by theories of racial inferiority and by tradition and law has given way

Kenneth B. Clark
Page 5

to a more subtle rationale and basis for continued inefficient education. Among the examples of such rationalizations and support are the theories of "cultural deprivation" and the related beliefs and assertions that the culturally determined educational inferiority of Negro children will impair the ability of white children to learn if they are taught in the same classes. It is assumed that because of their background, Negro children and their parents are poorly motivated for academic achievement, and that these children will not only be unable to compete with white children but will also retard the educational development of the white children. The implicit, and at times explicit, assumption of the theories and programs stressing cultural deprivation is that the environmental deficits, which Negro children bring with them to school, make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to be educated either in racially homogeneous or racially heterogeneous schools. This point of view, intentionally or not, tends to support the pervasive rejection of Negro children and obscures and intensifies the basic problem of providing quality education for all.

There are more flagrant sources of opposition to effective desegregation of American public schools. White citizens groups in the South, parents and taxpayers groups in the North, and boards of education controlled by whites, who identify either overtly or covertly with the more vehement opposition to change, are examples of effective resistance. School officials and professional educators have defaulted in their educational responsibility for providing educational

Kenneth B. Clark
Page 6

leadership. They have tended, for the most part, to go along with what they believe to be the level of community readiness and the "political realities." They have been accessories to the development and use of various subterfuges, and devices which give the appearance of change but little substance. They have failed to present the problem of the need for school reorganization in educational terms. This failure seems equally true of individual teachers and teachers' organizations. In some cases, teachers, textbooks, and other teaching materials have contributed to racism in education -- or have failed to counter it.

Representatives of those who are the chief or most obvious victims of racially determined educational deficiency have attempted to bring about change in the organization of American public education by a variety of methods. Chief among the methods used are litigation, negotiations with school boards and school officials, and direct action such as boycotts and sit-ins.

The ten years since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 have been marked primarily by token desegregation in Border states, minimal desegregation in the Deep South, and paradoxically the spread of de facto segregation in the North. Within the past year, federal civil rights legislation has sought to accelerate public school desegregation through the use of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. There remains a serious question as to whether the compliance requirements for federal aid to localities will be so loosely

Kenneth B. Clark
Page 7

interpreted as to be virtually meaningless in attaining this goal. The reversal of the United States Commissioner of Education's decision to withhold aid from the Chicago school system is a serious omen that Title VI can become a mockery.

This evidence strongly suggests the need for sustained and increased pressure on the part of civil rights agencies, if the intent of the Brown decision is not to be thwarted and evaded by tokenism and other devices. So far there appears to be no serious attempt to bring about large-scale desegregation of American public schools. There seems little awareness of the need to reorganize public education as a whole to obtain maximum educational efficiency for all children.

Instead, there has developed within the past three or four years a plethora of special educational projects which seem to stem from and reflect an acceptance of the cultural deprivation explanation of the problem. These "enrichment" programs, "special summer programs," and preschool programs demonstrate that when Negro children from any socio-economic level are taught efficiently they learn, generally at the same rate as other children. However, these programs must also be understood as a contemporary version of separate but equal education.

All special programs of this kind do some good, help some children, and underline the inadequacy of their regular education. But, they obscure the basic fact that underprivileged children are being systematically shortchanged in their regular segregated and inferior schools. The crucial issue is the extent to which the

uncritical acceptance of these programs reflects a commitment to continue segregated education.

A Program for Change

The minimum requirement for increasing the efficiency of education for all American children is the total reorganization of American public education. Such a transformation must be based upon:

1. A re-examination and restatement of the goals of public education as a significant force in strengthening and extending American democracy.
2. Reorganization of educational facilities to insure high quality administration and personnel needed to achieve these goals. This involves locating school buildings according to criteria other than those related to the traditional neighborhood concepts. Such new concepts of location would take into account modern urban transportation possibilities. In this regard, the model of public education in rural areas may offer possibilities for increasing educational efficiency of urban and suburban school systems. Centralization and consolidation of schools are generally accepted in rural areas and by county and state school boards as necessary for educational efficiency of these schools. The neighborhood school may have no more functional advantage in contemporary

education in the metropolis than did the one-room school in the country.

There remain, however, some hard questions that need realistic answers. To what extent are educational parks a more economical way of financing public schools in densely populated urban and suburban areas? To what extent is it possible to consolidate uneconomic small school districts into a larger regional or metropolitan school system? Are not educational parks essential to the attainment of democratic goals of public education-given widespread residential segregation?

A Role for the Federal Government

The most obvious role for the Federal Government in accelerating equal educational opportunity for all children and decreasing racially segregated schools is that role intended by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the enforcement of Title VI, the United States Office of Education could tie federal aid to localities to actual obedience to federal court decisions on desegregation of public schools.

Further, the Federal Government through the Office of Education and other relevant departments could encourage movement toward large-scale reorganization of public school systems by demonstrating its willingness to share liberally in the financing of the building of educational parks. It is appropriate that the Federal Government bear a substantial proportion of the costs for more liberal, daring and imaginative plans for the modernization of education in local communities broadly defined.

Kenneth B. Clark
Page 10

Special federal grants could be made to those localities which demonstrate increased educational efficiency by an increased rate of growth of student academic achievement. Consideration could be given to some system whereby each school district is required by the state to function up to a minimum level of educational efficiency in order to receive additional federal aid. In order to institute such a system it would be necessary for the United States Office of Education to establish standards and to see that these standards are maintained. Under such a system each school district would be helped by the Federal Government to obtain, and to do, whatever is required to achieve these standards.

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PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

December 2, 1965

Miss Pat Sands
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Sands:

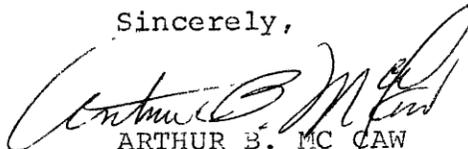
Reference your letter of November 30, 1965 we enclose herewith additional vouchers.

In order that the vouchers will be submitted in proper form, we are supplying an adequate number to take care of any error.

We would suggest that you have each participant who attended the Conference itemize all taxi, bus, air or rail transportation costs, indicating date, point of departure and destination, which were involved in their trip to Washington, D. C. and return, and to carefully total and sign in the proper place on the front of the voucher.

The above is for the purpose of facilitating the processing of these vouchers inasmuch as we have had so many problems develop from careless submission of information to us.

Sincerely,


ARTHUR B. MC CAW
Budget Officer

Encl.
SF 1012 (14)

STANDARD FORM NO 1012
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1012-107

TRAVEL VOUCHER

DEPARTMENT, BUREAU, OR ESTABLISHMENT		VOUCHER NO	
PAYEE'S NAME		PAID BY	
MAILING ADDRESS			
OFFICIAL DUTY STATION	RESIDENCE		
FOR TRAVEL AND OTHER EXPENSES		TRAVEL ADVANCE	
FROM (DATE)	TO (DATE)	Outstanding	\$
APPLICABLE TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION(S)		Amount to be applied	
NO	DATE	Balance to remain outstanding	\$
		CHECK NO	
		CASH PAYMENT RECEIVED	(DATE)
		(SIGNATURE OF PAYEE)	

TRANSPORTATION REQUESTS ISSUED

TRANSPORTATION REQUEST NUMBER	AGENT'S VALUATION OF TICKET	INITIALS OF CARRIER ISSUING TICKET	MODE, CLASS OF SERVICE, AND ACCOMMODATIONS *	DATE ISSUED	POINTS OF TRAVEL	
					FROM--	TO--

*** Certified correct Payment or credit has not been received*

(Date)	(Signature of Payee)	AMOUNT CLAIMED	Dollars	Cts
APPROVED (<i>Supervisory and other approvals when required</i>)		DIFFERENCES		
NEXT PREVIOUS VOUCHER PAID UNDER SAME TRAVEL AUTHORITY		Total verified correct for charge to appropriation(s)		
VOUCHER NO	D O SYMBOL	DATE (MONTH-YEAR)		
<i>Certified correct and proper for payment:</i>		Applied to travel advance (appropriation symbol)		
(Date)	(Authorized Certifying Officer)	NET TO TRAVELER		

ACCOUNTING CLASSIFICATION (*Appropriation symbol must be shown, other classification optional*)

* Abbreviations for Pullman accommodations MR, master room, DR, drawing room, CP, compartment, BR, bedroom, DSR, duplex single room, RM, roomette, DRM, duplex roomette, SOS, single occupancy section, LB, lower berth, UB, upper berth, LB-UB, lower and upper berth, S, seat
 ** FRAUDULENT CLAIM—Falsification of an item in an expense account works a forfeiture of the claim (28 U S C 2514) and may result in a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 5 years or both (18 U S C 287, *id* 1001)

The following are an editorial "The Negro and the City," December 12, 1965 and the report of the Steering Committee's Press Conference on December 29, 1965, both releases from The New York Times:

December 12, 1965

The Negro and the City

Since 1930, the proportion of Negroes living in cities has almost doubled. Negroes make up about one-tenth of the civilian labor force but they account for one-fifth of the unemployed and for one-quarter of those who are jobless for six months or longer. At the beginning of this year, nearly one Negro teen-ager in every three was out of school and out of work.

These harsh facts are at the core of the crisis of the nation's cities. They are also behind several news stories of the past week: the reorganization of the Haryou-Act antipoverty program in Harlem, the McCone report on the Los Angeles riots last summer, and the reports to President Johnson on the preliminary White House Conference on Civil Rights.

The cities have numerous problems—mass transit, inadequate schools and hospitals, and polluted air—that would exist if Negroes had never left the rural South. But the Negroes are the dynamic, unstable element in the cities. If their special needs are not met, there can be no peace and no orderly progress for the entire society. The suburbs and satellite cities cannot function for long if the center of every metropolitan complex is aflame with violence and unrest.

Now is the time for the nation to make a major commitment of money and energy and thought to wipe away the ill-effects of centuries of Negro inequality. The high proportion of Negro unemployment, both for teen-agers and for adult males, has to be brought down. The severe deficiencies of Negro slum schools

have to be overcome; if these children are to break through their handicaps, they need the best teachers and the smallest classes.

Personal effort by individual Negroes and equality of opportunity are not enough. While a sizable minority of Negroes is successfully climbing the ladder of opportunity in the traditional American way, a greater number are trapped in a stagnant, deteriorating social situation. If society does not ransom them from their crippling past, they will retaliate against society by violence and delinquency. Huge public works projects and radically improved schools are better than jails, mental hospitals, and narcotic treatment centers.

There are many names bandied about for this kind of program—a "freedom budget," a "domestic Marshall Plan," and so on. But the name is less important than the commitment. It will have to be a national effort, and it will have to be in the magnitude of billions of dollars. As Vice President Humphrey said the other day: "The biggest battle we're fighting today is not in South Vietnam; the toughest battle is the battle in our cities. . . . If we can spend \$25 or \$30 billion to put a man on the moon, we ought to be able to spend enough to provide an environment here on earth that will let a man stand on his feet."

A program of this magnitude will require intellectual courage by both Negroes and whites as well as fiscal boldness. But the United States has the needed economic and other resources. If the effort is made, a great peaceful victory can be won.

December 30, 1965

NATION IS URGED TO HELP ITS CITIES \$41.6-Billion More a Year Is Sought to Train Deprived

By NATALIE JAFFE

A group of 32 prominent clergymen, civil rights leaders and university professors urged yesterday an increase of \$41.6-billion a year in national expenditures for job training, housing and health in the nation's large cities.

The proposed budget of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" was designed to attack what the group said were the twin problems of "sick cities" and the continued inequality of economic opportunity.

The funds for this "massive attack on the problems of injustice," the citizens' report said, would come from private concerns and all agencies of city, state and Federal government. But the keystone would be "in the City Halls," where the projects would be formulated, administered and, in some cases, completed without state or Federal aid.

"We need a revolutionary change in thinking about the magnitude of these problems," the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake said at a news conference at the Astor Hotel. "Solving them is more crucial to

America than Vietnam or even getting a man on the moon."

Dr. Blake is chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches and chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church. He is one of the 32-members of the steering committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights, a citizens' group.

Convened Informally

The committee was convened informally last fall to plan New York's participation in the White House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for this spring. Specific recommendations for action in the New York metropolitan area will be discussed at a meeting here in April, before the Washington conference.

The chairman of the steering committee, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Layton, was invited to Washington in November to help plan the spring White House Conference. Dr. Payton, the 33-year-old executive director of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, outlined the committee's five-year, itemized budget yesterday.

The development plan would provide \$24.9 billion for job training and general education, \$8.4-billion for "eliminating slums in five years," and \$8.3-billion for training more doctors and nurses.

Prof. Seymour Melman of Columbia University's department of industrial engineering, said the proposed education and training budget was about 75 per cent higher than the present budget for public education alone.

"Even so, the budget is minimal," he said. "It's all minimal—concentrating on eliminating racial injustice and leaving out all the running municipal problems such as transportation, water supply and air pollution control."

The job-training program would be for 2.5 million high school drop outs and 4 million persons who are underemployed. New educational programs would include remedial help for elementary and high school pupils, increases in teachers' salaries, the construction of new classrooms, expansion of colleges and universities and a nursery school program for 10

million children.

The housing program would "upgrade" 4 million substandard units and replace 3 million.

The training and housing programs, Dr. Melman said, would work together to eliminate discrimination in employment. "The demand for plumbers, for example, would be so great," he said, "that there would be no room for racial discrimination"

FROM: Steering Committee of the
New York Pre-White House Conference
on Civil Rights

December 29, 1965
FOR RELEASE AFTER:
12 Noon, December 29, 1965

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NEW YORK COMMUNITY LEADERS INITIATE

METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGETING FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

New York, December 29. --- The Steering Committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights today unveiled a multi-billion dollar budget for "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity."

Billed as "A strategy for the next stage in civil rights" -- and "first priority for our cities and country" -- the giant program aims a hammer blow at inadequate jobs, housing and education, at a cost of \$41.6 billion a year for five years.

Development budgets initiated in our great cities, leading off with New York, will be the basis for combined assault on the inter-twined problems of metropolis and the problems of unequal opportunity for Negroes and others. Over five years, 41.6 billion dollars annually is to be used for industry-linked job training, education for an automated society, tripling the number of new doctors trained each year and ending slum living.

At least 5,200,000 new jobs will be created by the new activity. This will end job scarcity in our great cities and will thereby speed the end of discrimination in job opportunity for Americans.

The Steering Committee announced this proposal as a national framework for a New York City program of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" that is to be presented at the spring Pre-White House Conference in New York City. This New York budget plan will be the work of specialized commissions on job training with industry, education, health care and city rebuilding.

The New York group is convinced that the American movement for equal rights has reached a turning point. "Now that equal rights have been guaranteed by law," the committee says, "the next thrust must be that of making legal rights into practical social reality." This requires a major commitment of money and energy and thought to wipe away the ill effects of inequality, of opportunity, especially in our great metropolitan centers. The committee is persuaded that metropolitan development planning for equal opportunity will become a center-point of the new thrust for equal rights throughout the nation.

Combined private and public funding are summoned for: Job training and placement toward new jobs at a cost of \$1.05 billion per year; education, from nursery through college, at an annual cost increase to the nation of \$24.9 billion; housing, both rehabilitation and construction to end slum living, \$8.5 billion; health, for the training of massive numbers of doctors and nurses and other services, \$8.3 billion per year.

The position paper on "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" was prepared by the Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, new executive of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, chairman of the steering committee which grew out of last month's planning session for a New York Pre-White House Conference, and Dr. Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, a committee member.

Both men spoke at a news conference here today. With them were two other committee members: The Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief administrative officer of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; and the Rev. Dr. J. Oscar Lee, chairman of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights who is secretary for program services of the National Council's Division of Christian Life and Mission.

The document presented today labeled the \$41.6 billion annual outlay as a "minimum budget" that did not include water, transportation, communication, open space and pollution needs confronting cities.

"We are viewing metropolitan areas here specifically as problems having to do with the achievement of racial justice," the statement said. "Unlike traditional regional and/or metropolitan planners, we are confronting, head-on, the problem of scarcity in metropolis that embitters and renders so difficult the achievement of racial justice in urban areas."

"Our basic assumption is that the process of urbanization is the new context in which the problems of civil rights must now be looked at afresh."

Here are the recommendations in the area of employment:

Major firm and trade association estimates of job skills required in the immediate future; training is then coordinated through industry, which will provide skilled instructors and will make available tools and machinery for such training.

The \$5.25 billion job program will train four million unemployed and provide high school diplomas for two and a half million former dropouts.

It is estimated that spending under the program will generate the 5.2 million jobs, concentrated in the construction trades and allied industries.

The education budget calls for job training, up-grading of elementary and secondary schools to eliminate deprivation, a network of nursery schools, new construction, higher teacher earnings and remedial education. Some \$25 billion is earmarked for new classrooms, according to the plan, while a total of \$33.5 billion is allocated to pay for salaries for one million teachers.

On the housing front, the paper said \$30 billion will be needed to replace completely three million homes and another \$12 billion will be necessary to refurbish some four million dwellings across the nation.

The nation, said the statement is experiencing a serious per capita decline in medical personnel, with 20 percent of nursing vacancies nationwide. About a 30 percent increase in the number of doctors alone is a priority, said the report, with at least 150 new medical schools as well as other services.

Further, said the paper, the strategy is capable of fulfillment on a top priority basis: "A society that knows how to construct a World's Fair in a short period of time has the competence to reconstruct Harlem in a similar period of time."

National, state and city planning would be involved, the statement said, starting with New York City which "can and should take the lead and show the pattern to the whole country."

It would be through just such a massive program, the document said, that President Johnson's Howard University call "to fulfill these rights" can be implemented.

Said the paper, quoting the recent McCone Commission Report in the wake of the Los Angeles rioting:

"These riots were each a symptom of a sickness in the center of our cities... Of what shall it avail our nation if we can place a man on the moon but cannot cure the sickness in our cities?"

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A STRATEGY FOR THE NEXT STAGE IN CIVIL RIGHTS:
METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

A Policy Statement of the Steering Committee
for the
New York Pre-White House Conference

December 29, 1965

For information regarding this document, write or call:

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A STRATEGY FOR THE NEXT STAGE IN CIVIL RIGHTS:

METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The American movement for equal rights has reached a turning point. Now that equal rights have been guaranteed by law, the next thrust must be that of making legal rights into practical social reality. As President Johnson asserted in his June 4 commencement address at Howard University, the next steps in the struggle for racial justice must guarantee "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact."

President Johnson has stated the challenge. We must meet that challenge with concrete proposals that indicate what the core of the problem is and where the solutions must be applied. The President's challenge can be met only by attacking the core of the problem with dynamic far-reaching solutions. As the editors of The New York Times wrote on December 12, 1965, the heart of the problem relates to "... the crisis of the nation's cities...."

All America remembers that in 1964-1965, eight riots occurred in major metropolitan areas across the nation. John McCone, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency, stated very clearly in his report on the Los Angeles riots, "These riots were each a symptom of a sickness in the center of our cities.... Of what shall it avail our nation if we can place a man on the moon but cannot cure the sickness in our cities?"¹

The editors of The New York Times, responding to the McCone report, stated the challenge in bold and realistic terms: "Now is the time for the nation to make a major commitment of money and energy and thought

¹ Violence in the City -- An End or a Beginning, A Report by the (California) Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, December 2, 1965.

to wipe away the ill-effects of centuries of Negro inequality."

(The New York Times, December 12, 1965)

In preparation for the White House Conference on Civil Rights, planned for 1966, the New York Pre-White House Conference Committee proposes a far-reaching program of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity." The critical development that is required includes industry-linked job training, education for an automated society, a tripling of the number of new doctors trained each year and a five-year program for ending slum living. This program, centered in our great cities, will require an additional commitment of 41.6 billion dollars per year for the next five years. This will result in the immediate creation of 5,200,000 new jobs. National commitment of money, manpower and other resources to such economic development has primary importance for the security and well-being of our own people.

To do these things will require, as John McCone says, "a new and revolutionary attitude toward the problems of our cities." This program of action is worthy of a nation that cherishes a pioneering tradition. As Vice President Humphrey says, "If we can spend \$25 or \$30 billion to put a man on the moon, we ought to be able to spend enough to provide an environment here on earth that will let a man stand on his feet." (The New York Times, December 12, 1965)

The following is an outline of a national minimum program of economic development that is essential to create equal opportunity, especially in our metropolitan centers. The dollar costs represent

plausible orders of magnitude for our entire country.²

This budget is a minimum budget. It does not include many things that are a plausible part of economic development in a metropolitan society. We are viewing metropolitan areas here specifically as problems having to do with the achievement of racial justice. For example, the editors of The New York Times have written: "... The cities have numerous problems -- mass transit, inadequate schools and hospitals, and polluted air -- that would exist if Negroes had never left the rural South. But the Negroes are the dynamic, unstable element in the cities. If their special needs are not met, there can be no peace and no orderly progress for the entire society." Our basic assumption is that the process of urbanization is the new context in which the problems of civil rights must now be looked at afresh.³

First, job training and placement. Effective job training requires partnership and cooperation with industry. Managements of major firms and trade associations in each locality are asked to estimate the skills they will require in the next few years. Job training can then be organized with the cooperation and participation of industry in the training process. Our firms can make available foremen and skilled workers to participate in the training. Industrial equipment suppliers

² The estimates of economic development costs contained in this document are consistent with other estimates of much wider scope for U.S. economic development that are found in the following:

U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "Toward Full Employment: Proposals for a Comprehensive Employment and Manpower Policy in the United States," 88th Congress, Second Session, 1964; Leonard A. Lecht, "The Dollar Cost of Our National Goal," National Planning Association, Washington, D.C., 1965; Leon H. Keyserling, "Progress or Poverty," Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, D.C., 1964. (Dr. Keyserling was on the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman.)

³ Payton, Benjamin F., "New Trends in Civil Rights," Christianity and Crisis, Vol. XXV, No. 21, December 13, 1965.

often make available for training the equipment that will be used in industry. Under these conditions the training process becomes a practical method for skill upgrading and a direct road from training to productive employment.

Industry-linked training can be combined with programs like those of the Small Business Administration of the Federal government. Training in business as well as in production skills equips men to apply for available capital to establish new enterprises.

The practical problems of designing and operating job-training in cooperation with industry requires local initiative and administration. There is no conceivable Federal office that could cope -- technically -- with the myriad details of industry-linked job training in all our great cities.

I. Development Budget for Job Training and Retraining⁴

A. The Goal: To provide for the nation's working population those skills necessary for their fuller employment.

B. The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Provide the facilities by which 2½ million drop-outs can get diplomas and thereby become eligible for the job training program	1.25	
Provide job training for 4 million under-employed	4.00	
Total	5.25	\$1.05 Billion

II. Development Budget for Education

This budget comprehends the additional investment for all aspects and levels of education. It includes the ~~cost~~ of upgrading elementary and secondary schools, the enrichment of the junior colleges and the universities and the establishment of a network

⁴ These national estimates were developed by Professor Seymour Melman, derived from industrial and other studies of economic development problems in the United States.

of nursery schools. It includes the construction of new schools, necessary increases in teachers' salaries and funds for remedial education on a large scale to offset damage from inferior segregated education.

A. Remedial Education

The Goal: To provide for those young people who have not completed their formal education, and who have fallen behind their contemporaries in educational attainment, because of segregated or inadequate facilities, understaffing, or other deprivation, the necessary specialized and concentrated help they need to become adequately educated and useful adults.

B. The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Remedial help for 20 percent pupils, grades k-8	3.04	
Remedial help for 20 percent pupils, grades 9-12 (above items include 3 million Negro children who have suffered segregated education)	1.13	
Retaining potential dropouts through high school graduation:		
Maintaining regular programs at maxi- mum levels based on current expenditures	4.60	
Remedial help	1.10	
Additional classrooms	4.80	
Total	14.67	2.93 Billion

C. Improving Our Educational System

The Goal: To provide for all the youth of this nation, education of high quality.

<u>The Cost (Billions of Dollars)</u>	<u>5-Year Prog.</u>	<u>Per Year</u>
Increase salaries of instructional staff (50%)	17.85	
Construction of new classrooms	20.36	

(continued on next page)

(continued - Improving Our Educational System - The Cost)

The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Provide for improvement in teaching methods (research and training)	3.49	
Total	41.70	
Increased Funds for Physical Expansion of Colleges and Universities.	14.00	
Total	55.70	11.14 Billion

D. Nursery Schools

The Goal: To provide for 10 million children, ages 3-6, nursery schools - good for the children and good for the parents.

The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Salaries for 1 million teachers and assistants	33.5	6.7
School construction (5 years), equipment and transportation.	15.2	3.04
Total	48.7	9.74
Grand Total	123.42	24.9 Billion

The general education and job training program together require an additional expenditure in our country of \$24.9 billion per year.

III. Development Budget for Housing

In the matter of housing, here is what is needed to end slums in five years:

"An informed estimate by Federal housing experts counts 9,255,000 substandard housing units in the United States as of 1963-1964. It is hoped that the private sector will renew or replace 2,225,000 of the present substandard units over the next 5 years. This leaves 7 million housing units, each "unit" a family dwelling, to be replaced by the initiative of the community. Of these 7 million units, 4 million could be upgraded at an average cost of \$3,000 per unit. The \$12 billion required for this purpose, spent over 5 years, would lead to an expenditure of

\$2.4 billion per year. The remaining 3 million housing units would have to be replaced completely. Assuming that this could be done at an average cost of \$10,000 per unit, the total expenditure of \$30 billion would amount to \$6 billion per year over 5 years. By this reckoning the total outlay needed to improve or replace present substandard housing would be \$8.4 billion per year." ⁵

IV. Development Budget for Health

The supply of nurses and physicians illustrate the meaning of additional requirements in the realm of health. In the United States, one-fifth of the nursing posts in hospitals stand vacant. We have not made the nursing profession important enough, attractive enough, dignified enough to attract the able men and women who are needed there.

In the case of physicians:

From 1950 to 1963, physicians in practice in the United States dropped from 109 doctors per 100,000 population in 1950 to 97 per 100,000 in 1963. This drop is net, after taking into account the import from other countries of about 1600 physicians per year, plus producing in our own medical schools new doctors at the annual rate of 7,700.

The nation's requirement for new physicians in practice can be plausibly based on the following: Estimated growth in the population up to 1965--1975, the desirability of bringing the national average at least up to the California level, where the average now stands at about 128 physicians per 100,000 population -- substantially more than the national average of 97; producing enough trained medical men to staff medical schools and research laboratories, presently understaffed; and finally, it would be highly desirable for many reasons if the U.S. would have produced a modest surplus of medical men who'd be available to extend medical education-service to the one-half of the human race that has very little of either.

⁵ Melman, S., Our Depleted Society, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1965, pp. 188-189.

The new requirement, taking into account the expected growth in the population, is about 22,000 physicians graduated each year. Preparation must therefore be made for graduating 15,000 additional physicians per year. The cost of training a medical student is not less than \$3,000 per year. Direct cost for training additional student body of 60,000 in place would require an annual outlay of \$180,000,000. The increased number of students would require the construction of 150 new medical schools at an average capital investment of \$15,000,000 per school, or a total outlay of \$2.25 billion.⁶

The program voted during the last session of the Congress proclaim the training of 1300 additional physicians per year in the United States. That number will not even offset the physicians who are now being imported, especially from countries of Western Europe.

These are some of the factors that have led Federal officials to estimate that health services and facilities in the United States need an additional \$8.4 billion each year from now on.⁷

IN SUMMARY: Here are the main additions for a minimum economic development budget for equal opportunity.

	<u>Billions of Dollars Per Year</u>
Job training and general education	24.9
Housing - elimination of slums	8.4
Health services.	8.3
	<hr/> \$41.6 Billion

All told, the new sums for economic opportunity amount to an estimated \$41.6 billion a year. Do we have the money? Giving heed to

⁶ Melman, S., Our Depleted Society, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1965, pp. 189.

⁷ U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, The Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962, pp. 22, 23. (35¢)

our principal economists and to the economic advisers to the President, we may assume that we are an affluent society with national income increasing \$30 - \$40 billion each year.

It is significant that the sort of private and public activity that is contained in the developments budgets is definitely not inflationary. That is because the goods and services that would be produced under these plans are, all of them, saleable and marketable. This differs from the products of, say, the aerospace industries whose products, once produced, cannot enter into commerce, even though the men who made them are paid wages and salaries. Furthermore, the capital investments in schools, for example, are used over and over again, and their use occasions many sorts of current outlays on a continuing basis.

This budget is based, in many of its components, on a five-year plan of fulfillment. For example, the estimates are geared to the elimination of slum housing in the United States within five years. A society that has sufficient resources and the know-how to create an intricate World's Fair in a short period of time has the resources and the know-how to reconstruct Harlem in a similar period of time.

Who will benefit from this program of metropolitan development for equal opportunity? Everyone will benefit, because the necessary result is that there will be an increase of productive employment and activity that will generate more goods and more services. It will enlarge the income base of the society, and thereby the revenues of government, local and national. Rural and suburban, as well as urban areas, will benefit, for metropolis reaches into the back country and involves the "gilded ghetto" of suburbia as well as the "slum ghetto" of the central city.⁸

⁸ Payton, Benjamin F., "The President, the Social Experts, and the Ghetto," (unpublished manuscript, October, 1965).

The fulfillment of such an economic development program will reduce dramatically the whole set of welfare, crime, disease and unemployment costs that are associated with slum living.

Everybody's education will be improved. Obviously, those who must be brought up the furthest, will score the greatest gain. Nevertheless, nursery schools are good for all our children.

It follows that it becomes a metropolitan development program that will benefit all citizens, some more directly than others, but all will benefit. There will be more skilled hands and minds, more money, more resources, for both private and public investment. There will be opportunity for fresh programs of tax reduction, which can be oriented especially towards small businessmen and small home owners to give them a direct stake and share in the economic surplus that will be produced as equal economic opportunity becomes American reality.

How can such economic development budgets be implemented? This will require national, state and, most important, city plans. New York City can and should take the lead and show the pattern to the whole country.

That is why our New York Pre-White House Conference will give primary attention to the question of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity." At the Spring meeting to take place in our city, we will invite observers from other major communities in the United States so that we can share in knowledge and experience, so that we can accelerate the process of planning for economic development in every major city. In so doing, and by raising everyone's targets, we will eliminate the issue of competition among cities, which has become a sore point in the allocation of the limited funds in the limited-goal programs of the Federal government.

There is special merit in making our big city governments a focal point: job training with industry cooperation must be organized within each city; education must be specially designed for each community; housing facilities are best drawn up by each city; health facilities budgeted according to the defined needs of the city. It is not implied that the necessary money will be found for each purpose within the city government. When the moment comes for treating with state or Federal authorities it will make all the difference if the money requests are backed up by both the influential men and by community organizations of the city.

In a word: a local base for organization and operation of economic development is technically essential and administratively sensible. A local basis of organization will also build autonomous political power which can be wielded for the constructive goals of accelerating economic development.

There is no just or righteous way of allocating scarce jobs. Our \$41 billion budget for economic development does not require competition under conditions of deprivation. When jobs are scarce and two men compete for one job, that is the sort of situation that can frustrate every effort for introducing equality in job opportunity. There is an alternative: Two men looking for two jobs, or 2,000 men confronting 2,100 job openings. When job scarcity is erased - that is the best possible situation for making equal job opportunity into a reality.

An economic development program that is budgeted at \$41,6 billion per year will employ many sorts of people to do the required work. Assuming \$8,000 as the average pay for a man-year of work, then spending \$41.6 billion annually generates 5,200,000 new jobs. New employment will be concentrated in the construction and all allied industries, and in the

occupations and professions whose numbers must be greatly expanded.

Our planning, city by city, and state by state, must consider the all-important issue of "lead time." Lead time means planning time, preparation time. It's the time that intervenes between a decision to build a building and the laying of the bricks. It's the drafting time, the architect's time; it's calculating the use requirements of a building, it's getting official permission of all sorts, it's making sure that the capital is available. It is the time needed to plan the schedule for executing the work.

In the building of hospitals, for example, lead time can involve 24 to 36 months. Accordingly, planning must include an aggressive, far-sighted program of formulating sets of first-rate designs for multiple-dwelling buildings, hospitals, schools, other structures that will be required in profusion. This aspect of the planning will help to cut down the lead time and speed the work itself.

Who may be expected to take the lead in such a program? All of the disinherited, white and black, Spanish-speaking Americans -- all those who have been robbed of their birthright of authentic equal opportunity in America. All religious leaders and laity of every faith -- Protestant, Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish, liberal religious dissenters -- all those who believe that human dignity is a primary moral commitment, will welcome the program of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" as they have the program to secure civil rights. But there will be a new factor in the scene. For example, many business leaders, trade union leaders, civic groups of every sort, professors and students in universities throughout the land -- millions of people of every social and economic level will respond with enthusiasm to the challenge of preparing metropolitan development budgets for their communities.

This program will contribute to the security of American society. A society with millions of unemployed is not a secure society. A society that dismisses, in effect, tens of thousands of youth from its school system is not a secure society. A society in which millions live with the daily problem of infestation by rats is not a secure society. A society that has a diminishing number of physicians per thousands of its citizens year by year is not a secure society. That is why our program for remedying these ills will improve the security of American society.

The political strategy for putting across a metropolitan development program and budget will involve city-by-city and state-by-state planning, and it will involve presentations to private and to governmental bodies, local and national. Many men in city government will regard participation in these efforts as a great opportunity to identify with a major constructive effort. If men wish to advance themselves in political careers by really propelling the metropolitan program, we should say welcome; and reward these men with political trust and position!

And finally, we must follow a strategy of presenting and justifying our development budgets to our mayors and our governors and our Congressional delegations. We must make it absolutely clear that: first, this is what we need and want; and second, that this is first priority for our cities and country.

To say, "This is what we need and want," with budget in hand, gives an exact formulation of what is required. There is no ambiguity about a set of budget figures stated on a year-by-year basis and justified in terms of plausible requirements.

To say, "This is first priority for our country," means not somewhere on an agenda. It is first! And first priority means exactly what it says. It means that there is intent in this statement to foreclose discussion about priority. This is not negotiable. This is first priority. It is recommended that the statement of demand and justification for economic development programs be stated with this simplicity and clarity and force.

It is not necessary to view the acquirement of such a program as is proposed here as a development in an authoritarian direction. As the December 24 edition of Life Magazine has so eloquently stated: "... This is not an argument for central domination of local affairs. Quite the contrary. It is a call for elevating the problems of our cities to a place on the nation's public agenda -- on a par with employment, rocketry and national defense -- and for giving mayors and others who deal with these problems the attention, dignity and resources they deserve." ⁹

⁹ Life Magazine, Vol. 59, No. 26, December 24, 1965, "The Villains are Greed, Indifference -- and You," p. 98.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE
for the
NEW YORK PRE-WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Chairman, Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches and Stated Clerk of the United Presb. Church U.S.A.
Prof. Albert Blaustein, School of Law, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.
Prof. Robert Browne, Department of Economics, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey
Professor Henry Clark, Union Theological Seminary, New York City
The Rev. Pablo Cotto, Spanish American Minister, Riverside Church, New York City
The Rev. Henri Deas, Pastor, Newman Memorial Methodist Church, Brooklyn
Professor Dan Dodson, Department of Sociology, New York University, New York City
The Rev. William A. Epps, Jr., St. Phillips Baptist Church, Staten Island, N.Y.
Mr. Carl Fields, Assistant Director of Students, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
Rabbi Ezra Finkelstein, Town and Village Synagogue, New York City
Mrs. Olivia Frost, Urban League, New York City
Dr. W. E. Gardner, President, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York City and Vicinity
Mrs. Thelma Johnson, Harlem Parents Committee, New York City
Mrs. Dorothy Jones, Program Associate for Public Education, Office of Church and Race, Protestant Council of the City of New York
Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Coordinator of Special Events, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, New York City
Dr. H. R. Hughes, Minister, Bethel A.M.E. Church, New York City
Rabbi Edward Klein, The Free Synagogue, New York City
Professor Charles Lawrence, Dept. of Sociology, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn
Dr. Charles Leber, Director, Urban Missions, The Presbytery of the City of N.Y.
Mr. Berlin Kelley, Director, Citizens for a Better Society, East Harlem, N.Y.C.
Mr. Irving Levine, American Jewish Committee, New York City
Dr. Jesse Lyons, Pastoral Minister, Riverside Church, New York City
The Rev. O. Clay Maxwell, Jr., (Minister), Chairman of the Program Committee, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York City and Vicinity
Professor Seymour Melman, Department of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University, New York City
Attorney Basil Patterson, President, New York Chapter of NAACP
Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference; Executive Director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, New York City
Mr. Isaiah Robinson, President, Harlem Parents Committee, New York City
Mrs. Ethel Schwabacher, Urban League, New York City
Dr. James Sheldon, Chairman, The Secretariat for the Office of Church and Race, The Protestant Council of the City of New York
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, Director of Interreligious Activities, American Jewish Committee, New York City
Dr. George Wiley, CORE, New York City
Mrs. Prathia Hall Wynn, SNCC, New York City
Dr. Max Wolf, Director of Research, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, New York City
Mrs. Ann Wolfe, American Jewish Committee, New York City
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Chairman of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights; Secretary for Program Services of the Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches

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COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST in the U.S.A.

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BISHOP REUBEN H. MUELLER, PRESIDENT

R. H. EDWIN ESPY, GENERAL SECRETARY

ROBERT W. SPIKE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

January 5, 1966

Dear Colleague:

Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Chairman of the Steering Committee for the New York Pre-White House Conference, and the new Executive Director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, has asked that I send you the attached proposal entitled "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity."

This document and the work behind it received key inspiration from President Johnson's commencement speech at Howard University given on June 4, 1965. You will recall that in that address, the President asserted that the next stage of civil rights will move us from the task of "securing rights" to the new and more important responsibility which he labeled: "To Fulfill These Rights." The Steering Committee for the New York Pre-White House Conference believes that the enclosed concrete proposals will be useful in the achievement of the end announced by the President.

From our point of view, President Johnson's call for a White House Conference on Civil Rights in the Spring of 1966 makes it imperative that we develop commissions to work in the various areas of concern presented in the "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" plan. The New York Steering Committee also hopes that other cities will study our national proposals in terms of the needs of other metropolitan areas and will organize Pre-White House Conferences just prior to the Spring conference to be called by President Johnson.

It is most encouraging to the Steering Committee to note the growing emphasis on city planning and development which is now occurring in such media as The New York Times, Life Magazine, university publications and in the pronouncements of the more vigorous and imaginative political leaders of our cities and of our national legislative bodies.

The members of our Steering Committee are deeply desirous to have you study the attached material and send us suggestions and/or recommendations.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Arnold Hedgeman

(Dr.) Anna Arnold Hedgeman
Coordinator of Special Projects
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches

enclosures
AAH: jk

DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, CHAIRMAN
BISHOP B. JULIAN SMITH • BISHOP RICHARD C. RAINES—VICE CHAIRMEN
A UNIT OF THE DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND MISSION

FROM: Steering Committee of the
New York Pre-White House Conference
on Civil Rights

December 29, 1965
FOR RELEASE AFTER:
12 Noon, December 29, 1965

CONTACT: Eric Blanchard, Phone: 870-2438
Public Information,
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches,
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

NEW YORK COMMUNITY LEADERS INITIATE
METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGETING FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

New York, December 29. --- The Steering Committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights today unveiled a multi-billion dollar budget for "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity."

Billed as "A strategy for the next stage in civil rights" -- and "first priority for our cities and country" -- the giant program aims a hammer blow at inadequate jobs, housing and education, at a cost of \$41.6 billion a year for five years.

Development budgets initiated in our great cities, leading off with New York, will be the basis for combined assault on the inter-twined problems of metropolis and the problems of unequal opportunity for Negroes and others. Over five years, 41.6 billion dollars annually is to be used for industry-linked job training, education for an automated society, tripling the number of new doctors trained each year and ending slum living.

At least 5,200,000 new jobs will be created by the new activity. This will end job scarcity in our great cities and will thereby speed the end of discrimination in job opportunity for Americans.

The Steering Committee announced this proposal as a national framework for a New York City program of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" that is to be presented at the spring Pre-White House Conference in New York City. This New York budget plan will be the work of specialized commissions on job training with industry, education, health care and city rebuilding.

The New York group is convinced that the American movement for equal rights has reached a turning point. "Now that equal rights have been guaranteed by law," the committee says, "the next thrust must be that of making legal rights into practical social reality." This requires a major commitment of money and energy and thought to wipe away the ill effects of inequality, of opportunity, especially in our great metropolitan centers. The committee is persuaded that metropolitan development planning for equal opportunity will become a center-point of the new thrust for equal rights throughout the nation.

Combined private and public funding are summoned for: Job training and placement toward new jobs at a cost of \$1.05 billion per year; education, from nursery through college, at an annual cost increase to the nation of \$24.9 billion; housing, both rehabilitation and construction to end slum living, \$8.5 billion; health, for the training of massive numbers of doctors and nurses and other services, \$8.3 billion per year.

The position paper on "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" was prepared by the Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, new executive of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, chairman of the steering committee which grew out of last month's planning session for a New York Pre-White House Conference, and Dr. Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, a committee member.

Both men spoke at a news conference here today. With them were two other committee members: The Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief administrative officer of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; and the Rev. Dr. J. Oscar Lee, chairman of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights who is secretary for program services of the National Council's Division of Christian Life and Mission.

The document presented today labeled the \$41.6 billion annual outlay as a "minimum budget" that did not include water, transportation, communication, open space and pollution needs confronting cities.

"We are viewing metropolitan areas here specifically as problems having to do with the achievement of racial justice," the statement said. "Unlike traditional regional and/or metropolitan planners, we are confronting, head-on, the problem of scarcity in metropolis that embitters and renders so difficult the achievement of racial justice in urban areas."

"Our basic assumption is that the process of urbanization is the new context in which the problems of civil rights must now be looked at afresh."

Here are the recommendations in the area of employment:

Major firm and trade association estimates of job skills required in the immediate future; training is then coordinated through industry, which will provide skilled instructors and will make available tools and machinery for such training.

The \$5.25 billion job program will train four million unemployed and provide high school diplomas for two and a half million former dropouts.

It is estimated that spending under the program will generate the 5.2 million jobs, concentrated in the construction trades and allied industries.

The education budget calls for job training, up-grading of elementary and secondary schools to eliminate deprivation, a network of nursery schools, new construction, higher teacher earnings and remedial education. Some \$25 billion is earmarked for new classrooms, according to the plan, while a total of \$33.5 billion is allocated to pay for salaries for one million teachers.

On the housing front, the paper said \$30 billion will be needed to replace completely three million homes and another \$12 billion will be necessary to refurbish some four million dwellings across the nation.

The nation, said the statement is experiencing a serious per capita decline in medical personnel, with 20 percent of nursing vacancies nationwide. About a 30 percent increase in the number of doctors alone is a priority, said the report, with at least 150 new medical schools as well as other services.

Further, said the paper, the strategy is capable of fulfillment on a top priority basis: "A society that knows how to construct a World's Fair in a short period of time has the competence to reconstruct Harlem in a similar period of time."

National, state and city planning would be involved, the statement said, starting with New York City which "can and should take the lead and show the pattern to the whole country."

It would be through just such a massive program, the document said, that President Johnson's Howard University call "to fulfill these rights" can be implemented.

Said the paper, quoting the recent McCone Commission Report in the wake of the Los Angeles rioting:

"These riots were each a symptom of a sickness in the center of our cities... Of what shall it avail our nation if we can place a man on the moon but cannot cure the sickness in our cities?"

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A STRATEGY FOR THE NEXT STAGE IN CIVIL RIGHTS:
METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

A Policy Statement of the Steering Committee
for the
New York Pre-White House Conference

December 29, 1965

For information regarding this document, write or call:

Mr. Eric Blanchard, Information Officer
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive, Room 552
New York, New York 10027
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A STRATEGY FOR THE NEXT STAGE IN CIVIL RIGHTS:

METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The American movement for equal rights has reached a turning point. Now that equal rights have been guaranteed by law, the next thrust must be that of making legal rights into practical social reality. As President Johnson asserted in his June 4 commencement address at Howard University, the next steps in the struggle for racial justice must guarantee "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact."

President Johnson has stated the challenge. We must meet that challenge with concrete proposals that indicate what the core of the problem is and where the solutions must be applied. The President's challenge can be met only by attacking the core of the problem with dynamic far-reaching solutions. As the editors of The New York Times wrote on December 12, 1965, the heart of the problem relates to "... the crisis of the nation's cities...."

All America remembers that in 1964-1965, eight riots occurred in major metropolitan areas across the nation. John McCone, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency, stated very clearly in his report on the Los Angeles riots, "These riots were each a symptom of a sickness in the center of our cities.... Of what shall it avail our nation if we can place a man on the moon but cannot cure the sickness in our cities?"¹

The editors of The New York Times, responding to the McCone report, stated the challenge in bold and realistic terms: "Now is the time for the nation to make a major commitment of money and energy and thought

¹ Violence in the City -- An End or a Beginning, A Report by the (California) Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, December 2, 1965.

to wipe away the ill-effects of centuries of Negro inequality."

(The New York Times, December 12, 1965)

In preparation for the White House Conference on Civil Rights, planned for 1966, the New York Pre-White House Conference Committee proposes a far-reaching program of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity." The critical development that is required includes industry-linked job training, education for an automated society, a tripling of the number of new doctors trained each year and a five-year program for ending slum living. This program, centered in our great cities, will require an additional commitment of 41.6 billion dollars per year for the next five years. This will result in the immediate creation of 5,200,000 new jobs. National commitment of money, manpower and other resources to such economic development has primary importance for the security and well-being of our own people.

To do these things will require, as John McCone says, "a new and revolutionary attitude toward the problems of our cities." This program of action is worthy of a nation that cherishes a pioneering tradition. As Vice President Humphrey says, "If we can spend \$25 or \$30 billion to put a man on the moon, we ought to be able to spend enough to provide an environment here on earth that will let a man stand on his feet." (The New York Times, December 12, 1965)

The following is an outline of a national minimum program of economic development that is essential to create equal opportunity, especially in our metropolitan centers. The dollar costs represent

plausible orders of magnitude for our entire country.²

This budget is a minimum budget. It does not include many things that are a plausible part of economic development in a metropolitan society. We are viewing metropolitan areas here specifically as problems having to do with the achievement of racial justice. For example, the editors of The New York Times have written: "... The cities have numerous problems -- mass transit, inadequate schools and hospitals, and polluted air -- that would exist if Negroes had never left the rural South. But the Negroes are the dynamic, unstable element in the cities. If their special needs are not met, there can be no peace and no orderly progress for the entire society." Our basic assumption is that the process of urbanization is the new context in which the problems of civil rights must now be looked at afresh.³

First, job training and placement. Effective job training requires partnership and cooperation with industry. Managements of major firms and trade associations in each locality are asked to estimate the skills they will require in the next few years. Job training can then be organized with the cooperation and participation of industry in the training process. Our firms can make available foremen and skilled workers to participate in the training. Industrial equipment suppliers

² The estimates of economic development costs contained in this document are consistent with other estimates of much wider scope for U.S. economic development that are found in the following:

U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "Toward Full Employment: Proposals for a Comprehensive Employment and Manpower Policy in the United States," 88th Congress, Second Session, 1964; Leonard A. Lecht, "The Dollar Cost of Our National Goal," National Planning Association, Washington, D.C., 1965; Leon H. Keyserling, "Progress or Poverty," Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, D.C., 1964. (Dr. Keyserling was on the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman.)

³ Payton, Benjamin F., "New Trends in Civil Rights," Christianity and Crisis, Vol. XXV, No. 21, December 13, 1965.

often make available for training the equipment that will be used in industry. Under these conditions the training process becomes a practical method for skill upgrading and a direct road from training to productive employment.

Industry-linked training can be combined with programs like those of the Small Business Administration of the Federal government. Training in business as well as in production skills equips men to apply for available capital to establish new enterprises.

The practical problems of designing and operating job-training in cooperation with industry requires local initiative and administration. There is no conceivable Federal office that could cope -- technically -- with the myriad details of industry-linked job training in all our great cities.

I. Development Budget for Job Training and Retraining⁴

A. The Goal: To provide for the nation's working population those skills necessary for their fuller employment.

B. The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Provide the facilities by which 2½ million drop-outs can get diplomas and thereby become eligible for the job training program	1.25	
Provide job training for 4 million under-employed	4.00	
Total	5.25	\$1.05 Billion

II. Development Budget for Education

This budget comprehends the additional investment for all aspects and levels of education. It includes the cost of upgrading elementary and secondary schools, the enrichment of the junior colleges and the universities and the establishment of a network

⁴ These national estimates were developed by Professor Seymour Melman, derived from industrial and other studies of economic development problems in the United States.

of nursery schools. It includes the construction of new schools, necessary increases in teachers' salaries and funds for remedial education on a large scale to offset damage from inferior segregated education.

A. Remedial Education

The Goal: To provide for those young people who have not completed their formal education, and who have fallen behind their contemporaries in educational attainment, because of segregated or inadequate facilities, understaffing, or other deprivation, the necessary specialized and concentrated help they need to become adequately educated and useful adults.

B. The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Remedial help for 20 percent pupils, grades k-8	3.04	
Remedial help for 20 percent pupils, grades 9-12 (above items include 3 million Negro children who have suffered segregated education)	1.13	
Retaining potential dropouts through high school graduation:		
Maintaining regular programs at maxi- mum levels based on current expenditures	4.60	
Remedial help	1.10	
Additional classrooms	4.80	
Total	14.67	2.93 Billion

C. Improving Our Educational System

The Goal: To provide for all the youth of this nation, education of high quality.

The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Prog.	Per Year
Increase salaries of instructional staff (50%)	17.85	
Construction of new classrooms	20.36	
(continued on next page)		

(continued - Improving Our Educational System - The Cost)

The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Provide for improvement in teaching methods (research and training)	3.49	
Total	41.70	
Increased Funds for Physical Expansion of Colleges and Universities	14.00	
Total	55.70	11.14 Billion

D. Nursery Schools

The Goal: To provide for 10 million children, ages 3-6, nursery schools - good for the children and good for the parents.

The Cost (Billions of Dollars)	5-Year Program	Per Year
Salaries for 1 million teachers and assistants	33.5	6.7
School construction (5 years), equipment and transportation	15.2	3.04
Total	48.7	9.74
Grand Total	123.42	24.9 Billion

The general education and job training program together require an additional expenditure in our country of \$24.9 billion per year.

III. Development Budget for Housing

In the matter of housing, here is what is needed to end slums in five years:

"An informed estimate by Federal housing experts counts 9,255,000 substandard housing units in the United States as of 1963-1964. It is hoped that the private sector will renew or replace 2,225,000 of the present substandard units over the next 5 years. This leaves 7 million housing units, each "unit" a family dwelling, to be replaced by the initiative of the community. Of these 7 million units, 4 million could be upgraded at an average cost of \$3,000 per unit. The \$12 billion required for this purpose, spent over 5 years, would lead to an expenditure of

\$2.4 billion per year. The remaining 3 million housing units would have to be replaced completely. Assuming that this could be done at an average cost of \$10,000 per unit, the total expenditure of \$30 billion would amount to \$6 billion per year over 5 years. By this reckoning the total outlay needed to improve or replace present substandard housing would be \$8.4 billion per year." ⁵

IV. Development Budget for Health

The supply of nurses and physicians illustrate the meaning of additional requirements in the realm of health. In the United States, one-fifth of the nursing posts in hospitals stand vacant. We have not made the nursing profession important enough, attractive enough, dignified enough to attract the able men and women who are needed there.

In the case of physicians:

From 1950 to 1963, physicians in practice in the United States dropped from 109 doctors per 100,000 population in 1950 to 97 per 100,000 in 1963. This drop is net, after taking into account the import from other countries of about 1600 physicians per year, plus producing in our own medical schools new doctors at the annual rate of 7,700.

The nation's requirement for new physicians in practice can be plausibly based on the following: Estimated growth in the population up to 1965--1975, the desirability of bringing the national average at least up to the California level, where the average now stands at about 128 physicians per 100,000 population -- substantially more than the national average of 97; producing enough trained medical men to staff medical schools and research laboratories, presently understaffed; and finally, it would be highly desirable for many reasons if the U.S. would have produced a modest surplus of medical men who'd be available to extend medical education-service to the one-half of the human race that has very little of either.

⁵ Melman, S., Our Depleted Society, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1965, pp. 188-189.

The new requirement, taking into account the expected growth in the population, is about 22,000 physicians graduated each year. Preparation must therefore be made for graduating 15,000 additional physicians per year. The cost of training a medical student is not less than \$3,000 per year. Direct cost for training additional student body of 60,000 in place would require an annual outlay of \$180,000,000. The increased number of students would require the construction of 150 new medical schools at an average capital investment of \$15,000,000 per school, or a total outlay of \$2.25 billion.⁶

The program voted during the last session of the Congress proclaim the training of 1300 additional physicians per year in the United States. That number will not even offset the physicians who are now being imported, especially from countries of Western Europe.

These are some of the factors that have led Federal officials to estimate that health services and facilities in the United States need an additional \$8.4 billion each year from now on.⁷

IN SUMMARY: Here are the main additions for a minimum economic development budget for equal opportunity.

	<u>Billions of Dollars Per Year</u>
Job training and general education	24.9
Housing - elimination of slums	8.4
Health services.	8.3
	<u>\$41.6 Billion</u>

All told, the new sums for economic opportunity amount to an estimated \$41.6 billion a year. Do we have the money? Giving heed to

⁶ Melman, S., Our Depleted Society, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1965, pp. 189.

⁷ U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, The Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962, pp. 22, 23. (35¢)

our principal economists and to the economic advisers to the President, we may assume that we are an affluent society with national income increasing \$30 - \$40 billion each year.

It is significant that the sort of private and public activity that is contained in the developments budgets is definitely not inflationary. That is because the goods and services that would be produced under these plans are, all of them, saleable and marketable. This differs from the products of, say, the aerospace industries whose products, once produced, cannot enter into commerce, even though the men who made them are paid wages and salaries. Furthermore, the capital investments in schools, for example, are used over and over again, and their use occasions many sorts of current outlays on a continuing basis.

This budget is based, in many of its components, on a five-year plan of fulfillment. For example, the estimates are geared to the elimination of slum housing in the United States within five years. A society that has sufficient resources and the know-how to create an intricate World's Fair in a short period of time has the resources and the know-how to reconstruct Harlem in a similar period of time.

Who will benefit from this program of metropolitan development for equal opportunity? Everyone will benefit, because the necessary result is that there will be an increase of productive employment and activity that will generate more goods and more services. It will enlarge the income base of the society, and thereby the revenues of government, local and national. Rural and suburban, as well as urban areas, will benefit, for metropolis reaches into the back country and involves the "gilded ghetto" of suburbia as well as the "slum ghetto" of the central city.⁸

⁸ Payton, Benjamin F., "The President, the Social Experts, and the Ghetto," (unpublished manuscript, October, 1965).

The fulfillment of such an economic development program will reduce dramatically the whole set of welfare, crime, disease and unemployment costs that are associated with slum living.

Everybody's education will be improved. Obviously, those who must be brought up the furthest, will score the greatest gain. Nevertheless, nursery schools are good for all our children.

It follows that it becomes a metropolitan development program that will benefit all citizens, some more directly than others, but all will benefit. There will be more skilled hands and minds, more money, more resources, for both private and public investment. There will be opportunity for fresh programs of tax reduction, which can be oriented especially towards small businessmen and small home owners to give them a direct stake and share in the economic surplus that will be produced as equal economic opportunity becomes American reality.

How can such economic development budgets be implemented? This will require national, state and, most important, city plans. New York City can and should take the lead and show the pattern to the whole country.

That is why our New York Pre-White House Conference will give primary attention to the question of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity." At the Spring meeting to take place in our city, we will invite observers from other major communities in the United States so that we can share in knowledge and experience, so that we can accelerate the process of planning for economic development in every major city. In so doing, and by raising everyone's targets, we will eliminate the issue of competition among cities, which has become a sore point in the allocation of the limited funds in the limited-goal programs of the Federal government.

There is special merit in making our big city governments a focal point: job training with industry cooperation must be organized within each city; education must be specially designed for each community; housing facilities are best drawn up by each city; health facilities budgeted according to the defined needs of the city. It is not implied that the necessary money will be found for each purpose within the city government. When the moment comes for treating with state or Federal authorities it will make all the difference if the money requests are backed up by both the influential men and by community organizations of the city.

In a word: a local base for organization and operation of economic development is technically essential and administratively sensible. A local basis of organization will also build autonomous political power which can be wielded for the constructive goals of accelerating economic development.

There is no just or righteous way of allocating scarce jobs. Our \$41 billion budget for economic development does not require competition under conditions of deprivation. When jobs are scarce and two men compete for one job, that is the sort of situation that can frustrate every effort for introducing equality in job opportunity. There is an alternative: Two men looking for two jobs, or 2,000 men confronting 2,100 job openings. When job scarcity is erased - that is the best possible situation for making equal job opportunity into a reality.

An economic development program that is budgeted at \$41,6 billion per year will employ many sorts of people to do the required work. Assuming \$8,000 as the average pay for a man-year of work, then spending \$41.6 billion annually generates 5,200,000 new jobs. New employment will be concentrated in the construction and all allied industries, and in the

occupations and professions whose numbers must be greatly expanded.

Our planning, city by city, and state by state, must consider the all-important issue of "lead time." Lead time means planning time, preparation time. It's the time that intervenes between a decision to build a building and the laying of the bricks. It's the drafting time, the architect's time; it's calculating the use requirements of a building, it's getting official permission of all sorts, it's making sure that the capital is available. It is the time needed to plan the schedule for executing the work.

In the building of hospitals, for example, lead time can involve 24 to 36 months. Accordingly, planning must include an aggressive, far-sighted program of formulating sets of first-rate designs for multiple-dwelling buildings, hospitals, schools, other structures that will be required in profusion. This aspect of the planning will help to cut down the lead time and speed the work itself.

Who may be expected to take the lead in such a program? All of the disinherited, white and black, Spanish-speaking Americans -- all those who have been robbed of their birthright of authentic equal opportunity in America. All religious leaders and laity of every faith -- Protestant, Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish, liberal religious dissenters -- all those who believe that human dignity is a primary moral commitment, will welcome the program of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" as they have the program to secure civil rights. But there will be a new factor in the scene. For example, many business leaders, trade union leaders, civic groups of every sort, professors and students in universities throughout the land -- millions of people of every social and economic level will respond with enthusiasm to the challenge of preparing metropolitan development budgets for their communities.

This program will contribute to the security of American society. A society with millions of unemployed is not a secure society. A society that dismisses, in effect, tens of thousands of youth from its school system is not a secure society. A society in which millions live with the daily problem of infestation by rats is not a secure society. A society that has a diminishing number of physicians per thousands of its citizens year by year is not a secure society. That is why our program for remedying these ills will improve the security of American society.

The political strategy for putting across a metropolitan development program and budget will involve city-by-city and state-by-state planning, and it will involve presentations to private and to governmental bodies, local and national. Many men in city government will regard participation in these efforts as a great opportunity to identify with a major constructive effort. If men wish to advance themselves in political careers by really propelling the metropolitan program, we should say welcome; and reward these men with political trust and position!

And finally, we must follow a strategy of presenting and justifying our development budgets to our mayors and our governors and our Congressional delegations. We must make it absolutely clear that: first, this is what we need and want; and second, that this is first priority for our cities and country.

To say, "This is what we need and want," with budget in hand, gives an exact formulation of what is required. There is no ambiguity about a set of budget figures stated on a year-by-year basis and justified in terms of plausible requirements.

To say, "This is first priority for our country," means not somewhere on an agenda. It is first! And first priority means exactly what it says. It means that there is intent in this statement to foreclose discussion about priority. This is not negotiable. This is first priority. It is recommended that the statement of demand and justification for economic development programs be stated with this simplicity and clarity and force.

It is not necessary to view the acquirement of such a program as is proposed here as a development in an authoritarian direction. As the December 24 edition of Life Magazine has so eloquently stated: "... This is not an argument for central domination of local affairs. Quite the contrary. It is a call for elevating the problems of our cities to a place on the nation's public agenda -- on a par with employment, rocketry and national defense -- and for giving mayors and others who deal with these problems the attention, dignity and resources they deserve." ⁹

⁹ Life Magazine, Vol. 59, No. 26, December 24, 1965, "The Villains are Greed, Indifference -- and You," p. 98.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE
for the
NEW YORK PRE-WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

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Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference; Executive Director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, New York City
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Mrs. Prathia Hall Wynn, SNCC, New York City
Dr. Max Wolf, Director of Research, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, New York City
Mrs. Ann Wolfe, American Jewish Committee, New York City

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Chairman of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights; Secretary for Program Services of the Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches

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The following are an editorial "The Negro and the City," December 12, 1965 and the report of the Steering Committee's Press Conference on December 29, 1965, both releases from The New York Times:

December 12, 1965

The Negro and the City

Since 1930, the proportion of Negroes living in cities has almost doubled. Negroes make up about one-tenth of the civilian labor force but they account for one-fifth of the unemployed and for one-quarter of those who are jobless for six months or longer. At the beginning of this year, nearly one Negro teen-ager in every three was out of school and out of work.

These harsh facts are at the core of the crisis of the nation's cities. They are also behind several news stories of the past week: the reorganization of the Haryou-Act antipoverty program in Harlem, the McCone report on the Los Angeles riots last summer, and the reports to President Johnson on the preliminary White House Conference on Civil Rights.

The cities have numerous problems—mass transit, inadequate schools and hospitals, and polluted air—that would exist if Negroes had never left the rural South. But the Negroes are the dynamic, unstable element in the cities. If their special needs are not met, there can be no peace and no orderly progress for the entire society. The suburbs and satellite cities cannot function for long if the center of every metropolitan complex is aflame with violence and unrest.

Now is the time for the nation to make a major commitment of money and energy and thought to wipe away the ill-effects of centuries of Negro inequality. The high proportion of Negro unemployment, both for teen-agers and for adult males, has to be brought down. The severe deficiencies of Negro slum schools

have to be overcome; if these children are to break through their handicaps, they need the best teachers and the smallest classes.

Personal effort by individual Negroes and equality of opportunity are not enough. While a sizable minority of Negroes is successfully climbing the ladder of opportunity in the traditional American way, a greater number are trapped in a stagnant, deteriorating social situation. If society does not ransom them from their crippling past, they will retaliate against society by violence and delinquency. Huge public works projects and radically improved schools are better than jails, mental hospitals, and narcotic treatment centers.

There are many names bandied about for this kind of program—a "freedom budget," a "domestic Marshall Plan," and so on. But the name is less important than the commitment. It will have to be a national effort, and it will have to be in the magnitude of billions of dollars. As Vice President Humphrey said the other day: "The biggest battle we're fighting today is not in South Vietnam; the toughest battle is the battle in our cities. . . . If we can spend \$25 or \$30 billion to put a man on the moon, we ought to be able to spend enough to provide an environment here on earth that will let a man stand on his feet."

A program of this magnitude will require intellectual courage by both Negroes and whites as well as fiscal boldness. But the United States has the needed economic and other resources. If the effort is made, a great peaceful victory can be won.

December 30, 1965

NATION IS URGED TO HELP ITS CITIES \$41.6-Billion More a Year Is Sought to Train Deprived

By NATALIE JAFFE

A group of 32 prominent clergymen, civil rights leaders and university professors urged yesterday an increase of \$41.6-billion a year in national expenditures for job training, housing and health in the nation's large cities.

The proposed budget of "Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity" was designed to attack what the group said were the twin problems of "sick cities" and the continued inequality of economic opportunity.

The funds for this "massive attack on the problems of injustice," the citizens' report said, would come from private concerns and all agencies of city, state and Federal government. But the keystone would be "in the City Halls," where the projects would be formulated, administered and, in some cases, completed without state or Federal aid.

"We need a revolutionary change in thinking about the magnitude of these problems," the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake said at a news conference at the Astor Hotel. "Solving them is more crucial to

America than Vietnam or even getting a man on the moon."

Dr. Blake is chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches and chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church. He is one of the 32 members of the steering committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference on Civil Rights, a citizens' group.

Convened Informally

The committee was convened informally last fall to plan New York's participation in the White House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for this spring. Specific recommendations for action in the New York metropolitan area will be discussed at a meeting here in April, before the Washington conference.

The chairman of the steering committee, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Layton, was invited to Washington in November to help plan the spring White House Conference. Dr. Payton, the 33-year-old executive director of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, outlined the committee's five-year, itemized budget yesterday.

The development plan would provide \$24.9 billion for job training and general education, \$8.4-billion for "eliminating slums in five years," and \$8.3-billion for training more doctors and nurses.

Prof. Seymour Melman of Columbia University's department of industrial engineering, said the proposed education and training budget was about 75 per cent higher than the present budget for public education alone.

"Even so, the budget is minimal," he said. "It's all minimal—concentrating on eliminating racial injustice and leaving out all the running municipal problems such as transportation, water supply and air pollution control."

The job-training program would be for 25 million high school drop outs and 4 million persons who are underemployed. New educational programs would include remedial help for elementary and high school pupils, increases in teachers' salaries, the construction of new classrooms, expansion of colleges and universities and a nursery school program for 10

million children.

The housing program would "upgrade" 4 million substandard units and replace 3 million.

The training and housing programs, Dr. Melman said, would work together to eliminate discrimination in employment. "The demand for plumbers, for example, would be so great," he said, "that there would be no room for racial discrimination"

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LEE WHITE, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

OVERWHELMED THAT I SHOULD BE CONSIDERED FOR DEPUTY
DIRECTOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE TO FULFILL THESE
RIGHTS. THIS IS QUITE AN HONOR, AS THIS CONFERENCE LOOMS
AS A HISTORY MAKING OCCASION IN THE LIFE OF OUR NATION.

MY ONLY REGRET IS THAT SCLC HAS SO FEW STAFF THAT OUR
PROJECTS OF POLITICAL REFORM IN THE SOUTH AND PROPOSED
ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE NORTH NEED EVERY AVAILABLE MAN IF WE
ARE TO SUCCEED IN DRAMATIZING BEFORE THE NATIONAL CON-
SCIENCE THE VERY ISSUES WHICH THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
IS DISCUSSING.

(MORE)

(MORE)

(MORE)

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CALL LETTERS GDC

CHARGE TO SCLC

PAGE TWO --

I AM SORRY THAT WE ARE SO DEEPLY INVOLVED AT THIS TIME
THAT I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SERVE IN THIS CAPACITY. YOU MAY
BE ASSURED THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL HAVE MY FULL SUPPORT
AND THAT OF SCLC. I HOPE AND PRAY THAT OUR ACTION EFFORTS
MIGHT PROVE A SMALL COMPLIMENT TO THE TREMENDOUS SUCCESS
WE ANTICIPATE FOR THE CONFERENCE.

ANDREW YOUNG

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