

III A. URBAN SEGREGATION

The crisis of our cities is first of all the segregation of race and income. There is no urban solution of any validity that does not deal directly with the questions posed by this segregation.

The facts are these: 23% of the total population of our central cities is Negro, and 35% of these Negroes have incomes in the poverty range. Within five years, assuming present population trends and even allowing for current levels of ameliorative public programs, the proportion of Negroes to central city population will rise to 28%, with the same percentage as today remaining in poverty. By 1978, both proportions will be 35%. By 1983, our central cities population will be 44% Negro, nearly two-fifths of them poor.

These are percentages of total central city population. But by 1973, at least 10 of our major cities will be predominantly Negro; by 1983, at least 20, including Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit (etc.).

To repeat, these projections show what will happen if present population trends continue and current governmental policies and levels of spending remain in force.

To alter these projections significantly, quantum leaps will have to be taken in public policy and levels of spending. For example, if the size of the Negro population of central cities is

to remain what it is approximately 600,000 Negroes each year must move into predominantly white suburbs. That figure would represent from 10-15 times the present rate of Negro out migration.

Again, if the proportion of Negroes in poverty is to be reduced to the general poverty rate of the total population, we estimate the costs of that enrichment (projecting current per capita costs of special housing, educational, employment training and other programs) at \$ _____ annually over a _____ year period.

If the nation were to decide to equalize both the Negro's settlement pattern and his incidence of poverty, our best estimate of total costs would be \$ _____ per year over a _____ year period.

These may seem staggering figures. What is staggering to us is that urban policy has been developed in this country without attempting these calculations, yet fostering the illusion that one or the other -- or both -- of the two alternatives, enrichment and dispersion, were somehow being accomplished and at scale.

The fact is that both the rate of enrichment and the rate of dispersion are lagging; and the segregation of race and income in our great metropolitan areas is outstripping whatever we are now doing to offset it.

We of the Task Force deplore the segregation that is taking place; and if the choice were ours, we would pay the price of simultaneously reducing the poverty and concentration rates of the Negro population. The prospect of Negro dominance of our central cities we cannot regard with equanimity, although we are almost persuaded

otherwise by some compelling arguments (a) that the transition is likely to be much more moderate than alarmists might portray; and (b) that the coming of Negroes to political power might well provide the psychological lift that community has long been awaiting. What we still regard with distaste is the freezing of racial and class distinctions into political boundary lines; and what we fear is even the remotest chance of escalating present frictions into guerrilla and even civil war.

We therefore submit the following recommendations and alternative courses of action: