

The Urban Coalition Report

December 1968

Community

The following statement is an excerpt from a recent speech by John W. Gardner, chairman of the Urban Coalition:

Today one of the gravest handicaps to the local community, one of the things that prevents it from pursuing any of its purposes effectively, is the fragmentation of the community itself—and the fragmentation of community leadership.

I saw this at first hand when, as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, I had to visit all of our major cities—and many not so major. I found that the typical American city was split up into a variety of different worlds that were

difficulty in even formulating their problems? Long before the riots, it was apparent to everyone who studied these matters closely that communities so riven could not weather a storm without cracking wide open.

The storms came—and they cracked wide open. One after another. Like all structures under stress they cracked along the lines of their internal weaknesses. The rift between black and white communities was usually the main issue but when the city tried to pull itself together to face that issue, it found its capacity to do so greatly diminished by the other rifts within the community—between business and labor, between suburb and central city, between police and citizen, between



An Urban
Coalition
in Your
Community

...sing
...oment

...5, 1968

...nment

...lition

that would yield only to a total attack. The coalition itself is moving in several areas, if only in small ways.

School Aid Disputed

For example, its education division, headed by Dr. James Kelly, an associate professor at Columbia University, is supporting with funds and research a lawsuit that could radically change the method by which most states allocate

Urban Coalition

1815 H STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

AREA CODE 202 347-9630



The Urban Coalition
1819 H Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

**Steering Committee
of The Urban Coalition**

John W. Gardner
Chairman

Andrew Heiskell
Co-Chairman

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman

I. W. Abel
President
United Steelworkers of
America
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Honorable Ivan Allen Jr.
Mayor
Atlanta, Ga.

Joseph H. Allen
President
McGraw-Hill
Publications
New York, N.Y.

Arnold Aronson
Leadership Conference
on Civil Rights
National Community
Relations Advisory
Council
New York, N.Y.

Roy Ash
President
Litton Industries
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Jordan Band
Chairman
National Community
Relations Advisory
Council
Cleveland, Ohio

Honorable
Joseph M. Barr
Mayor
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Honorable
Jerome P. Cavanagh
Mayor
Detroit, Mich.

Frederick J. Close
Chairman of the Board
Aluminum Company of
America
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Honorable John F. Collins
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology
Cambridge, Mass.

Honorable
Richard J. Daley
Mayor
Chicago, Ill.

The Most Reverend
John F. Dearden
Archbishop of Detroit
Detroit, Mich.

Dr. Arthur Flemming
President, National
Council of Churches
President, Macalaster
College
St. Paul, Minn.

Henry Ford II
Chairman
Ford Motor Company
Dearborn, Mich.

Honorable
Milton Graham
Mayor
Phoenix, Ariz.

The Most Reverend
George H. Guilfoyle
Bishop, Diocese of
Camden
Camden, N.J.

Dr. Edler G. Hawkins
Pastor
St. Augustine
Presbyterian Church
New York, N.Y.

Andrew Heiskell
Chairman of the Board
Time Inc.
New York, N.Y.

John H. Johnson
President
Johnson Publishing
Company
Chicago, Ill.

Joseph D. Keenan
Secretary
International Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers
Washington, D.C.

Honorable
John V. Lindsay
Mayor
New York, N.Y.

George Meany
President
AFL-CIO
Washington, D.C.

J. Irwin Miller
President
Cummins Engine
Company
Columbus, Ind.

Honorable
Arthur Naftalin
Mayor
Minneapolis, Minn.

James F. Oates
Chairman of the Board
Equitable Life Assurance
Society
New York, N.Y.

A. Philip Randolph
President Emeritus
International Brotherhood
of Sleeping Car Porters
New York, N.Y.

Walter Reuther
President
United Auto Workers
Detroit, Mich.

David Rockefeller
President
Chase Manhattan Bank
New York, N.Y.

James Rouse
President
The Rouse Company
Baltimore, Md.

Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin
President
Synagogue Council of
America
New York, N.Y.

Theodore Schlesinger
President
Allied Stores Corporation
New York, N.Y.

Asa T. Spaulding
Director
North Carolina Mutual
Insurance Company
Durham, N.C.

David Sullivan
President
Service Employees
International
Union
Washington, D.C.

Honorable
James H. J. Tate
Mayor
Philadelphia, Pa.

John Wheeler
President, Mechanics and
Farmers Bank
President, Southern
Regional Council
Durham, N.C.

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director
National Association for
the Advancement of
Colored People
New York, N.Y.

Whitney M. Young Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League
New York, N.Y.

On August 24, 1967, at an emergency convocation in Washington, D.C., a prestigious group of 1,200 persons issued an urgent appeal on the urban crisis to all concerned Americans. They were men and women of diverse, even divergent interests, and yet they joined together in a national effort to mold a new political, social, economic, and moral climate that would help to break the vicious cycle of the ghetto. This effort—heavily dependent on local as well as national action—was the beginning of the Urban Coalition.

The immediate impetus was concern over the mounting violence in American cities, and a realization that the problems confronting the cities were too large and too complex to be solved by a single segment of society acting alone. At the conclusion of the convocation, the participants, who included mayors and leaders in business, religion, labor, and civil rights, agreed on the urgent need for action on a broad statement of principles that became the charter of the Urban Coalition movement.

This is what the statement adopted at the convocation said, in part:

“We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing, education, and the other needs of our cities.

“We believe the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no longer for measures that have too long been denied the people of the cities and the nation as a whole—additional civil rights legislation, adequately funded model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education, and job-training programs, and a host of others.

“We believe the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job-training and hiring, and all that is necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system—and also to its survival. . . .

“This convocation calls upon local government, business, labor, religions, and civil rights groups to

Joseph H. Allen



Arnold Aronson

create counterpart local coalitions where they do not exist to support and supplement this declaration of principles."

The work of mobilization began immediately after the convocation ended, under the leadership of two co-chairmen: Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time Inc., and A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. By year's end, communities across the country had responded by forming local Urban Coalitions, each structured to fit the particular needs of its city.

In the spring of 1968, the national Urban Coalition became a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation with John W. Gardner as its chairman and chief executive officer. The Coalition is governed by a steering committee of 38 national leaders representative of the participants in the convocation.

The Urban Coalition Action Council was set up nationally as a separate non-profit organization to engage in direct advocacy of legislation aimed at meeting the problems of the cities. It is responsible for all legislative activities.

What is an Urban Coalition? The key word is "coalition": an alliance of individuals and organizations drawn together for specific purposes. An Urban Coalition is a mechanism through which individual leaders and community groups can collaborate in dealing with the urban crisis.

It is to meet all the complex and interwoven problems of our urban areas that Urban Coalitions are born. The elements of modern industrial society have become so specialized and fragmented, and yet so interdependent, that a new force is needed to pull the pieces together. No single element can solve the problems alone. The solution lies in joining the creativity, resources, and leadership of the private sector with those of the public sector.

Existing Urban Coalitions have already demonstrated their utility as forums for communication among the varied elements of communities and as instruments for community education and action. They have helped to assess community problems, establish goals and priorities, and coordinate program efforts. They have uncovered duplication of community efforts and identified gaps where new services



are needed. They have served as catalysts, marshaling broad community support and stimulating new action programs while not operating them directly. The Coalition movement also provides a channel by which Coalition members and local groups may speak out on legislative issues at the national and state level affecting urban problems. Thus an Urban Coalition is not a new organization, but a process, a means for joint action by the significant and diverse elements of the community.

While the programs and structures of Urban Coalitions may vary to meet local priorities, the Coalitions share four essential characteristics:

1. Urban Coalitions have adopted a statement of principles which parallels that adopted by the organizers of the national Urban Coalition, tailored to the particular local situation. The national statement is broad enough to have received the endorsement of leaders from all major segments of urban society, from businessmen to civil rights activists, yet specific enough to give the Urban Coalition movement its essential form and direction. (For full text of statement, see appendix.)

2. Urban Coalitions, as indicated by the statement of principles, are committed to a comprehensive attack on all of the interrelated problems of their communities—poverty, poor housing, inadequate education, racial tensions. A single-purpose group such as a fair-housing council, even if it has wide community support, must expand its goals to other issues to become an Urban Coalition.

3. In their makeup, Urban Coalitions are broadly representative of the leadership and life of their communities. As with the national Urban Coalition, local Urban Coalitions include representatives of business, labor, local government, religion, and civil rights organizations. Most local Urban Coalitions also include representatives of education, the communications media, and established community organizations. It is essential that all include spokesmen for disadvantaged and minority neighborhoods.

4. Finally, Urban Coalitions must have the resources to do an effective job. These resources include an adequate budget and an able (although not necessarily large) staff.

Joseph M. Barr



Frederick J. Close

The task of an Urban Coalition is a serious and complex one, and it demands a serious commitment of all involved.

How an Urban Coalition Begins

An Urban Coalition can start with one concerned and determined person—the mayor, a businessman, a labor leader—or out of discussions among several individuals or community organizations. As quickly as possible, however, the makeup of the organizing committee for an Urban Coalition should be spread across the entire spectrum of community leadership.

The task of this initial group is to create the Coalition's steering committee, its policy- and program-making body. These are some guidelines, drawn out of the experiences of Urban Coalitions to date, for selection of the steering committee members:

—They need not have been previously identified with civic causes. One task of the Coalition, in fact, is to identify and enlist talent which may not previously have been at the service of the community.

—They should include the community's most influential leadership. The most zealous efforts of churches, community-service organizations, and neighborhood groups will be wasted unless those who hold power in local government, business, labor, and communications are convinced of the need for action.

—It also works the other way around. The best efforts of the holders of power will be frustrated unless decisions are made with, rather than for, the disadvantaged in the community. The increasing drive for self-determination among the minorities and the poor is producing new and often militant neighborhood and youth organizations. If truly representative, the Coalition can provide the essential link between emerging neighborhood spokesmen and the established communitywide leadership. It can thus be a vehicle for both communication and common action, joining resources to needs.

—The Coalition may represent a city, a metropolitan area, even a county. Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kan., have found it advantageous to form a joint Urban Coalition; the twin cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis have formed sepa-

rate Coalitions. The Washington, D.C., Coalition has a metropolitan base, extending into the suburban counties in Virginia and Maryland. Since most of the problems confronted by a Coalition extend into the metropolitan areas—finding work for the unemployed, for example, requires a look at the job market both in the city and in its suburbs—these tasks are made easier if the Coalition is organized on a metropolitan basis.

—The only criterion for the size of the steering committee is that it be large enough to do the job in the particular community. New York, with the national headquarters of many corporations, banks, and insurance companies and its thousands of small employers, has 150 members, including spokesmen for community-action groups. Detroit, with one dominant industry, has 39. The first order of business before the steering committee is the drafting of a statement of principles. Once this is done and public announcement of the Urban Coalition's formation has been made, action should follow quickly. The community should know that it has

Arthur Flemming



George H. Guilfoyle

Andrew Heiskell



acquired not just a forum for discussion of its problems, but a potentially powerful force for constructive change.

In joining an Urban Coalition, the steering committee members may be working together for the first time, putting their special interests aside for the sake of the community. The better they get to know each other, the more productive their association will be. When the New York Urban Coalition was organizing, some 100 men went off to Tarrytown together on a weekend retreat. On neutral ground, the big insurance executive and the ghetto militant met, listened, and learned from each other.

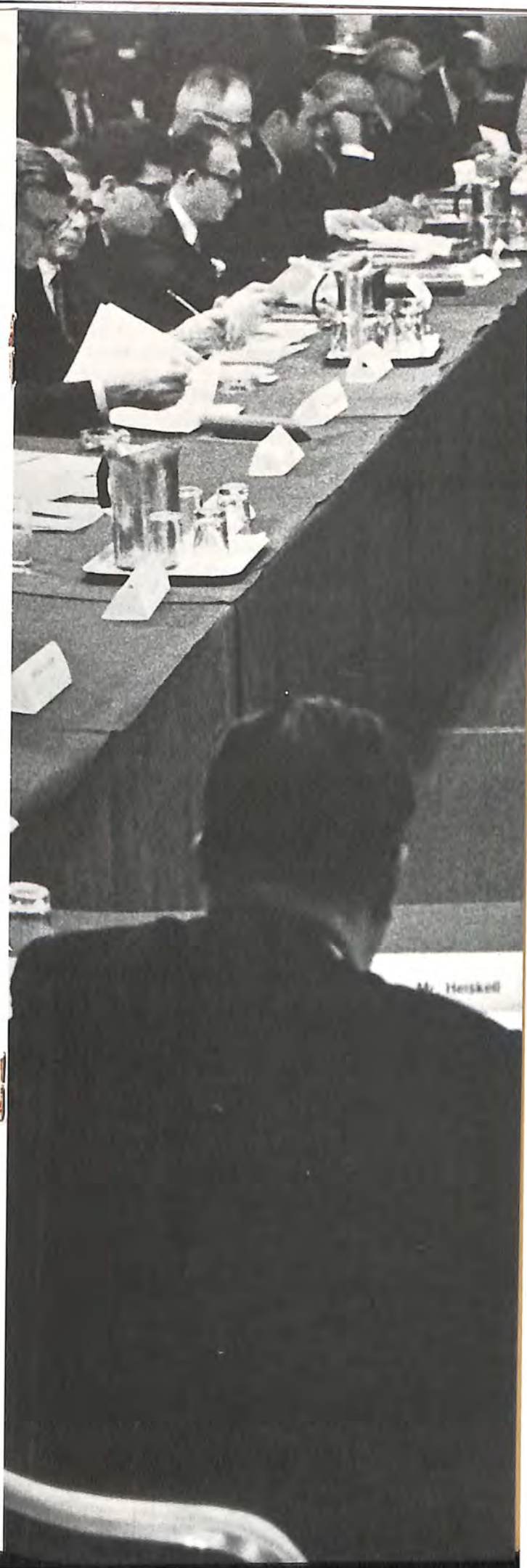
To get a program underway, the Coalition needs both money and staff. Initial funds may come most readily from business and labor members, or the city government may make an interim contribution. In Minneapolis, the 14 business executives who had attended the August convocation each contributed \$1,000 to get their program organized. The fund was used to hire two part-time professionals to help analyze objectives, organization structure, and feasibility of Coalition action.

Permanent funding should come, however, from all segments of the Coalition. If one segment is unable to contribute money, it might provide services instead: staff members can be loaned to the Coalition, office space contributed, stationery and supplies furnished.

In developing their programs, Coalitions have found that it is important to meet where the problems are. Visiting slums in Harlem helped set priorities for action by the New York Urban Coalition. Philadelphia leaders saw things "they would not believe" when the mayor took 200 of them to visit the city's pockets of poverty.

The Urban Coalition in Action

Given the variations in needs from city to city, the range of program possibilities for Urban Coalitions can best be described by specific examples. In most cases, programs are planned by task forces in the areas of most pressing concern. Most Urban Coalitions have started with task forces on employment, housing, and education; others have been added on economic develop-



ment (with the focus on encouraging entrepreneurship among ghetto residents), youth, problems of the aging, and communications.

These are some of the programs that Urban Coalitions have launched around the country:

Concentrating its strongest efforts on helping the ghetto's small businessmen, the *Baltimore Urban Coalition* has formed a business task force to help establish a Small Business Investment Corp.—a high-risk venture capital program with a projected \$1 million operating fund. The task force has pulled together the talents of the Greater Baltimore Committee (a 102-member business organization) to advise on the creation of business cooperatives, and local associations of accountants, lawyers, and retail merchants to give technical assistance to inexperienced ghetto entrepreneurs.

In the middle of its organizing process, the *Washington, D.C., Urban Coalition* came into instant, full-grown existence in response to the April disorders which rocked the capital following the shooting of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The Coalition appointed emergency committees on food, housing,



John V. Lindsay



George Meany

employment, and financial assistance; they made available 1,400,000 free meals, developed 1,000 job offers, found 800 dwellings for riot-displaced persons and collected \$146,000 in emergency aid funds. This emergency effort was followed by a call to provide logistical support to the Poor People's Campaign: delivering food to Resurrection City three times a day and providing medical care, a recreational program, and community service volunteers.

Jobs have been the chief focus of the *Minneapolis Urban Coalition*, working with the National Alliance of Businessmen and the Chamber of Commerce. The results have included pledges to the NAB for 1,100 summer jobs and the waiving of education-level requirements for line work by one of the area's major employers, Honeywell Inc.

The *Riverside (Calif.) Urban Coalition* developed a Job Opportunities Council and persuaded eight of the city's largest employers to participate. With funding from the eight firms, the Council was to find and get in touch with hard-core unemployed persons. It would provide or obtain necessary training to qualify these applicants to meet lowered minimum hiring standards, then refer them to the firms. The eight companies planned to hire a number equivalent to 4 per cent of their present work force.

A housing seminar sponsored by the *Gary (Ind.) Urban Coalition* led to the decision by two churches to sponsor the construction of lower-income housing under federal mortgage guarantees. Along with these efforts by the non-profit sponsors, the area's major employer, U.S. Steel, announced its intention to build about 300 moderate-income housing units in the city.

The *Bridgeport (Conn.) Urban Coalition's* acting Task Force on Education formed an educational consortium to ensure a college education for all qualified students in the Bridgeport area. The consortium includes the three presidents of private universities who make up the Task Force and the presidents of four other institutions of higher learning in the region. A committee of admissions officers from the seven participating schools screens each applicant and arranges for his admission to one of the colleges.

J. Irwin Miller



A. Philip Randolph

pressing their views on national and state legislative issues. Because most Urban Coalitions seek tax-deductible contributions from such sources as community foundations, some have chosen to establish a separate organization, as the national group has, to carry out legislative programs on the scale needed. The Urban Coalition Action Council will provide assistance to others choosing this course.

The tasks of an Urban Coalition will not be easy, for they reflect the scale and complexity of the crisis situation facing the country. The search for solutions involves major commitments at every level—national, state, and local—and by all segments of society, public and private alike. Substantial public resources must be forthcoming if solutions are to be found, but so must significant private leadership.

“Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress,” said the founders of the Urban Coalition movement. “Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity.”



Appendix

Principles

Goals

Commitments

*Statement adopted at the Emergency Convocation, August 24, 1967, Washington, D.C.**

We are experiencing our third summer of widespread civil disorder. In 1965, it was Harlem, and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco, and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets.

Confronted by these catastrophic events, we, as representatives of business, labor, religion, civil rights, and local government have joined in this convocation to create a sense of national urgency on the need for positive action for all the people of our cities.

We are united in the following convictions:

We believe the tangible effects of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage, horrifying though they are, are less to be feared than the intangible damage to men's minds.

We believe it is the government's duty to maintain law and order.

We believe that our thoughts and actions should be directed to the deep-rooted and historic problems of the cities.

We believe that we, as a nation, must clearly and positively demonstrate our belief that justice, social progress, and equality of opportunity are rights of every citizen.

We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing, education, and the other needs of our cities.

We believe the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no

*At the national level, two separate organizations have been created: the Urban Coalition and the Urban Coalition Action Council. The Action Council is responsible for the implementation of legislative goals and objectives expressed in this statement.

longer for measures that have too long been denied the people of the cities and the nation as a whole—additional civil rights legislation, adequately funded model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education, and job-training programs, and a host of others.

We believe the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job-training, and hiring, and all that is necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system—and also to its survival.

We believe the sickness of the cities, including civic disorder within them, is the responsibility of the whole of America. Therefore, it is the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a new political, social, economic, and moral climate that will make possible the breaking of the vicious cycle of the ghetto. Efforts must be made to insure the broadest possible opportunity for all citizens and groups, including those in the ghetto, to participate fully in shaping and directing the society of which they are a part.

This convocation calls upon the nation to end once and for all the shame of poverty amid general affluence. Government and business must accept responsibility to provide all Americans with opportunity to earn an adequate income. Private industry must greatly accelerate its efforts to recruit, train, and hire the hard-core unemployed. When the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then in a free society the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort or must assure adequate income levels for those who are unable to work.

Emergency Work Program

This convocation calls upon the federal government to develop an emergency work program to provide jobs and new training opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed consistent with the following principles:

—The federal government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to

everyone willing and able to work.

—To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

—The program must provide meaningful jobs—not dead-end, make-work projects—so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

—Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private non-profit agencies.

—Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, non-profit institutions, and federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the federal minimum wage.

—Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and that normal performance standards are met.

—The operation of the program should be keyed to specific, localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent.

Private Employment, Assistance, and Investment

All representatives of the private sector in this Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens. We pledge full-scale private endeavor through creative job-training and employment, managerial assistance, and

basic investment in all phases of urban development.

The alternatives to a massive and concerted drive by the private sector are clear. They include the burden of wasted human and physical potential, the deterioration of the healthy environment basic to the successful operation of any business, and the dangers of permanent alienation from our society of millions of citizens.

We propose to initiate an all-out attack on the unemployment problem through the following steps:

—In cooperation with government, to move systematically and directly into the ghettos and barrios to seek out the unemployed and underemployed and enlist them in basic and positive private training and employment programs. We will re-evaluate our current testing procedures and employment standards so as to modify or eliminate those practices and requirements that unnecessarily bar many persons from gainful employment by business or access to union membership.

—To create a closer relationship between private employers and public training and emergency employment programs to widen career opportunities for our disadvantaged citizens. To this end, we will proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in depressed urban areas that might well be the joint venture of business, labor, and local government.

—To develop new training and related programs to facilitate the early entry of under-qualified persons into industrial and commercial employment.

—To develop large-scale programs to motivate the young to continue their education. Working closely with educators, we will redouble our efforts to provide part-time employment, training, and other incentives for young men and women. We also pledge our active support to making quality education really accessible to deprived as well as advantaged young people.

—To expand on-the-job training programs to enhance the career advancement prospects of all employees, with particular emphasis on those who now must work at the lowest level of job classifications because of educational and skill deficiencies.

We pledge to mobilize the man-

agerial resources and experience of the private sector in every way possible. We will expand part-time and full-time assistance to small business development. We will strive to help residents of these areas both to raise their level of managerial know-how and to obtain private and public investment funds for development. We will work more closely with public agencies to assist in the management of public projects. We will encourage more leaders in the private sector to get directly and personally involved in urban problems so that they may gain a deeper understanding of these problems and be of greater assistance.

We pledge our best efforts to develop means by which major private investment may be attracted to the renovation of deteriorating neighborhoods in our cities. We will explore and encourage governmental incentives to expedite private investment. We will develop new methods of combining investment and managerial assistance so that the residents may achieve a leadership position in the development of their areas.

Housing, Reconstruction, and Education

This convocation calls upon the nation to take bold and immediate action to fulfill the national need to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" with guarantees of equal access to all housing, new and existing. The Urban Coalition shall, as its next order of business, address itself to the development of a broad program of urban reconstruction and advocacy of appropriate public and private action to move toward these objectives, including the goal of rehabilitation and construction of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually.

This convocation calls upon the nation to create educational programs that will equip all young Americans for full and productive participation in our society to the full potential of their abilities. This will require concentrated compensatory programs to equalize opportunities for achievement. Early childhood education must be made universal. Work and study programs must be greatly expanded to enlist those young people who now

drop out of school. Financial barriers that now deny to youngsters from low-income families the opportunity for higher education must be eliminated. Current programs must be increased sufficiently to wipe out adult illiteracy within five years.

This convocation calls upon local government, business, labor, religions, and civil rights groups to create counterpart local coalitions where they do not exist to support and supplement this declaration of principles.

This convocation calls upon all Americans to apply the same determination to these programs that they have to past emergencies. We are confident that, given this commitment, our society has the ingenuity to allocate its resources and devise the techniques necessary to rebuild cities and still meet our other national obligations without impairing our financial integrity. Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress. Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity. The task we set for ourselves will not be easy, but the needs are massive and urgent, and the hour is late. We pledge ourselves to this goal for as long as it takes to accomplish it. We ask the help of the Congress and the nation.

The Urban Coalition
1819 H Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

