

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 often wholly out of touch with one another.

The suburbs were out of touch with the central city. Business, labor and the universities were three wholly separate worlds—as far apart as worlds can be. City Hall was usually out of touch with the ghetto and often out of touch with the ablest and most influential people in the city. The most ominous rifts, of course, were the rifts involving various minority communities, most commonly the black community, but in some parts of the country the American Indian or Mexican-American community.

As I traveled around, I observed that these fragmented worlds were often terribly ignorant of one another, and that the ignorance bred fear, and the fear bred hostility. These cities were not communities. They were encampments of strangers.

Is it surprising that cities so fragmented have great difficulty in solving their problems, great

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 young and old.

Nothing is more clear than that no major city can or will solve its problems without first repairing some of those devastating gaps in communication.

In some respects it is harder to accomplish that repair after the troubles that have occurred. In some respects, of course, it is easier. Some people respond to trouble affirmatively, redoubling their efforts to act constructively. But others, both black and white, respond to the interplay of violence and counter-violence with deepened anger, fear, hostility and a desire to strike back.

We shall see a good deal more of those emotions before we're through. But they won't solve a thing.

Sooner or later we are going to have to sit down together and figure out how we can create communities that we can all live in, all believe in, all be proud of, all defend.

The sooner we get on with it the better.

The Urban Coalition was formed precisely with that task in mind. I would emphasize the importance of the coalition principle. Some people think of the Coalition as just another organization tackling the tough urban problems of the day. But it is unique. Our distinction is that we bring together segments of American life that do not normally collaborate in the solution of public problems.

Because of the need for such collaboration at the local level, the national organization has helped to form local coalitions. There are now local coalitions in 39 cities. As in the case of the national, each local organization includes representatives from a variety of leadership segments in the community—the mayor, business, labor, minority groups and religion. And we encourage the participation of other relevant elements—the universities, the schools, the press, the professions.

The coalition principle requires that minority groups be represented in the effort to solve community problems. And such representation is itself a step toward solving the toughest problem of all—effective dialogue between minority communities and the dominant elements in the city.

Such communication is difficult. It requires hard work and patience and imagination on the part of every person involved. But there is no alternative, unless we are willing to see our cities torn apart. The one encouraging thing I can say to you is that communication *is* possible. We have proven that over and over again.

When a crisis strikes it is too late to begin the long, arduous process of building effective channels of communication. If there is to be fruitful collaboration between black and white communities it must begin and be tested in a non-crisis atmosphere. Then when trouble strikes, if it does, men who have learned to work together and trust one another can go into action together.

I have not dealt with many substantive problems of the cities—fiscal and governmental problems, housing, jobs, education, health services, economic development and so on. The Urban Coalition is interested in all those problems, but we are not free to choose the particular problems to which we shall give our attention. The priorities are thrust upon us.

There are issues so explosive that if we ignore them we shall be overtaken by events—and then every problem on the list will be infinitely harder to solve.

The goal that takes precedence over all others is to begin to heal those rifts that are now making many American cities quite incapable of *any* kind of healthy problem solving. We can heal those rifts. We can heal them through the process of coalition, *if* the most influential citizens in the community will lend their strength and their presence, *if* all significant elements in the community are fairly represented and *if* all concerned are unsparingly honest in facing the toughest issues.

In a number of American cities today those conditions are being met in local urban coalitions—the most influential citizens *have* stepped forward, all significant elements in the community *are* represented and the toughest issues *are* being faced.

Once the significant elements in the community begin to work together, once they begin to think as a community and act as a community, all kinds of things are possible. Then they can give city government the kind of intelligent support it needs; they can make the needs of their city felt at the state and Federal level; they can see how all the various Federal, state and local programs fit together; they can provide strong citizen support for Federal programs that are working and strong citizen criticism of those that are not working.

And most important of all, perhaps, they can look ahead.

National Relations Office

An Office of National Relations has been established within the Communications Division of the Urban Coalition to “broaden support for the Coalition and its objectives,” John W. Gardner, chairman of the national Coalition, announced.

The new office is under the direction of Christopher Mould, former executive assistant to Mr. Gardner. Before joining the Coalition last year, Mr. Mould was chief of the Federal Programs Division of the Justice Department’s Community Relations Service.

The associate director of the new unit will be Fred Jordan, who is leaving the post of Deputy Assistant Director for Operations and Technical Assistance of the Model Cities Administration. Mr. Jordan is a former deputy director of the California Office of Economic Opportunity, a division of the governor’s office.

Brian Duff, vice president of the Communications Division, said the mission of the National Relations staff will be to establish liaison with other national organizations and with Federal agencies and to seek ways for the national Coalition to cooperate with others in solving urban problems.

Action in Newark

The Newark, N.J., Urban Coalition has a shorter history than many of the 38 other Coalitions launched since August, 1967. But its formal incorporation in April of this year has been followed by planning on a large scale and some substantial steps toward improvement of the city’s economy.

Newark has the second highest proportion of Negroes in its population of all American cities; it is more than half Negro, and another 10 per cent is Spanish-speaking. A report by the city’s Office of Economic Development showed that generally this 60-plus per cent lives at a much lower economic level than the rest of the population: It is largely unskilled and untrained, and it has few resources except labor to offer to Newark’s economy. Projections indicate the downward trend will continue as the gap widens between the character of the population and the types of jobs available. Growth is expected to come in the non-production industries that require the greatest skills, not in trade employment which could absorb the unskilled workers.

The Greater Newark Urban Coalition, in a broad “Plan of Action,” has proposed the establishment of a Community Development Corp. that could be the key to the city’s economic development. As the Coalition sees it, the objective is to “forge for Newark a community-wide organizational capability that will be able to deal effectively with the wide range of problems that are rooted in the economic dependency and weakness of the indigenous population of the

ghetto.” The Community Development Corp. would be owned, operated and managed by ghetto residents. It would run all antipoverty services, but more importantly would also own and manage businesses, own and manage housing and represent the community in renewal planning and other phases of public policy.

One of its goals will be to become involved in businesses which are job producing with a market for its products or services both inside and outside of the ghetto. The Coalition is now organizing this corporation so that it will qualify for 502 loans from the Small Business Administration as well as grants and loans from the Economic Development Administration and other sources.

Solid impetus was given the Coalition’s “Plan for Action” by the establishment in early October of a \$1 million fund by four commercial banks to provide loans to ghetto businessmen who cannot qualify for financial help elsewhere. Two staff members of the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs have been assigned to administer the loan program through the Coalition office. The Coalition and the private, nonprofit Interracial Council for Business Opportunity will help loan applicants diagnose the problems of their businesses and try to improve their operations.

Coalition president Gustav Heningburg followed the loan fund announcement with word that the organization would move into sponsorship of low-income housing within the next two months. To enter this field, it will establish a housing development corporation with a separate board of directors composed of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The corporation will provide financial and technical assistance to community groups which wish to sponsor low- and middle-income housing construction under various federal and state assistance programs.

The “Plan for Action” outlined by the Coalition to the community includes efforts—now underway—to organize and charter a black-controlled bank in the city. “The benefits of a full-service commercial bank with a special concern for the financial needs of the minority community are obvious,” it said. It is working also to deepen the commitment of the private sector to a personal loan program for low-income residents. The state has promised to

commit \$150,000 to create a guarantee fund if a matching amount is committed by private interests.

Gerald L. Phillippe

Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board of the General Electric Co. and a member of the Urban Coalition's steering committee, died Oct. 17 at the age of 59.

Mr. Phillippe had worked for General Electric since his graduation from college. He became the company's seventh president in 1961 and was elected chairman of the board in 1963. He was present at the Aug. 31, 1967, emergency convocation at which the Urban Coalition was launched, and for many years he had led efforts to join the private and public elements of society in fighting poverty and unemployment in the cities.

Fresno Expands

From an initial focus on improving local housing, the Urban Coalition of Fresno, Calif., has turned its energies to attacking a broad spectrum of community problems. Since Mayor Floyd H. Hyde called meetings of leaders of all segments of the community to set priorities last January, task forces have been organized in jobs, youth opportunities, housing, entrepreneurship and education.

The first task force to get fully underway was in housing, and the city responded by trading its street beautification and tree planting program for an effort to set up a municipal mortgage insurance fund with an initial appropriation of \$10,000. The experiment lets the city insure home loans which do not qualify for conventional financing. To administer the mortgage program, a Housing Finance Board was established by city ordinance, and it ruled that loan applicants must participate in the HOME (Home Opportunities and Management Education) program. HOME was developed by Fresno State College, at the city's request, to assist people living in substandard conditions to rehabilitate or replace their present housing.

The Fresno Housing Development Corp. was created by members of the housing task force as a nonprofit corporation to assist the city's renewal efforts, and the task force is also assisting the civic redevelopment agency with its General Neighborhood Renewal Area Plan covering 1,900 acres in West Fresno with over 5,000 dwellings. The pilot project, San Joaquin Park, covers 400 acres. Another part of the poverty-stricken West Fresno area, the Edison Manor neighborhood, was helped by the Coalition task force in activating a FACE (Federally Assisted Conservation Effort) project to halt deterioration.

While housing activities were getting started last winter, the mayor invited a Los Angeles businessman who had headed that city's rehabilitation committee after the Watts riots to speak to Fresno business leaders. H. C. McClellan described the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research, which was finding job and training opportunities for minority groups. By March 6, three meetings had been held in Fresno, and 28 industrialists initiated a like program for that city. The Management Council hired an executive director to serve through the summer months, called 200 large companies to a general meeting—and immediately got to work distributing job applicant biographies and unemployment fact sheets along with its statement of purpose.

A raft of personal interviews followed, and a follow-up survey was made later to find out how many disadvantaged Mexican-American and Negro workers had been hired. By mid-September, 401 full-time and 114 part-time workers had been signed on by 146 companies who responded. And by that time, a three-year budget for the Management Council was prepared, a full-time director recruited, a full-time person assigned to work with the Council by the Model Cities Program, and a contract signed with the Concentrated Employment Program to help secure jobs and training for 100 persons in the six months ahead.

High priority has been assigned also to youth opportunities and services. In April a chairman and the nucleus of a task force were selected, and this body was subsequently charged with providing a meaningful summer program for

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Action Council

The Urban Coalition

The 90th Congress and the Urban Crisis

A pamphlet briefly summarizing what steps the 90th Congress took in 1967 and 1968 to meet the crisis of the cities has been published by the Action Council. It is available upon request to the Urban Coalition Action Council, 1819 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Although the 90th Congress never agreed to "reorder national priorities," as the Urban Coalition Action Council urged, the pamphlet concludes that the Congress "nevertheless showed increasing interest in solutions to the urban crisis and took many positive actions to promote the welfare of the cities."

Legislative subjects covered in the booklet are Housing, Employment, Antipoverty Programs, Food Programs, Education, Health, Law Enforcement and Transportation.

Legislation in 1968

The 90th Congress adjourned October 14, 1968, with a record that went about halfway in meeting the legislative goals of the Action Council.

The greatest achievements of the year were in the housing field—a landmark housing act focused sharply on the needs of low and moderate-income families and a fair housing bill, banning racial and religious discrimination in the sale and rental of homes. The Action Council worked hard for Congressional approval of these measures.

The fair housing law had to weather a Senate filibuster before it came to a vote, but its enactment had the support of both parties in Congress.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 grew out of legislation submitted by the Democratic Administration, but it also encompassed many Republican proposals. Its enactment was a major bipartisan achievement.

1968 was a year in which Congress was more than ever conscious of the rising federal budget, and the action taken on appropriation bills reflected this concern. Passage of the tax surcharge and the failure to enact a Public Service Employment bill also were linked to the state of the budget and fear of growing inflation.

The Action Council supported the tax surcharge as necessary to solving the problems facing the nation, but it urged that no reductions be made in essential programs such as jobs, housing, education and community services. Congress, however, exempted only the education appropriations from the \$6 billion spending cut that it decided must go hand in hand with the tax increase.

The exemption for education activities came only after appropriations for the major urban education program—Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, providing aid to schools in impoverished areas—were cut slightly below last year's figures. Appropriations for housing, antipoverty activities and food programs for the needy, however, rose above last year's totals.

Here are some examples:

—Title I education funds. Last year, \$1.191 billion. This year, \$1.123 billion.

—Grants for model cities. Last year, \$312 million. This year, \$625 million.

—Office of Economic Opportunity, the basic antipoverty agency. Last year, \$1.77 billion. This year, \$1.95 billion.

—Food stamp program for the needy. Last year, \$185 million. This year, \$280 million.

At the very end of its 1968 session Congress considered the appropriations that were needed by the Housing and Urban Development Department to get a quick start on the new programs in the Housing Act and to administer the fair housing law. The results were disappointing to the Action Council. Of \$150 million in contracts that HUD planned to sign under the new homeownership and rent subsidy programs, Congress approved only \$50 million. And the appropriation under the fair housing law was even slimmer—\$2 million compared to the request for \$8 million.

The Secretary of HUD, Robert C. Weaver, said October 29 that the cuts in requested appropriations might set back for as much as a year the goal in the Housing Act of achieving 6 million housing units for low-income families in the next ten years. He expressed hope that the next Administration and Congress would approve supplemental appropriations for the homeownership and rental subsidy programs.

By the time Congress adjourned it had extended a number of laws that helped meet problems of the cities. Among these were:

- The Manpower Development and Training Act, which provides money for training the unemployed and upgrading the skills of the underemployed. The Act was extended for four years, but the Public Service Employment program which the Action Council supports was not added to it.

- The Higher Education Act, which includes the Teacher Corps, financial aid for needy students and funds for college construction, and the Vocational Education Act. New programs to help disadvantaged students were added to the two Acts.

- The School Lunch Act, which was amended to make federal funds available to day-care centers, neighborhood houses and summer recreation programs.

- The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, which was changed from an experimental demonstration program to a more permanent program largely under state control.

- The Mass Transportation Act, which furnishes federal funds for improved local transit operations.

- The Federal-Aid Highway Act, which finances major urban highways. New provisions were added to the Act requiring that when hearings are held on proposed routes within a city the effect of the location of the highway on the community environment must be considered.

Desegregation Amendment. A serious threat to the drive for effective desegregation of schools was barely beaten in Congress this year. The Action Council cooperated with other organizations in working to defeat the proposal.

The provision was sponsored by Mississippi Rep. Jamie L. Whitten (D), a high-ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee, and was written into the Committee's appropriation bill for the Health, Education and Welfare Department. After the House of Representatives approved the Whitten amendment in June, the Action Council urged the Senate to remove it from the bill. The provision was not deleted by the Senate but it was made relatively harmless by the addition of qualifying language.

The key part of Whitten's amendment prohibited HEW from "forcing" children to attend any particular school against their parents' wishes. The Senate language prohibited forced attendance at a particular school "in order to overcome racial imbalance." This phrase, which referred to de facto as opposed to discriminatory segregation, was already part of civil rights law. It allowed the Government and the courts to put an end to "freedom of choice" school plans that were perpetuating racial discrimination.

When members of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees met in conference on the HEW bill, Southerners had a majority of the votes and they struck out the Senate's qualifying language concerning racial imbalance. In effect, Whitten's purpose was achieved.

Action Council Chairman John W. Gardner wrote House Speaker John W. McCormack (D Mass.) and the Republican leader, Rep. Gerald R. Ford (Mich.), October 2, asking them to help defeat the Whitten amendment on the House

floor. He said the amendment "raises the real threat of resegregation in many Southern school districts" and "implicitly sanctions racially dual school systems."

On a close 167-175 vote October 3, the House rejected the Appropriations Committees' recommendation and adopted the Senate phrase nullifying Whitten's amendment.

The result is that HEW can continue to withhold funds from school districts that are not making real progress toward desegregation.

Block Grants. Block grants to the states were a feature of two major bills passed by Congress in 1968. These were the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, which provides \$400 million in federal funds to help improve state and local law enforcement activities, and the law extending the Juvenile Delinquency program.

Block grants have become a classic federal versus states' rights issue in the last two years. The principal debate has been on whether funds from the federal government for specific programs should go directly to the communities that apply for them, or whether they should go to the state governments for distribution under a state plan.

A major argument against block grants to the states was raised by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) during the debate on the anti-crime bill. The block grant approach, Muskie said, will foster "continuing political controversies and partisan rivalries between state and local governments, between Governors and Mayors, between urban and rural areas." Muskie pointed out that law enforcement is far more a local than a state problem, just as is education—another field in which block grants have been proposed.

The chief opposing argument was made by Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R Ill.), whose block grant amendment prevailed on the crime bill. Dirksen warned that if Congress "bypassed" state governments by providing funds directly to municipal governments, the system would lead to "imposition of federal guidelines, restrictions and eventual domination" of the states.

Southern Senators joined Dirksen in supporting block grants. Sen. Strom Thurmond (R S.C.), for example, declared that "the federal government should not deal with local communities, cities, towns and other subdivisions" but only with the states. Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D

N.C.) added that cities are only "creatures of the state."

Administration officials contended that since law enforcement and juvenile delinquency are basically local issues, federal programs should be "community based," involving local people in the planning and operations. The U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, said it would be a mistake to "thrust the state into the pipeline" between Washington and the local area. Arrangements under which state officials could review and evaluate—but not veto—local plans for the use of federal funds were favored by the Administration.

Action Council Chairman Gardner, commenting on the juvenile delinquency bill in a July 8 telegram to Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.), noted that "most youth services and juvenile courts are now operated at the local level. Precipitate requirements that all federal funds be channeled through state agencies," Gardner said, "would seriously impair the effectiveness of the juvenile delinquency legislation and in my view would be a grave mistake."

Congress, however, wrote into the bill requirements that federal contributions to rehabilitation and prevention programs, the basic elements of the legislation, be allocated directly to the states. But, each state first has to draw up a comprehensive plan for distributing the money to its communities and get the approval of the Secretary of HEW. The state also has to pay part of its communities' costs in operating the program.

The anti-crime bill allocated in block grants all of the money for planning (\$25 million the first year) and 85% of the money for law enforcement grants (\$50 million). Each state was required to channel at least 75% of its law enforcement grants to communities in the state. The planning money was for setting up and operating state agencies to draw up statewide law enforcement plans.

Local Legislation

Local coalitions have been active this year in urging legislative action by the state legislatures and by city government. They have also made recommendations on bond issues to be voted on by the public.

In Racine, Wisconsin, the local coalition—the Racine Environment Committee—met with the

Mayor and 12 of the city's 18 aldermen to discuss the coalition's program. The Environment Committee urged swift action by the city in applying to HUD for planning funds under the model cities program. Another legislative goal was adoption by the City Council of a housing conservation code so that the city would be eligible for federal funds for low-income housing. This effort was led for the coalition by Paul Cody, the urban affairs manager of the Johnson Wax Company.

The Louisiana legislature recently enacted a law for local option urban renewal, capping a two-year campaign by the Urban Coalition's New Orleans affiliate, the Metropolitan Area Committee. Members of the committee endorsed a Community Improvement Act sponsored by the city administration, prepared and distributed a pamphlet explaining urban renewal, and testified at hearings by legislative committees in the capitol in Baton Rouge. The legislature did not act on the proposal last year, but when the New Orleans group and other supporters of urban renewal resumed the campaign in 1968, the bill passed and was signed by the Governor. The city is now actively working on its urban renewal plans.

On the local level the Metropolitan Area Committee has been seeking reform of the tax structure and has endorsed bond proposals within the city of New Orleans and in an adjoining parish (county).

The Saginaw, Michigan, local coalition has been credited by the Mayor's office with gaining support within the city for passage of fair housing legislation and an unprecedented tax levy for education. The Committee of Concern, the Saginaw coalition, also worked successfully for a county-wide mutual fire assistance pact.

The New York City Urban Coalition's Housing Task Force has set up a legislative subcommittee of ten attorneys to examine what provisions in the housing law are being used or misused. The subcommittee will seek new approaches to housing legislation and regulations, as well as advising on community housing problems.

Testifying before the St. Paul, Minnesota, City Council in October, representatives of the local coalition supported a budget increase sought by the director of the St. Paul municipal human and civil rights department.



Fresno Expands *from page 4*

disadvantaged youth, as well as summer jobs. But this didn't seem enough to the task force members; they wanted a year-round role. In July, representatives from youth organizations throughout the Fresno area were convened, and a Youth Council was born. It includes a voting representative from every youth group, and accepts as members all youth from 15 to 22 years old.

The first official activity was a September panel discussion where a fiery exchange went on among 500 adults and youths on "The Widening Gap Between Youth and Adults." This gap between the generations was not the only one to be faced; one of the specific goals of the Youth Council is to promote interaction and communication among young people from all parts of Fresno. The Council recognizes no barriers, whether city-county, school, church or racial. It has made plans to study such problems as recreation, high school curriculum and drug abuse—studies to be carried out by youth alone.

And the gap between youth and the "establishment" is being tackled by having youths sit in on city commissions and take a role in the decision making—learning about community planning processes at first hand.

Case Study: Minneapolis

Minneapolis, one of the first cities to form an Urban Coalition, has had its first year's experience described in a detailed case study. The report, available from the national Urban Coalition office, was prepared by Michael J. McManus, correspondent for Time Magazine who had been on loan to the Urban Coalition.

Sparked by Mayor Arthur Naftalin, 14 business leaders who had worked together after a 1966 riot in Minneapolis agreed that a long-range attack on the city's problems was needed. Each donated \$1,000 for a citywide study on the possibility of creating a Coalition for com-

munity focus on the problems. To conduct the study they hired Larry Harris, organizer of the Hennepin County poverty program, who was white and had the respect of most white leaders. Sensing distrust by the militant black leadership, Harris asked for a co-director: T. Williams, black staff director of a local community center. Their study found wide agreement on need for a coalition, but real apprehension that business would dominate it.

The businessmen responded by minimizing their role, deciding that only seven of them would sit on a 63-man board. One-third would represent minority and poverty groups, one-third government and agencies, one-third business, labor and religion. A statement of goals was drafted and circulated to 100 leaders by mid-November, and a temporary structure was designed with six-month terms for chairman, staff director and task force heads. Larry Harris became executive director for the first six months. In early December, a single meeting of men from 60 corporations raised the \$45,000 budget, and a six-man staff was planned. "In retrospect, this underestimation of staff needs was the largest single error in launching the Coalition," the report says. "Once the study was completed, things seemed to drag. It was not until Feb. 8 that the first Coalition meeting was held."

Task forces were named on employment, housing and community information. The latter followed up the Kerner Commission Report with an "Anti-Racism Week": Church-goers were given a "sensitivity survey," seminars were held on the shortcomings of the white press, housing industry members were confronted with charges of discriminatory housing practices. In the week following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., black members, venting their emotions with violent words, charged that the Coalition was useless and formed a Black United Front to present formal demands. Their 14-point "Recommendations from the Black Community" impressed the white members with the thoughtfulness of the demands and the unity of the community. "The Coalition committed itself to a series of specific actions in direct response to the 14 points," it is reported, but "as painful as it was for the fledgling Urban Coalition to bow (some said 'capitulate') to the demands of the black community, producing action on the

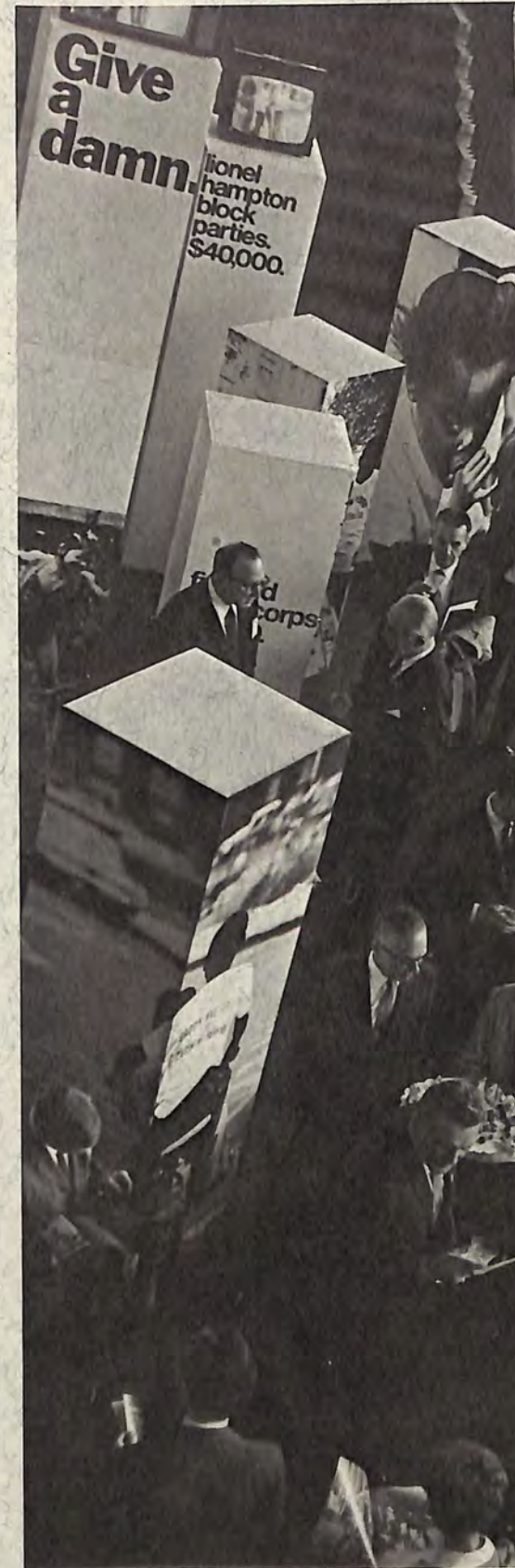
promises was far more difficult. The white man had made new promises, but he did not provide the staff to do the hard work to produce results."

The outcome: frustration on all parts, culminating in an explosive meeting on the six-month anniversary. It was time for a new look at purposes and methods. Larry Harris' temporary assignment as executive director ended at this meeting, and he submitted a series of special recommendations. One was carried out immediately, as Harry Davis, the man the blacks had chosen to negotiate their 14 points, became the new executive director. The appointment had "profound symbolic value," McManus says in his report. "To have a Negro in that post underscored the city's long-term commitment to press the battle against racism and poverty."

Finding that the sharpest cry was for black entrepreneurship, 17 family and corporate foundations formed a consortium and pledged \$225,000 for an equal opportunity fund. A predominantly black subcommittee of the business development task force was formed to decide which applicants for enterprise are to be helped; other committees give technical aid. By early October, \$17,000 made in "soft" loans had drawn another \$64,000 from traditional lending sources to help Negroes open their own businesses.

The housing task force also had produced results. By October the city had added 14 building inspectors to force landlords to maintain property standards; legislation to protect tenants was in the works; the consortium had approved 51 applications and was reviewing 175 more for down-payment funds for needy families. The employment task force helped fill 600 full-time jobs and found 1,470 summer jobs.

Lessons learned in this year: The Coalition cannot be "solely a behind-the-scenes catalytic agent . . .," the case study concludes. It must actively strengthen the black leadership on a broad base, and there must be persistent communication among all parties. It must be funded to afford enough full-time staff to do the job; borrowing personnel initially is only a stop-gap solution. Finally, says the report, the principals "must recognize that they are blazing new trails through perilous terrain. Like explorers, they must have goals, enthusiasm, strength and a vast capacity to be flexible when confronted by the unexpected."



Communications

Brian Duff, vice president of the national Urban Coalition in charge of communications, has announced the appointment of William A. Mercer as deputy director of communications. Mercer has served since April 1964 as executive director of the Business and Industrial Coordinating Council in Newark, N.J., an organization of business, civil rights, industry, labor, education, the major religious faiths and social agencies that has developed more than 15,000 job and training opportunities for the disadvantaged in that city. Mercer is a graduate of the New York University School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance and has done graduate work at the NYU Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

Report

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