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Cleveland Under the Civil Rights Microscope, 1966.

CLEVELAND UNDER THE CIVIL RIGHTS MICROSCOPE

THE TEMPLE

May 1, 1966

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

There are no quick and easy solutions to human problems. A teen-age marriage does not make the child bride a mature woman overnight. A sizeable legacy does not lighten our lives with a sense of purpose or give us peace of mind. What is true of our private lives is infinitely more true of the complex of problems which face us as a nation.

These past months many have been impressed with the number of laws and the extent and variety of programs which have been enacted to free the poor from his poverty and to free the Negro from his disability. Does it surprise you to know that if we continue over the next twenty-five years, these programs of welfare and civil rights at their present level, we will succeed in limiting the increase of the poor and the disadvantaged to twice their present number? If, by some miracle we could provide the public schools every dollar they require, and at the same time erase the disadvantages of slum living which impede learning, we would still require 75 years to close the gap between the educational achievements of the children of the city streets and the children of the middle class.

There are no easy solutions to the twin problems of race and poverty, though some would like to believe that a stroke of the President's pen, a Voting Rights Act, Civil Rights Legislation, Fair Housing Ordinances, Fair Employment Practices Regulations can achieve the goal of equal opportunity for all which lies at the basis of our national conscience. Such laws are urgent. Better laws are urgent. The fuller implementation of existing laws and administrative procedures is urgent. But, when all is said and done, the nation requires a massive social revolution in order to bring the sunlight of opportunity into the shadowed world of delinquency, dis-

crimination, deterioration and despair in which the Negro poor drag out their lives. It is time that you and I faced up to the urgency, the complexity and the magnitude of the race-poverty problems which confront us.

Research prepared by the staff of the United States Civil Rights Commission for submission at the recent hearings stated flat out that there is a disparity between the learning performance levels of Negro and white students at the kindergarten level (in the city blight sets in early) and that this gap widens during each subsequent year of their education. We have recognized some of the causes of this disparity and have taken corrective steps. Construction can reduce overcrowding. Better salary scales can attract better teachers into the city system. A careful recognition of the needs of the child of deprivation can create a meaningful curriculum. But, what shall we do about that congerie of social and family problems and about the pathology of the slums which limit the educational potential of these young people? How shall we do away with the confusion of a southern rural in-migrant class who do not understand the city and who have no real comprehension of the purposes of education? How shall we master their understandable psychological fear of losing their child into a larger world they cannot enter? How shall we make up to them for his much-needed pay check? How shall we combat the ever-enlarging group of those who, disconcerted by the schools become misfits and crowd the sidewalks and jeer at those who continue - seeking converts to their failure? How can we place a father figure in a child's life or help him to understand the stability of family life? How shall we counteract a curriculum which prepares the young for a world which was but is no more - a world where the unskilled could find jobs? How shall we overcome his innocence of the requirement of a technological job market?

Our failure can be documented. 6.9% of Negro students enrolled in the Cleveland Public School system drop out at the end of Junior High School. During each of the three years of High School 14.6% more stop coming. One in two Negro children do not receive a high school diploma, the minimum level of achievement

we assume necessary in the job market of the 1960's. Of those who manage to graduate high school in the central planning areas of our city - of the one in two who persevere and graduate, one in two walk our sidewalks unable to get a job, prepared neither for college nor for employment. Education is a promise on which we really have not made good. The door is ajar, it is not wide open.

Hough is not simply overcrowded flats and bad plumbing, it is a way of life. Hough is a closed society. There is almost no way for a child to break free of the social pathology of the slum; if he lives in a home where adults speak pidgin his opportunity is restricted from the cradle. Cultural deprivation is a bland label for a dismal childhood without exposure to the larger world of ideas and action. If we do not unlock the closed society now these children will sire in their turn undereducated and underemployed children - and the cycle of human waste will roll on and on.

Legislation is not enough. Fair Housing Ordinances are good and necessary, but of little use if there is inadequate low-cost housing available outside of the already over-crowded Negro areas. In Cleveland, this is the case. Low cost housing is in short supply and in each of the last few years the city's supply of such housing (decent or not) has dwindled. During a period of rising need, we have actually shrunk the available supply. Fair Housing Ordinances are good and necessary but of little use if the Negro can not pay the rent. When will we face the certain impact of automation, the inevitable dislocation of the Negro who is now in occupations requiring minimal skills - skills which machines will soon be performing. Whatever we do these next years Negro unemployment will rise not fall. Not only does the Negro bear three times the level of unemployment found in the white society, but in the next ten or twenty years he faces a level five times as high largely because he is without the skills which might allow him to be flexible and to secure a new job. Fair Employment Practices legislation is good and necessary but minimal in effect if the Negro graduating from public school lacks the skills with which to be hired in the first place, or, if we allow construction unions

and craft unions to prevent him, by disingenuous contrivances, from receiving his working papers. If we propose to break open the society of the underprivileged and to bring them into the ambit of opportunity of the most affluent and blessed society in the world we face a complex of problems, each of which must be attacked at the same time.

Before the Civil Rights Commission hearings, Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University and a member of the Commission, visited some of our city's 7,000 apartment units which lack certificates of occupancy. After this visit he made this succinct remark: "I have seen better pig pens." Now slums do not shock the city dweller. Slums have been part of the city since time immemorial so perhaps Cleveland was not shocked, but then again, perhaps we were by the rather off-handed comment made before the Commission that 'the Hough area is the classic, the grayest slum in the United States.' At least we were shocked by the city's admission that in Hough these last years, housing inspectors have not enforced existing codes. When asked why, the acting Urban Renewal Director answered that Hough was to be an Urban Renewal area, and if at some future date the city wanted to acquire these buildings they might have to pay a higher acquisition price for rehabilitated structures. Between its budget and its poor Cleveland chose to pinch pennies. Between enforcement of its own laws and calculated indifference Cleveland chose inaction. One city housing inspector could not remember having closed any apartment simply because it was unfit for human habitation. A. U.S. Public Health Inspector found Cleveland the Best Location In the Nation for rats. Naively I had associated rats with the Middle-Ages, the Bubonic Plague, and the Black Death.. Naively I had assumed that in the twentieth century we had sanitation departments and effective garbage collection, but, apparently in Cleveland we have the Middle Ages. We are careless with our hygiene. We are careless with our Public Health. At least we are careless in those areas of the city we drive around and not through and which are studied by sociologists, but not seen by the citizens.

The Civil Rights Commission made a searching investigation of our city. There is, as yet, no final report, but as we summed up the testimony and read the staff papers we found Cleveland guilty of indifference, callousness, short-sightedness, and a lack of political and moral courage. That other cities share our guilt is slight consolation.

We have preferred razing the slums to raising the standard of decency of those who live in the slums. Note this almost unbelievable testimony before the Commission:

Question by Commission Counsel: "What has Cleveland done to increase adequate housing for the Negro?"

Answer by the acting Director of Urban Renewal: "Nothing, that I know of, sir."

Urban Renewal programs and Public Housing programs were designed not only to revitalize the city but to rehabilitate the lives of those who live in them. This latter goal seems entirely to have been forgotten. Urban Renewal plans uprooted many Negroes. We dumped most of them right back into congested Negro areas lacking adequate housing. Cleveland has not sought federal monies for relocation housing. Such Public Housing as we have built has been largely for the elderly. Most of this housing has been built in largely white or largely Negro areas, and by some administrative procedure, which was not fully explained to the Commission, our public housing estates reflect almost exactly the racial composition of the areas in which they are located. On the east side they are heavily Negro, on the west side they are white. Nine times as many Negroes as whites wait for admission to family-size apartments in public housing, yet somehow on the west side we have public housing estates which are entirely white. Racial segregation has been intensified by such public housing as we have managed.

What is true of housing is true of health. It is shocking, is it not, that Cleveland is the metropolitan area which spends the least on Public Health? Cleveland has no chronic disease control, no public mental health program, no

epidemiological investigation, no communicable disease surveillance. This affects all of us, but it affects the Negro the most. Nursing case-loads in Public Health Centers are far too high all over the city. They range from 303 on the West Side to 866 in the central and Hough areas. Not unexpectedly though Negro births represent 28.9% of all births, the rate of Negro maternal deaths is 60% of all such deaths of infant mortality, 40% of the total. 2.8% of our white population is unemployed, 8.9% of our Negro population. The level of aid available through public welfare, public assistance and the aid to dependent children is 72% of a 1959 standard of minimum subsistence. The Negro population suffers inordinately. One of the Commissioners asked a boy of 8 or 9 who accompanied his mother to the hearing, "What does your mother serve you during the time when there is little money left?" "I live on oat-meal and rice." "Are you ^{ever} hungry?" "Sometimes." This, in the Best Location In the Nation. This, in the most abundant nation in our world. Need more be said? The picture is one of indifference, callousness, short-sightedness, timidity, and lack of political and moral courage.

Cleveland defended itself by accentuating the positive. On the last day of the hearings, Clevelanders testified to what had been accomplished. Operation "Head Start," The Ludlow Project, elimination of kindergarten waiting lists, the Plans for Progress Program which has brought open employment into some 89 of our major plants, Fair Housing Inc., literary programs, the Man-power Development Program, the Job Corps, all these and more. Men spoke and women spoke of tutorial programs - and of such volunteer programs as The Temple's John Hay, Charles Orr and Springbrook projects. There has been accomplishment. At least a small minority among us have been active but Cleveland must recognize that however valid and urgent all these programs are, they represent only a ripple in a vast sea of turmoil - and they will not tame this sea. Cleveland

requires a vision far beyond the small bore programs which we have devised so far. We are part of a sweeping social revolution, and unless you and I plan accordingly, this revolution will surge over us, and a tidal wave of unplanned social change will destroy all in its path. We need to attack poverty. We need to attack prejudice. We need to attack the highhandedness of our police. We need to attack the complex problems of education. We need to provide low-cost housing in all areas of the county. We need to provide jobs. We need to provide job opportunity - job training and job re-training. We need to provide a school environment which will be open from dawn to dusk. We need to provide children of the streets with adults from whom they can learn simple speech, hobbies, skills - adults who have the patience to listen and counsel.

I have tried to capsule what I think is required around the word 'rights.' "R" stands for respect - respect for political activity, respect for picketing, respect for placards, respect for political disturbance when it is designed to point up existing evils. If these hearings proved any one thesis, it is that Cleveland prefers to sweep its dirt under the carpet of the slum than to face up to the unpleasant. Out of sight is out of mind. Unless there are screaming headlines, we prefer inaction to action, lethargy to planning. Until Cleveland shows the political vision to confront our problems realistically, we must have respect for that which disturbs law and order, for that which roils the social order. In Cleveland, protest is the only meaningful catalyst of change.

"I" is for intelligence. We need the intelligence to see the whole range of problems which confront us (illiteracy, delinquency, unemployment, slum pathology, curriculum inadequacy, shabby housing, segregated housing, urban deterioration, hiring discrimination...) and we need to provide broadly-based programs, using tax monies and welfare monies and all the skill we possess. We cannot any longer blink reality away. We need the intelligence to confront

this century, and to put behind us all those old shibboleths 'where there's a will there's a way.' 'Every man has his place.' 'If a man wants to work he can always find work.' Let us recognize this violent age of social, technological and political revolution for what it is and recognize the closed society for the imprisonment that it is, and determine to be leaders in planned and meaningful social change.

"G" is for generosity. Between human need and higher taxes to pay for opportunity, we must choose taxes. Between leisure and social concern we must choose to be volunteers. It continues to amaze me that there are those who complain: "I don't know what to do with myself," as if they did not live in a city where children cry out for help - for a helping hand, an open ear, a patient tutor. Cleveland is long on reports and studies and short on responsibility and sacrifice. The time is now to stand up and be counted.

"H" is for humanity. Between demolition and decency we must choose decency. Between razing the slums and raising the standard of opportunity of those in the slums, we must raise their standard of living. Our headlines are filled with new buildings, new schools, new universities, new centers for this or that institution. Let us begin to fill our headlines with the work of human salvage - let us make headlines of a child with whom we began to work at the age of three, for whom we provided nursery school, Operation Head Start, an enriched school program, dawn to dusk guidance, cub scout masters, guidance counsellors - hope.

"T" is for a total solution. We have a way of saying 'this is Cleveland's problem. I live in Shaker Heights.' 'This is the city's problem. I live in Lakewood or Parma.' Cleveland requires Metropolitan planning. Segregation will exist as long as Cleveland alone faces up to the problem of open occupancy. Segregation in the classroom will exist as long as there is one school system in our city and a dozen hermetically sealed systems in the county. When we

build school buildings let us begin to build buildings which can draw students from the entire area. When we build our institutions let us place them where they will draw White and Negro, upper class and lower class and middle class, and provide an environment which will be an enrichment for all.

"S" is for steadfastness. Poverty and race will be critical problems throughout our lifetime and throughout the lifetime of our children and of our children's children. The sunshine soldiers, those who believe that one bill or one welfare levy solves all, will not be equal to the struggle. The war on poverty and the war on race are a century-long commitment. They represent a commitment to a new structure of society and a commitment to a new philosophy of society which emphasizes planning and concern and welfare and humanity rather than property rights and the right to be prejudiced. And let none of us doubt that these necessary changes will come easily. There will be violence. There will be abrasion. There will be hate. There will be fear. There will be victims. Change will be an ordeal. We will see more of it. To keep one's head and to keep one's sense of purpose throughout this ordeal is the mark of the citizen.

When Cleveland's record was totaled up by the United States Civil Rights Commission, let us confess, it made sorry reading. We are a timid city. We are a snug city. We are a self-satisfied city. We are a short-sighted city. We are a city which is shackled by archaic forms of government. We are a city which needs to be shaken awake. I do not care how we compare with any other city. I care only that Cleveland be a city fit for all to live in. And, I am certain that if we continue poking along, taking little steps in an age which requires giant steps, the problems will become more aggravated and not less. We will fall further and further behind the need. So I pray that this city which I love will find vision, steadfastness, courage and determination. I pray for us, for we are the city, for the willingness to give, to be

courageous and to be steadfast and most of all, to be adequate to the
overwhelming and overriding responsibilities of citizenship.



Legislation to bring the unified of speaking into the school
world of discussions, debates, lectures, seminars
& debates in which the quality of conversations may
be seen here.

Let us face facts: The staff report on education prepared
for the recent hearing of the U.S.C.A. stated fully:

Academic performance records of Cleveland students
show a marked difference between students in
predominantly negro schools & students in predominantly
white schools. The difference between white &
negro academic performance is even more
marked in university studies.

The reasons are multiple. Discrimination has been identified by
contending institutions in the exposed white schools prevailing;
Teacher quality can be compared by white pay & rank and
double salaries usually paid white teachers.

There shall also affect the university as to educational
goals & purposes addressed in part of the negro & several populations
bring to the city?

Is the fear of a present generation united among the
the in elementary school education of the city of even educated
child - & of the very child during the years of study

on the unfolding & consciousness of life in the
schools where a child can not learn to reach to the

middle, heavy, red.

Despite massive federal program which has been accomplished
as far as public health matters are structurally improved, it is
estimated that if we continue to spend more on the order of
5-10% extra expenditures - the major part will double in the
next half century (I think of course a significant part of the
major community will be moved out of the central part
of the large area & into suburban neighborhoods & the middle
class.

I think on the recently held USCNC meeting in Cleveland
in Cleveland as a summary & review of development of our people
here - much of it has been done in the past few years
regarding regulation of the land
and region in the city. WRHS has been very active
in the past few years. AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
has been very active in the past few years.
has been very active in the past few years.

The Commission is expected to look & disseminate lots of the
past, Fr. Theodore Humber found some 2,000 million fund
held (TENANTS) with a decision the past was rough the
have been qualified for certificates of occupancy - left in
units be submitted "2 have been held for the past few years has been
was no great show - though it was sturdy to run to
has been accumulated on the past few years has been the main one
The study was the main one but for the past 3 years City
housing inspections have not improved the housing code. On

belonging to Commercial Union a Co. of the
of the Dept of Alaska Revenue

11 What has concluded since the appeal hearing for the merger

1. Noting Out 2 Lines 

Council has proposed candidate to congress -
 record more for ECU body - then for removal of the
people

Rita represent a medical degree - dentist, afterwards
are available - You as children are also with you
children you are stayed WRHS American Jewish Archives
the nation for me - a little of myself has been done to
also at my Hall and you a little of myself has been done to
and less fertile - which you to one particular build
offered as more expanded in one life than in any other
organization was in the nation,

~~There was a very big meeting of the people in the city of New York -
 by a public act, under the leadership of the people - One person
 was killed and many were injured - The people were very angry -
 we must always keep the people in mind -~~

"Outward Bound"
 "Outward Bound"

It is a very good book

It is a very good book and it is very interesting to read

It is a very good book and it is very interesting to read

It is a very good book and it is very interesting to read

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It is a very good book and it is very interesting to read

Why go on?

The picture is clear.

Despite unpopular public policy which we have seen
is little & only - on which are definitely - small
the definitely may found publicly is in the
note

~~Nothing~~ should - at least it is preferred
to maintain the position

Operation 1000 Hours

The Reserve main rule has been changed

Balance at the elementary school

Section

The plan for 1955



School



Development Report

85 major points

Extremely found in public development for many

Fair business inc.

Interest and Value

The elementary of elementary weekly edit

Tuition Program and Reading

Memorandum and Other Committee

no right was a also project and in the Temple

commonly seen in public at present, Condo One, 7

Apartment - as it was used. But no right to the other

as a byproduct supply in which must be included the
total value of property standing power of its rights &
obstacles all to its needs & will not at any cost of
causing continued discomfort, considered as being guilty
of violating not of deliberate murder

Life insurance which is required of us: (How to secure the
 right person and
 cost of medical expense)

I am now asked for the political and political interest
 of the disadvantaged. Of this I do not say the placards with
 the insignia. Considered as persons that are only
that profess to serve the cause that under the very name
and of right is not WRHS of the cause of change
and undoubtedly to cause of change

II A multitude toward the removal of the obstacles
placed on the path of people in an institution in
more obstacles than any other in the country and in
the whole world is open to deliberately spread to all

III 6 new articles toward the removal of the obstacles placed on the path of people in an institution in
of the major cause is the act of the Congress and the people in the country and in the world
a commission report on the cause of change and the removal of the obstacles placed on the path of people in an institution in
the country and in the world is open to deliberately spread to all
production compared to the cause of change and the removal of the obstacles placed on the path of people in an institution in
most of the major cause is the act of the Congress and the people in the country and in the world
the major cause is the act of the Congress and the people in the country and in the world

to new
I Respect for the principle, the principles, & the political interests of the
people. It has been ~~shown~~ that Chamberlain is a very wise and right in
substance - We prefer to insert our problems into the same line as
for a time ago and entirely, for an official and it is a simple fact
of Chamberlain's policy that under large business and large business and
in fact, therefore and for the future, and therefore and therefore and
Chamberlain, under restriction and the same and therefore and therefore and
Chamberlain and the same and therefore and therefore and therefore and

[illegible]

II 6 Learning - The rest of the work must be left -
 Between Topic & subject of day for all - we must have operation -
 when it is not
 we are still in water under our feet in land operation of the
world budget on unemployment! Canaille must be acting
financial out of time - a large great number of canaille ship
for every month to canaille no one canaille - canaille a year
no of sub canaille are canaille ship.

III It remains - when removed cannot be processed
without human removal - it is not easy to do so but
RAVING is a part of the same process and must -

KaddishFriday April 29Sunday May 1

Those who passed away this week

HENRY W. ROSEWATER

FLORENCE F. WIRTSHAFTER

LOUIS S. BING

CHARLES ALLEN HUEBSCHMAN

JANET HOFFMAN WARNER

JACOB T. SCHULIST

ARTHUR EINSTEIN

CHARLES GINSBERG

SIDNEY S. WEISKOPF

ANNE COWAN

IDA RIGELHAUPT

SEYMOUR GEOFFREY BRENNAN JR.

LOUIS M. SCHER

ZELDA STILLMAN

BERT KELLER

Jahrzeits

LENA WILK PRENTKE

MOLLY PALEY

BERTHOLD AUERBACH

FANNY SCHOENBERGER

JOSEPH ABRAMS

DR. JOSEPH W. GRAY

BETTY ROSENTHAL

JOSEPH STONE

ISSY LOEB

PATRICIA ANNE NEWMAN

ETHEL R. LEVINE

CHARLES MALINAS

MORRIS H. HAUSMAN

CAROLYN STONE KOPPER

KaddishFriday April 29Sunday May 1

Those who passed away this week

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Jahrzeits

LOUIS A. BLOOMFIELD

DR. BENJAMIN LEVINE

LENA DEVAY