

Though it has never happened in practice, the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare can stop or decrease payments to states if the plan or its administration is found to be "nonconforming." Usually states, such as Alabama, have backed down when treated directly with a cut-off.

A general and concise description of the welfare system is included in "Public Assistance under the Social Security Act -- Serving People in Need" (1966), available from Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services.

A pamphlet from the same bureau giving major provisions of welfare programs in each state is: "Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act: General Provisions -- Eligibility, Assistance, Administration" (PA Report No. 50).

Money & Rights

The two things that concern welfare recipients the most are

- public assistance payments are so low that few people on welfare have enough money to live on; and
- recipients' constitutional and human rights are constantly violated.

Assistance Payments:

Since each state is permitted to decide how much money it will give to people on welfare, the amount of assistance varies widely-- for instance, ADC average monthly payments per family range from \$32.38 in Mississippi to \$205.22 in New Jersey (as of June, 1966).

Each state defines its own standard of living that is used to determine who "needy persons" are. This assistance standard is based on basic needs, including shelter, utilities, food, and clothing, and in most states personal incidentals, medical and household supplies and certain "special needs".

An individual's need is defined as the difference between the state standard and his income or resources; in theory (and in practice in some states) the amount of assistance a person receives should be the same as the amount of his need as determined by the state.

In many states, however, welfare payments fall below determined because of limitations set by the state. The one used most often is setting maximum payments per recipient, per family or both (usually penalizing large families). This practice is being challenged in the courts in some states.

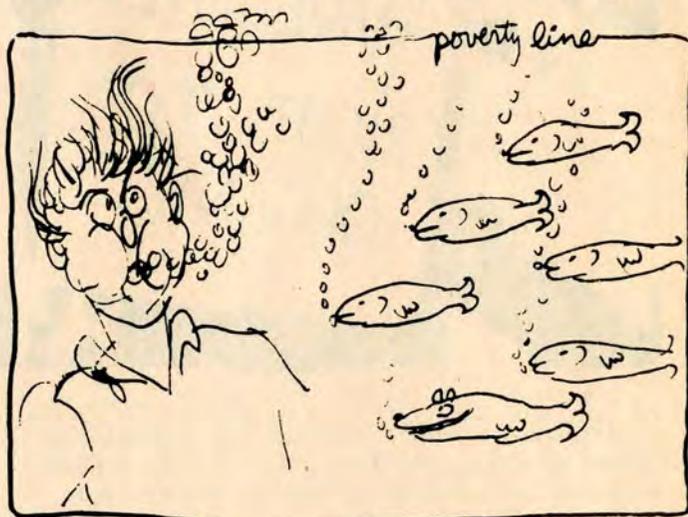
Another device involves setting payments as a percentage of the assistance standard (e.g. in Ohio budgets are about 80% of "need").

While recipients in many states have unmet needs according to each state standard, with few exceptions these standards fall below another estimate of minimum living requirements used by the federal government.

In this estimate, total living costs are presumed to be three times the cost of food under the "economy" food plan -- the lowest cost food plan developed by the Department of Agriculture. This figure (a little more than \$3,100 a year for a family of four) is what the War on Poverty calls the "poverty level." But even this poverty level doesn't provide enough money for health and decency.

The Department of Agriculture's next-to-lowest food plan, the "low-income" food budget, provides a more realistic basis on which to figure a poverty line.

A clear and complete explanation of all these different poverty levels is contained in a pamphlet



called "The Poverty Line" available from the Poverty/Rights Action Center (p. 49).

Yet another "poverty line", which is even higher than the others, is the "modest, but adequate budget" which was figured out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1959. The AFL-CIO up-dates the budget every year to include cost-of-living rises (write to Research Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., Washington, D.C.) A short memo on this poverty line and its relation to welfare organizing is available from the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law (p. 50).

Two programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture which sometimes help recipients to make ends meet are Surplus Food and Food Stamps.

Where in use, both are usually also available to the needy who are not on welfare.

The Surplus Food program gives food away free to eligible people, but the food is sometimes of poor quality and not very great variety.

With Food Stamps, one pays a lump sum on money each month in exchange for stamps worth more than the original amount when cashed in for groceries at most stores.

Rights:

Aside from those rights spelled out in the constitution and Bill Rights, the Social Security Act makes very clear specific rights that welfare recipients have. State Plans are supposed to embody these rights ensuring that (among other things):

- anyone wishing to make application for aid can do so and have it acted on promptly (decision must be in writing and reasons given if aid is denied);
- there be an opportunity for fair hearings for applicants and recipients who are dissatisfied with what the welfare department decides or if it fails to act in a reasonable period of time;
- methods of determining eligibility will respect the rights and protect the personal dignity of the individual;
- information from applicants and recipients be confidential;
- programs be in effect uniformly in all parts of the state;
- recipients have unrestricted use of assistance payments made in the form of money (For instance, they can have a phone, need not shop at certain stores, show receipts or pay debts. Exceptions include: vendor payments made to doctors or hospitals for medical services; restricted payments, such as a check made out directly to the landlord, which do not receive federal subsidies and can only be used upon proof of mismanagement of grant.)

But, few welfare departments adhere to the letter or the spirit of the law. Many case workers, welfare supervisors and special investigators have become well known for their intimidation of clients, disregard of civil liberties, and failure to treat recipients as human beings.

Specific practices include:

- payments: check are withheld, budgets figured too low, special needs unrecognized and use of money restricted.

- privacy: case workers or special investigators pay late-night or early-morning visits to recipients to see if there is a man in the house, or more often, question guests and pry unnecessarily into personal details of client's life

- right to information: recipients are not informed about welfare regulations, how their budgets are made up or how they can appeal decisions through a fair hearing.

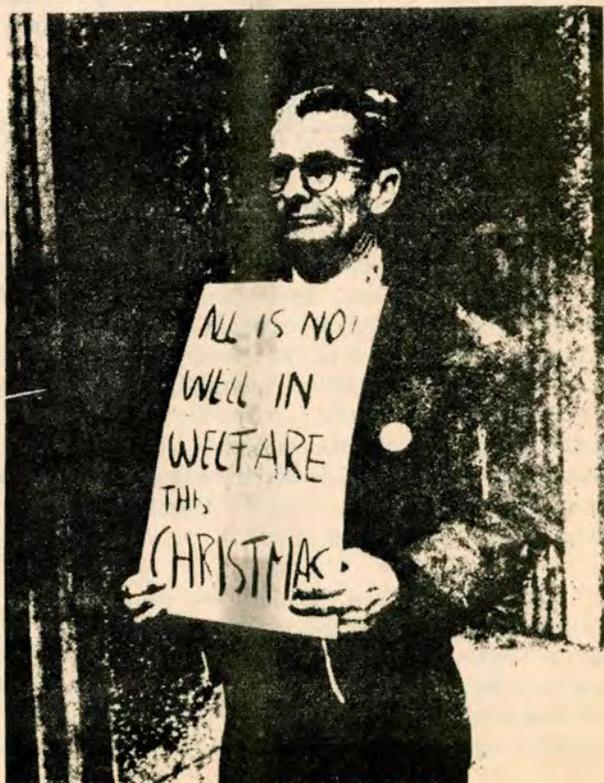
- broad interpretation of regulations: welfare denied or stopped because of lack of "suitable home" (usually means illegitimacy), "substitute parent" in home (means man lives in family and serves as father, therefore should be supporting family), "employable mother" (mother refuses or could get employment), and "non-cooperation" (which could mean just about anything).

- other restrictive rules such as residency requirements and making a "legally responsible relative" support a potential welfare recipient.

It's no wonder that welfare rights organizations have put demands protesting these and other practices in the form of a "Welfare Bill of Rights."

Fighting Back

Growing out of the emerging welfare rights movement, the Poverty/Rights Action Center (P/RAC) was established in May, 1966 and rapidly became the main information, research and coordinating



center for the activities of recipient organizations. You can write them (1713 R St., N.W., Washington, D.C.) for names of welfare rights groups in other parts of the country.

The Center publishes a bi-weekly newsletter and has already or is in the process of preparing booklets on: Organizing for Cash Benefits, Preparation of Welfare Handbooks, Your Welfare Rights, How to Negotiate, Effective Demonstrations, Fund Raising, Public Relations, How to Conduct a Meeting, Starting a Welfare Rights Organization, Models for Organizing, The Poverty Line, The Food Stamp Program, Guaranteed Income Plans, The Unemployed Parent Program, and Man-In-The-House Rules.

Almost essential to organizing welfare recipients and fighting the welfare department are pamphlets explaining in simple terms welfare rules and how budgets are supposed to be figured.

Such handbooks prepared by recipients groups range from blurbs of a few pages to 150-page manuals that can be used by recipients, organizers and lawyers.

Guidelines for the Preparation of Welfare Rights Handbooks", written by staff members of the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law (see below) is available from them or the Poverty/Rights Action Center. P/RAC can also send you copies of manuals prepared by other welfare rights organizations.

To prepare a simplified manual, it's necessary to check the following statutes, regulations and administrative rules:

• **HEW Handbook of Public Assistance Administration:** This is the set of regulations making specific the broad provisions of the Social Security Act. State Plans are supposed to conform to these regulations. Complete copies of this loose-leaf handbook are few and can only be found in HEW central and regional offices, state welfare department offices, and libraries of Schools of Social Work (it also may be printed in the Federal Register soon, and therefore available in most libraries and for purchase). The Bureau of Family Services will send specific sections upon request. (Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law (see below) has available a 65-page introduction to the Handbook, with excerpts of important section.)

• **State Plan:** This includes all state welfare laws, regulations and administrative procedures. The state statutes can be found in law libraries and welfare departments. Manuals governing administrative and budget procedures "should" be available at HEW main and regional offices, state and local

welfare department offices, and Neighborhood Legal Services Offices. Even though under most state "public information laws" (p. 4) these documents are open to the public, it may be difficult to see or obtain copies of the rules. While fighting for the right to access to these manuals, which may take a long time, it may be more convenient to beg, borrow or otherwise get a copy through a friendly case worker.

• **General Assistance:** Rules governing general assistance are located in the same places as those for categorical assistance, except not at HEW offices. In some states, general assistance manuals are the same or similar to those for categorical assistance.

The P/RAC and Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law have prepared a good little pamphlet explaining welfare laws.

If you plan a legal assault on the welfare system, see p. 34 for how to find a lawyer to handle court cases and help out with fair hearings. Legal assistance for lawyers as well as welfare rights groups is available from:

• **Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law**, 401 W. 117th St., New York, N.Y. 10027. Affiliated with Columbia University School of Social Work, this center provides assistance (e.g. all the legal work short of representation on major test cases, consultation on others) to lawyers and others representing welfare recipients. At also offers help in the preparation of welfare handbooks, runs training programs, publishes studies and policy papers, and has access to the HEW Handbook and most state manuals.

• **Project on Social Welfare Law**, New York University School of Law, Washington Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. The project is a national clearinghouse for information on welfare law, broadly defined. It publishes an excellent bi-monthly Welfare Law Bulletin (subscription free), which follows legal developments in such areas as unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, public assistance, public housing, child welfare services, landlord-tenant relations, consumer protection, and commitment of the mentally ill and retarded.

Control

If you want to challenge the welfare system, you have to know who exercises control at each level and who has the power to change various policies and laws.

For instance, the intake departments of most

welfare departments play a key role in keeping people off welfare -- and this procedure can probably be changed on a local level. Budgets are determined by the state -- and therefore the state legislature or administrative agency is the responsible body.

Find out if general and categorical assistance in your city are administered by the same agency or by different ones acting out of different offices. Check who sits on their respective boards and the relationship of each agency to the other (see p. for how to find out "who" someone is).

Relative financial contributions by federal, state and county agencies can be found in an annual publication from the Bureau of Family Services: "Sources of Funds Expended for Public Assistance Payments", as well as your state, county and local budgets (p. 38).

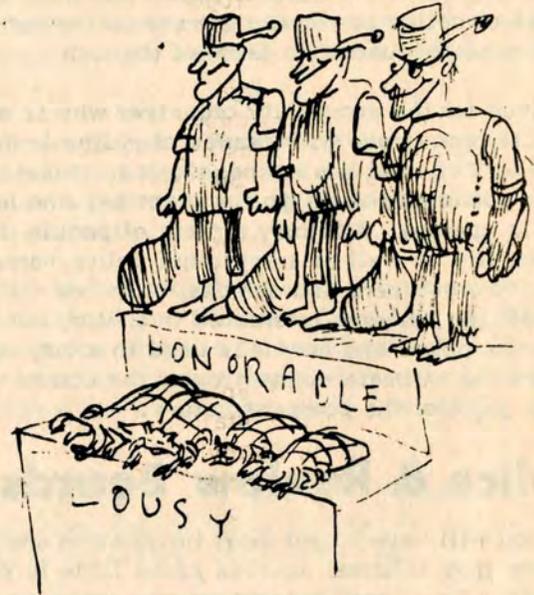
The best way to find out about the internal workings of the local welfare department is to get a job as a case worker or keep in close contact with sympathetic ones. In this way you can get inside leads for placing case workers and supervisors on a well-publicized "honor roll" and "house list".

Moreover, you can get an idea of the extent to which case workers blackmail clients, forge reports or otherwise engage in fraudulent activity. Collusion with slumlords or grocery stores giving credit to recipients is also commonly found.

An independent union called the National Federation of Social Service Employees Unions often actively supports welfare rights organizations.

It has already been designated as the collective bargaining agent for most welfare department employees in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore and Gary, Ind. and is conducting organizing drives in several other cities.

Information can be obtained from them by writing to National Federation of Social Service Employees Unions, 932 Broadway, New York, N.Y.



Police, Courts and Lawyers

Riots erupting every summer in many American cities have brought to light a problem which has been a long-standing one for minority and low-income groups -- the blatant, and sometimes subtle, abuse of police power and the unequal weighing of the scales of justice in favor of the rich.

Even for the community organizer who is not directly concerned with issues of police brutality or other "official lawlessness", it is important to learn something about police practices and how the courts operate. Arbitrary arrests of people in the community as well as intentional police harassment of organizers and demonstrators are common. In addition, anyone interested in finding out who controls power and how it is used in a city cannot ignore the intimate connection of the courts with other parts of the power structure.

Police & Review Boards

You will have to get most information about the police from informal sources since little is published. Your local department may issue an annual report giving some idea of the structure of the department, number and kind of personnel (detectives, patrolmen, etc.) and reported (but very inaccurate) statistics on crime, arrests and convictions.

Posing as a sociology or criminology student may yield useful information in the form of written materials or interviews with the cops. It is possible that the state advisory committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has done a study of police practices in your area.

Such things as police corruption and relations with the political machine and organized crime are best learned from newspaper reporters who have covered police beats, lawyers, young guys in the community, and maybe members of the Negro Policemen's Association (if one exists).

If you can obtain the names, badge numbers, and beats of patrolmen and detectives, as well as license plate numbers of unmarked police cars, it could be invaluable for the organizer.

Most police departments have internal boards set up to review complaints of police malpractice

made by citizens. Although these boards offer little more than a whitewash, it is a good idea to



check with a lawyer or the police department to find out the procedure for filing a complaint. Also find out if reporting an incident will hurt the defendant's chances in court.

While few people claim that an independent or civilian review board would be a cure-all for problems with the police, many community groups have demanded such a board.

A pamphlet from the American Civil Liberties Union (p. 57) called "Police Power and Citizen's Rights: the case for an independent police review board" (50¢) documents various kinds of police malpractice and outlines arguments for a civilian review board.

In several cities, some community groups, either despairing of ever achieving an official civilian review board or believing that it, too, would be ineffectual, have set up community-based boards which help victims of police misconduct to press charges against the authorities or maintain neighborhood patrols of their own to watch for instances of police brutality and intimidation.

For information on two of these programs write to:

- Citizens Alert, 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. 60603; and

• National Alert Patrol, 5139 Westhaven, Los Angeles, California.

Pamphlets explaining your rights if arrested are often put out by the state attorney general's office, your local Civil Liberties Union or Neighborhood Legal Services office (p. 56-7). If none exists, ask a lawyer or law student to find out what the prevailing regulations (and actual practices) are in your area, since there is some variation from state to state.

Such pamphlets are likely to include: what constitutes a lawful arrest; when a warrant for arrest or search warrant is needed; what happens when you get to jail; your rights to a phone call and a lawyer; arraignment procedures, and your right to bail.

The Court System

There are two kinds of cases handled by the courts -- criminal and civil. A criminal case involves an action by the government against an individual for breaking a law. An individual brings a court action against another in a civil case (although sometimes the government can be a party in the case).

A serious criminal charge usually carrying a sentence of more than one year is called a felony. A less serious one is a misdemeanor and a very minor crime is often called an offense.

Each state organizes its court system differently, making it difficult to generalize about local courts. At the lowest level are the Magistrate Courts (also called Justice of the Peace Courts, Police Courts, Municipal Courts or Circuit Courts).

These "inferior" courts handle offenses, most misdemeanors, and civil cases involving a small sum of money.

More serious criminal cases and civil trials involving a large amount of money are tried in the Superior Court (also called County Court, District Court, Circuit Court, or Court of Common Pleas).

Often these courts, which are usually organized on a county basis, are divided into specialized parts: Surrogate's Court (also called Probate or Orphan's Court -- handles wills and sometimes adoptions); Domestic Relations, Family, and Divorce Courts; Criminal Court; and ones covering other civil matters, such as landlord-tenant cases.

Youthful offenders come under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court which in most states is not technically a criminal court. The court, in theory, is supposed to take a parental role toward young defendants, and as a result, children have not enjoyed the same constitutional rights given adults

in regular criminal courts (e.g. they can be denied bail, confrontation of accusers, and immunity against self-incrimination.) However, a recent Supreme Court decision ruled that juveniles are entitled to the same procedural safeguards as adults. It probably will take a while before the effect of this decision will be felt in local courts.

Above these trial courts are one or two levels of appellate courts (usually called state supreme courts) which hear appeals from the lower courts.

The federal court system, consisting of district courts, intermediate appellate courts, specialized courts and the U.S. Supreme Court, handles cases involving federal law, questions of constitutionality, and civil actions between citizens of different states.

Some cases ordinarily heard in a state court, such as civil rights cases, can be removed to a federal court, where they are likely to get a more sympathetic hearing.

Find out which courts function in your area and what is the jurisdiction of each. Then find out the name of the judge who sits on each court, how he is chosen (elected or appointed and by whom), how long he serves and how much time he has left to go.

You can get most of this information from your state legislative manual (p. 35), local Bar Association, or if necessary, the county clerk.

The administrative department of the state court system is likely to put out an annual report which can give you an idea of the volume of cases handled by each court. If some courts there is such a backlog of cases that defendants spend three or



our months in jail awaiting trial if they can't post bail.

Whether appointed or elected, almost all judges are sensitive to political pressure, particularly those on the lowest levels of the judicial system. From newspaper files, lawyers, and people in the community you can get a good idea of the reputation of each judge ("easy" or "tough") and what are his political and business connections.

Aside from the judge, probably the most influential figure associated with any criminal court is the prosecutor (also called the state's attorney, district attorney or circuit solicitor). He is the lawyer who argues cases for "the people" or "the state". He has sizable control over whether or not a case will be prosecuted and when it will be scheduled for trial. Find out who the prosecutor (for both county and city) is, how he got the job, his reputation, etc.

Court records are filed in the court clerk's office by docket number (the number assigned to each case). The case record will include the charge, any previous record, name of attorney, the verdict, and the sentence. Usually there will be an alphabetical listing from which you can get the docket number. If there isn't, look up the person's name in the clipping file of the local newspaper.

On Trial

When a defendant first appears in court after arrest, the magistrate sets bail (p. 55) and informs the defendant of the charge against him and of his right to be represented by a lawyer. This is usually known as the arraignment.

If the defendant is charged with a felony and can't afford an attorney, the court must assign him a lawyer. Constitutionally any indigent person accused of any crime should be entitled to assigned counsel, but in practice, only some states currently assign lawyers to misdemeanor defendants.

- Assigned counsel will be either:
 - a private lawyer who takes the case on a voluntary basis or is paid by the court;
 - a "public defender", a public employee who defends criminal cases involving indigents; or
 - a lawyer from the Legal Aid Society (in the few cities where Legal Aid Societies handle criminal as well as civil cases) or Neighborhood Legal Services Project (p. 56).

The case will be "continued" (postponed) until a later date if the defendant wants time to obtain a lawyer.



In the case of a minor crime, the defendant will plead either guilty or not guilty at this point. If he pleads guilty, the magistrate will then sentence him; if not guilty, he will be tried then or a later date set for a trial.

If the accused is charged with a serious misdemeanor or a felony, he is entitled to a preliminary hearing, although it is frequently waived by the defendant in some states. At this hearing the magistrate determines if there is "probable cause" to believe that a crime has been committed and if the accused has committed it, but he does not determine the question of guilt or innocence.

If the case survives beyond the preliminary hearing, a formal accusation is made. In about half the states a grand jury hears evidence similar to that in a preliminary hearing and then issues an indictment, if it believes the defendant should be held for trial. In the other states where grand juries don't exist, the prosecutor files an information which is similar to an indictment.

The accused then appears before the judge in a superior court for formal arraignment. This means that the formal charges are read to him and he pleads guilty or not guilty. If he pleads not guilty a trial date will be set.

The defendant is entitled to a jury trial for a felony charge and in several states also for a misdemeanor (although it is likely that a jury trial can be demanded for almost any criminal charge).

The jury determines the verdict, but the judge does the sentencing. The judge will often base his sentence on a pre-sentencing report prepared by the probation department on the defendant's background.

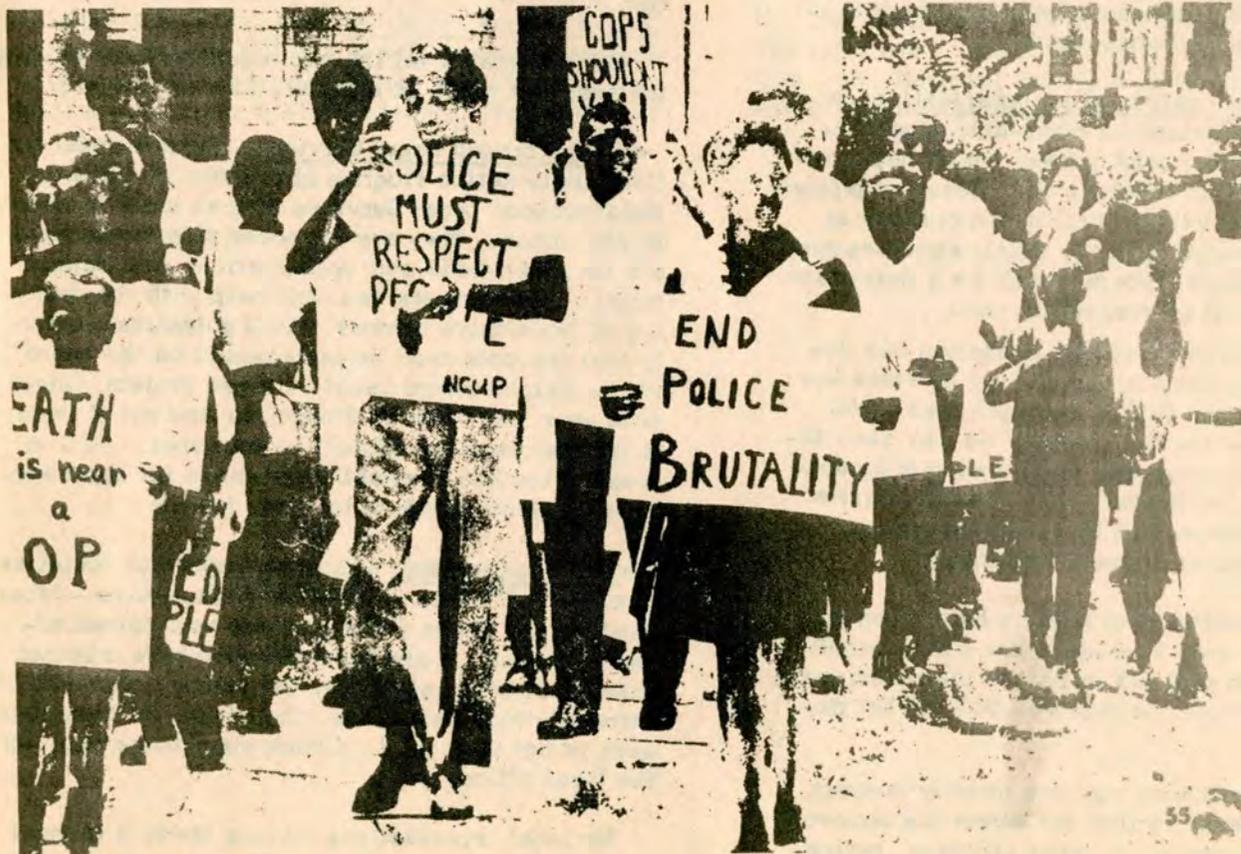
Jail or Bail

A defendant can be released during the period between his arrest and trial if he deposits money or posts a bond to insure his appearance at trial. The amount of the bail is set by a magistrate or in some cases at the police station.

The bail system discriminates in favor of the rich, since few poor people can afford to post bail themselves or even pay a fee to a bondsman to post it for them.

You can find out how the bail system works in your state and city from the local bar association or someone at a nearby law school.

In recent years there has developed a growing bail reform movement sparked by the Vera Institute



of Justice, 30 E. 39th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Vera has available free an excellent report on the bail system called "Bail in the United States: 1964", proceedings of several conferences on bail reform, and information on their three major projects:

- release on recognizance: First tested out in Manhattan starting in 1961, this project demonstrated that the courts will grant releases on recognizance (r.o.r.) -- release on one's honor pending trial (also called pre-trial parole) -- instead of setting bail if they can be given verified information about a defendant's reliability and his roots in the community. The project was so successful that the practice of interviewing defendants and recommending release for many spread to hundreds of other cities. Check to see if such a "bail project" exists in your community, how it works and how extensive it is.

- summons instead of arrest: in this project, a person, brought to a police station house accused of committing a minor crime, such as petit larceny, simple assault or malicious mischief, is interviewed by law students to determine his roots in the community. If the defendant meets the minimum requirements, it is recommended that a summons be issued instead of the accused being booked and detained until being brought before a magistrate. A summons, such as that given out for a traffic offense, is a court order directing the defendant to appear in court on a particular day.

- release in the custody of an organization: potentially very important for community organizations, this two-year pilot project which began recently in Manhattan involves the release of prisoners awaiting trial without bail in the custody of churches, community groups, social agencies and labor unions. These groups vouch for a defendant and assure he will be present for trial.

The fee (premium) that bail bondsmen can demand for posting bond is usually set by state law and averages about 10% of the total bond. Not regulated by law are the "extras" he may also demand, such as substantial collateral or a promise to use a particular lawyer. Most states require that bondsmen be backed by surety companies having enough funds to meet forfeitures.

Most bail bondsmen in Illinois have been put out of business by a new state law which permits the defendant to pay 10% of bail to the court; when he appears for trial, he receives 90% of that deposit back.

Check with informal sources (mostly lawyers and newspapermen) to find out about the connection of local bondsmen to court officials, police, lawyers, politicians and organized crime.

Information about overcrowding, bad conditions, brutality and corruption in state prisons, county and city jails and police lock-ups is best obtained from people in the community, lawyers, and newspaper reporters. Statistics can be found in annual reports of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons -- your state or county may also issue annual reports.

Lawyers and Legal Assistance

Organizations offering legal assistance differ somewhat in their purposes and in the quality of their legal work.

Some seek to work closely with community organizations, others principally provide legal services for people who can't afford them, still others are mostly interested in handling cases in which a precedent is likely to be set. Some offer help not only with criminal cases, but also landlord-tenant and consumer matters, and problems with such administrative agencies as the welfare department, public housing authorities, or unemployment compensation office.

Be sure to first check the reputation of any lawyer or legal assistance group with which you become involved, because many may not be sympathetic to the goals and tactics of your organization.

On the local level the two organizations providing the broadest range of legal aid for the poor are:

- Neighborhood Legal Services: Funded under the Community Action Program of the War on Poverty, Neighborhood Legal Services offices exist in nearly 200 cities. They are supposed to provide legal aid for individuals and organizations who cannot afford them. Their lawyers can also help with the drafting of legislative reforms. OEO guidelines specify that the poor must be represented on the board of the Neighborhood Legal Services Project. Check with your local War on Poverty to find out if there is a Legal Services Project in your area. OEO in Washington has available guidelines for legal services projects and how to apply for one.

- Legal Aid Society: There are Legal Aid Societies in almost all cities of at least medium size. Most handle civil cases for any person who cannot afford a lawyer. A small number also take criminal cases that are assigned by the courts. Because of extremely high caseloads, the quality of their legal work is not very good. Check your phone book for the local office.

National organizations having lawyers in most parts of the country who handle without fee cases involving primarily the denial of civil rights and civil liberties, but also "poverty" cases, are:

● American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU): The ACLU is a decentralized federation of state civil liberties unions. Participating attorneys on a local level handle cases which involve the denial of constitutional rights and which are likely to set a precedent. Check to see if there is a CLU in your city in the phone book. Otherwise, write to the national office, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010.

● National Lawyers Guild: The Lawyers Guild is an association of lawyers sympathetic to community groups who will usually handle civil rights and civil liberties cases, particularly unpopular ones. Contact the national office: 5 Beekman St. New York, N.Y.

● Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality (SEDFRE). SEDFRE has staff and volunteer attorneys in many parts of the country, but mostly in the South, who handle cases arising from civil rights and anti-poverty activities. Contact national office: 150 Nassau St., New York, N.Y. 10038.

● NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc. (Usually called the "Inc. Fund" or Legal Defense Fund): Originally set up to handle civil rights cases through cooperating attorneys, the legal defense fund has now moved into the field of poverty law. It is associated with the National Office for the Rights of the Indigent (NORI) which will handle precedent-setting cases on appeal referred by offices of the Legal Aid Society, Public Defender, Neighborhood

Law Projects and individual lawyers. The Inc. Fund's new Division of Legal Information and Community Service will provide legal education for ghetto residents. National office: 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019

● Law Center for Constitutional Rights: This center has lawyers on the East coast and in the South who will handle test cases in almost any area. Address: 116 Market St., Newark, N.J.

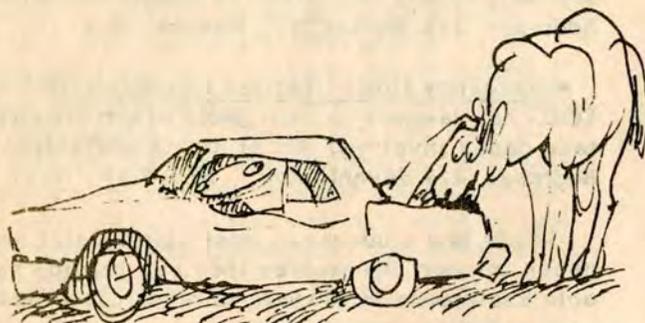
● Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC): ECLC has lawyers in most parts of the country who take cases involving Bill of Rights guarantees. Address: 421 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y.

While law students in most states can't argue cases in court themselves they can provide valuable assistance to lawyers in researching and writing briefs, and to community organizations in doing research on legislation. They can offer education and advice on legal matters to organizers and people in the community.

The Law Students Civil Rights Research Course (LSCRRC) has chapters at more than 70 law schools and has a summer intern program for law students who want to work full-time with community organizations. If there is a law school in your city, see if it has a chapter or write to the national office, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. for more information. The National Lawyer's Guild (above) also has a student section.

Consumer Action

The American consumer has been compared to the plowhorse in the Kentucky Derby: no amount of training and educating will place either on top.



Education alone can do little to change a system which devotes itself to exploiting the consumer, most efforts unfortunately have emphasized informing the buyer how to be wary, rather than organizing to protest the seller's practices, prices, and profits.

Food Buying

The consumer's plight is obvious when he goes to buy food. Confronted by a wide variety of brands, each of which is packaged in a range of odd, fractional weights, he is little better off than the medieval tradesman who faced different types of measures in every country, province and city.

For those products packaged for each customer individually, like meats, there is the added danger of thumb-on-the-scale and other add-on devices.

The "Truth-in-Packaging" bill recently enacted by Congress in a watered-down version may help discourage misleading and inadequate package labeling, but will not deal with the many other abuses found in the grocery and supermarket.

The price of advertised "specials" is not always marked over the regular price, so that check-out girls, in a hurry, often ring up the regular price. In some cases, store managers have actually ordered check-out girls to add a certain amount onto each bill; they presumably pocketed the excess at the end of the day.

And another common complaint is that the gimmicks, games and give-aways in the stores drive prices up.

The poor, however, confront a host of additional problems. Supermarkets in poor areas sometimes

charge higher prices than their branches in middle and upper income areas, and on the days welfare checks are issued prices in low income areas may rise an additional few cents, especially on staple items.

Moreover, the quality of food in poor areas is generally below that in richer areas; fruits, vegetables and meats are sometimes days, and even weeks old, and may even be produce that was unsellable in the suburban branches.

The conditions in the stores themselves sharply contrast to those in the suburbs: the store is sometimes filthy, with aisles littered with trash and rotten food, a haven for rats and roaches. Unable to travel very far to other stores out of the neighborhood, low-income shoppers are trapped by what is immediately available.

To get information useful in documenting grievances and protesting abuses, conduct a survey of prices (see also p. 79). This involves drawing up a list of food items standard in the area (specifying one to two brands and sizes for each item, so that comparisons can be made) and checking the prices and quality of these items in several chain stores, and also several branches of the same store in different income neighborhoods.

The survey should be conducted on several different days over several weeks; food prices fluctuate not only on welfare check days, but also quite normally from day to day, as supply and demand vary (especially true for fruits, vegetables, meats, and dairy products)

- Find out if there is a state or local consumer-fraud bureau and how to file a complaint with it.
- Check to see if the Department of Markets, Bureau of Weights and Measures (or similar such city agency) requires merchants to obtain licenses (to sell certain things, to operate particular scales, etc.) Also find out what constitutes a violation, how to report one and whether or not agency representatives ever make inspections on their own.
- Find out how the housing code (particularly the health and sanitary provisions) applies to stores (see p. 14).
- Speak with sympathetic employees or former employees of neighborhood stores. They are usually the best source of information about cash-register add-ons, storeroom conditions, etc.

● See p. 70 for how to research supermarket profits and financial structure. Groups active in the fall of 1966 supermarket boycotts have already gathered much of this information for their local areas. A report on the supermarket industry is available from the National Farmers Union, 1012 14th St., N.W., Room 1200, Washington, D.C.

Establishing alternate institutions is another way of attacking the market system. Cooperative food stores have been around for a number of years, mostly in middle-income areas; more recently a more informal arrangement known as food-buying clubs has emerged in low-income neighborhoods.

Generally these work as follows: some kind of central office is set up, where anyone in the neighborhood can bring a shopping list; the combined list is taken to a wholesaler or anywhere where goods can be purchased in bulk, and each shopper eventually picks up his order at the central office. Such an arrangement in East Harlem saved families about 35-40% on their food orders.

You can obtain a pamphlet on how to start a food-buying club (as well as any other kind of cooperative -- nursery, consumer, housing, credit union, etc.) from the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 59 E. Van Bruen St., Chicago, Ill. 60605. They also have information and leaflets on consumer education especially written for low-income neighborhoods in English and Spanish.

Credit

Credit is another major trap for the consumer, and poses special problems for low income areas because of dependence on local stores and the pervasiveness of the door-to-door salesman.

There are, basically, two types of credit: loans (available from banks, finance companies, credit unions and loan sharks), and installment buying.

Both involve paying a finance charge which is usually stated either as a certain percent per month or as a certain number of dollars per one hundred dollars of the loan or purchase price to be repaid in monthly installments. In some cases the charge is not stated at all; the borrower is simply told that he need only pay ten dollars down and ten dollars a month. In none of these instances, however, does the borrower know the annual rate of interest or the total finance charge.

The failure of lenders to state total finance charges also obscures the fact that the consumer pays higher charges the longer he takes to pay off what he owes. The "Truth-in-Lending" bill, which has just about been passed by Congress, will compel some creditors to state the true annual interest rate as well as total finance charges in dollars and cents.

The complexity of interest rates and finance charges makes it easy for door-to-door salesmen and local merchants to pressure low-income families into purchases with exorbitant installment payments, without them realizing what they are getting into.



Food freezers valued at \$300 have been sold door-to-door for prices ranging from \$800 to \$1,200, with additional credit charges; there are even greater costs if the consumer insists on the food that was supposed to come along "free" as part of the package deal. Families frequently find themselves paying more than 200% interest a year in such deals.

The credit contract is another source of trickery. People are often induced into signing blank contracts, which the salesman can later pack with all sorts of unwanted items.

Moreover, the fine print can sometimes reveal that even if the purchaser returns the merchandise, he must still continue payments. If he stops, he may end up having to pay not only the balance of the bill, but also legal costs remaining after the goods have been resold.

The legal steps taken against the borrower who has defaulted on his payments play special havoc with the poor. Merchandise can be repossessed, and is sometimes then sold at public auction for a fraction of its value; the original purchaser is still liable for the balance of what is owed.

The creditor can also garnishee the debtor's salary, which means that he gets a court order to have a set amount taken out of the debtor's salary until the balance is paid off.

Although the debtor is supposed to be warned by the court that a garnishment has been ordered, the court processes frequently are never served, especially in poor neighborhoods. The first a debtor knows of the garnishment often is when he is fired



by the employer who doesn't want to burden his office with additional bookkeeping, which is not at all uncommon.

Furthermore, the garnishment includes not only the unpaid balance, but also the process server's fees, the entering judgment and execution judgment costs, and the Marshall's fees.

A civil rights group in Washington, D.C. is urging ghetto residents to wipe out consumer debts by applying for bankruptcy. Filing fee for bankruptcy is only \$51, is "payable in installments and no down payment required." Filing has the effect of blocking repossession and garnishment proceedings.

Several states have laws regulating credit, and in a few there are sections of the civil court which aid garnished debtors. An excellent summary of New York State credit laws can be obtained from the City of New York Community Development Agency, Human Resources Administration, 100 Church St., New York, 10007. Such pamphlets may be available in other states from the state banking department.

About 10% of the nation's small investment credit is handled by credit unions, which are a form of cooperative offering low interest rates to lenders. For information on credit unions write to CUNA International, Inc., Box 431 Madison, Wisc. 53701 or obtain a copy of "Credit Unions, Basic Cooperatives" from the Cooperative League of the USA. See list at the end of this section on p. 88 for more sources of information on credit.

See p. 56 for where to find legal assistance with consumer problems. The Welfare Law Bulletin carries news of important court cases.

Other Consumer Problems, Protections and Projects

- Better Business Bureaus in most cities are pretty finky outfits, but it still might be worthwhile to check through their "black list" for leads about neighborhood stores and businesses.

- Watch for a growing interest in congressional investigation of complaints against the auto insurance industry (see also p. 72)

- A movement cooperative venture is the Poor People's Corporation which provides financial and technical assistance to 15 producer-cooperatives in Mississippi. Coop workers are former farm laborers, sharecroppers and domestics who now produce dresses, handbags, dolls and other handi-

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This is to certify that PRICE-RITE has signed a fair practice agreement with the Community Union.

NOTICE: Report with no complaints about unfair consumer practices in this store. Must immediately call 708-334-8040 ext. 818-818.

Having to do date received no such complaints.

JOIN COMMUNITY UNION Certifies that
PRICE RITE IS A
GOOD PLACE TO TAKE
YOUR BUSINESS

crafts. They are sold through Liberty Houses in major northern cities and also distributed by mail from Liberty House, P.O. Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

• Protests against a grocery store that was bilking welfare recipients resulted in the establishment of a food buying club by Newark welfare mothers. You can get more information from Newark Consumer Buying Club, 900 Bergen St., Newark, N.J.

Consumer Education

If you are interested in obtaining leaflets and educational material, the following are good sources:

- "Consumer Information", an extensive catalogue of all U.S. Government publications relating to consumers; write Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- "A Guide to Consumer Credit" and "Buyer, Be Wary", both by Sidney Margolies; write Public Affairs Pamphlets, 381 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016 (25¢ each)
- "In Your Interest" and "It's What's Inside that Counts"; write AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.
- The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (p.), in addition to providing information on cooperatives, also has a lot of material on consumer education, particularly designed for use in low income areas.
- Consumers Union, 256 Washington St., Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550, publishes monthly Consumer Reports (can be found in most libraries) which evaluate products and report on news of consumer legislation; also produces special reports on specific industries: e.g. medicine, auto insurance.

NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1966.

Sociologist Blames Anger at Merchants for Ghetto Violence

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10 — Ghetto violence in Watts, Harlem and elsewhere was motivated by anger at merchants who bilk the poor, a Columbia University professor told Congress today.

The professor, David Caplovitz, said that a report on the nationwide pattern of recent riots showed evidence that they were really consumer revolts. The report is being prepared for the National Crime Commission by Robert Fogelson, a historian at Columbia.

Mr. Caplovitz, a sociologist and author of the 1963 book "The Poor Pay More," testified before a House government operations

of merchant who exploited them," Mr. Fogelson said.

Greedy, or sometimes desperation, is the reason for the storekeepers' charging high prices for inferior merchandise, often on vicious credit terms, he added.

Both he and Mr. Caplovitz made the point separately that even honest storekeepers in American ghettos were subject to unduly high costs because they usually ran small businesses, could not borrow easily and had to pay high insurance rates.

The poor, Mr. Caplovitz told the House hearing, "live in a world of inflation that our more well-to-do citizens are able to escape."

Moreover, the sociologist said, it is false to assume that since the poor have little money to

spend they cannot possibly buy expensive merchandise.

His own study of 500 poor families in New York City living in public housing projects showed that 95 per cent owned at least one television set, almost two-thirds owned a phonograph, and almost half owned a sewing machine and an automatic washing machine.

These goods, bought in neighborhood stores or from door-to-door salesmen, were acquired on so-called "easy credit" terms at very high prices, he said.

Many people stop paying installments on purchases "not because they are unable to pay, but because they refuse to pay on faulty merchandise," the sociologist told the committee.

He said further that the poor, "instead of gaining retribution,"

were then subject to legal sanctions brought against them by the merchant. Among these are efforts to garnish the defaulter's salary.

Although we are proud we have abolished debtors' prisons, our society can "deprive breadwinners of their livelihood through garnishment," Mr. Caplovitz declared. "Many employers simply will not be bothered with garnishments and do not hesitate to fire workers whose salaries are attached."

He also accused lawyers of often violating legal procedures in collecting debts. He said process servers frequently did not deliver summonses to the poor and just threw them away. The poor person thus has no advance notice of the directive to appear in court and a default

judgment is handed down against him in absentia, the sociologist said.

Another witness today was Theodore M. Berry, director of the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Under sharp questioning from the subcommittee chairman, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat of Queens, Mr. Berry admitted that less than 1 per cent of his budget, or \$8.5 million, was being spent on consumer action this year. "Not very encouraging, is it?" said Mr. Rosenthal.

The two witnesses today and Mr. Fogelson expressed support of credit unions, buying cooperatives and other institutions for the poor.

THE GOUGE SEEN IN CREDIT SURETY

\$100-Million Overpayment by Consumers Is Charged

By EILEEN SHANAHAN
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, May 11 — Insurance commissioner states told Congress today consumers were being overcharged more than \$100-million annually for what is known as "credit insurance" — insurance that pays off installment credit and other debts if the insured person dies.

An estimated total of 50 million persons are currently paying "excessive premiums" for such insurance, according to James H. Hunt, Vermont Commissioner of Banking and Insurance.

Some aspects of these insurance plans amount to "larger than life" charges, he told the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee, which opened a week of hearings on credit insurance.

Mr. Hunt estimated overcharges at \$175-million. He calculated that 10 million people he termed "generous" do not need profits both for the lender and for the insurer.

The latter, he said, get huge "kickbacks" from insurance companies. He said the business is "right" for business. He said the "social" fight against others who "did not pay" as "fantasy" to each other merchant industry, "up their with" "profits" "the" "sumer" "tag" "atio"

By MARTIN TOLCHEN
The city's welfare department began an investigation yesterday of charges that five Harlem pharmacies had shorted Medicaid patients on the amount of the city for the

The charges were brought by Dr. George Summons of 1000 14th St. N.W. Dr. Summons said that a patient who was maintained on a "low" dose of a drug and a loss to the

can through Mr. Hunt a standard insurance contract if no rebate when the loan person has died and on other terms. After hearing this week, the state insurance plans to take effect this year from the

AID TO CONSUMERS CALLED UNNEEDED

Retired General Foods Head Assails Political Efforts to Furnish Protections

Special to The New York Times
HOT SPRINGS, Va., May 12 — The recently retired head of General Foods Corporation called upon other big business executives today to battle against "consumerism."

He described this as the efforts of self-serving politicians to give consumers protections they do not need.

Charles G. Mortimer, chairman of the Business Council, said in a speech before the Business Council that the fight against "social theorists" did not pay.

He said that the merchant industry, "up their with" "profits" "the" "sumer" "tag" "atio"

PHARMACIES ACCUSED OF FRAUD

Doctor Says 5 Drugstores in Harlem Have Cheated Medicaid Patients

By MARTIN TOLCHEN
The city's welfare department began an investigation yesterday of charges that five Harlem pharmacies had shorted Medicaid patients on the amount of the city for the

The charges were brought by Dr. George Summons of 1000 14th St. N.W. Dr. Summons said that a patient who was maintained on a "low" dose of a drug and a loss to the

WRONGDOING IS DENIED

2 Owners Concede Reducing Prescriptions, but Only in Special Cases

la- lous 2 this nt in this message. re a statement of interest in consumer loans. The bill mainly required 1 and explicit d of sizes and contents of agod products sold by consumers.

Education

Public school systems have been taking quite a beating lately. They have been subjected to picketing, student boycotts, sit-ins and teacher strikes.

But it's unclear whether or not the bureaucratic inertia of the educational establishment has been budged much in the direction of decent education for all children.



Few people even agree on the meaning of decent education. The strategies and tactics of groups cover a broad range of approaches, and consequently the type of information gathered for any school fight and how it is used will depend heavily on the way your organization thinks change will come about in the educational system.

One or more of the following approaches has been emphasized by various organizations, illustrating the considerable diversity that exists:

- better facilities, curriculum and teachers: demands usually call for more money for better facilities (more schools and classrooms to ease overcrowding, libraries, laboratories, etc.); the inclusion of more academic ("college preparatory") courses in schools in poor neighborhoods; and more teachers with full certification.

- compensatory education: this involves pumping extra programs, such as pre-school, remedial reading and special guidance, into poor neighborhoods to "compensate" for previous inadequate education or presumed inadequacies in the kids' homes and neighborhoods.

- integration: groups focusing on integration usually believe either that (1) integration is important in itself or (2) that Negro children will not receive quality education in segregated schools; or both.

- how and what is taught: broad dissatisfaction with the methods and content of current public school education, whether in the slums or the suburbs. Several teachers have tried setting up their own schools or experimented in the public schools with a less-authoritarian and less-structured approach in the classroom and a changed curriculum.

- community participation and control: this approach includes (1) demands for community control of the choice of personnel in public schools and in some cases, control of curriculum; (2) pressing for the employment of community people in the schools as teacher aides, etc.; (3) setting up private "community schools" run by parents and teachers themselves, sometimes combining community control and participation with new teaching methods (see above).

The Sources

The field of education has an abundance of reports, statistics, agencies, organizations, study commissions, etc., but a scarcity of accessible materials that are really useful to community organizations.

The educational establishment's bureaucracy is defensive and difficult to penetrate; its jargon, unnecessarily complicated and esoteric. This often presents problems in getting information. It may be necessary to go to three or four sources before you find the information you seek -- and even then you may have no luck.

The next several pages list where you should look for information; the following ones deal with what information you're likely to need.

Public Agencies:

Local Board of Education: the most logical place to go for basic facts about the school system: e.g. names and boundaries of schools, expenditures, number of children attending, etc. Also, probably the most difficult agency to get information from. Secretaries to the principals of individual schools sometimes will provide information about their school more readily.

State Department of Education: good for general statistical information (particularly for comparisons with other cities in the state), state laws and regulations affecting local school systems (e.g. source of funds, policy on "racial balance").

Federal Agencies: The Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the Department of Agriculture can provide information on the programs they sponsor as well as special studies and bibliographies in the field.

Civil Rights Agencies: Your local or state Human Rights Commission has probably done studies on schools or has other information available. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in particular, has published some good material (see p. 88).

Private Organizations:

Civil Rights Groups: Check with local and state chapters of NAACP, Urban League, CORE, SNCC, etc. -- many have already collected useful information.

Parents' Associations and Parent-Teacher Associations: Many schools have chapters of the PTA which are part of the state and national Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations. In other schools just parents, or parents together with teachers have formed organizations not affiliated with the PTA -- in some cases completely independent and in others part of a city- or county-wide federation (e.g. United Parents Assn. in New York City)

"Better School" Groups: In many cities there are independent citizens' groups dedicated to improving the school system. Often moderate in approach, they sometimes have access to information not available to other groups and may be willing to share it with other organizations.

Diocesan Board of Education: If a high percentage of the children in your city or neighborhood do not attend public school, you may want to find out more about the parochial schools. You can approximate the percentage of children attending parochial schools from the Census Tract Reports-PhC(1) (p. 83) which give figures for both public and non-public school enrollments by census tract.

Other organizations not primarily concerned with education: Some organizations make available materials which include things on education, such as (1) League of Women Voters (p. 34) -- general structure of school system and some financial data; (2) Chamber of Commerce -- same as LWV; (3) anti- or pro-tax groups -- financial and tax information, probably comparative.

Teachers:

National, State and Local Education Associations: The main "professional" organization of teachers and administrators is the National Education Association (NEA), composed of state and

local affiliates. Large research and publishing departments are maintained at the national and state levels and sometimes at the local one. Check phone book for state and local offices; address of national office: 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

American Federation of Teachers: Affiliated with the AFL-CIO, the AFT is a trade union which has won the right to represent teachers in bargaining elections in many cities, often against local NEA chapters. Although its local and national research departments are not quite as elaborate as the NEA's, its approach is not usually as moderate and the information it has available will probably be more useful to community organizers. Likewise, check phone book for local office or write AFT, 716 North Rush St., Chicago, Ill. 60611.

Individual Teachers: While most teachers keep a professional code of silence about the failings of the school system, there are some disgruntled and usually young ones who are glad to discuss what's wrong, particularly important things you can't discover from statistics and organizational charts. Student teachers can also provide this kind of information.

Colleges, Universities and Research Institutes:

Few institutions of higher learning have been able to resist the temptation of doing a study of an entire school system, a particular school, a teaching method or curriculum, or some other related aspect of public education. Check the public library and nearby college libraries, teachers' colleges, and urban and educational research institutes for possible studies and doctoral dissertations.

Newspaper Files:

Try to get access to newspaper libraries and files. In addition to finding information on the

For Organizing

Public Education -- a good short critique of the public school system in simple language; available from Richard Rothstein, 4502 N. Racine, Chicago, Ill.

An Approach to Organizing High School Students by Marc Kleiman, available from SDS, 1608 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

High School Organizing by Michael Klare, in June 30, 1967 issue of *Inter/Change*, National Conference for a New Politics, 250 West 57th St., Suite 1528, New York, N.Y. 10019.

Board of Education in general, you're likely to find things on individual schools.

Parents and Students:

Students are, of course, your most reliable source of information about what really goes on in the schools. Parents, particularly those with several children attending school, also have a pretty good idea of what happens.

WHAT TO FIND OUT:

It's hardly likely that you'll need or want to gather all the information suggested below -- let it just serve as a check-list.

-control

Who are the members of the Board of Education? (see p. 6 for how to find out "who" someone is). How long do they serve? Are they elected or appointed -- and if appointed, by whom?

Is the jurisdiction of the school system the same as the local political unit (city, town, boro) -- or smaller or larger?

Is the Board of Education mostly a rubber stamp



for the school administration or does it really exercise control over important policy matters? (Attend Board of Education meetings or check minutes).

What is the structure of the school administration? Who is the superintendent of schools, how is he appointed and to whom is he responsible? How centralized is decision-making and authority?

Who is in charge of and what is the procedure for the appointment of principals, teachers and

other personnel? What are the procedures for "removing" (suspension, dismissal, transfer) such school personnel?

How much control does the State Department of Education have over local school boards? (For instance, Massachusetts and New York threatened several cities with a fund cut-off unless they achieved more racial balance in their schools).

-funds

How much money does the city, state and federal government contribute toward the local school budget? Does the Board of Education have power independent of the city to levy taxes? Are any revenues from taxes or bond issues specifically earmarked for education?

How are the funds spent? (Get a copy of the operating and capital budgets.) Does the budget require approval by the electorate or the Board of Education?

A few key figures to look for are: per pupil expenditure for entire system and each school; capital expenditures for new school construction, particularly if there is overcrowding. Try to get comparative figures for different years, different schools and different school systems.

-facilities

What is the age and physical condition of school buildings and grounds? Are there violations of the health, building or fire codes? (see p. 14) Schools in slum neighborhoods frequently are fire traps, infested with rats and roaches, and structurally unsound.



Are the schools overcrowded? How many classrooms are there and how many children per class? Are any schools on double or triple session? Are portable classrooms used?

Are there as many special facilities, such as science laboratories, school libraries, gyms and

cafeterias, in slum schools as in "better" schools?

How is the school building used during non-school hours -- recreation? open at night or on Saturday? after-school program? available for use by community groups?

What are the plans for new facilities? See the Master Plan (p. 27), Capital Budget (p. 38) and School Building Plan for cost and location of proposed schools. How many children will they serve? Will they be integrated?

-who teaches what

What percentage of the teachers in each school do not have full certification to teach (although certification doesn't necessarily have anything to do with good teaching)? What percentage of teachers and administrators are members of minority groups?

Are the teachers unionized? Is so, is the union affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers? Is there conflict between the local AFT and local NEA? What positions on various issues do teacher organizations take? (Although some teachers' groups have pressed for demands also urged by parents and students -- e.g. smaller class sizes -- they have been silent on or actively opposed to other changes sought by community groups -- e.g. community control of staff selection.)

Is the "track" system used in the junior and senior high schools -- i.e. separating students into college preparatory, commercial, vocational or general courses of study? (A recent court decision banned this system in Washington, D.C.) Are there special courses on such things as Negro or Puerto Rican history? Are textbooks biased?

Can you obtain average reading and mathematics test scores for the entire school system, individual schools or individual classes? Are tests used which are relatively "culture-free" -- i.e. that are not biased just towards white middle-class kids? (Test scores are among the most difficult items to obtain and don't always have much significance in themselves without other information).

What is the drop-out rate in junior and senior high schools, by neighborhood, race and sex?

-segregation

What is the racial composition of each school? What relation does racial composition have to other things, such as adequacy of facilities, teaching staff, etc.?

Aside from racial imbalance resulting from residential segregation, are there any ways in which the policies of the Board of Education contribute to school segregation (e.g. "gerrymander" of



school district boundaries, "free choice" plans, enclaves, etc.)?

Are there any ways in which the school board is trying to de-segregate the school system (e.g. bussing, paired schools, educational parks) and are they in fact successful?

See p. 57 for legal assistance in "de facto" segregation cases. A recent court decision declared "de facto" segregation in Washington, D.C. unconstitutional and ordered the school system to take various steps to desegregate. This decision may in time carry over to other cities in the North.

For information on a fairly successful private bussing operation, write to Operation EXODOS, 378 Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury, Boston, Mass.

Other Programs

There are several federally financed programs designed to supplement or increase existing educational offerings in poor areas. There are also some, like the National Defense and Education Act (NDEA) science and foreign language programs, which usually don't wind up in poor neighborhoods

The ones most commonly found are:

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA - pronounced "easy"): The first major injection of federal aid (more than \$1.5 billion the first year) into low-income areas, Title I of act "offers funds to school districts for sponsored programs designed to meet the needs of educationally deprived children in attendance areas with high concentrations of low-income families."

Title II provides for school library resources, textbooks and other instructional materials, and Title III for supplementary educational services and demonstration projects, although neither of these two titles is exclusively for low-income areas.

All three titles also make funds available to private and parochial schools. ESEA funds have been used in some areas to finance desegregation programs. You can get more information from the Office of Education; the American Federation of Teachers (p. 63) has a pamphlet on the act called "Take Three Giant Steps Forward".

Teacher Corps: This highly publicized program takes a very limited number of recent college graduates, gives them condensed education courses and then places them in slum schools as teaching interns working in teams with experienced teachers. The number of corpsmen is limited because of limited funds. When Congress voted to extend the program it shifted control from the national level to state and local education departments.

Headstart and Pre-school Programs: These programs, designed to provide the youngster from a low-income family with a "headstart" before kindergarten are operated on a summer basis (called Head Start) and during the school year (pre-school). They are mostly funded by the War on Poverty (p. 39), but ESEA Title I funds can also be used for pre-school projects.

Other Poverty Programs: Other OEO-funded education programs include Adult Basic Education and Work Study, both run by the Office of Education, and Upward Bound, run by OEO.

School Lunch and Milk Program: Federal funds from the Department of Agriculture help local school districts provide lunches and milk to school children free or at reduced prices.

Education Assistance for Federally Affected Areas: Funds are provided to aid schools in federally "impacted" areas, such as those near large Army bases.

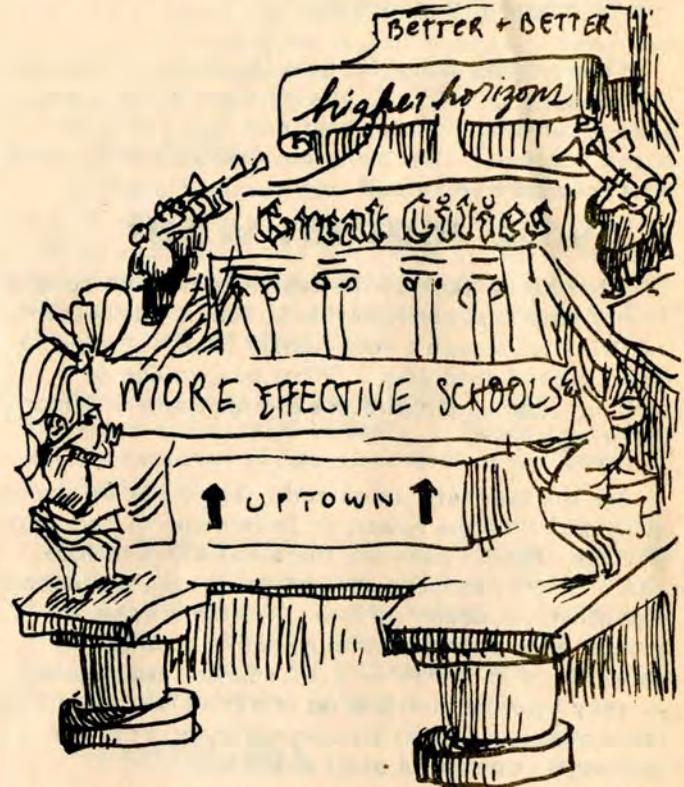
Community Schools

In educational jargon, "community schools" are public schools which have extended social services, after-school and weekend classes in enrichment, etc.

However, a different kind of community school has sprung up in various parts of the country. There is little actual "research" you can do on them, but if you'd like to get some information on ones that have been set up or in the process of getting established, write to:

- **Ann Arbor:** The Children's Community, c/o Bill Ayers, 805 McKinley, Ann Arbor, Mich. A small private school which has been operating for more than two years; started with kindergarten and has been adding a grade a year (although most

In addition to federally-aided programs, many school districts have sponsored their own compensatory programs with local, state and foundation funds (typical names are More Effective Schools, Great Cities, Higher Horizons).



Some have been quietly "phased out" after they failed to live up to initially spectacular results. Others are still continuing with varying impact. Still others have just been unveiled with great fanfare.

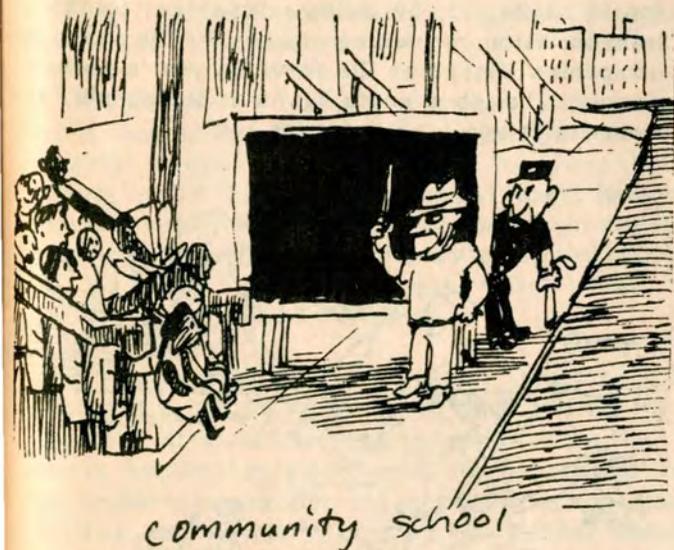
You can get more information from National Council for Effective Schools, 716 North Rush St., Chicago, Ill, 60611.

classes are ungraded); has available publications on the school, a handbook for teachers' assistants, study guide on education and material on curriculum.

- **Newark:** Newark Community School, c/o Eric Man, 212 Chadwick Ave., Newark, N.J.: not yet in existence; abridged copy of proposal "A New School for the Ghetto" by Eric Mann available from REP, 510 E. William St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- **Washington, D.C.:** Adams School, write to Paul Lauter, c/o Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036: public school which Washington, D.C. Board of Education has turned over to community groups; Institute for Policy Studies and Antioch College will be responsible for staff and curriculum.

- **Boston:** Two schools that grew out of school boycotts and unsuccessful attempt to elect School Board member:
 - (1) Roxbury Community School, c/o St. Anne's Episcopal Church, 7 Leyland St., Boston, Mass. Run by welfare mothers with some professional assistance; 5 to 7-year-olds; semi-graded.
 - (2) New School for Children, 27 Dudley St., Roxbury, Boston, Mass. 40 children ages 5 through 10; aid from Harvard School of Education.
- **New York:** Lower East Side Action Project, 44 E. 3rd St., New York, N.Y.: write to them or see article in March 1966 issue of Renewal magazine, (p. 80).
- **Chicago:** Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP), 1212 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill.: mostly tutorial and college counselling, but also moving into community organizing activities; ran own school for awhile.

There is an excellent and lively magazine published in Canada called (believe it or not) This Magazine Is About Schools, P.O. Box 876, Terminal 'A', Toronto 1, Canada, which carries articles on experiments in private and public schools in the United States, Canada and England. A subscription to the magazine is \$3 a year; when you write to them, ask for back copies also.



An article on the First Street School (which operated in New York for two years), originally printed in the July 1966 issue of Liberation magazine, has been reprinted in This Magazine and by Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), 658 Spadina Ave., Toronto 4, Canada.

For curriculum aid, contact: (1) Educational Services, Inc., 44 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.; (2) Bank St. College of Education, Curriculum Consultation Office, 103 E. 125th St., New York, N.Y.

Business and Industry

The decisions made by businessmen and industrialists are more important in the lives of just about everyone than those made by any other group of people, including elected officials.

At the top of the economic power structure are made the decisions of what prices to charge, where to locate plants and what wages to pay, and what is to be produced.

Knowing who makes these decisions, how, and why, is obviously extremely important. Sometimes the top businessmen in your city are making decisions for the whole world; sometimes the top local businessmen merely carry out basic decisions made somewhere else.

In the California grape strike which began in 1965, the farm workers made important uses of this kind of research.

First, checking out the businesses for which they worked, they learned that outfits like Di-Giorgio, Schenley, and others were among the biggest businesses in the country, while other growers were important only in their area.

Second, tracing the connections of the companies, they learned that the most powerful economic institutions in the state were closely tied in to the growers -- the biggest banks and newspapers had representatives on the Board of Directors.

Third, studying the operations of the growers, they found one -- Schenley Industries -- which had consumer business all over the country, and sold under familiar brand names, which they determined to be vulnerable to a boycott by supporters of the union around the country. They carried out that boycott, and finally won recognition for their union and a contract, the most important victory for farm workers in forty years of struggle.

In 1966, housewives alarmed at the rising food prices at supermarkets, began picketing for lower prices, and were told by the local managers that supermarket chains couldn't help charging higher prices because their profit margin was only 1% or 2% of their sales volume. It was the fault of the farmers, middlemen, and labor unions, they said.

The housewives got some researchers to check out this story, and found out that in fact this was false -- the supermarkets were getting a healthy share of the higher prices and were the most powerful element in setting prices -- and that the chains were using the wrong statistics.

The soundest basis for calculating profits is as a percent of investment, and here the chains were pulling in from 8% to 15% that year in profits, despite all their complaining. The picketing, in some areas, forced the big chains to compete with each other, lowering prices to win back the business they were losing.

An Overview

In studying a particular business in a particular situation, it is important to already understand the overall picture of the local business power structure.

For the farm workers, this was easy -- in these rural areas, the big growers were obviously the big interest; the housewives, however, didn't know whether the supermarkets were as powerful as the food processing companies or the farmers, and had to start from the beginning in their research when they were already deep into their fight.

The first thing to do is to get a sense of where local influentials fit into the national picture. Every June, *FORTUNE* magazine publishes a study of the top 500 industrial companies, the top 50 banks, top 50 utility companies, top 50 transportation companies and top 50 life insurance companies, based on the previous year's performance. The issue costs \$1.50 at newstands, and a reprint is available later for 75¢.



Who's Who — What's What

Get the most recent study, and run through the list of home offices for your city. This immediately identifies nationally-important outfits centered where you live.

Every state publishes an Industrial Directory (available at the public library and university libraries) which lists every business employing over 100 people. The firms are broken down by county, so you can easily construct a list of the area's biggest employers. Cross-checking with FORTUNE, you can get a general idea which are locally controlled, and which are controlled from the outside.

Polk's City Directory (p. 8) will also be in the library, and will give the same kind of information with more details, especially about individuals.

The local Chamber of Commerce (and the Mayor's economic development commission, a blue-ribbon committee which not all cities have) will give you fancy brochures on the local economy which they make up in order to attract outside business to locate in town. The state C of C and economic development commission will have similar materials available.

Then go to Moody's Industrial Manual (also in the library) for a summary of the financial information about the company. (Moody's also has Manuals for Utilities, Banking and Finance, Transportation and Governments).

It shows where plants are located, what brand names are used, who the officers are (just the names), summarizes the financial statistics that it gets out of the company's annual report (which you can get by writing to the company), and gives some information on the company's capitalization (which means its stock and debt, which banks handle it, but not who owns it).

Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives has an alphabetical listing of all the important directors and executives showing the others boards they sit on, and whether they're on the important executive committees, finance committees, and operating committees of those Boards.

A check through Who's Who will give other information on these individuals, such as the clubs they belong to, government positions they've held, etc. (There are several kinds of "Who's Who": Who's Who (which doesn't list Americans), Who's Who in America, Who's Who in Commerce and Industry; Current Biographical Reference Services, which brings Who's Who in America up to date; also Who's Who for each state).

•By pulling all this data together, you can find:

•the most important corporations

- the individuals with the most power in them
- the individuals who make decisions on a number of the Boards
- basic information on history, operations, etc. about the companies

To keep up-to-date on developments, read the business section of the local newspaper, and subscribe to the Wall Street Journal (keeping a clipping file).

The Securities and Exchange Commission requires that all financial transactions (even if private, i.e. not in corporate name) done by officers of any corporation whose stock is publicly traded be publicly disclosed -- the financial pages of the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal will reflect these transactions as they occur.

Just as important as day-to-day developments are company trends, which are described in magazines like Forbes, Barron's, Fortune, Business Week, and Nation's Business, and which are catalogued in the Index to Business Periodicals, and Funk and Scott's Index of Corporations and Industries, available in university libraries.

Brokerage firms also keep their clients posted on trends, and the Wall Street Journal puts out a list of such studies each day on the next-to-last page, toward the bottom of the fourth column. Get in the habit of writing away for these analyses -- they are free -- for the major companies in your area.

Studying a Firm

Research techniques will vary, basically, with the size of the target company.

Community organizers will frequently be aiming at a neighborhood store -- a laundry operation, a radio-and-TV repair outfit, a grocery store.

Although these are privately owned (which means they do not sell stock to investors and don't file certain reports with public agencies), they carry on a lot of transactions which have to be accompanied by publicly-filed papers. Just as important, their operations are watched by their neighbors, and informal contacts will yield a great deal of information.

The neighborhood store has to borrow money, and it has a credit rating, maintained by Dun & Bradstreet, which will have a local office.

To find out its credit rating, you can't just call up "D & B". D & B is a service that charges, and is available only to businessmen and related operations. It is necessary to have a friend in business who will get this information for you.

As likely as not, the store will be incorporated and that means there are official papers on file with the Secretary of State in the state capital that give details on its structure and operations.

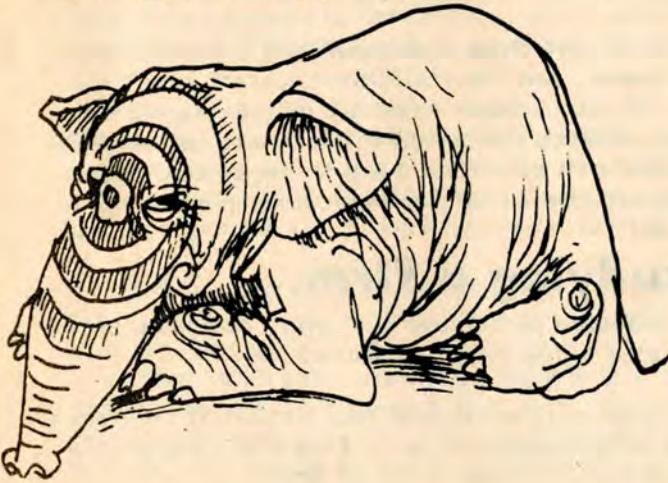
Often a small business will have applied for federal help, either at the Small Business Administration, the Veterans Administration, or the Urban Renewal Administration. All these have regional offices with papers on file.

Finally, the outfit may have been involved with court proceedings, and court records will have some important information (see p. 54).

Informal contacts may prove to be more fruitful. Local community organizations and politicians have probably been by the store to ask for donations or other assistance -- and the proprietor may well have bragged or complained to the fund-raiser about the state of his business.

Other businessmen in the neighborhood will also have had dealings with him, and if they will be open with you, they will be a very useful source of information.

A Large Target



Finance

The traditional way to study a large corporation is to look at its balance sheet (which shows its assets and liabilities) and its profit-and-loss statement. These are contained in its annual report, and you probably need to use the publication of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith (the largest brokerage firm in the country) called "How to Read a Financial Report", which is available free from all of their hundreds of offices throughout the country.

In these financial statements, you want to find:

- how profitable the company is and has been, computing net income after taxes as compared to total assets;

- how sound its financial condition is on a current basis, by seeing if its current assets are double its current liabilities;

- how rapid its growth has been, by comparing total sales over a number of years;

- how autonomous its financial base is, by checking how much long-term debt it has, both to the general bond-buying public and to specific banks, insurance companies, etc.;

- how dependent it is on its major line of products, by examining the report for indications of diversification and statistics on the proportion of its sales from different product lines (these are not necessarily given, although the Securities and Exchange Commission is on the verge of requiring these breakdowns).

But this only skims the surface, because financial statements are made on the basis of profitability, not on the basis of whether the company is shafting the consumers or the workers, or whether its products are useful or useless.

Some balance sheets provide cost information, showing what percentage of sales goes into labor, into advertising, into market research, into raw materials, into new-plant investment, into salaries of officers, into dividends to stockholders, into interest on loans, etc. Usually you have to hunt for these statistics, which are important to reconstruct if they aren't set right out.

Finally, although balance-sheets are prepared under the supervision of Certified Public Accountants with supposedly uniform standards, the companies pretty much have their way, juggling millions of dollars from one line to another from year to year for tax and other advantages. A good des-



cription of this problem indicating things to look out for was the lead article in Forbes, May 15, 1967.

Standard and Poor reports, available on all listed and many over-the-counter stocks, can usually be consulted free of charge at any broker's office. Though it's generally not necessary to have an account with the broker, it wouldn't be a bad idea to look as though you might someday become a customer. Also, many public libraries have a collection of investment materials.

Control

After looking at the company's financial shape, the next step is to investigate who controls it. Most big corporations have moved away from the families and individuals who put them together, and rarely is one stockholder or his family the owner of the majority of the stock.

For the general picture, check Robert Lerner's study in the September, 1966 American Economic Review.

For a particular company, the identity of interests holding over 10% of the stock is on file at the regional office of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in the local Federal Building, as well as the precise figures of stock owned by the company's directors.

But, and this is a very big but, there are all kinds of stockholding institutions which make up for this decline. Mutual funds, pension and other trust funds, banks, insurance companies, and universities are, taken together, the owners of something like 40% of all corporate stock.

Mutual funds are required to disclose their holdings every three months; and universities in many states (but not all) are required to do so annually.

Pensions and other trusts, which are administered through the trust departments of banks (primarily the largest dozen banks -- this is an incredibly concentrated source of power), and the banks themselves, are privileged with secrecy, although there is a good deal of pressure in Congress to force disclosure of pension fund holdings (worth \$85 billion in 1967).

Although the mutual-fund data are on file at the SEC, it is much easier to get hold of the quarterly reports from one of the three research services that follow mutual funds: Vickers, Arthur Weisenberger, and Capital Gains Research.

Since these cost \$200 a year, you need to check on them at a brokerage house which some ally of yours has an account.

Vickers Guide is the best, and you'll find that some of the big mutual-fund groups, like Massachusetts, Puritan, Axe-Houghton, etc., hold between 5% and 10% of the stock of individual firms and together can exercise a great deal of control (which is not to say that they work together all the time).

Some pension funds voluntarily disclose this information and it's on file in the Bureau of Labor-Management Reports at the Labor Department.

A 1963 publication of the House Small Business Committee chaired by Wright Patman gives the identity of the top 20 stockholders of the top 200 banks ("Chain Banking" is the title), and a series of studies by that committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations gives the most important cases of foundation control of corporations.

And, ask the local university for a copy of its treasurer's report on the 50-50 chance that it will itemize the stocks held in its endowment portfolio. Most colleges put disproportionate hunks of their endowments in stocks and bonds of the companies run by their trustees, so also write away for the reports of the universities of which local business men are trustees.

Economic power

The third major item to examine is the company's economic power, as determined by its share of the markets in which it sells its products. A company with \$300 million in assets may be the 16th largest chemical producer, or the number one publishing firm.

- government studies: Government regulatory



agencies may not do much regulating but they sure do a lot of studying. Big university libraries receive every government publication, both from Congress and the executive agencies. They also have a monthly Index of Government Publications.

First check under the appropriate agency (Interstate Commerce Commission for railroads and bus lines, Department of Defense for missile-makers, etc.). Then check the equivalent committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate. Finally, look through the general listings for other nuggets.

You may find a congressional hearing attacking price-fixing, or a whole history of regulatory fights around licensing and operating practices, or a detailed study such as the eight-volume work of the National Food Marketing Commission on all the food industries.

- anti-trust history: The Justice Department's anti-trust division and the Federal Trade Commission both have annual reports listing all the cases they've fought, and from there go to the transcripts of the actual trials and hearings for favorable and unfavorable information about the company.

- books on the industry: Partly because labor unions do very little muckraking about companies (you should get whatever they've done, of course), there are many industries that have never been subjected to a critical investigation from the left. But some have, such as oil, auto, and insurance, and the card catalog in the business section of the library may yield some useful references.

- trade association: (e.g. the Association of American Railroads, or the American Meat Institute) These are maintained principally for public relations purposes, although some play a much more influential role in harmonizing the different firms and working out joint plans, research, etc.

The trade association will put out a periodical chock full of business news; these are essential. Occasionally it will put out more detailed and focused pamphlets and many of which will also be valuable.

In a lot of industries, there are a number of trade associations, representing divergences of interests within the industry, as the periodical's editorials will make crystal clear. Each of these should be investigated.

Big corporations have their own public relations division with magazines for their employees, stockholder and clients; these are pretty accessible.

- use your common sense: This may even be the way to start, because most of what you're inter-

ested in learning falls into a very large category of things that neither the government, the businesses themselves and their associates, nor academic people have thought to be interested in.

Take an example from the automobile industry:

You want to find out some fundamental facts about the connection between the safety of the old cars people in poor neighborhoods drive and the structure of the industry itself. Research in business magazines will tell you that over 60% of the market each year for new cars comes from the need to replace old cars. You will have to let your common sense lead you to ask what proportion of that sixty percent comes from the car owners' desire to keep up with the Jones' and have the latest model with all the latest trimming, and what proportion comes from the fact that the old cars have been demolished and are unsafe.

You might then try to find studies of the number of automobile accidents damaging cars beyond repair, and of the availability of replacement parts for old cars.

Another connected example has to do with auto-insurance: why do car owners have to pay such high rates for insurance? You have to ask common sense questions, such as -- is there any reason why insurance payments are only made after determining who was responsible for the accident, instead of automatically as with life insurance? Then you would try to find out how much of insurance costs is eaten up in fees to personal-injury lawyers, claims investigation, etc.

Lawyers, Bankers and Admen

To fill out the picture on a particular outfit, a few other details must be attended to.

First, in America the corporation lawyer is extremely influential and often graduates to become the company's chief executive officer; this is because a lot of important issues are settled in the courts, or on the other hand, lawyers manage to keep them out of court. To find out about corporate lawyers, consult Martindale and Hubbell's directory, which lists the partners in law firms and their business clients.

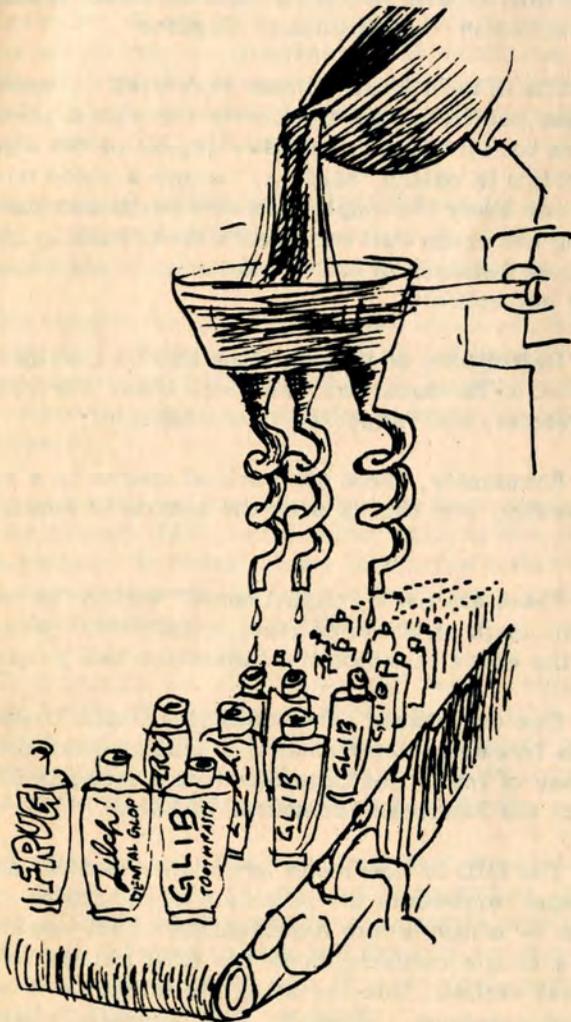
For companies in consumer operations, advertising has become increasingly important, especially in the lines of business where there is no real difference between products (such as tooth-pastes) and they have to create phony differences. Ad agencies and their clients change frequently, so you should follow Advertising Age, the weekly industry publication.

Finally, let's not forget to mention the banker. The days of the J.P. Morgans are over (Morgan

built the giant "trusts" like U.S. Steel, the telephone company, and a few others); bankers are much less important in the big companies they created than the hotshot managers who run them now. And although tremendous company profits provide a lot of the money for expansion and buying up of smaller firms, a lot of the money has to be borrowed.

Most corporation boards of directors have a financial representative from a Wall Street bank (or broker, or both) who handles their borrowing and probably has some kind of veto power. Moody's Industrial Manual, both the twice-weekly news bulletin and the annual, list the banks and brokers that have been involved in floating company securities.

Victor Perlo's book The Empire of High Finance, in which he tried to show that these relationships were the key ones in the system, lists these links and gives a picture of the finance communities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and California.



Unions and Jobs

Labor unions play a very minor role in poor neighborhoods, because most of the service jobs in these neighborhoods are unorganized.

Those residents who do have jobs outside the neighborhood are likely to be union members, but their unions generally take very little interest in the conditions of poverty, except in supporting reform legislation at the federal level.

Many unions are highly conscious that their working-class membership has achieved a measure of security that is denied to the poor, and they fight hardest of all to protect this security against efforts of the poor to get jobs -- that has been seen most clearly in the lily-white construction trades' fight against fair employment.

Nevertheless, the question of jobs is a key question in poor neighborhoods, and organizers need some basic research tools to find out about unions that are allies, unions that are enemies, employment services, unemployment insurance, labor relations law, and training and retraining programs.

Ultimately the most important questions concern the strategy to use for unionizing the poor. Depending on the facts you find, community organizers will decide whether to build an independent union or organize a shop into an existing union, where the workers are unorganized.

For those working poor already in unions, your research will pinpoint the alternatives of working within the local to radicalize it, or seeking to win the members to another union ("raiding").

Structure of the Labor Movement

Unions represent about a fourth of American workers. The 120 unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO represent about 13 million workers, and the independent Teamsters have another 1 1/2 million members. Most of these unions call themselves "international unions" because of their membership in Canada.

There are independent unions in other sectors, such as railroads, post office, longshore, and mining; some of these were expelled from the AFL-CIO for corruption or political reasons, others never were in it. And there are many "company unions" that compete with AFL-CIO unions and pledge not to strike; they also call themselves "independent unions."

The unions are independent bodies, even though they are joined in the AFL-CIO Federation; the federation receives a "per-capita tax" from the international unions every three months to make up its budget.

Its activities overlap and coordinate the individual efforts of member unions; it has an organizing program, an international affairs program, a legislative program, a union-label program, a publications program, a political action program, etc. and so do many of the individual unions.

The individual unions have "jurisdiction" over a particular industry or industries, or particular jobs (crafts). Many of these jurisdictions are defined in very loose language, and at any rate individual unions are always looking for new organizing targets and tend to overstep their jurisdictional boundaries, resulting in "jurisdictional disputes".

The AFL-CIO has a board that tries to resolve these conflicts, but frequently the unions involved have to fight it out. Another aspect of the same problem is called "raiding," where a union tries to woo away the employees at a particular plant from the union that represents them; raiding chiefly occurs between AFL-CIO unions and independents, but not entirely.

Definitions of jurisdictions can be obtained from AFL-CIO headquarters, although these are frequently vague, and respected in the breach.

Frequently, there are several unions in a single industry, and this is also the source of conflict

There are eight "departments" within the federation, each of which carries on additional programs in the areas in which the federation has programs.

One department, the Industrial Union Department, was formed by the former CIO unions when the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged in 1955 with the American Federation of Labor.

The IUD is now much larger than before, and no longer represents the principle of industrial unionism -- which favors organization of all employees of a single industry, from the most skilled to the least skilled, into the same big union -- as against craft unionism. However, IUD supports liberal legislation in Congress, action for civil rights, and some efforts in organizing the working poor into unions.

Every state has an AFL-CIO council, grouping all the local unions in the state and carrying on a minimal activity in the state legislature and some other political tasks. Usually more important are Central Labor Councils, grouping the local unions in a single city or county, and often including independent locals as well.

Within a particular union the direction varies from the highly centralized to the highly decentralized.

In principle, the basis of union democracy is the local, representing the workers in a single plant, or in a single city. Locals are grouped in district councils (for a whole region) or joint boards. The locals elect delegates to union conventions, both district and national, and bargain directly with local employers, either over all issues or over local issues.

Where there is industry-wide or company-wide bargaining, the locals generally have a representative role. Local union autonomy is limited by union provisions for trusteeship, in which the national officers can temporarily take over a local that is being mismanaged and oust its officers while taking care of its affairs.

Some local unions are called lodges (in railroads, and machinists), and others have such exotic names as "chapels" in the typographers.

The union officers include both national officers and district officers, who make up the executive board, which decides all policy in between union conventions, which occur either annually or every two years.

In some industries, the local union is responsible for hiring; these include the building and maritime trades. In these, there is a union hiring hall where workers come for work-assignments instead of going directly to the company.

By contrast, in "right-to-work" states, mostly in the South, the law reads that workers in an organized shop do not have to join the union to be represented by it; in fact, the union must bargain equally for its members as for non-members.

In other unions, the most important day-to-day work of the union is the grievance procedure, in which it fights for its members' demands over work conditions. Power to hire and fire and set the conditions of work remains with the company, and is limited by the power of the union.

In addition to local union officers, the stewards or committeemen handle grievances; these are workers in the shop who should be readily accessible.

Union staff is generally made up of workers who have come up through the ranks, and have either been elected to their posts or appointed by elected leaders. In many unions the local officers receive a full-time salary from the unions. This is always the case for district officers and international staff.

At the district level there are frequently hired business agents who handle union affairs. In addition, the union will have a large number of field representatives, who are responsible for both organizing and assisting the local union leadership.

Studying Local Unions

The first place to go is the Central Labor body, which often has offices in a "Labor Temple" where many other locals also have offices and hold their monthly meetings.

The staff of the Central Labor body can supply you with a list of member locals and back copies of the local labor tabloid it publishes -- you should subscribe -- which generally reports on negotiations, strikes, meetings, and elections of local unions, on the speeches and activities of the officers (with lots of pictures), and on legislative and electoral matters of concern to local workers. The staff will also talk your ear off about local labor history and problems, if given half a chance.



Often just as important in getting first-hand accounts of labor affairs is the President of the Labor Councils' Committee on Political Education (COPE). His work -- trying to get the locals to run Give a Buck to COPE Drives -- gives him a sense of the ideological map... which unionists give a damn and which don't.

The telephone yellow pages, under Labor Organizations, also has a list, which may fill in some gaps in terms of independent unions and locals which don't care to participate in the Central Labor Council.

If there is a chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, it is probably not listed in the phone book and it is likely that only Negro trade union leaders will know about it, but those who are active in it will probably have a more militant view of the

labor situation and have given some thought and possibly energy to the organization of low-paid unorganized Negro workers.

Another source which lists almost all local unions in the country by state and county, is the Guide to Reporting Labor Organizations, of the Bureau of Labor-Management Reports of the Department of Labor. A new volume to replace the 1964 first edition was scheduled for publication in July 1967. It lists the union local number, and the city, and the file folder for its financial report. It should be used to supplement the Yellow Pages.

If your city is the international headquarters for a union, don't expect its staff to know anything about local matters; although they do sometimes, it is the district staff that has to know these things. This is especially true for Washington, D.C.

About forty state universities have labor extensions, with a few faculty who run education programs for unions in the state, publish academic studies of labor history and affairs, and generally keep well posted on developments. This is a good source -- even if there isn't such a university in your city, find out where the nearest one is located through a friendly economics professor.

The Department of Labor maintains a dozen regional offices, and this is a source for finding out not only about union matters, but other employment matters as well. Its long publications list should be combed for relevant materials.

A critically important way to understand the impact of the unions on the lives of people in your neighborhood is just to ask them what they know. Although the prevailing assumption is that the working poor are not involved in the unions they belong to, most community organizers never even find out where their "constituents" work, much less if they are in a union or active in it.

On the subject of corruption, there are volumes of congressional hearings by the Kefauver and McClellan committees (the Special Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee) from the 1950's detailing local union ties to racketeers.

On the subject of discriminatory hiring, the labor section of the NAACP in New York has the most exhaustive files on employers, and has identified hundreds of employers around the country as unfair employers.

In addition, some City Human Relations Commissions have done accurate local studies. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission set up under the 1965 Civil Rights Act is now embarking on its first thorough-going investigation of local unions to determine minority-group member-

ship and participation in apprenticeship programs. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission also has published a series of local studies of race and employment.

On wages, the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics has the best publications. For every metropolitan area of any size, they publish an "occupational wage survey" with prevailing wage rates covering hundred of occupations; this is updated every three years or so.

It is also in the process of releasing studies of "Earnings and Supplemental Benefits in Hospitals" for two dozen cities using July 1966 data. BLS publishes monthly a report of "Employment and Earnings Statistics" with state-by-state breakdown in great detail. You can never get data for a particular company from BLS statistics -- this is prohibited by law. But industry averages and aggregates are available by the pound.

Bargaining Rights and Labor Law

Most collective bargaining is carried out under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, state labor laws, and the provisions of individual collective bargaining contracts. The NLRA is administered by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), with headquarters in Washington and regional office in the nearest Federal Building.

Thirty years of NLRB hearings on grievances, negotiations, contract enforcement, organizing procedures and representation elections, etc., add up to a complicated set of administrative regulations.

It is very important to understand that whole categories of workers are excluded from its provisions, and do not have the rights to its protections. These tend to be the working poor, such as farm workers, employees of non-profit institutions like universities and hospitals, public employees, employees of small shops, especially retail stores, laundries and dry cleaners, etc.

Other workers have the right to petition for a representation election, in which their union can "run", and if it wins a majority of votes in the unit, is then automatically the union with which management must bargain for a contract.

The working poor cannot force such an election, although through their strikes and through community support they can win the same rights as workers under NLRA.

Most states have additional labor law as well. Because of these variations, the following is a list of important questions to answer:

- which unorganized working poor are covered by labor-relations law provisions?
- what procedures must a new union go through to petition for a collective bargaining election? How are bargaining units defined?
- what protections does a union have once it announces its intent to organize, against employer tactics such as firing, intimidation, untrue allegations?
- what legal limitations are there on the organizing committee?
- where workers are represented by a union, what are the procedures for a new election?
- in this kind of election, what protections do workers have against unfair union and employer tactics, including collusion?

There are many academic textbooks on labor law, but an easier source is the Union Labor Report, published by the Bureau of National Affairs, 1231 24th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 2037. Some NLRB staff will also be helpful, as will experienced union organizers.

NLRB files are extremely valuable for research on local labor history, because it records all bargaining elections, and a high proportion of other battles through which unions have gone.

The Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act of 1959 was based on anti-labor motives, but it contained some useful tools for rank-and-file movements. It guarantees internal union democracy, the rights of opposition candidates, free and honest internal elections, etc.

The Department of Labor, which administers it, is often less than vigilant.

The Act also had "reporting and disclosure" requirements for union accounts to forestall leaders from dipping into the till; the local union's reports are on file for examination at the Labor Department's regional office -- if they aren't, you have a right to be suspicious.

Herman Benson publishes a monthly 4-page newsletter on trade union democracy, reporting on rank-and-file movements. Subscribe to Union Democracy in Action, 136 Liberty St., New York, N.Y. 10006, for \$3 a year. In his back issues he may have carried material relevant to the city or union in which you're interested.

Landrum-Griffin also has a Technical Services and Advice Section for workers who want to improve the union they're in.

There is currently some effort in the labor movement to organize the working poor, although the effort is limited by many factors, not the least of which is the entrenched conservatism of most unions.

Community organizers are also getting interested in fighting for the rights of the poor on the job, and in some areas have organized independent unions, such as the Maryland Freedom Union in Baltimore and the National Farm Workers Association in California (the NFWA has subsequently become an AFL-CIO organizing committee with national jurisdiction for farm workers).



These unions have won the right to bargain for their low-income members, a first wage hike, a "dues checkoff" by which the employer collects the dues for the union out of the paychecks and hands it over, and have a going permanent organization which is self-sustaining in many respects and generates its own leadership and activity.

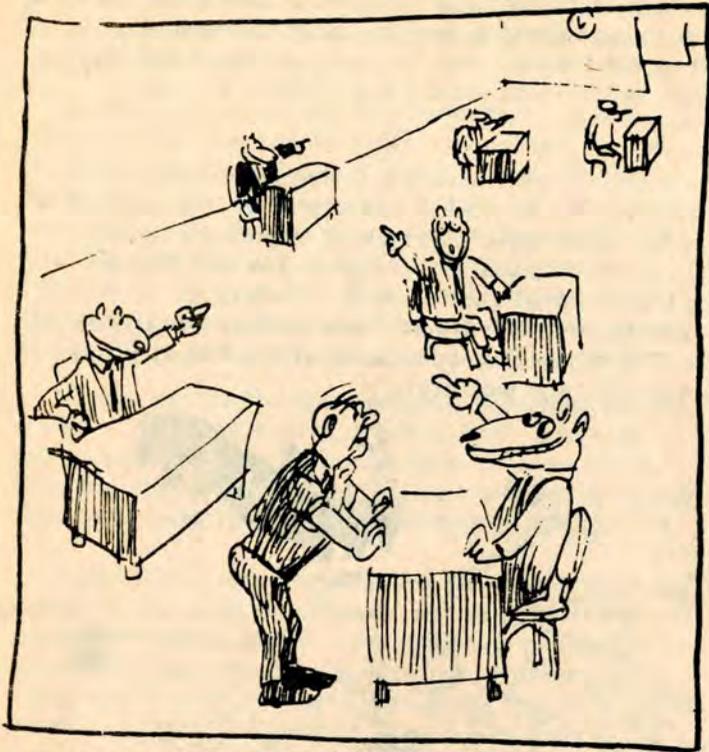
Unemployment and Workmen's Compensation

Unemployment "comp" is for workers who are available and looking for work, and workmen's "comp" is for workers who are unavailable for work because of job-related injury.

Both these programs are federal programs with state administration, and state standards for qualifying for benefits and setting the amount of benefits received.

Both are financed by a payroll tax, set by the state, and paid by the employer; this has to meet certain federal standards. In the case of unemployment insurance, there is a move in Congress to strengthen the federal standards to bring up the quality of operations in most of the states.

Unemployment insurance resembles welfare in



the unemployed to "comp" and the special obstacles faced by the working poor.

Since the declaration of the war on poverty, all kinds of public agencies are in the job-finding and job-training business, and most of them are not very good at it.

Recent Labor Department studies of "Sub-Employment in the Slums" show that the real rate of unemployment in the slums is running over 25%, and up to 40% and 50% in some places.

In a particular slum area, the official State Employment Service is supplemented by the following varieties of job-finding groups:

- War on Poverty information outlets
- YMCA and Community Chest outfits;
- City programs, especially in the summer;
- Welfare Department (for aid recipients);
- Private employment businesses, which charge a fee;
- Day-labor agencies, which generally take about half of the day's wages for their profits.

Organizers have to learn by asking around (and sometimes by trial-and-error) which of these outfits, if any, do a decent job. The employers in the city, or some of them at least, may make a regular practice of informing only private concerns, or certain public agencies, of job openings.

It is very likely that a variety of both public and private outfits will have received Labor Department money for Manpower Re-Training. Grants come from the Labor Department, the War on Poverty, and the Commerce Department's Area Redevelopment Administration -- the regional offices of all three should be visited to find out which local groups have received grants.

Then the groups should be visited to find out the details of applying to get in; most of the programs provide grants to the student to support his family, and the size of these grants varies. This is also true of the OEO's Job Corps for young people, in which the students go away to a camp for training, for the OEO Neighborhood Youth Corps a program in which you stay at home, and for the OEO work-study program, which provides grants for part-time jobs during the school year.

The critical questions to examine to expose the ineffectiveness of these programs are:

- did the trainees get jobs?
- were the jobs at decent wages?
- were the jobs the kind that will be wiped out soon by technological change?
- during training, were family allowances provided at an adequate level?

many respects -- one of them is that workers do not get adequately informed of their rights and have to face a bureaucratic runaround at the office. They must be looking for other work to qualify for benefits, and this is judged by the employment service.

There are a certain number of weeks before you are eligible; you have to report in on your job-hunting progress.

Many states have "experience-rating", in which the payroll tax on an employer depends on his history of layoffs -- the more stable his employment, the lower his tax.

In these states, company lawyers will go into the unemployment insurance claim hearings to prove that their former employees don't actually qualify under some quirk of the law. In this way, UI is a rougher program for the clients than public assistance. In addition to overworked, unsympathetic clerks you find an organized force for stinginess.

However, in most states the AFL-CIO has an organized advocate program to secure compensation rights for members and others.

Some states have a temporary disability insurance program for non-job-related injuries; permanent disabilities that remove people from the work force qualify them for social security benefits.

The state law is published, and available from the employment service and from any decent library. The local labor lawyers, those who are retained by local unions for their work, will probably be the local authorities on the question, along with full-time union staffers, and could be of considerable assistance in preparing a pamphlet on the rights of

Appendix

1. SURVEYS

It's easy for community organizers to start thinking that surveys are either a complete waste of time, or on the other hand, a wondrous cure-all -- for strategy problems, organizer "blues" and even poverty itself.

They are certainly **not** panaceas, as any organizer soon learns, nor are they all totally worthless.

Surveys -- on housing violations, consumer prices and other things -- can be of value in:

- documenting a situation you already know is bad (for leaflets, testimony, fund-raising, complaints to the city);
- stumbling on a bit of information you didn't know already (e.g. from comments in an interview, from tabulations);
- organizing (usually of limited value, but sometimes provides a way of getting your foot in the door and opening a conversation);
- educating the surveyors.

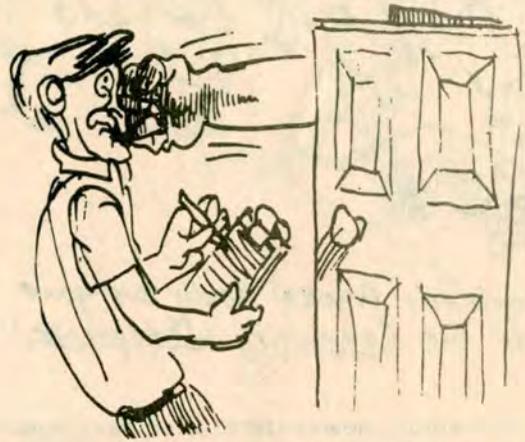
For more information on the uses and abuses of surveys, see Use a Survey to Fight Poverty, New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, 413 West State St., Trenton, N.J. 08608 (\$1.00).

2. THE PRESS

Aside from using newspapers and other media as sources of information, you will probably be concerned with the press in three other ways:

(1) dealing with the press: if your group holds a demonstration or does anything noteworthy, it may want to (or not want to, as the case may be) have something about it in the newspapers. For a short guide on "public relations" with the press, write to the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, 150 Nassau St., New York, N.Y.

(2) researching the press: since newspapers exercise a considerable amount of influence, it is important to find out who controls them. First, try Editor and Publisher (in the library) for the owners and editors of local newspapers. Then do some checking to find out "who" these guys are (see p. 6) and their connections, if any, to the power structure. The other way control is exercised in through



advertising, and the big advertisers (usually department stores) will be evident from reading the newspaper. An excellent short "textbook" on "The Press", prepared by the JOIN Community Union Staff Education Committee is available from Richard Rothstein, 4502 N. Racine, Chicago, Ill.

(3) putting out your own newspaper: for hints on "How to Put Out a Community Newspaper" write to Organizers Library Services, SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. The list below includes newspapers published by community groups in various parts of the country, newsletters put out by single-issue organizations, publications of student groups which often carry news of organizing ventures, underground press syndicate newspapers that carry political news, and periodicals of general interest which follow news about the movement and issues of concern to community groups.

Community Newspapers

- West Side Torch (West Side Organization), 1527 W. Roosevelt, Chicago, Ill. (weekly)
- Firing Line (JOIN Community Union), 4533 N. Sheridan, Chicago, Ill. (weekly-contribution \$10/yr.)
- El Malcriado (National Farm Workers Organizing Committee), Box 1061, Delano, Calif. \$2/yr.
- Common Sense (Cleveland), 1544 E. 86th St. Cleveland, Ohio, 44106
- Trefann Court News (Toronto Community Union Project: T-CUP), 123 Sackville, Toronto, Can.
- M-CUP News (Minneapolis Community Union Project) 1119 E. Franklin, Minneapolis, Minn.
- The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco, Calif. (\$1/yr): monthly publication of California SNCC, but covers news of community groups in all parts of country and includes excerpts from



In peoplehole Ghetto, nearly everyone reads the Community Wholepeople!

other community newspapers; also have available the Key List Mailing, a bi-weekly publication containing reprints selected documents on organizing and other movement issues.

Issue-Oriented Newsletters

- NOW (Poverty/Rights Action Center) 1713 R. St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009: news of welfare rights organizing.
- Tenant News (Metropolitan Council on Housing) 219 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y. (monthly \$1/yr.) --on all housing issues
- El Machete (Mission Council on Redevelopment), 2277 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. --news of urban renewal fight.
- Inter/Change (National Conference for a New Politics), 250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.

Student Publications

- New Left Notes (Students for a Democratic Society), 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. (\$5/yr)
- New South Student (Southern Student Organizing Committee), Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn. 37212 (\$1/yr.)
- Wind and Chaff (University Christian Movement), 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027
Motive (magazine-UCM), P.O. Box 871, Nashville, Tenn. 37202
- SUPA Newsletter (Student Union for Peace Action), 658 Spadina Ave., Toronto 4, Canada. \$5/yr.

Underground Press Syndicate

- Los Angeles Free Press, 938 N. Fairfax, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Fifth Estate, 1107 W. Warren, Detroit, Mich.
- Washington Free Press, 1703 R. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- The Rag, 910 W. 26th, Austin, Texas.

Of General Interest

- National Guardian, 197 E. 4th St., New York, N.Y. 10009 (weekly - \$1/10 wks.)
- Renewal, 116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill (monthly-\$3/yr)
- Southern Patriot, SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211
- Social Action, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, 289 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y.
- I.F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. (\$5/yr.)
- New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. (\$8/yr.)
- Nation, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014 (\$6/6 mos.)
- Liberation, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038 (\$2.50/yr.)
- Dissent, 1509 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. (\$2.50/yr.)
- Studies on the Left, P.O. Box 33, Planetarium Station, New York, N.Y. 10024
- New University Thought, P.O. Box 7431, Detroit, Mich. 48202

3. ORGANIZING RESOURCES

-General Materials

- (1) SNCC, 360 Nelson St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
 - Freedom School Poetry (\$1.50)
 - Negroes in American History (\$1.50)
 - Freedom Primers

(2) JOIN Staff Education Committee: short "text-books" in simple language on The Press, Public Education, Food and Clothing, The Political Machine, Urban Renewal and Taxes; available from Richard Rothstein, 4502 N. Racine, Chicago, Ill.

(3) Organizers Library Services of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

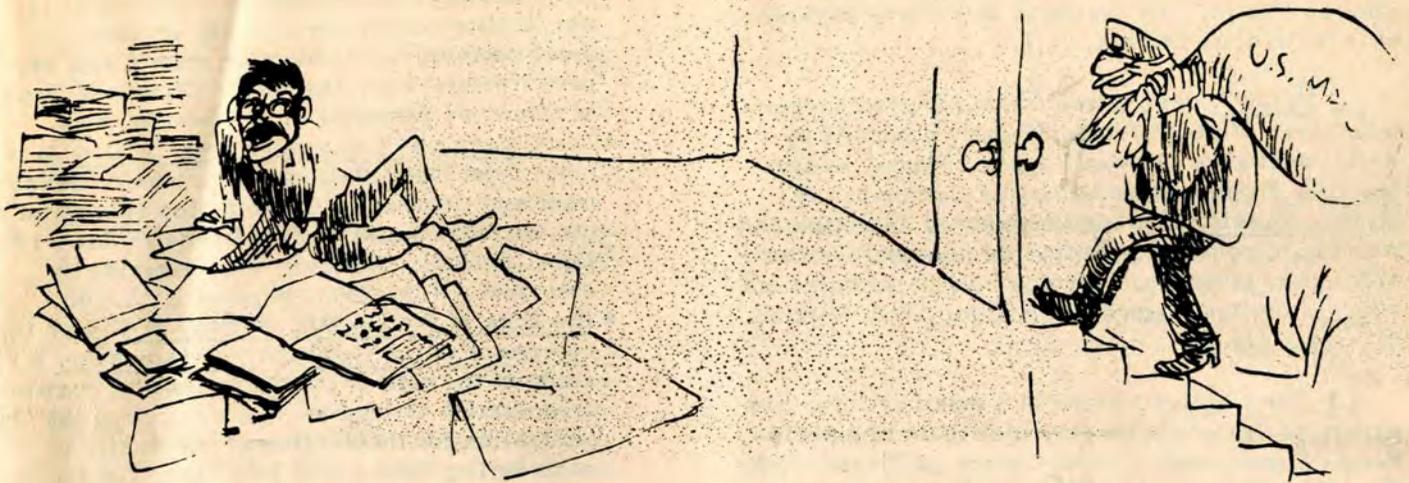
By Alan McSurely:

- Getting and Keeping People Together - 25¢
- HANG-UPS - Common Problems of People Who Organize Other People into Communities - 50¢
- How to Put Out Community Newspapers - 25¢
- Common Group Problems - 50¢
- How to Negotiate - 25¢

By Jack Minnis:

- The Care and Feeding of Power Structures (revised) - 50¢
- Lowndes County Freedom Organization - 50¢

(4) Freedom Information Service, Box 120, Tougaloo, Miss.: offers information to local groups on agricultural programs, voter registration statis-



tics, election returns, economics; helps develop political education handbooks; puts out weekly newsletter (most of its activities are concentrated in Mississippi).

(5) School of Community Organization, 3101 W. Warren Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60612: trains organizers and members of existing community groups in Chicago; trains people who then set up new organizing projects; has Center for Radical Research whose staff collect information needed by Chicago Freedom Movement -- write the school for training and education materials, research reports, newspaper (forthcoming), etc.

(6) Newark Organizers School: just beginning; for more information and materials, write to Terry Jefferson, 684 Hunterdon St., Newark, N.J.

(7) Two church related training centers;

- Urban Training Center for Christian Mission, 40 North Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill 60607

- Metropolitan Urban Service Training (MUST), 235 E. 49th St., New York, N.Y.

(8) Leadership Training Program of Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality (SEDFRE), 150 Nassau St., New York: has trained more than 2,000 people in community work; has material available on politics, housing, civil rights legislation, etc.

(9) Vietnam Summer Organizer's Manual, 5 Cadbury Rd., Cambridge, Mass. 02138: hints on organizing specific constituencies (professionals, unions, black community, high school students); work in the community and the role of an office (publicity, running a speakers bureau, fund-raising, office filing systems).

-Films

There are many films and film-strips that are available to show to community organizations in poor neighborhoods or to middle-class audiences for fund-raising or educational purposes.

Since it's impossible to mention every good film, you should write to the distributors list below for their catalogues. A brief list of film follows.

Distributors:

- Brandon Films, Inc., 221 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019

- Contemporary Films, Inc., 267 W. 25th St. New York, N.Y. 10001; 614 Davis St., Evanston, Ill. 60201; 1211 Polk St., San Francisco, Calif. 94109.

American Friends Service Committee, Audio-Visual Dept., AFSC, 1160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

- Canadian Film Board, 680 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.

- National Educational Television (NET), 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.

Films

(1) Troublemakers: about organizing in Newark N.J. ghetto; covers three months in history of Newark Community Union Project (NCUP); 54 min. film makers: Norman Fruchter and Robert Machover. By the same film makers: Had Us a Time: about a poor peoples' conference held in Cleveland in Feb. 1965; 12 min.; and We Got to Live Here: shows conditions in the Newark ghetto where NCUP

begin its work; narrated by people from the community; 25 min. All available from Terry Jefferson, 684 Hunterdon, Newark, N.J.

(2) Uptown: depicts reality of life in disadvantaged area of south Bronx; 29 min. produced by Herb Danska for Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services Program; distributed by Contemporary Films. Storefront: in depth study of selection and training of community people as non-professional aides in neighborhood service center; 49 min.; distributed by Herb Danska Films, Inc. 7 E. 93rd St., New York, N.Y.

(3) The Captive: story of a man in mining community of Eastern Kentucky; distributed by Audio-Visual Department, United Church of Christ, 1505 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (also have film-strip called "P is for Poverty")

(4) A Time for Burning produced and directed by William Jersey: shows attempt to integrate a church in small town in mid-west; distributed by Contemporary Films.

(5) Two films on the Child Development Group of Mississippi: A Chance for Change on the pre-school program (45 min.) and Struggle for Ourselves on community action aspects of program (15 min.); distributed by Contemporary Films and Mrs. Mary Emmons, CDGM, 507 1/2 North Parish St., Jackson, Miss. 39202.

(6) SNCC films: Ivanhoe Donaldson (Brandon Films); A Regular Bouquet (NY SNCC office: 100 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.); Streets of Greenwood (Brandon Films); We'll Never Turn Back (Brandon Films); A Dream Deferred (SNCC office, 449 14th St., San Francisco, Calif.); Black Natchez (Ed Pincus, Cambridge Port Films, 335 Western Ave., Cambridge, Mass.); Lay My Burden Down (NET) Strike City, Miss. (Tom Griffith, c/o Frederic Eaton, 10 E. 85th St., New York, N.Y.)

- For Special Groups

Churches:

- Action Guides for the Churches Toward the Elimination of Poverty in the USA, \$2.00 a set, order from Dept. of Publication Services, National Council of Churches, Box 301 Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.
- The social action and urban life departments of most major Protestant denominations have material concerned with the area of community organizing. For example, the United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action (289 Park Ave., South, New York, N.Y. 10010) publishes action guides for local churches in the areas of housing, employment, voter registration, etc.
- Inner-city ministries, local Councils of Churches

and individual denominations in a number of metropolitan areas are actively involved in local community organization efforts and might have material available (e.g. Cleveland Council of Churches pamphlet on welfare--p. 87-8).

- The Church and Community Organization (a report of the Consultation on Community Development and Community Organization sponsored by the National Council of Churches in Dec. 1964) Dept. of Publ. Services, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027 paperback, \$2.00
- The Edge of the Ghetto: A Study of Church Involvement in the Community Organization (a study of the role of local churches in community organization through an examination of the Organization for the Southwest community in Chicago during 1959-1966) John Fish, Gordon Nelson, Walter Stuhr and Lawrence Witmer, Univ. Of Chicago Divinity School, paperback, \$2.00.

Labor:

The IUD has reprints of an article appearing in its publication Feb. 1967 on community unions; available from Anita Curtis, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., Washington, D.C. 20006.

4. STATISTICS AND THE CENSUS

Perhaps the best known source of statistics is the U.S. Census. But there are many other private and governmental agencies that collect figures for various purposes. You can find out what's available and where to look for it in:

- Directory of Federal Statistics for Local Areas: A Guide to Sources, 1966, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
- Guide to U.S. Government Statistics, Library of Congress, 1961.
- Paul Wasserman, et. al. Statistical Sources, Gale Research, Co. 1962.

-The Census

The United States Census of Population, and its companion study, the United States Census of Housing, are among the more useful sources of raw data.

The Census is actually a snapshot of the characteristics of the American population -- in terms of social, economic, and housing factors. The snapshot is taken every 10 years, the last one in April, 1960. The information is given in terms of various geographical areas.

Most of the information of the census is in a

form very difficult to use, partly because of the many bulky volumes, and partly because of its great detail.

Much of the more useful information has already been compiled for many cities by the local City Planning Department, particularly in the Community Renewal Plan (p. 27). The Chamber of Commerce, other state and local agencies, and private social service groups also will have compilations.

A good eye and a few brisk walks around an area will often yield information just as good, and in some cases better. For example, three hours in a neighborhood looking in the stores, on mailboxes, and perhaps chatting with a few people here and



there will tell you a lot about the people -- an old or young population, where they are from, what kind of houses they live in -- and you'll probably remember it better by learning it that way.

Also you'll find where the public housing is (rather hard to eke out of the census data), and a lot about institutions in the neighborhood and how they are used (parks, schools, bars, political and social clubs, etc.) which just are not in the census.

Despite all this, there are times when direct consultation with the census will be the easiest way to find what you want.

Originally, the census was required by law to determine the population of the various states, so that congressional districts and the number of congressmen per state can be determined fairly. This is still a use, but especially in the last two censuses, as governmental agencies, both by law and convenience, have come to rely on the census.

In addition, census reports are published in a number of volumes, the most useful which are available in the reference room of most large li-

braries. They are Volume I of the Population Census, Vol. I of the Housing Census, and the Census Tracts, series PHC (1).

They, as well as the other volumes, are available for a nominal sum from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20025, or any of the field offices of the Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census). Congressmen often will provide you with them gratis.

There are two documents in particular which will be useful to organizers in urban areas: the tract reports (PHC (1)), and the various special reports.

The tract reports: Each takes one metropolitan region (called an SMSA, or Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) and breaks it up into compact and generally homogeneous units of 3,000 - 6,000 people (called a census tract), and then lists the various social, economic and housing characteristics of all the tracts, as well as for the city and the whole area.

These reports contain all the information that Volumes I of the Population and Housing Censuses contain for a particular area, in a much more usable form.

A number of special reports are put out, both by the Bureau of the Census alone, and jointly by the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

There is one series, the HC (SI) reports, done for local housing authorities, which is useful for technical information in the field of public housing and urban renewal.

Another series is a small, usable booklet ("Income, Education and Unemployment in Neighborhoods"--Bureau of Labor Statistics) on each city of over half a million people (plus a few others for geographical interest). It includes the census tract information on income, education, and unemployment which is found in Volume I and the PHC (1), but in a convenient form listing the tracts in order, from highest to lowest unemployment, income and education, and illustrates these findings on maps.

Aside from these tracts and special reports, the bulk of the information is included in hardcover volumes, which are indexed in detail in the introduction to all volumes, and which are listed by volume below. These, except for the many books which make up Vol. I of both series, are hard to find in any but the best research libraries, and would not ordinarily be used except to find some specific piece of information for technical use.

Population Census:

- Vol. 1: The characteristics of population, by state (54 books) and by town or city within each state
- Vol. 2: Subject reports, by the nation and by region (e.g. migration, fertility, education)
- Vol. 3: Selected area reports, by economic regions
- Vol. 4: Summaries and Analytic Reports of the census (highly technical material)

Housing Census:

- Vol. 1: Characteristics of housing, by state, and by city and town within each state
- Vol. 2: Characteristics of housing in metropolitan areas over 100,000 population
- Vol. 3: Housing by city blocks, for cities over 50,000
- Vol. 4: Technical data: tenancy and finance changes over time
- Vol. 5: Residential Finance (characteristics of mortgage and finance, for the nation)
- Vol. 6: Rural housing, by subregions
- Vol. 7: Housing of senior citizens, by state and SMSA

-Using....

There are probably two uses of the census which organizing projects and research projects oriented toward them will have, at least initially: to find out a piece of information -- a social characteristic -- about a particular area that is already in mind; and conversely, to find an area which has a given characteristic.

These kind of problems are most easily researched in the census, for the census is actually a large cross-reference of a list of characteristics, and of areas: depending on the particular characteristic or area which you already know, you choose the appropriate volume, and proceed to the chart which correlates that characteristic or area with the one you want to find out.

For example, if you want to know the percentage of Puerto Ricans in a given neighborhood, who were born in Puerto Rico, one would go to the census report for the SMSA that your neighborhood is located in, and find on a map which census tract(s) make up your neighborhood, and then find a list of census tracts which also give "race and country of origin"

On the other hand, if you want to know which neighborhoods in a region were predominantly Puerto Rican, you would find the proper sub-category under "race and country of origin" and scan through the list of census tracts for particularly high numbers of Puerto Ricans, and then plot those census tracts on a map of tracts, hopefully arriving with a large number of points near each other on the map.

Most of the time you will be using the census tract or the city as a geographical area in question, thus the census tract reports will be most useful. Vol. I is of interest if you are interested in comparing one city or tracts in that city, with another city elsewhere in the state, or if you are searching for organizable areas in a particular state.

For most practical purposes, other geographical breakdowns will not be important to you, but statistics can be found for the following geographical areas:

- the state as a whole
- the county (parish in Louisiana)
- any town, incorporated or unincorporated place, village, borough, and minor civil division; annexations
- urbanized area -- regardless of civil divisions
- Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (counties which make up a metropolitan area which contains a city of over 50,000)
- state economic areas (having similar cultural, agricultural, demographic and physical characteristics)
- blocks -- done in larger cities

The social characteristics listed in the census are numerous, and some in the description below have been eliminated (e.g. farm residence) because of their irrelevance to the city. The ones listed are all to be found in the documents mentioned above as easily available and useful.

- what are the people in the study like: how many there are in such and such an area; what race they are: white, Negro, Puerto Rican, Spanish surname; where they were born, where their parents came from; how old they are.

- in what groups do they live: marital status; household size, and relationship to head of household; group quarters; married couples, families and unrelated individuals.

- what is their work situation: what is annual income in 1959; how many weeks did they work in 1959; employment status as of April, 1960; where do they work; how do they get there; occupation, industry and class.

- what is their housing situation: residence at time of census, 5 years previously; of all houses, how many are vacant, and how many are lived in. conditions: how is it heated? condition of plumbing, bathroom; overcrowdedness: number of people per room; how old is the building; management: what percentage are owned, rented? what percentage have owners living in them? how much is rent, mortgage, costs? what is value? how many units are in each building?

The major misuses of census figures are mistakes in using the definitions or units which the census has carefully, but sometimes inconveniently defined.

Owner occupancy in most census figures is in terms of units, and thus a 6-family structure in which the owner lives in one unit is 16.67% owner occupied (rather than 100% in tables in which the structures, rather than units, are in question).

Read the definitions carefully.

Another example of confusion in definitions is the distinction between safe, deteriorating (more than regular maintenance is required to repair the damage) and dilapidated (inadequate and unsafe) housing. These are technical, arbitrary definitions, and should not be confused with more general, off-hand usage.

Often you will have to translate census figures into those which you can use: in order to get figures on a neighborhood, or to separate out a rich section from an otherwise poor town, the easiest way is often to break the area down by census tracts, and then get an adding machine and calculate new figures for the separate parts of town.

Another example of misleading figures is listed in Schattschneider and Jones' Local Political Surveys, (p. 37) in which there is an excellent chapter which describes how to use census data in terms of congressional and legislative districts, units not used by the census itself.

Comparability:

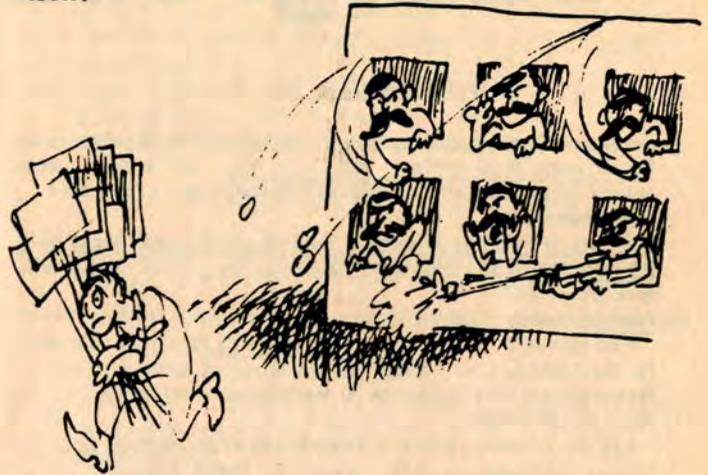
At the beginning of each volume of the census there is a list of changes in definitions of geographical units; these must be taken into account when comparing areas over a period of time, and fortunately, they are small in number. Changes in the information asked from census to census is small over a 10-year period, and can be found in the introductory pages of the census volumes, but over a long time it is considerable.

Inferences:

It is a most difficult task to infer from particular data some characteristic which is not specifically studied by the census. Since this is often precisely the reason for our inquiry, we must be careful and precise.

If an area, according to the census, is seriously deteriorated or dilapidated for 90% of the structures, has few adequate plumbing facilities, and was built before 1939, is it good rent strike territory? Not necessarily...if the landlords live in

the buildings and rent apartments out to their relatives. Don't attempt to make psychological or historical assumptions without additional information.



Out-datedness:

The last major census was taken in April, 1960. Conditions change rapidly, and particularly with mass clearance, urban renewal, natural catastrophe and rapid migration, the character of a district may change completely in two or three years.

Thus the use of census data is legitimate only if one has checked out other sources to indicate possible mass changes. In some cities, the Bureau of the Census did a quick survey in 1965. In others, the Chamber of Commerce and private marketing organizations maintain estimates of recent population figures. In the absence of any other data, local school or housing surveys may reflect other changes.

Inaccuracies:

In middle-class areas, presumably much of the collecting was done without major flow; although probably there was as much concealment of income as there is for the Internal Revenue Service, which is considerable.

But in transient, poor, and minority-group areas, there is good reason to believe that even with the best of intentions, the census takers do not even find many people, no less obtain information about them. Census Bureau officials themselves estimate that they missed one in ten Negroes -- including one in every six young men -- in the 1960 census. With language, cultural, class, and racial barriers present, the distortion of information also is considerable.

And there is occasionally some vested interest which sees it in its interest to conceal certain information (e.g. that a city has become a majority Negro since the last census).

Background Reading

SOME GENERAL HINTS

Lawrence Frederick Schmeckebier and Roy B. Eastin, Government Publications and Their Use, Brookings, 1961: what's available and how to use federal and also some state materials.

Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement, Office of Economic Opportunity (copies free from OEO)

Poverty Anthologies:

• Margaret S. Gordon, ed., Poverty in America, Chandler Publishing Co., 1965: proceedings of national conference held at University of California. Berkeley, Feb. 26-28, 1965.

• Louis Ferman, Joyce Kornbluh and Alan Haber, ed. Poverty in America, Univ. of Mich. Press 1965

• Ben B. Seligman, Poverty as a Public Issue, Free Press, 1965.

4. Power Structure Research:

• See business and industry, and government and politics listings below.

• Jon Frappier and Roger Manela, Working Paper on Radical Research (draft), mimeo, 1966, available from REP, 510 E. William St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108: lists sources, directories, etc. for national and international power structure research.

• Jim Jacobs, Power in American Society -- a study guide; excellent bibliography; also available from REP.

5. Bob Ross, Whose Welfare? Notes on Poverty and the Welfare State, mimeo available from SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill.

6. Preston Wilcox, Suggested Community Development Aides, list of sources distributed by MUST, 235 East 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017

7. Community Organization -- Bibliography, 18 pp. mimeo 1966 available from AFSC, 56 Boyston St., Cambridge, Mass.

8. Frank Riessman, A Comparison of Two Social Action Approaches: Saul Alinsky and the New Student Left, mimeo, distributed by SEDFRE, 150 Nassau St., New York, N.Y. 10038.

9. Todd Gitlin, "Organizing the Poor" in Beyond Dissent: Papers from the New Left, Doubleday, Fall 1967

10. A "Freedom Budget" for all Americans, A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 W. 125th St., New York, 10027, \$1.00.

HOUSING

1. General Housing:

• Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity, U.S. GPO, 50¢, 1963; good overview of housing issues.

• The Federal Role in Urban Affairs, proceedings of Ribicoff hearings, committee print free from clerk of committee.

2. Fair Housing:

• How the Federal Government Builds Ghettos, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 1967, 323 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016, 25¢

• Fair Housing Handbook, published by American Friends Service Committee and National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, available from NCDH (see above).

• Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program (may 1966) 30¢ and Neighborhoods: Where Human Relations Begin (Feb. 1967) 50¢, both from Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

• Alma E. Taeuber and Karl E. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities; residential segregation and neighborhood change, Chicago, Aldine Publ. Co. 1965: gives indexes of residential segregation for 150 cities.

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Index

A

abortions 43,45
Adult Basic Education 40,66
advertising 72
agri-business 9
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (ADC, AFDC) 47ff
Aid to Medically Indigent 45
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) 52, 57
American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) 74ff; COPE 35,77,48
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers (AFSCME) 44,40,35
American Federation of Teachers (AFT) 63, 65,66
annual reports: city, county 35, corporation 19, united fund 41
anti-trust cases 72
appellate courts 53
appropriations 38
Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH) 32
Area Redevelopment Administration 78
arraignment 54
arrests 52,54
assessor, tax 18ff
Assistance to Migrant Families and Indian Reservations 39
authorization of funds 38
automobiles: companies 72, insurance 72,60

B

bail 55
balance sheets 70
banks 72, 20
bar association 53
Better Business Bureau 60
blight hearing and declaration 29
blind assistance 47
blue book (legislative manual) 35
bonds, government 38; for public housing 22, corporation 70
bonds, bail 55
brokers, stock 69, 70
brutality, see police 52
budgets: government (operating and capital) 38, appropriation 38, school budget 64
building code 14
Bureau of Family Services (Welfare Administration, HEW) 48ff
Bureau of Labor-Management Reports (Dept. of Labor) 72
Bureau of Labor Statistics (Dept. of Labor) 76, 47,82
business 68ff
business libraries 7, 72
bussing 65
buying club--see food

C

campaign contributions 36
capital budget 38, 41, 65 (see also capital improvement plan 27)
Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement (OEO) 86
categorical assistance 47
census, U.S. 82ff, 63
Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law 50, 25
Central Labor Council 75, COPE 34
Chamber of Commerce 35,63,64
Children's Community (Ann Arbor) 66
churches: schools 63, materials for working with 82
circuit court 53
Citizens' Advisory Commission 28
Citizens' Alert 52
Citizens' Council for City Planning 32
citizen participation: in urban renewal 28 in war on poverty 39,40
city charter 35
city council 35, urban renewal hearings 29
City Directory (Polk's) 8, 69
City Planning Board 28, 83
city services 41,42
civil liberties union 57,52
civil rights organizations 63
civil rights commission (see commission on civil rights)
civil service 35
civilian review board 52
classrooms 66
clearance, urban renewal 27ff
clerks: city 36, county 54, 36, court 54
Commission on Civil Rights, US 63,52,43, 76
Committee on Political Education (COPE) AFL-CIO 35,36,75
Community Action Program (war on poverty) 39,40
Community Chest 41
Community Design Center 32
Community Health Centers 44, 39
community newspapers 79
Community Renewal Plan (CRP) 27,81,41
community schools 66, 67
compensatory education 62,66
comprehensive plan (master plan) 27
condemned buildings 14,15, urban renewal 29
Congressional Quarterly 36
consumer actions 58ff
consumer programs (war on poverty) 39
Consumer Union, Report 61
contracts: city 38, 36, urban renewal developers 30, war on poverty 40
control: public housing 25, welfare 50-51, education 64, businesses 71
cooperatives 59, 61
corporations 68ff, 18ff, corporation records 18
CORE 63
corruption: labor unions 76, government 34
court records 53ff, 72

courts, various levels 53, housing 15, 16, debots, 59
credit 59
credit rating of companies 70
credit unions 60
criminal court 53
crime, organized 38,
curriculum 62,65, in community schools 66ff.

D

day-care centers 41
deeds 18-21
Defense, Dept. of 72
defense industry, how to do research on 9
demolition 15,30,31
Demonstration Cities Program 32, 27
dental care 43
developers (housing) 29ff
directories: telephone 8, Polk's City 8,69,
docket, court 54
doctors 43ff
Domestic Relations Court 53
draft 9
dummy corporations 19ff
Dun & Bradstreet 69

E

economic development commission 69
Effective Schools Programs 66
Education (state) Dept. of 62 (see also HEW)
elections: laws 31, statistics 35, election board 36, of judges 53, union representation elections 77
electric companies 42
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) 65,66
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) 57
eminent domain 29
employment 74ff
enabling legislation 16, 37
escrow funds 15
eviction: in private housing 15, in public housing 25
Exodos, see Operation Exodos
experience rating 78

F
FACE (Federal Assisted Code Enforcement) 14, 27
fairhearings: public housing 23, welfare 49
fair housing 11
Family Court 53
federal court system 53
federal programs, catalog of 86
Federal Trade Commission (FTC) 72
felony 53
FHA (Federal Housing Administration) 20, 30
films 81
FNMA (Federal National Mortgage Association) 20
food: food stamps 48, 49, surplus food 48, 49, grocery shopping 58, 59, National Food Marketing Commission 72, buying club 61
foreclosures: tax 20, mortgage 19
Foster Grandparents Program (war on poverty) 39
fraud, consumer 41, 42

G
garbage collection 41
garnisheing 59, 60
gas company 42
general assistance 47, 50
General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP) 27, 41
gerrymander 65
government, local 34ff, employees 35, officials 35
Government Printing Office, U.S. 7
grand jury 55

H
Head Start 66, 39, 40
health care issues 43ff
health code 14, 43
HEW, Dept. of 48 (see also office of education)
hearings, fair (see fair hearings)
hearings, public: urban renewal 29, legislative 37, congressional 72, utility commissions 42
highways 32, 42
Hill-Burton Act 43
home rule 37
hospitals, voluntary, proprietary, public 43ff, mental 46
Housing Act: 1937 - public housing 22, 1949 - urban renewal 27, committee print of all housing acts 33
Housing Assistance Administration (new name for Public Housing Administration) 22ff
housing code violations 14, public housing 25, and workable program 27, hospitals 43, stores 58, schools 64
Housing and Urban Development, Department of (HUD) 23ff, 27ff

I
Inc. Fund (NAACP) 57
income tax 38
incorporation papers 70, 18ff
Index to Business Periodicals 69
Index to Corporations and Industries 69
indictment 55
Industrial Directory, state 69
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO 74, 61, (see also unions)
industries 68ff
"information" (court)
inspection, housing 14 (see also housing code)
installment buying 59, 60
insurance: companies 71, 20, medicare 45, hospital 45, auto 72, FHA 30
interest on loans 59, 60
Interstate Commerce Commission 72

J
jail 55
Job Corps 78, 39, 40
Job training 78
JOIN 33
judges 53, 54, in housing court 15, 16
jurisdictional disputes (labor) 74
jury: grand 55, trial 55
juvenile court 53

L
Labor Department 76, 77, 78, 39
labor unions 74ff, 82
Law Center for Constitutional Rights 57
Law Students Civil Rights Research Council 57
Laws 37, what's public 6
lawyers: slumlords' 20, 14, corporation 72, who help movement and poor people 56, 57
Lawyer's Guild, National 57
League of Municipalities 35
League of Women Voters 34, 63
leased housing (public) 26
leases 25
Legal Aid Society 54, 56, 57
legal assistance 56-57: landlord-tenant 15, urban renewal 32, public housing 25, welfare 50, consumer problems 60, education, discrimination, 65
Legal Defense Fund, NAACP 57
legal notices 7, of public hearings 37
Legal Services, Neighborhood (war on poverty) 39, 50
legislation 37
legislative index 37
Legislative Manual 35, 36, 53
libraries, 7, Municipal Reference Library 35
Local Housing Authority (public housing) 28ff

M
Magistrate's Court 53
Manpower Retraining, federal 78
manuals, on research on defense industry, the draft, agri-business, communities 9, Legislative Manual 35
manuals for community groups: tenant 13
public housing 22, welfare 50
Manuals, Moody's (see Moody's)
maps: ward and precinct 37, highway 42, census 84.
Martindale and Hubbell 72
mass transit 42
Master (Comprehensive) Plan: workable program 27ff, recreation info. 41, highways 42, schools 65
Medicaid 45, 47
Medical Assistance for the Aged 45, 47
Medical Committee for Human Rights 45
Medicare 45
mental health 45
Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith 70
Metropolitan Council on Housing 17
migrants: war on poverty programs 39
Delano, Calif. 43
misdemeanor 53
Mission Council on Redevelopment 33
Model Cities Program (Demonstration Cities) 27, 33
moderate income housing (221d3) 31
Moody's Manuals: Industrial 69, 73, Municipal Bonds, 38, Bank and Finance 21
mortgages: discrimination 11, records of 18ff, urban renewal 30
Municipal Reference Library 35
Municipal Yearbook 35
Mutual Funds 71

N
NAACP 63, 76
NAACP Legal Defense Fund 32, 57
National Alert Patrol 53
National Council for Effective Schools 66
National Education Association (NEA) 63, 65
National Farm Workers Organization Committee, 77, 44
National Federation of Social Service Employees 51
National Food Marketing Commission 72
National Labor Relations Act 76, 77
National Labor Relations Board 76, 77
National Lawyer's Guild 57
National Office for the Rights of Indigents (NORI) 57
Negro American Labor Council 75
Neighborhood Legal Services 53, 56, 39, 32,
Neighborhood Multi-service Centers 39
Neighborhood Youth Corps (war on poverty) 40, 78
Newark Community School 66

N (cont.)

newspapers: importance of reading 7,
morgues (clipping files) 7, as sources
of information 63, 69, community news-
papers 79, researching newspapers 79
nurseries 41

O

offense 53
Office of Economic Opportunity (war on
poverty) 39-40, 44, 56, 63, 66, 78
Office of Education (HEW) 39, 40, 63, 66
Old-Age Assistance 47
Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance
(CASDI) 47 -- see Social Security
open occupancy 11
operating budget, see budget 38
Operation Exodus 65
ordinances 27
organized crime 38, 52
orphan's court 53

P

pamphlets, political action and education
38
Parent-Teachers Assn. (PTA) 63
parks 41
parochial schools 63
partnership (corporation) 19
patronage 35ff, 25
payroll tax 38, 77
pension funds 71, 72
Planners for Equal Opportunity 32
playgrounds, playstreets 41
police 52, 53
political parties 36
Polk's City Directory 8, 69
Poor Peoples' Corporation 60
Poors Register of Corporations, Directors
and Executives 69
population statistics 82ff
"poverty line" 48
Poverty/Rights Action Center 49, 50
power structure research 9, 10
precinct leaders 36
preliminary hearing 55
pre-school programs 41, 66
press 79ff
prices 68, 58
primaries (elections) 36
prisons 56
probate court 53
probation 55
professionals 8
profits 68, 70
Project on Welfare Law 25, 50
(see also Welfare Law Bulletin)
proprietary hospitals 43
prosecutor 54
public assistance (see welfare)

public defender 54
public hearings (see hearing, public)
public housing 22ff, and urban renewal
27, and relocation 26, 30.
Public Housing Administration (see Housing
Assistance Administration)
Public Information Law 6, 35
public transportation 42
publications, federal 6

R

real estate: ownership 18ff, taxes 18,
20, 21, 38, real estate board 11, 21,
lobby, 11, 22, 24, 26
receivership 14
recreation 41, and schools 64
recognizance, release on 56
redeveloper (see developer)
registration (for elections) 37
regulatory agencies 71, 72, utilities and
transportation 42
rehabilitation: public housing 26, urban
renewal 30
relocation: 30, condemnation 14, 15,
public housing site 26, workable
program requirement 27, 221(d)3 31, 32
rents: private housing 21, public housing
24
rent control 16
rent strikes 14, 17
rent supplements 32, and public housing
26
repossession of merchandise 59, 60
review boards, civilian and police 52
review boards, tenant 25
Right-to-Know Law 6, 35
Right-to-Work Law 75
Roxbury Community School 67
Rural Loans (war on poverty) 40

S

safety, auto 72
sales tax 38
sanitation 41
Savings and Loan Associations 20
scattered-site housing 15
Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund
for Racial Equality: Legal assistance
57, leadership training 81
schools 62ff, and recreation 41
Secretary of State (of your state):
corporations records 70, 20, election
laws 36, 37, campaign contributions
36, election statistics 36, 37
Securities and Exchange Commission 70, 71
slum landlords 13ff, ownership of prop-
erty 18ff, and urban renewal 29, 30
Small Business Loans (war on poverty) 40
SMSA (see Standard Metropolitan Statisti-
cal Area)
Social Security Act 47, 48, 78, and
medicare 45

social service agencies 41
Social Service Employees Union, National
Federation of 51
speculation, real estate 29, 21
Standard and Poors 71
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area 83
State Employment Service 78
State Legislative Manual 35
state legislature 34ff
State Plan (Welfare) 50
statistics (sadistics) 82ff; guide to em-
ployment 76, census 82ff, housing 11,
public housing 26, public health 43,
business 70, 71, election 35
State's Attorney 54
statutes 37
stock holders, brokers, regulation 69ff
street cleaning 41
Student Health Organization 45
Superintendent of Documents (USGPO) 6
Superintendent of Schools 64
Superior Court 53
Supreme Court 53
surety companies 56
surplus food 48, 49
surrogate's court 53
surveys 79, consumer prices 58, hospital
44, urban renewal 29
SWAP (Student Woodlawn Area Project) 61

T

taxes 38: real estate 18ff, assessment,
assessor 18ff, concessions, abatement
30, in lieu of (public housing) 22,
schools 64, 63, payroll 38, 77
teachers 62ff
Teachers Corps 66
Teamsters 44, 74
telephone company 42
tenants' manuals: private 13, public 25
This Magazine Is About Schools 67
title searchers 18
tracts, census 83ff
trade associations and journals 72
trade unions (see unions, labor unions)
traffic control 42
training schools and institutes 81
transportation 42
trusts 19
trust funds 71
Truth-in-Packaging Law 59
Truth-in Lending Bill 60
221(d)3 moderate income housing 31
tutoring 67

U

unemployment insurance and compensation
77
unions (see also labor unions) 74ff,
city departments 35, health 44, teacher
teachers 63
United Fund 41 and hospitals 44
universities: as sources of information
7, 35, 63, 76, as stock holders 71
Upward Bound 39, 66
Urban League 63
Urban Planning Aid, Inc. 32
Urban renewal 27ff, and public housing 26

V

vendor payments 49
Vera Institute of Justice 56
Vickers 71
VISTA 39

W

wages 77
Wall Street Journal 69
War on Poverty 39, 40, and jobs 78
ward leaders 36
welfare: specific programs 47, in general
47ff, and public housing 26, and hos
pitals 43, and jobs 78, and war on
poverty, 39
Welfare Law Bulletin 50, 16, 25, 46, 60
Who's Who 69
Work Experience Program (war on poverty)
40
Work Study (war on poverty) 40, 66, 78
Workable Program 14, 27
Workmen's Compensation 77

Y

YMCA and YWCA 41

Z

zoning board 29

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