

ChicagoLand

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MAGAZINE A TM GUIDE

The Bad Trip



DIRECTOR
ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

anti-poverty : the bad trip

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Photos by H. Nichols

It's the fast shuffle and the one-way ride for anti-poverty funds in Chicago-Land. It's also a good way to create a revolution.

MY SISTER MARRIED a W.A.S.P. (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant), not one of my best friends is black, and I can't remember the last time I Done Good. That's for perspective.

When the "commemorative riot" hit Chicago's West Side on the first anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I was at lunch with a (black, colored, Negro—as you choose) acquaintance of nearly a dozen years. As we went into the restaurant, he mentioned that there would be an "incident" that day, possibly one building to be burned before it ended. By the time we left, the rocks were flying.

He didn't know why—no one did. But advance notice had spread, and with the notice died the illusion of spontaneity, unrest, hatred, and all the other catchwords describing race relations. A riot was planned but didn't *take*.

Maybe the reason can't be explained in catchwords. Maybe it has depth and substance. Maybe it's the way people *are* and not just the first quotable words over an angry tongue. Maybe a lot of things. Like time, maybe, for a few rational answers.

If the War on Poverty is accomplishing anything in terms of lives, then it's a big secret—especially to the people who supposedly are benefiting. That lack of awareness is one of the causes of dissatisfaction.

Part of the problem is that the total federal effort is fragmented among several departments and many agencies. Local efforts are often overblown for political value. Another part of the problem is that the highly visible Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) is one of the smaller fragments. When the OEO budget is criticized as being too small, often the other programs are entirely overlooked.

Federal manpower programs all provide for one or more of these elements: employment orientation, pre-vocational training, vocational skill training, on-the-job training, and/or work experience.

Here's what's authorized in conjunction with the OEO program:

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, Title II: On-the-job Training (OJT) through the Bureau of Work Training Programs; Work Incentive Program (WIP) through the Illinois State Employment Service; Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) through the Chicago Alliance of Businessmen (NAB/CAB); Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) through the Office of Economic Opportunity; Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) through the Bureau of Work Training Programs and community action agencies; and Institutional Training through Illinois State Employment Service.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act, Title I-B, through Community Action Programs (CAP): Operation Mainstream, adult training in rural areas; New Careers, professional-aide jobs for urban residents. The local CSP agency is the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity (CCUO). Under the same Act, Title II-B, CCUO is the CAP agency coordinating programs named above. Under Title II-A of the same act is the Job Corps, training disadvantaged youth; Assistance to Migrants and Seasonal Farm Workers, pre-vocational training, and basic literacy courses.

Independently funded, although sometimes working in conjunction with OEO/CCUO programs are these federal and state agencies:

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), under its Social Rehabilitation Service offers programs ranging from Public Assistance (old age, blind, disabled, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children), Medical Services, Rehabilitation Services, Maternal and Infant Care, Maternal and Child Health, Child Welfare Service, and Age-Planning, Training and Services.

Department of Labor administers — directly or through CCUO—projects or programs such as JOBS; MDTA/JOBS Reserve; NYC-in-school; NYC-drop-outs; Operation Mainstream, training older people on conservation and beautification of small and rural towns; New Careers participation; on-the-job training under MDTA, and institutional training under MDTA.

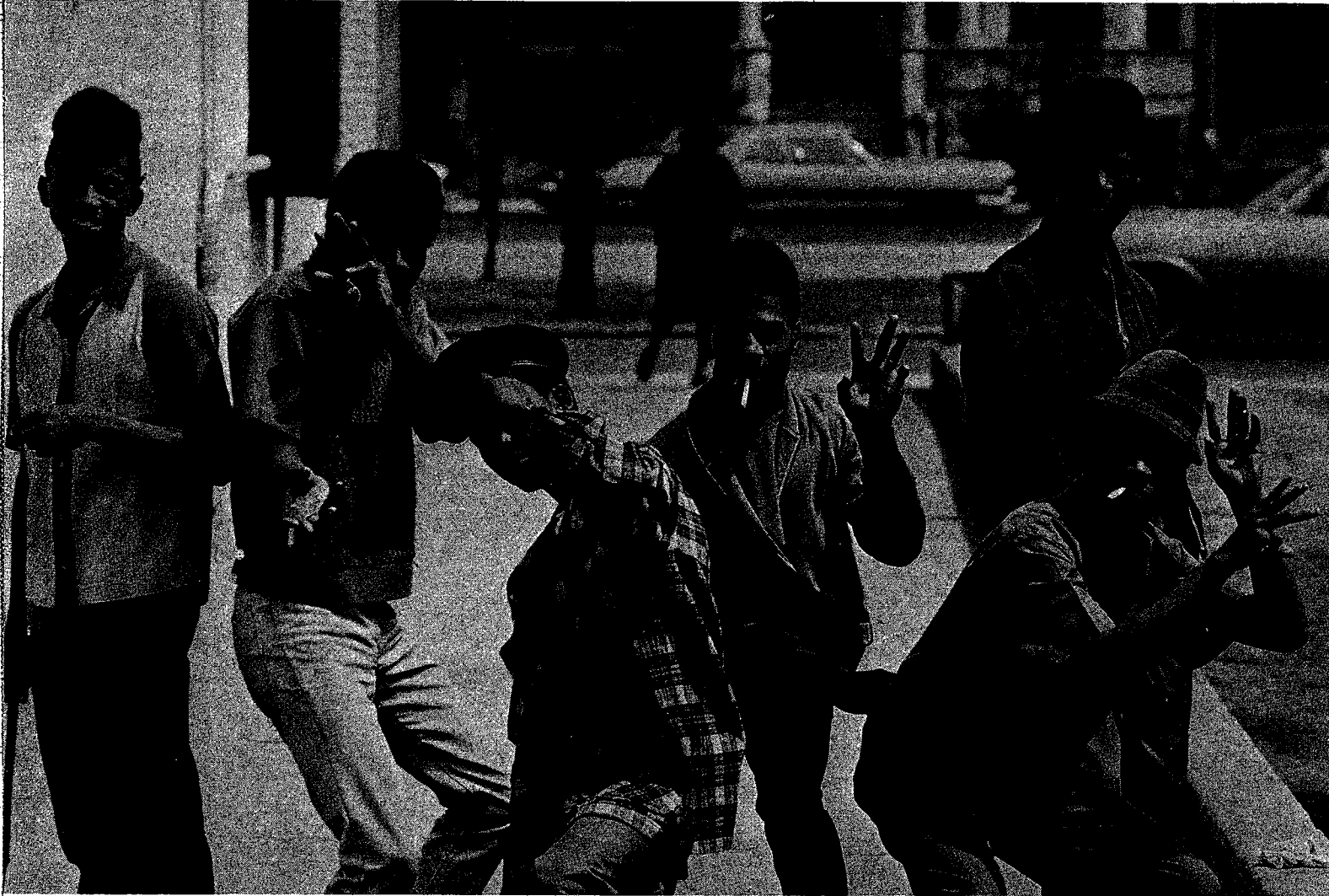
Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has funded Neighborhood Development and Community Planning programs. It has appropriated funds for planning under the new Model Cities pro-

gram, with one major proposal for \$38,000,000 pending. A Public Housing program providing 10,000 low-income units is under review for funding.

Department of Agriculture operates the Food Stamp program (\$10 food stamps for \$6.50 cash), a variety of school milk, breakfast, and lunch programs funded with both cash and commodity contributions to provide low-cost food to participating schools; a special pro-

privileged groups include Adult Basic Education through HEW; Vocational and Technical Education through the Board of Vocational Education; and Vocational Rehabilitation Program through the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation.

The Illinois State Employment Service, in operation for seventy years, offers service to all residents but cooperates with OEO in providing neighborhood service through the CCUO Neighborhood Centers.



Just foolin' aroun' near South King Drive. Summer camp?

gram provides nearly \$1,500,000 to buy food for children who cannot afford even the reduced-rate meals.

Department of the Interior's, Bureau of Indian Affairs, conducts, largely through CCUO, its Employment Assistance program of training, placement, and relocation, if necessary.

Department of Commerce provides loans and grants under its Public Works and Economic Development Administration (EDA) programs. The stockyards industrial park project was funded for \$10,000,000 last year.

State agencies operating among and for under-

No wonder nobody knows what's happening!

Here's what the War on Poverty is contributing to local programs: Of the \$2 billion national OEO budget, \$25,000,000 had been funded to Illinois by March 20, with more to come in the last quarter; the Labor Dept. funded \$24,344,530 to Illinois and \$34,000,000 more to metropolitan Chicago. Agriculture Dept. had funded \$5,481,107 in premiums on nearly \$20,000,000 worth of Food Stamps for Cook County alone by the end of the third quarter, with more to come; adding \$24,894,500 for state-wide programs. HUD has contributed \$39,150,000 in actual funds for programs in progress and for Community Planning; a like amount is now pending approval.

HEW spent \$105,728,755 in Cook County during the first half of this fiscal year, and the second half will be at least equal. Based on population, greater Chicago should qualify for about 60% of Illinois funds, although the formula for each agency is different.

In its strictest sense, the "War on Poverty" is the title given the Johnson administration's programs under OEO and related activities. That still totals only \$25,-000,000 for Illinois and is still subject to criticisms. Yet the total expenditure, which could be expressed under a "War on Poverty" umbrella, totals nearly \$400,000,000 for Chicagoland alone!

That should buy a lot of results, because the money and the intentions are there.

Yet results are minimized or unseen for a number of reasons, including these: over-administration, inefficiency, delay, waste, and empire-building—the kinds of reasons that apply to most government spending; some "old line" agencies don't want to be identified with the highly partisan "War on Poverty," which they see as Johnny-come-lately; long-term planning is difficult with federal budgets drawn annually. That's a general look at federal problems.

There are more important problems closer to home. The OEO-funded projects suffer four major handicaps: 1) feuds and power struggles between various spending and receiving groups; 2) program failures from other causes; 3) lack of favorable publicity for positive achievement; and 4) political porkbarreling.

During the summer job scramble, jointly-funded agencies have to pull together to survive, but during the balance of the year, raw wounds are opened.

ISES: "We developed the idea of putting our office in every Neighborhood Center and sold the idea to OEO to avoid duplication."

CCUO: "We got ISES put under us because they weren't doing their job."

Vicious attacks occur when South Side and West Side groups launch invectives on ISES or CCUO personnel, using one agency against the other. It works. Personnel take a day's time to write unproductive defenses . . . everyone is angry . . . and established programs look bad.

CCUO: "The official stance of the gangs is to quarrel with the Establishment so they can get the money direct. We're Establishment to them."

WSO: "The Establishment won't give us money to fight them. We have to sell out—lose control of our programs and newspapers. We got a new President; we can wait till July (federal budgets)."

What is significant is that both CCUO and the groups struggling with them are predominantly black. So the CCUO programs seem to be dividing the black community more than uniting it. What are the criteria applied? Political favoritism has been mentioned frequently. No one really knows how a neighborhood group can get money if it doesn't play ball with CCUO. If large groups complain that CCUO is accomplishing nothing for them, is CCUO succeeding?

CCUO served as the funnel for more than \$12,000,-000 in funds last year committed to major projects

outside its direct control. That included \$8,213,000 for Neighborhood Youth Corps (OEO & USD Labor); and \$4,668,000 for Head Start, cultural enrichment for pre-schoolers, operated by such agencies as the Board of Education, the Catholic Archdiocese, various churches, Montessori schools, Hull House, and the YMCA and YWCA.

In addition, CCUO spent \$3,500,000 for its own summer program. Camps, recreation, and neighborhood improvement accounted for \$1,442,000; academic work and new cultural exposure accounted for \$802,000 funded to delegate agencies such as Alvernia High School, De Paul University, Concordia Teachers College, St. Ignatius High School, Ecumenical Institute, Archdiocesan Committee on Poverty (adults) and Providence High School; another \$154,000 was spent on music, theater, art, and talent projects, through churches and other organizations; and \$1,092,000 was spent on recreation and summer activities, operated by everyone from the Chicago Fire and Police departments to the Park District; and YMCA, Boy Scout, and Girl Scout camps.

Yes, 5,500 teenagers had summer jobs as recreation supervisors, and more than 40,000 spectators saw cultural programs. But all were one-time events. Not one program was self-sustaining; only self-sustaining programs can escape the sink-hole label and pyramid the effect of new funds.

Why can't some of the OEO millions serve as an investment fund? Long-term development is a prime goal of West Side groups; the West Side Development Corporation is the instrument they refuse to "sell out."

WSDC: "Black capitalism is to set a few niggers up in business and then drain the black community. Our Corporation is going to be the broker for business coming into the West Side. We're not racist—whites are welcome. But we want more black entrepreneurs. We want to see blacks benefit from the business they support."

Q: "How does the broker idea differ from the protection racket of Chicago's past?"

WSDC: "The racket was extortion from fear—nothing in return. Here the investor gets money back with nothing to fear because he's got group membership. We control the area from Lake Street to Twenty-second Street South; from State Street straight west."

The solid front of the Corporation is maintained by the cooperative effort of five major groups: The Conservative Vice Lords, the Student Afro-American Group, the Egyptian Cobras, the Garfield Organization, and the West Side Organization for Full Employment. They prefer not to be called gangs.

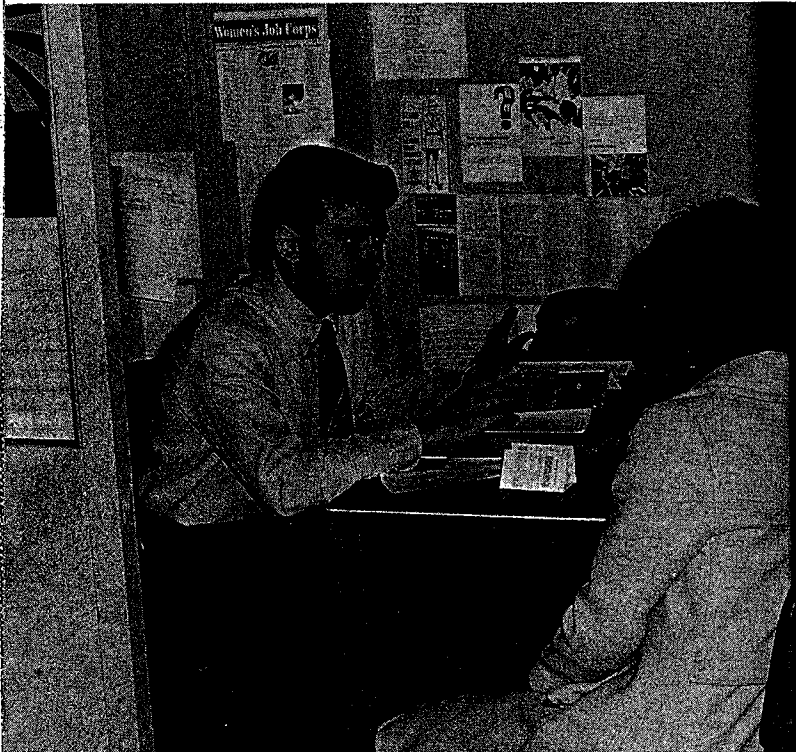
CCUO must have their cooperation to achieve significant goals. So far the vote is "no confidence."

Longer funding periods—the touted panacea for the problems—will not be meaningful. What's needed is a reappraisal of direction . . . the application of standards of success by which to measure the various programs. So far there are no national standards for local programs—what the CCUO Neighborhood Center rep-

representative likes (ditto OEO), is what tends to be approved. Local business sometimes attaches strings to donations so that the 20% matching obligation of CCUO is met along with the objective of the donor.

But the key to success—however measured—is support of the black community and other smaller but equally important groups who depend on the federal funds.

Failure to win that support is showing up on the national scene, too. Until April, 1969, there were 89 Job Corps camps for men and 19 for women; 57 are now being phased out, including one of two in Illinois. A cutback in funds is the published reason; the real



Counseling at a South Halsted Street office.

reason is that the camps can't be filled—nobody wants to go.

The word is out. First, there's little real choice of job—military style. Second, the camps have been nightmares for the minority group by camp count, black or white. Incidents (termed "isolated" if acknowledged) ranged from beatings to homosexual gang rape. Of course, changes have been made in supervision for this year, but the damage is done. The bitter boys out-talk the boys who gained.

One rumor tags the Job Corps camps as detention centers, ready for extermination duties. Good subversive talk.

Unfortunately, that's the pattern for the entire effort: everyone criticizes, only a few offer suggestions, and the good results rarely make a public debut.

Agency: "The success of the Neighborhood Centers is the story of one person, over and over. But that's not dramatic, and the newspapers don't print it when we send it out." (NBC-TV gave 14 half-hour programs in 1968.)

Agency: "The only time they (print and broadcast) want to talk with us is when a scandal occurs. Otherwise they don't know we exist."

Agency: "Sure, the press publicizes JOBS/NAB, but that's because the prominent businessmen involved have advertising clout. Nothing for nothing from the press."

The press (print and broadcast) calls itself a *business* when its duty is pointed out and a *public service* when it's locked out of courtrooms like any other business. Let's not say hypocrisy; let's just say the Constitution doesn't provide sanctuary for any one business. Cheap headlines are expensive. It's time for the responsible view that the public interest requires. Public apathy has created the underlying platitude "People won't pay for good news." We're paying—one way or another.

The public needs to hear about "undramatic" lives, like that of a high school drop-out who went the Job Corps route to a job at Ford in Harvey. He works nights so he can complete high school during the days. Can't use words like hate, prejudice, and reactionary ... must use white words like determination, self-sufficiency, and ambition.

Why must the public scratch to know that jobs paying from \$2 to \$3.50 per hour benefit the underprivileged through government reimbursement of training costs to such corporations as Austin-Western, Chicago & North Western Railway, Commonwealth Edison, Chrysler-Belvidere, Ford Motors, Illinois Bell Telephone, Interlake Steel, Republic Steel, and Zenith Corporation?

Employers are reporting 60% job retention—almost identical to retention figures for the general population in the same type of jobs. ISES is on top of the situation, but it lacks funds for true publicity functions. Last year ISES placed 179,482 persons in non-agricultural jobs, plus 27,294 in agriculture. It needs 40,000 openings this summer and might get half.

Employers can help by not insisting on a high school diploma when substantial language skills are not required on the job. The drop-out needs that boost—he'll perform.

Volunteers can help this summer by counseling job applicants for ISES. The pay is low, but the satisfaction is high. Phone the ISES Supervisor, Walter Parker, at 782-5800.

Public interest and awareness will rattle cages; because it's becoming increasingly evident that the one major cause of continuing dissatisfaction is politics—partisan games played with the nation's future.

The Community Action Program (CAP) under which the War on Poverty programs are funded subjects all the OEO appropriations to the control of local politicians. Before leaving office, Lyndon Johnson (whose \$14,000,000 personal fortune attests to his understanding of political economics) tied the present administration to his grab-bag.

In Chicago the grab-bag is entitled "City Department of Human Resources." Its official function is to coordinate the spending of federal, state, and local funds through master approval of independent agency plans.

On paper it looks impressive. In fact, local offices are so disorganized that we could not obtain meaningful figures for either state or city expenditures.

In actuality, the DHR neatly counters the recent transfer of some OEO supervisory activities to federal HEW and Labor departments.

Heading the Chicago Department on Human Resources is Dr. Deton Brooks, Jr., who has guided CCUO since its inception five years ago. His new planning duties will be roughly identical to his old, but his new salary will be nearly 50% higher—now \$30,000. His successor at CCUO, Mrs. Murrell Syler, will be paid \$22,000, and two deputy commissioners, Ray Ryan and Hugh Osborne, will be paid \$26,500 and \$23,076, respectively. Seven directors of various services of the DHR will earn about \$20,000 each.

In aggregate, the executive salaries will total about \$228,000 in patronage jobs—not civil service. That's nearly 1% of the OEO budget in Illinois—or roughly equal to the sum spent by CCUO on neighborhood beautification projects last year, however you want to look at it. Plus secretarial and operating costs. Possibly the city has run out of intelligent ways to spend the money.

More directly, when the Mayor's man in charge of all spending has not created a single self-sustaining program and does not command the support of the underprivileged themselves—where does that leave the public?

At Riot Central—on the outside, looking in! Riot Central no longer is a command post in the slums. It is City Hall, personified by Mayor Dick Daley. Mayor Daley has the means to make the programs function—to make all the *paid-for* good things happen. His office and his hand-picked "coordinators" can make or break the entire public effort through friendships or enmities created with the OEO funds. So far, there's more anger than applause.

The Nixon administration is upgrading the problems of the minority by creating a new Cabinet post. At press time the Congressman from the thirteenth district, Donald Rumsfeld, of Wilmette, is awaiting Senate confirmation for the post. Rumsfeld supported all civil rights bills of the 88th Congress, his first. He opposed administration bills for HUD and Appalachia, after having supported or introduced "substitute approaches which I supported as more reasonable." He also introduced an alternative bill to the war on poverty to "eliminate waste and political favoritism in the present program and reduce the cost of the poverty program." In the 90th Congress, last fall, he co-sponsored the Human Investment Act and National Manpower Act to provide tax credits and funds to employers for training and upgrading the skills of labor, including hardcore unemployed . . . "because I believe the private sector can predict current and future needs better than the Government."

It sounds like Donald Rumsfeld understands political economics, too. If so, he'll probably discover that his campaign in the War on Poverty will be a War on Politics. Maybe demagoguery has to go—for the public good.

SAAG: "Race conflict is not our bag. We're working for health, education, and employment. With help we can make friends and stop excitement and incitement."

At face value or heavily discounted, it makes sense.

The West Side Organization—headed by an ex-convict—just won an award from the national (white) Better Boys Foundation. Maybe they're not all wrong.

WSDC: "We stopped the April (1969) riot—to prove we can do it. To prove we got support and deserve funds. But we can blow it to the sky, too!"

More riots? Hope not, because they'll have to be



The Big Wait on the south side.

handled like riots.

Riot costs totaled nearly one million dollars in 1966 and over four million in 1968 for property damage alone as measured by claims paid by major insurance companies (claims under \$10,000 are not included). Add to this figure the potential for personal injury suits now pending, plus the costs for police and National Guard protection, multiply the figure by ill will, and the total price is madness.

But demands for results on programs long-promised and already funded—why not? I'd like to see results, too.

This is the start of Desperation Summer in Chicago—one last chance for all the private interests to get their piece of the action before the public comes to its senses.

Or maybe the public already has—Spanish-speaking and Indian and black and white. There's a rich quiet on all fronts. A waiting. A watching. Big Brother, we're watching you.

Riot Central, do you read me? ■