

## Chief Architect of Harlem's Mobilization for Youth Tells House Committee ...

by Prof. Richard A. Cloward \*

To convert the [anti-poverty] program from a strategy to aid casualties to a campaign against basic economic inequalities will require a good deal of political pressure from low-income groups. Among the first-aid programs to be established across the country, for example, not the least is a plan to provide out-of-school, unemployed youth with subsidized work, especially in the ghettos where last summer's riots broke out. It is all very well to provide subsidized work to unemployed youth, but where will they work once the brief period of subsidization is over? Since the anti-poverty program does not deal with basic economic problems, such as the lack of full employment or low minimum wages, it cannot be expected to shut off the flow of future casualties.

### Jobs Not Welfare

Or take the programs being established in some cities to deal with the current crisis over welfare costs. Some municipalities are proposing to train welfare mothers to become dietary aides and nurse's aides, thereby enabling them to leave the welfare rolls. This may be an advance over their previous status, but it must also be said that such measures reinforce the female as the breadwinner in an already entrenched female-headed household. Men for whom there are no jobs will nevertheless mate like other men, but they are not so likely to marry. Ours is a society which has preferred to deal with the resulting female-headed families, not by putting men to work, but by placing unwed mothers and dependent children on public welfare—substituting check-writing machines for male wage-earners. By this means, we have robbed men of manhood, women of husbands and children of fathers.

A guaranteed annual wage would eliminate poverty; even a system of children's allowances would raise whole groups from poverty. But if we fail to make a broad spectrum of institutional changes, new casualties will steadily fill the vacuum left by individuals who are helped by the anti-poverty program. At present, political pressure for basic economic change does not appear to exist in American society. The

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### War On Poverty's Bitter 1st Birthday

The war against poverty's first fiscal year has ended in a torrent of bitter criticism from minority groups protesting racism in the administration of the program. At the NAACP's convention in Denver, the director for labor affairs, Herbert Hill, called the program "merely an extension of white welfare paternalism." He said the program lacked any serious plan to deal with Negro unemployment even though the unemployment rate was 124% higher for non-whites than for whites. In 1947, the nonwhite unemployment rate had been only 64% higher. Hill's criticism was seconded a day later before the Senate Subcommittee on Poverty by Reverend R. A. Hawkins, a Negro civil rights leader from North Carolina. Hawkins reported almost total disillusionment with the program among Southern Negroes. "They see the same people in leadership roles from the same old social departments and agencies that have kept them poor and dependent in the past," he said.

broad consensus favoring the anti-poverty program is hardly proof of a national determination to wipe out economic deprivation. It is true that a consensus exists, including business and labor, Republicans and Democrats, rich and poor. The very breadth of this consensus, however, merely lays bare the fact that no vital institutional interests are threatened.

If the political preconditions for major economic changes do not now exist, the anti-poverty program can have a role in helping to bring them about, precisely because of its mandate to involve the poor. During recent hearings in the House Committee on Education and Labor, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell castigated one city after another—chiefly Chicago, Washington, Cleveland and New York—for failing to seat poor people on the top municipal anti-poverty councils, where policy will be formulated and funds allocated for programs. Representation on top policy-making bodies may confer a little prestige on the poor persons who participate, but it will do little more where they are outnumbered by other individuals representing powerful organizational interests.

The possibility that the anti-poverty program can make a contribution to the growth of low-income power lies in delivering to the poor and their leaders the responsibility for controlling the funds and programs to be funnelled into their slums and ghetto communities. In the coming years, billions

### This Retired Texas Marine Corps General Seems to Be Offering LBJ Some Good Advice

"The current operations in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic recall previous Marine experience in the field of guerrilla warfare. . . . Cumulative experience in 'banana wars' reached its peak in the five-year struggle against Sandino in Nicaragua—a region strikingly similar to Vietnam. . . . After some preliminary skirmishing in the spring of 1926 between the Conservative forces, the Nicaraguan civil war erupted on a country-wide scale during August.

"In accordance with the then well-established formula, the U.S. intervened. Marines . . . landed to enforce a neutral zone . . . ostensibly for the protection of American lives and property. . . . After voluble but futile protest against the 'un-neutral' action of U.S. forces, Gen. Moncado marched westward toward the coffee fincas. . . .

"The U. S. Government, defending its action as a necessary part of the Monroe Doctrine, was faced with considerable political opposition at home and abroad. Strictly mili-

tary considerations were secondary to political expediency—a situation which appears to prevail in Vietnam . . . the brigade deployed to outlying districts for the task of policing the country prior to the 1928 elections. . . .

"The result of what was likely the first honest election in the history of the republic was a sweeping Liberal victory, in which General Moncado [against whom we had intervened] was elected President. . . . The U.S. government might have preferred a different outcome, but in the event made no effort to interfere. . . . This strictly neutral attitude helped to reconcile the Nicaraguan citizenry to the Marine occupation, and facilitated subsequent military operations. There appears to be a lesson to guide possible future intervention in the domestic politics of occupied countries. If we must intervene, favor the side of the electoral majority."

—Gen. Megee (U.S. Marines, ret.) of Austin Texas, writing in the June, 1965 issue of the Marine Corps Gazette.

## ... Anti-Poverty Program Fails to Deal With Problems of Race and Economy

of dollars are to be made available for programs in depressed neighborhoods. To manage these programs, huge social welfare organizations will have to be created, or existing ones vastly expanded. Thousands of jobs will be created; the new workers hired to fill them will owe their allegiance to those who own the organizations. Through services that will reach thousands, broad constituencies of low-income persons will develop. The organizations to be created or expanded will constitute a new and potentially important source of power.

### How City Hall Controls the Slums

Who will derive that power? The poverty structures being projected in New York and Chicago are key examples of efforts by governmental officials to dominate the forthcoming programs. Under conditions of great secrecy, both cities put forward plans some months ago calling for the establishment in designated slum neighborhoods of decentralized, multi-function public agencies. Most of the municipal antipoverty programs are to be operated from these centers. In both cities, these projected centers are to be responsible to a city-wide corporation dominated by public officials or persons directly appointed by public officials.

What community groups are beginning to understand is that their stake in the present controversy is the right to mount autonomous, self-directed anti-poverty programs in their own slums and ghettos. In New York, as a consequence, organizations have slowly been developing: Central Harlem's HAR-YOUCT, East Harlem's MEND, Bedford Stuyvesant's Youth in Action, South Bronx's SEBU, and the new city-wide organs of the Puerto Rican community. If these local community-action groups could be depended upon merely to carry out politically neutral social-service programs for the casualties in their midst, the current dispute would generate somewhat less heat. But the trend toward neighborhood control is also coupled with the idea of organizing poor people to work for social change, and that is a major threat.

The fact is, however, that today's slum and ghetto lack a radical tradition of any kind. The emerging controversy over the involvement of the poor has its roots in relatively moderate ideologies—self-help, local autonomy, democratic moderate

### Housing Bill 20 Years Behind Need

"We face a critical housing shortage. Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949, which was intended to guarantee a decent home and living environment to every American. But we have failed to admit and act upon the fact that the housing problem is one of severe shortage. Current data indicate that housing starts are running at 1.5 million annually. This is far too few. Even the most conservative estimates indicate that at least 1.7 million units are needed in 1965. Some sources estimate a need of 2 million units in 1965 and an average of 2.2 million by 1970. [The Housing Act of 1965] proposes 60,000 units per year for the next 4 years, but only 35,000 of these [per year] would be new units. New York City alone could use the entire authorization for public housing. This bill is just about 20 years behind the needs of the American people."

—Rep. Ryan (D., N.Y.), in the House, June 29 (abr.)

action, and the importance of ethnic separatism. The struggle, in short, is in the tradition of urban politics, and nothing more. It may be asking too much of established power groups to recognize the value of this development, but it must be said, in any case, that they are not being confronted with anything resembling a revolutionary movement.

[There are] those who are troubled by the thought of creating "separatist" programs under the aegis of the war against poverty. The logic of this position is that community problems are common ones and can best be solved through cooperation and communication. All things considered, however, it is rather difficult to see how the interests of the Puerto Rican slum tenant dweller are congruent with those of the Jewish landlord or those of the unregistered Negro with those of the Italian political-machine leader. Strategies of conciliation and coalition will not bring the poor into the mainstream. For within coalitions of unequals, it is not typically the case that the least equal have much success in advancing their interests. Judging from the history of ethnic groups struggling to gain a foothold in our pluralistic society, it seems clear that minority groups will win acceptance by the majority only through developing their own bases of power, not by submerging their unorganized numbers in coalitions dominated by others.

### Senate Declines to Stop Drug Company Profiteering on Publicly Financed Patents

Not since the days of Estes Kefauver has a U.S. Senator dared to attack the nation's drug industry as did Russell Long (D., La.), in debate June 25th and 28th over a public health bill. Long was battling for an amendment to prohibit the drug companies from acquiring patents, i.e., monopoly rights, on drugs that are discovered and developed solely with public funds. The Senate voted him down 55 to 36, but the result might have been reversed if supposedly liberal Senators like Fulbright, McCarthy, Bayh, Javits and the Kennedy brothers had not sided with the industry.

Long hit the industry hardest with a comparison of what U.S. drugs might sell for under competitive conditions with what they now sell for under U.S. patent monopolies. This comparison is hard to come by because drug companies don't reveal their costs of production, but Long achieved a close approximation by calculating from bulk drug prices in Europe. He found that the ingredients for 100 tablets of Orinase, an important insulin substitute used by diabetics, sell in Europe for only 18c. Here Upjohn sells these 100

tablets wholesale for \$7.70. The price to the consumer is \$14. "Over a period of 10 years," Long said, "the difference in cost to a diabetic might be the difference between \$1,600 and \$48." Similarly, the ingredients for 100 tablets of the widely used antibacterial drug Furantin in Europe cost only 19c. Norwich sells these 100 tablets to druggists here for \$29 and they in turn sell them to the public for \$48.34. Long analyzed prices for some 15 drugs and concluded that without patent protection they could sell about 30 times cheaper.

Long also made public the first evidence of collaboration between government laboratory research workers and the big drug companies. He told how in one case three employees at the National Heart Institute discovered a new anti-hypertensive, filed for a patent on it with the help of Merck & Co., and failed to tell the U.S. Surgeon General about the discovery until it was too late for the government to exercise its option on the lucrative foreign licensing rights. These rights will now go to Merck.