

The Care and Feeding
of
Power Structures
Revisited



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OF
POWER STRUCTURES
REVISITED

Random Selections from Research Files

- * An Oklahoma Grand Jury reports that "...in many segments of our business community the payment of money [to members of the state legislature] to secure passage or defeat of legislation apparently has come to be considered a normal business expense."

- * Fourteen county tax assessors in California are indicted for accepting bribes from large corporations and large landowners in return for reduced property tax assessments and the consequent reduction in local property taxes owed. (No attempt has been made to prosecute the bribers.)

- * A county tax assessor in Indiana is indicted for failing to place on the property tax books the residences of some of the wealthy families in Indianapolis.
- * A district attorney in Georgia blackmails and then rapes the mother of a teenager he is prosecuting on burglary charges.
- * A lawyer-member of the Georgia Legislature, debating changes in the state workmen's compensation law, admits: "The purpose of workmen's compensation is to put meat on the table and fire in the furnace when a worker is hurt. This purpose is often subverted by my clients and I'm paid to help subvert it and I'm not too proud of it."
- * A coroner in Chicago, answering charges by a slum mother that her child was bitten to death by rats, swears that the results of an autopsy showed that the child did not die of rat bites. It died of starvation. Then the rats chewed on the body.
- * A member of the United States Senate acts as the paid agent of various United States and foreign corporations interested in

getting certain kinds of legislation (from which they derive enormous financial benefits) passed by the United States Congress. When a member of the House of Representatives expresses criticism of the Senator, he is upbraided by senior members of the House, and alters the tenor of his remarks as they are printed in the Congressional Record.

- * The U.S. State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) slow down foreign aid to Peru because the government of that country would not "agree to reasonable oil investment terms in negotiation with the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey."
- * The President of the United States asks a ruling military junta in the Dominican Republic that it send an urgent request to him to land U.S. troops in that country for the purpose of "protecting American lives." Thus could the pretext be provided for a military invasion of the Dominican Republic by the United States, the real purpose of which was to prevent the return to power of the constitutionally elected president.
- * Officials of a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph, operating a

"poverty war" Job Corps camp under contract to the United States Office of Economic Opportunity explained why they had sought the contract: "We got into the poverty business as a hedge against a decline in our defense work...antipoverty contracts are just as good from our point of view as defense work...The name of the game is Job Corps." This is the spirit behind the organizations which are paid handsome fees by the United States Government to accept the responsibility for training thousands of American youth in job skills and—read it—civic responsibility.

- * A witness in a Federal criminal trial gives sworn testimony that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was responsible for providing a number of warplanes to the Government of Portugal for use against the nationalist rebels in the Portuguese African colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

- * The Caltex Corporation, jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and Texaco, takes on the job of trucking petroleum from the Republic of South Africa to the fascist regime in Rhodesia, while United States representatives in the United Nations (including former Supreme Court Justice Goldberg—all honor to him) are avowing the solid U.S. support of economic sanctions against the Rhodesian regime.

- * The announcement in Saigon, Viet Nam, of the creation of a special court to try profiteers and grafters drew a chuckle from one senior civil servant of the Saigon regime: "If that court does its job properly, it will have to put almost the entire administration behind bars."
- * As a result of his death in an airplane crash in which one of his fellow-passengers was the brother-in-law of Senator Robert Kennedy, it is revealed that Louis Werner II, a socially and financially prominent St. Louis investment banker, was on the payroll of the St. Louis office of the Central Intelligence Agency. His job was to recruit employees for the CIA.
- * The Washington Post reveals that United States big businessmen in Argentina are pressuring the Johnson administration to restore normal diplomatic and economic relations with the military dictatorship which recently took over the country. "Almost without exception," the Post reports, "local U.S. businessmen share the view of their Argentine colleagues that President Juan Carlos Ongania's government intends to create a climate favorable to the operations of big business...the local U.S. community is keenly aware that many big companies in the United States are watching the Argentine situation closely with an eye to increasing their investment here

if Ongania's policies live up to their expectations...In Ongania, they think they have a leader who will rectify the errors of the past--one who will curb the militancy of the unions, end inflation, eliminate inefficient state-protected business ventures, and give the green light to private enterprise."

- * The Vatican announces that it has joined with Firestone Corporation to exploit a 600,000 acre rubber concession in Liberia.
- * Various arms of Protestant churches in the United States are revealed as lenders of money to a loan-shark finance company in Canada, which preys, with exorbitant interest rates, upon the workers of this United States subsidiary to the North.
- * The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Information tells a group of United States correspondents in Saigon that they should see themselves as agents of the U.S. Government, reporting only those incidents of the Viet Nam War which reflect credit upon their government. He tells them they are fools if they think any U.S. official is going to tell them the truth about the war and the U.S. role in it.

- * The Secretary General of the United Nations states that, if the American people knew the truth about U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, they would never support what their government is doing there.

- * Hundreds of enraged Mississippi white patriots attack a group of Negro school children with ax handles and chains while local and state police look on with unconcealed delight. The U.S. Government, which spends hundreds of millions of dollars a day to suppress a popular revolution in Viet Nam, asks a federal court to issue an injunction ordering the police of Mississippi to restrain their noble citizens in such expressions of discontent with a changing social order. The U.S. Government is proud of the way it "measures" its responses to aggression in Viet Nam and Mississippi.

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These are random—repeat, random—selections from research files which have been maintained over the past few years. The selections indicate something about the nature of the society which most of the world regards as a monster—the United States.

The question is whether such facts are to be taken as

(1) social and political and economic aberrations of an otherwise "Great

Society," which is to be expected in any society as large and complex as that of the United States?

(2) or as indicative of the very nature of the society, reflecting the reality which underlies the rhetoric of statesmen, the euphemisms of the communications media, the rosy-hued emanations of classrooms from the kindergarten playground to the graduate school seminar, and the self-righteous nostrums and civic platitudes which daily come from pulpits throughout the country?

This, indeed, is the question. I long since decided it for myself, on the basis of the evidence I've been able to gather over the years. Each man must, for himself, decide the same question. Permit me a personal reflection which may help the undecided to find a technique for resolving their indecision.

THE GARBAGE CAN PRINCIPLE

In my early youth my family lived in a sun-drenched little town in western Kansas. One summer afternoon, my mother asked me to take a package of garbage out to the garbage can in the alley behind the house. When I raised the lid of the garbage can I was horrified to see the contents moving as though they were a living thing. I slammed the lid back on the can and ran into the house to report this strange and terrifying thing to

my mother. She calmly explained to me that the garbage can was infested with maggots which were spawned somehow from their origins by the application of the hot sun to the food-stuffs, half-filling the garbage can. She assured me that all garbage cans which had been exposed to such conditions would be maggot-infested.

Unable to accept this reasonable explanation of such a hideous, terrifying phenomenon, I went down the alley for a block, lifting each garbage can lid and peering inside. Just as my mother had said, I found inside each the same infestation.

I did not know at the time—or at least I did not express it to myself—why I was satisfied to stop after examining the garbage cans in only one block. Satisfied, that is, that the maggot infestation was brought about by the combination of sun-heat and garbage, and that, wherever this combination occurred, the phenomenon would occur. Why I could at that point conclude that all the garbage cans in town must have inside them, on that day, the same thing!

In later years it has occurred to me that each of us, early in life, learns this principle and to a large extent governs his life by it. He draws general principles from a series of observations or experiences.

Thereafter, he assumes that a given set of known conditions produces a given structure of reality. He does not have to devote his life trekking down the alleys of the world

on sunny afternoons, checking every last garbage can in creation, before he is prepared to accept the proposition that maggots subsist in them. On the other hand, if, because of personal squeamishness, lack of inclination, or simple disinterest in the care and feeding of maggots, he fails to lift his first garbage can lid on a hot summer afternoon, he may live out his entire life unaware of this curious garbage can phenomenon.

Now some doubtless would argue that the garbage can maggot situation is qualitatively different from, infinitely less complex than, and altogether incomparable to, the political, social, and economic situation in a given society at a given time. I would not argue this point, for it is irrelevant. The garbage can analogy illustrates a principle and is substantively unimportant.

I would, however, strenuously argue that the analogy is apt. This is a garbage can of a society, if there ever was one! And it is only those who refuse to lift the lid and see what is before their eyes who maintain otherwise.

Why We Are Revisiting the Care and Feeding Now.

Some two years ago I produced a little piece called "The Care and Feeding of Power Structures." It purported to advise on just how one comes to know who runs things and what he can do with this knowledge.

The intervening two years of research for and observation of the civil rights movement, and of society's reaction to the movement, have convinced me that, however appropriate the piece may have been when it was written, the advice contained in it is dangerously misleading.

The basic assumption of the piece was that those who control the economy of the nation are the only ones who have the power to change things for the benefit of black people. It seemed to follow from this that they were the persons to identify and, once they were identified, the next thing was to try to get them to do what one wants done by using various pressure tactics.

I am now convinced that the nature of power in this society is such that it is a dangerous delusion to suppose those who wield it can be pressured to use it in ways they do not choose to and that, inevitably, they will choose to use it to the detriment of the people.

Faced with this conviction, one has two alternatives: he may elect to let things go on as they are without attempting to change them, or he may begin looking for a program which will unite a substantial proportion of the population behind a movement to take the power from those who have it and place it in hands more likely to use it for the benefit of world humanity.

In short, he may connive at counter-revolution, or he may become a revolutionary. In fact, so far as I can see, reality offers Americans no other choice.

I do not propose here to defend this interpretation of the present situation. Those who have examined the relevant data—who have lifted the garbage can lid—will hardly require a defense. Those who have not, and want to argue, are not equipped to do so, and will attack from premises which preclude the conclusions I have drawn. These latter are, consciously or unconsciously, the tools of the institutions and individuals who, from their United States base, are busily raping the world.

One cannot argue with them. One can only pose to them the question of an earlier generation of radicals: "Which side are you on?"

At least one other factor affects the usefulness of the piece I wrote two years ago. In 1964 the commitment of the U.S. forces in Viet Nam was minimal. Official U.S. policy stated that the U.S. was merely advising the "government" of South Viet Nam on how it could best put down an insurrection.

Today, of course, U.S. policy has rewritten the history of the Viet Nam war. Now it is the U.S. commitment to stop the "aggression" against the peace-loving democracy of the south by the communist hordes of the north. Today, in fact, the "peace" issue joins the "civil rights" issue, as a matter

of vital and most immediate concern to all who have not jumped into the garbage can, pulled the lid tight, and invited the maggots to start gnawing.

Two things must be said about the peace and civil rights issues as they relate to one another. First, any objective analysis must conclude that the peace issue must deal with the same structures of economic power that have been the focus of the left wing of the civil rights movement. In other words, the same set of politico-economic institutions and practices that were relevant to solution of the civil rights issue are relevant to settlement of the peace issue. Thus the two movements have the same opposition.

Secondly, just as the civil rights issue, domestically, cannot be separated from U.S. policy in Africa, Asia and Latin America, so the peace issue cannot be focussed solely on the Viet Nam War. The immediate objective of the peace forces in the U.S. is to end the war in Viet Nam. But how these forces move to end it, may well determine how many more such wars there may be in the coming years in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

What I am saying here is that the undergirding of the conditions which make "civil rights" and "peace" issues at all, is the fabric of social, political and economic institutions of Western civilization. So long as those institutions remain intact, there will be wars, and black people, here and abroad, will be oppressed. The conditions

of permanent peace in the world, and the conditions for the complete and permanent emancipation of black people are identical; that total re-structuring of the institutions of society which is generally implied in the concept of revolution. Any seeming solution of either issue short of revolution is mere delusion.

To state the proposition a bit differently, the peace forces must find that they cannot bring about permanent peace merely by ending the Viet Nam war just as black people found they could not end their oppression merely by securing the passage of civil rights legislation. Solutions do not lie in the manipulation of existing institutions. Solutions lie in the total dismantling of those institutions and the replacement of them with others of a fundamentally different nature.

How Do American Politics Work, Theoretically?

The theory of American politics, the philosophical underpinnings of the political system here, can be summarized as follows: the institutions of government are the arbiters of economic affairs. Through the power of taxation, regulation and enforcement, government exercises ultimate control over the privately owned economy. Government personnel elected by the people or appointed by those who are elected implement this control.

The government, at the very least, draws the boundary lines beyond which private economic

power may not go in its quest for power and pelf. The various state and federal regulatory agencies, the anti-trust laws, the monopoly committees of both houses of the Congress, the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve System, and local, state and federal taxing authorities are examples of the political institutions through which this governmental supervision and control of the privately-owned economy supposedly takes place.

This, let it be repeated, is the theory which justifies the American system of government-- which explains why it is possible to permit the economic power of the society to reside in private hands. The institutions of government, you see, are the guardians of the public weal, and they will always prevent its abuse by this enormous power of the private owners of the nation's wealth.

On the other hand, if the privately owned institutions of economic power succeed in dominating the political institutions which supposedly guard against abuses by them, the resulting structure of society is usually called fascism. That is what it was called in Italy, in Germany, and in Japan, in the early forties, when precisely such a situation developed.

Most Americans recoil in horror from the suggestion that the United States may be well along this road to fascism, if, indeed, it has not already arrived. And, considering what happened in the fascist countries during the late thirties and forties, a horrified

recoil is an appropriate reaction. But, if because of his horror, one refuses to acknowledge that it could happen here and then fails to find out for himself whether it is happening, or has happened here, he thereby becomes a partner, though perhaps a silent one, in what does happen here.

How Do American Politics Work, Actually?

Where does one look, and what does one look for? Let's start with the political and economic institutions of your city and country. And this begins with the banks.

One of the early Rothschilds is said to have remarked: "Let me have the power to issue and control a Nation's money, and I care not who writes its laws."

Josiah Stamp, the President of the Bank of England and second richest man in the British Empire, visited this country in the 1920's. In an informal talk to a group of history, economics and social science professors Stamp said:

"Banking was conceived in iniquity and born in sin...Bankers own the world. Take it from them, but leave them the power to create money and control credit, and with a flick of the pen, they will create enough money to buy it back again...Take this power away from bankers, and all great fortunes like mine will disappear, and they ought to disappear, because this would then be a better and happier world to live in... But if you want to continue to be the slaves of bankers, and pay the costs of your own slavery, let them continue to create money and control credit."

As of December 31, 1965, there was about \$265 billion of money in circulation in the United States. About \$39 billion of that was the familiar currency we usually think of when we hear the term "money." The rest of it was bank-created money. Thus, about 15% of the money in circulation in the country was supplied by or at the request of the U.S. Treasury. The balance, 85% of the money, was created by banks.

The men who run the various business in the community must have money for the conduct of their affairs. The merchant must borrow money from the bank to fill and refill his inventory. The manufacturer must borrow money from the bank to buy new machinery and supplies, build new plants, and meet other expenses of his other expenses of his operations.

The governing body of the city and the county must borrow money from the bank to meet its payrolls, to repair streets, to pay local welfare costs, etc., because its tax revenue comes in irregularly and cannot be depended upon to meet the regularly recurring costs. If the local school board wants to borrow money (issue bonds) to build new buildings or acquire new equipment, it must have the cooperation of the local bank.

Thus the bank is the ultimate arbiter of the political and economic affairs of the community, because it is the exclusive source of the money which is essential for the conduct of those affairs.

Now this is not to say that the bank continually exercises this ultimate control, or that in a community with two or more banks. there will not be a certain amount of competition among them for the "business" of lending money. It is only to point out that banks have it within their power to exercise ultimate economic and political control, because the men who run the banks are themselves responsible to no one in their decisions about whether or not to lend money to this department store, or that factory, or to the city council, or to the county commission.

Indeed, the fact that the banks have this power, and that the politicians and businessmen know they have it, ensures that there will seldom be the need to exercise it. Because the political and economic wishes of those who control the banks will be anticipated by the politicians and businessmen, and will be implemented by them. Thus the politicians and businessmen become the allies of the bank. Since the objective of the businessman and the bank is to make a profit, and since the objective of the politician is to remain in politics, and to milk it for all its worth economically, these three elements of the community become allies against the people of the community who are not in business or banking or politics.

The politics of the community is business and business is its politics and the pursuit of profit is the name of the game.

Analyzing Banks

So, the first step in analyzing power in community affairs is to identify the persons who control the banks of the community.

The House Banking and Currency Committee has issued five volumes containing the names of the twenty largest stockholders in each bank in the country which is a member of the Federal Reserve System. These volumes may be obtained, at \$1.25 each, from the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C. For Federal Reserve member banks, you can look in these volumes and learn who owns the stock which entitles the holder to vote on the election of directors, who, in turn, decide who will manage the affairs of the bank, and what policies those managers will implement.

For state-chartered banks which are not members of the Federal Reserve System (only about half the banks in the country are members of the Federal Reserve System, although they control about 85% of the bank-created money), finding the names of the stockholders may be difficult or impossible. The next best thing is to secure a list of the members of the board of directors of the bank. All banks publish annual statements and various other documents which include a listing of the board members. Ordinarily an inquiry at the bank will produce such a document. In the alternative Moody's Bank and Finance Manual contains this, as well as other information, on most of the banks in the country, both federally-chartered and state-chartered.

When the directors of the banks have been identified, each of them should be checked for other business connections. Ordinarily the biggest merchants and industrialists will be represented on the board of a bank, either because they own stock in the bank, or because they do a great deal of profitable business with the bank and are in a position to bring still more business into the bank through their influence in the commercial and industrial world. When the bank directors have been identified, you will have also identified most of the principal merchants and manufacturers.

It would be advisable to inquire at the Chamber of Commerce for a list of all employers of more than 10 persons in the community. This will provide a rather complete identification of the businessmen in the community who are likely to be subjected to the political influence of the bank, through their economic dependence on it. Obviously, with the big businessmen in control of the bank as directors, this means the little businessmen are controlled by the big ones, politically, economically, and in every other way.

The Chamber of Commerce is an interesting example of the political organization of business. The researcher will find that most of the top business figures he has identified will also be serving as directors and/or officers of the Chamber of Commerce. Anyone interested in further examining the role of the Chamber and similar organizations should read Robert Brady's Business As a System of Power.

Business interests who do not want to expose their special involvement in a particular political issue—for example, a sales tax election or a bond election,—will use the Chamber of Commerce as a front for influencing the people of the community.

A note of caution is advisable here. In any good-sized city, the list of businessmen described above is going to amount to several thousand individuals. It would be a mistake to suppose that these individuals are equally aware, active in, and devoted to the pursuit of profit by controlling politics. There will be a wide variation among them, just as there will be among any other segment of the community.

The point is that each of them is in fact dominated by the bank upon which he is dependent for the cash he must have to run his business, and that his political activity, whatever it may be, is bounded by the political and economic interests of the bank. In many instances, small and medium-sized businessmen are forced to pursue politics which are not in their economic interest because of the power of the bank.

In many more cases they are prevented from pursuing their own economic interests politically by the power of the bank, even though they may not feel themselves constrained actively to pursue the political interest of the bank.

Again, the extent to which the businessmen in this group will be aware of these conflicts will vary widely. The only way to be sure

of the actual as well as the perceived political interest of each of them, is to find it out on an individual basis. This is a considerable job in political and economic research.

Besides money, controlled by the banks, there are two other important items of property essential to the conduct of business affairs: (1) the energy to run industry and commerce, and (2) the land on which to run it. Whoever supplies the energy (power) to run the machinery of industry and commerce is inextricably linked to the business and banking community.

In most communities the supplier of power will be a privately owned "public utility" company which sells its electric power or gas to the community. The representatives of such a power company will always be found high in the councils of power in the community.

The power company operates within the community by virtue of a franchise it negotiates with the city and the county government. The franchise specifies the kinds and types of service the company is obliged to provide to the consumers, its responsibilities to the community, etc. In some states the local city and/or county governing body has direct regulatory authority over the rates the power company may charge; in other states these rates will be regulated by the state Public Service Commission. Needless to say, most local franchises are written by the lawyers of the power companies, and simply ratified by the local political authorities.

The researcher should always get the name of the local power company and find, in Moody's Public Utilities Manual, whether the local company is owned by one of the large holding companies. This will usually be the case.

Too, he should go to the offices of the city and county clerks and look at the franchise, to familiarize himself with its provisions. What little restriction is imposed on the power companies by the franchise is seldom enforced by the local authorities.

Analyzing Commercial Land Holdings

The researcher should select a good variety of the commercially and industrially valuable land in the community and check its ownership in the office of the tax assessor in either the city hall or the county courthouse.

Sometimes commercial and industrial firms will own the land on which they operate and sometimes they will lease it. If they lease it, then the actual owner, to whom they pay rent (usually based on the amount of their profit) becomes an additional factor in the alliance of the banker, the businessman and the politician.

The researcher should also find out how much this commercial and industrial property is assessed for tax purposes and then find a way of estimating its actual value. He should select some homes in the area, determine their approximate value, and check the assessments on them. He will usually find that the homes are assessed at a considerably greater proportion of their value than are the commercial

and industrial properties. The homeowners, the great proportion of which are workers and professionals, will be paying a greatly disproportionate share of the property tax which supports various community services.

Finding a Corporate Octopus

One more thing on the business interests in the community. Most businesses want to be thought of as native to and part of the community. They do not want to project an image as "outsider." One of the reasons for this is that they can effectively be attacked politically (and this means higher taxes) if they are tagged as outsiders, coming in to exploit the labor and resources of the community.

So all apparently local businesses of any considerable size should be checked in Moody's Industrial Manual. Frequently what appears to be a relatively small local industrial or commercial operation will turn out to be just one of the tentacles of a corporate octopus which sucks profits from the labor of the people of a dozen states and three or four foreign countries.

Analyzing Local Political Structures

Once the business structure of the community has been examined, the next step is to examine the political structure. The codes of laws of each state describe the structure of county and municipal government. Depending upon the provisions of the state laws and constitution, municipalities may have more or less authority

for writing laws which are applicable only within their corporate limits, so it is necessary to examine the code of ordinances of the city for a complete description of municipal government. Too, in many states what are called local acts—that is, acts of the state legislature which apply in only one county or city—may change the local application of state laws. So, in addition to the material on county and city government in the state code, and the municipal code, the researcher must also look in the index of local acts. This kind of legal research can be tricky for someone not accustomed to it. The researcher without experience in legal research should seek assistance from someone who has such experience.

When the different offices of local government are understood, and their functions and authority noted, the next step is to identify the incumbents of the offices. Here the researcher will usually find a considerable overlap with his list of local businessmen.

Most members of a county commission, of a city council, and, frequently, of the executive municipal offices, will be businessmen. The political significance of this should be evaluated in light of what is said above with respect to the business community and the influences that dominate it.

When examining local governmental structures, the researcher should pay particular attention to the offices involved in the tax machinery of the city and county and to the offices which handle the fiscal affairs of the city and county.

Since property taxation provides most of the revenue for local community services, the researcher must pay particularly close attention to the property tax machinery. (Moody's Manual of Municipals and Governments will be helpful in most cases). Here again he will find the combination of business and politics. The amount of local property taxes a business has to pay directly affects the profitability of the operation.

Businessmen, working with more than willing tax assessors, have devised wondrous ways of avoiding their share of property taxes. The example of the California assessors cited earlier in this paper is typical. However large and important and powerful may be the corporation, any piece of property it owns in the community is subject to property taxation by the community. It therefore becomes necessary for the corporation to find a way to own the assessor. The corporations seldom fail.

The fiscal officer of the county or city will usually be called the treasurer. He is the man that handles the city or county money. In most cases it will be his decision as to whether or not the city or county needs to borrow short-term money from a bank, which bank the loan should be sought from, the amount of interest the city or county should pay, etc. His opportunities for profitable collusion with the bankers are legion. It is traditional that he passes none of them up.

Another very important institution of local government is the set of officials who "administer

justice." This includes the local county and circuit judges, the county and circuit prosecutors, the members of the jury commission (who decide who will sit on grand and petit juries), the criminal and civil functions of the sheriff's office, etc. Incumbents of all these offices should be identified and their activities examined very closely.

In most states the district attorney has a considerable degree of independence in deciding who will and who will not be prosecuted. The judges, too, have a particularly dangerous kind of independence (from their electorate, that is) and most of them, from time to time, abuse it wantonly. A great many civil cases involving a wide variety of tax matters, come before the judges. On their decisions may rest enormous amounts of profit and loss for the businesses in their areas. Frequently they are the point in the political structure where the people of the community are most vulnerable, because of the sacrosanct nature of the office.

The life and times of most any judge, viewed objectively, will serve to dispel any awe which may have been created in anyone's mind about the sacred nature of the judicial process.

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This has been a sketchy and all too brief treatment of local business and political institutions. But one must stop sometime, for volumes could be written on the ways businessmen

have found to own and control the institutions of local government. I believe if the researcher cares to lift the lid of the local garbage can, the above material will guide him to the handle.

Needless to say, the researcher cannot stop at the local level of government. Once he thoroughly understands the local operation, he must proceed to the state and national levels. It will be difficult for most persons not living in the state capitol or in Washington, D.C. to do first hand research of this kind. However, if you've done your homework at the local level most any decent newspaper (and there are some) will provide sufficient glimpses under the lid to convince you that things differ not the slightest at the state and national levels of government.

Perhaps one example will suffice. The United Aircraft Corporation was able to exert sufficient influence on the local officials of Redwood City, California, to defeat a move by local citizens to prevent the installation of a napalm plant in that city. How do you think United got the contract from the U.S. Government to produce napalm in the first place?

Well, according to Drew Pearson, United provided Senator Dodd with various kinds of services in return for which Senator Dodd wrote to various government agencies, recommending that United be considered for contracts for varying descriptions.

The fact is that the economic and political institutions of the society are a seamless

fabric from the local city hall, county courthouse and businessman-banker, to the big banks on Wall Street, the corporate board rooms in half a dozen large cities, and the august halls of the executive, the legislative and the judicial in Washington.

Anyone who might be tempted to mistake the flowing rhetoric of a presidential inaugural address or a speech at the United Nations for the stuff of American politics should think about the sunflower. Viewed from afar, it seems indeed, one of nature's noblest creations. But when you approach its barnyard home, you begin to detect the rich odor of the manure from which it derives its strength and beauty; and when you bend to catch the scent of its blossom, your nostrils are assailed instead by the stench of the slime which spawned it.

Come close, brother, and smell deep, before you decide.

What then, is to be done with the kind of information it is suggested be gathered here? The first purpose is to know. But after knowing, what?

A logical answer seems electoral politics. I have no answer, but I'm not sure that the seeming logic of electoral politics is an answer either. I am reminded of what a newspaperman said to me when I recently visited his office in a particularly blighted area of Eastern Kentucky. We were talking about the plight of the people in the area and what might be a political solution to their problems.

He sighed and mused that there was no problem getting the people to vote in his community. They voted to a man at every opportunity, he said. "But," said he, "that doesn't ever seem to change anything." His experience has been repeated in countless communities across the country.

The problem boils down to how do you keep the business interests of the country from buying, scaring, or exterminating the officials whom the people elect to run their affairs. I don't know. I don't even know that it is possible to stop it. But I do know that if a way is to be found out of the extremely dangerous situation in which we find ourselves, we must find a way to stop it, or we must choose alternatives of action other than electoral politics.

And we haven't much time.

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