The first question is what were the influences in your life that led you to become interested in social problems and to obtain your MSW degree. I will start with the influences in my life and I think it stems from having been born of and brought up by parents who were very actively interested in social problems and the problems that involve being black in Illinois, in Springfield, a city which had the heritage of Lincoln and at the same time denied most of the rights that were guaranteed the average citizen to black people. My father was a leader, the executive secretary, of the NAACP in Springfield, and my mother, who was not active in the same sense, but she always had a very strong commitment to change and conditions in Springfield; both parents had a tremendous influence on their children. It is ironic that in the home of Lincoln, which was, by the way, the place where the events led to the formation of the NAACP at the national level, when in 1908 there was a race riot that grew out of a lynching in Springfield and led to a cry of outrage which was echoed by people all over the country who had this social conscience that came together and in 1909 launched the beginning of the NAACP on a national level. But in Springfield itself, which had the legacy of Abraham Lincoln as a part of its history, this had had very little influence and we were in a continual battle -- my father, my mother, other leadership in the city -- to make Springfield livable for blacks who had been there for two generations, such as my mother had at the time that we were born.

I think that was a beginning influence, just by having these kinds of parents and while I was growing up my brother and I, at the ages of 18 and 16 -- I was 18 and he was 16 -- organized a little club called the Esquire Club. That club had as its principal focus the improvement of conditions in Springfield, Illinois.
This was prior to my going into the service and was kind of a jumping off point for my active organizational role in trying to solve some of the problems that existed in Springfield and followed me into the army. And after my tour of service in World War II. That Esquire Club was a beginning point because some of the people who were in that club in our home town have remained actively committed to change and that especially goes for my brother and myself. My tour of service was another very profound influence on my becoming interested in the solution of social problems and this came about because I took very very seriously my commitment to the fight against Hitlerism and what it stood for, recognizing that in America we had many problems yet to solve. And I recall quite clearly that the double V sign, which was a part of what happened in World War II for blacks and was initiated by the black newspapers I carried with me into combat because I felt that it was victory abroad and a victory to be won at home when I returned. I recall on the ship going over I was one of the speakers that spoke to the men about the very critical importance of winning the war and coming back home to winning the war at home, which had to be won against the forces of discrimination and segregation, which characterized the United States at that time.

(WMP: Had you not been active in this cause before?)

I had been active, but not very long because I went over as a pretty young person. And then on one occasion, when I came from service my brother, who had organized a youth chapter of the NAACP in Springfield, and I were engaged in what were the equivalent of sit-ins in the years following, in the 1960's, because in 1943 we had decided that we were going to attempt to break the discrimination in Walgreen's drug store in Springfield and in the Ford Hopkins drug store and we would go in with a couple of friends and sit in the place and refuse to move until they turned the lights out on us and things of that kind, while I was in the service on furlough. I went into service in 1942. So we had that experience and I then went into the service -- my brother did not. He stayed in Springfield and organized and built the NAACP chapter to almost two thousand members, which was an unheard of figure for a city that small. So while I was in service I had numerous experiences which made me deepen my commitment, such as when I was wounded in action in Italy and was in the hospital and there had been a call for blood for the blood bank. I volunteered and found that my blood was unacceptable because I was black. I had been, of course,
wounded in action, just as the other men in the hospital had been, and yet my blood didn't count because I was black and I never have discovered yet any scientific validity for that kind of position.

Then when I came back I was in a convalescent hospital in Springfield, Missouri and had been attempting to go swimming with some of the rest of the men who were in the hospital and the swimming was done at a junior college pool that was near the hospital. And I had the experience of walking out, prepared to go in and swim with my suit on, and being stopped by a kind but very firm sergeant who told me that it was impossible for us to swim in there because they did not allow blacks to swim in the pool. This resulted in my requesting to be transferred from Springfield, and I did get transferred from Springfield, Missouri up to Michigan and from there I was discharged from the service.

All of this had been deepening my commitment to doing something about the kinds of problems which allow these contradictions to occur in our lives. That's several of the things that happened to me while I was in the service and I won't go too much into that because it takes too long to discuss.

Then when I came out of the service I decided to leave Springfield because I had been in service -- while I was in the service I had attended Penn State, which at that time was called the Pennsylvania State College. And I had been attending for a year a special program which was called the Army Specialized Training Program and living on the campus. And I had begun to like Pennsylvania, that part of Pennsylvania at least. And I decided then that I would reapply for admission to Penn State after leaving the service and was admitted and went there to study for a Bachelor of Science in Clinical Psychology. And had many experiences while I was there on the campus which again made it quite obvious that my life was probably going to be devoted to battling against the injustice which was a part of Pennsylvania as well as it was a part of Illinois, which I was not aware of until I got out here and lived out here for a while. Because as an example, blacks and whites could not room together in the dormatories on campus. That was in 1947. There was a veterans group which I was a part of which had demonstrated on the campus against the discrimination in housing and I also then decided to initiate the organization
of an NAACP on campus and we did initiate that action and had a very very good and strong chapter and initiated two major things while I was there. One was the boycott of the barbershops because blacks had to go 26 miles to get a haircut in Tyrone, Pennsylvania instead of getting it in the city. And the other thing was we also established the observance of what was then called Negro History Week as a part of the college's observance. So those two major things is what we did while I was at Penn State. And that's not to imply that that is all we did because there were things going on at Penn State that were pretty horrible in those days concerning the place of blacks on the campus. There were only about 75 black people on campus at that time.

(WMP: What sort of things went on?)

I mentioned being unable to stay in the same places -- that is, to room together in the dormitories. And I had taken this up with the top administration and found that that was an unshakable rule until about a year later when they did change that rule.

The other was the way in which students had to function in the town. Actually, there were people there -- a few black people were there in servant capacities in the fraternity houses and in a few places in town. There were places they couldn't eat, for that matter, in the town. And they had learned to accept the custom, I suppose, as much as you can accept it, and some of us decided we would break it, and we did. The rest of it was the kind of covert, rather than overt, discrimination which you felt in a place like Penn State where there was very few blacks and you would feel welcome in some places and you would feel totally unwelcome in others and you had to make your decision as to whether or not you would face the coldness and sometimes near hostility in order to go into places and partake of their services.

After I had gotten out of college I came to Philadelphia and in Philadelphia I began this work experience, which is what I call a very varied background and if you notice in my resume I've worked at a lot of places and done a lot of things and they are not all on there because that only goes back about twenty years or so.

So the influences that were prevalent prior to my coming to Philadelphia just simply continued in Philadelphia. I became active in the NAACP here and I became a member of the board in 1950 and then just a couple of years later
Leon Higginbotham became the President of the NAACP and they initiated boycotts and picket lines against some of the stores -- what we used to call five and dime stores. To break their employment patterns which had been all-white until that point and I was very actively engaged in that battle in 1955 and 1956. Proceeding from that point then I just stayed active and became a member of the staff of the settlement house in North Philadelphia and it was at the time that I became a member of the staff at the Settlement House in North Philadelphia that I did decide to go to school and to get my MSW.

(WMP: What was the name of that?)

That Wharton Center. It is one of the finest places that Philadelphia has ever had. Now it has declined, but at that time it was an excellent, excellent place. So I obtained my MSW degree from the University of Pennsylvania and I guess I have to attribute it mainly to the previous history, which had been mine, which was engaging in attempts to produce changes in communities, to the fact that the Settlement House had been working and was certainly one of the finest training grounds for social workers, both future and those who were already credentialed, and to the fact that it was located in North Philadelphia, where there was always an opportunity to deal with the problems because they were all around us. In my doing the research at some of the Center's records in the '60's I discovered that in 1944, during the transit strike, when blacks had been protesting against the lily-white character of the transit system here, that Wharton Center had been in the forefront of trying to solve those problems. And then I found that just a little bit later on Wharton Center had been in the forefront of initiating the first programs to work with gangs. And then I found that the Wharton Center was also in the forefront of the initiation of a civic organization in that area, whose job it was was to monitor and to attempt to get employment for black kids in various places in that part of the city.

It is interesting, too, by the way, that Sadie Alexander had done a study for her doctorate which formed the basis for the Wharton Center program being geared at certain problems in the North Philadelphia area. That was her doctoral work. She was very very much a part of the Wharton structure at one time.
Emily Longstreth was at that time one of the key people on the ward at the Wharton Center.

So it made sense then that I would eventually end up as an MSW employed at Wharton Center and working on trying to find some solution to the social problems that existed not just in North Philadelphia but in the city as a whole.

The next question asks me to outline briefly my working experiences in Philadelphia. That is a big order. I have been from soup to nuts in the work field. From a taxi driver when I was teaching school to what I guess could now be called a professional in the realm of academia. I had begun my work experience in an organization that is now defunct, which was geared at solving social problems. I had moved from there to teaching school in North Philadelphia where I really have done an awful lot of work. And I went from teaching school into working for the city in the Development Coordinator's office with Bill Rafsky, who was doing a study of four pilot housing programs in the city. I worked there on the professional staff and then I left there and went back to teaching. Taught very briefly and then joined the staff of the Wharton Center. It was an interesting development in that change because I had really liked teaching. I really like to teach. I like the children and I like the whole function of education and I was really making a decision between teaching and working at the agency when the agency offered me exactly 900 dollars a year more than teaching would have brought me. And the reality of it was that since I had a family I made the choice between teaching and social work on the basis of the better salary offer at a particular time when I was going to go either one way or the other. I had taken the national teacher's examination and gotten a very good mark on that and I was really ready to move into teaching. I had a principal of the school where I was teaching who really wanted me to come and join that school. But then the $900 difference changed my whole view and I became a social worker on the basis of that difference. I think both teaching and social work have qualities which are very similar and they allow you to feel that you are doing something worthwhile if you take it seriously, and I did take my job seriously.

So then I had gone into the work at the Wharton Center and I had moved there from what was called a neighborhood and family worker through becoming a group worker through becoming a program coordinator, which coordinated the programs
of all the various facets of the Settlement House. It had an Art Center, a day nursery, a regular program in recreation for children after school, had the group services which were for children and adults and it had a community organization program. So all the facets of the program I had experience with and also coordinated.

And then I eventually became the assistant executive director, which put me in charge of one of the two agencies -- one was the Strawberry Mansion Center and the other was the base at 22nd and Columbia and I became the person who directed the operation at one agency and was assistant director for the entire operation. So that was a good work experience -- probably one of my best working experiences, in fact.

Then in 1967 there had been the initiation of an organization called the Area-wide Council, which Wharton Center had figured very deeply in, to be the citizen organization for the Model Cities program and at that time I was interviewed for that job and became the first executive director of the area-wide council of the Model Cities program, whose task it was to organize and to bring into a planning process citizens from the North Philadelphia area that was involved in model cities. We had a 92 member board and my job was to work with that board -- it was an immense board but it was a very very fine board in terms of the way it functioned. It functioned very very effectively, with people coming as much as 60 or 70 people at a meeting. And I was there, of course, when the young people in the high schools in the city had decided to march on the Board of Education in order to question the education they were receiving and November 17, 1967 was the date when that demonstration occurred. We had been actively helping in the sense that they could use our duplicating machines and things of that sort to help them to bring that demonstration off and it was at that time that I became most aware of the absolute brutality of Frank Rizzo and his being Commissioner of Police at the time that this demonstration occurred. I was down at the demonstration and I recall quite clearly that there was nothing that was occurring that should have brought about the reaction of the police and Rizzo to attack the young people, resulting in injuries to many and jailings of literally hundreds. And really making the city appear as an armed camp to those who were both inside and outside the city. So that was my first direct experience with the way in which Frank Rizzo functioned as the police commissioner. I recall that
Rev. Henry Nichols and I walked out together to Rizzo, who at that time was Commissioner of Police, and Rev. Nichols said he should put his club away and he told Rev. Nichols to tend to his own business, and he used language which of course was much stronger than that. And we had the experience of seeing some of our young women pulled by their hair through the street and we saw all kinds of instances of brutality that day that made it clear where Rizzo was coming from and the way in which he was going to run that department.

(BF: Did you see Rizzo himself clubbing anybody?)

No. He had his club out but I didn't see him club anybody. He has clubbed others, though, because we do know that at a demonstration earlier at Broad and Spring Garden at the State Office Building he actually did club and beat up someone who still has broken teeth as a result of it.

So that was 1967 and then for the next year and a half we were engaged in that particular endeavor and we developed I think a very effective planning apparatus but then the Nixon administration came in in 1968 and changed the rules for the Model Cities program and we found ourselves about to lose all of the influence which had been gained by the citizenry of North Philadelphia in the years before and then it became a question of judgment as to whether or not we should accept it or whether or not we should go to court in order to try to restore what the Nixon administration had pulled out of the program. And that was crucial to whether or not people would have an effective voice in that program. So we chose to go to court and we did and of course lost the money and as a consequence then became a part of the city in a way in which it had never been before. That is, it was actually created by and controlled by the Model Cities administration at the city level.

So after that -- I joined the American Friends Service Committee, national staff. Became their national representative on housing and urban affairs. And that was another of my excellent work experiences. I was only there for a year because I was spirited away by the University of Pennsylvania and joined the faculty in 1970. But that work experience with the Quakers in terms of the -- it wasn't the Quakers per se, but it was the Service Committee, which of course is Quaker-based --
(WMP: What were the subjects that you taught at Penn?)

I taught in the Department of City Planning and in the School of Social Work. I had a joint appointment, so that I taught courses in both places and served on committees -- the Admissions Committee, Curriculum Committee.

But the Service Committee experience was excellent. That's the time when I had the opportunity to go across the country in ten different regions and I discovered and helped to develop some of the most creative community work that I have ever seen. It ranged from what was a squatter's program in Chicago for dealing with housing programs -- so you see the thing that Milton Street is doing is not new -- from squatting in Chicago to self-help housing in other parts of the country. So it ranged the whole range of housing programs.

(WMP: What did you do in connection with squatting?)

What I was was the national rep who helped in giving suggestions and support to those local staff people who were there working with the people in the community. The Service Committee never does the program itself. They work with people in order to get the program effected. And my job was simply to get out there with the staff that was there and to give them the benefit of whatever experience I may have had in other parts of the country which would help that program become more effective. The people were squatting and we were helping them squat.

(WMP: What was the outcome?)

I don't know what it is now, Walter. It has been ten years and I really don't know what the final outcome was. I was only with the Service Committee a year. And while I was there it had positive outcomes but I don't know whether it still exists or not. I just don't know.

At that time also native Americans were occupying the island of Alcatraz and the Service Committee was involved with helping them with their efforts, so I had the whole range of things that were happening and I really enjoyed that year. But I was only there a year and I then was asked to come to the University of Pennsylvania and I did go.
I stayed there for six years full-time and one year part-time. I was Assistant Professor and I was in the school of Social Work for six years and then I had the opportunity to be tenured but I was not tenured. I think probably the greatest reason was because I had found the necessity for testifying against my Dean in a case which involved a woman who was a recruiter of black students and who was summarily dismissed from her job and I was one of the persons who served as a witness for her. The issue in her dismissal was that she had been uncooperative with the Dean and the administration and that she had acted on her own in instances where she should have been getting consultation. She had been the only black woman above the level of clerk in the school. She had a lot of experience to draw on and she just decided that she didn't have to consult every time she wanted to do something, which is to me very legitimate. So when she got into a tangle with the Dean they dismissed her on two days notice and anyone in a professional capacity knows that you don't dismiss anyone on two day's notice and they also should have some opportunity to act on their own. So there were some of us who decided that we would support her and the students boycotted for a few days and I offered myself as a witness in the court case that she brought against the school and of course that meant testifying against the Dean and as a consequence I didn't expect to be tenured.

(WMP: What was the outcome of the protest?)

She was not reinstated. She went to District Court and she did lose the case in District Court, which we were not surprised about. But it was a good battle that she put up.

Then after I left the University of Pennsylvania I stayed idle for six months. I decided that I didn't feel like working for a while and I simply rested and did what I wanted to do on my own. And then I was asked if I would be interested in doing a core faculty job at Goddard College. Goddard is located in Vermont and it has a graduate program that has centers in various parts of the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe. And I was asked if I would be interested in applying for the Philadelphia region. I had known about Goddard and I
hadn't known very much about it but I had been very interested in its independent study approach to education. It is based on the philosophy of John Dewey, of doing while you are studying so that it becomes a part of what you learn. And I did apply and they had about 45 applicants from other parts of the country and I was selected for the job. So I have been there about two and a half years. And that job is one that I enjoy very much. It involves being a faculty advisor to about 30 students who are working on their masters in independent studies that they have developed a study plan for. And it means you are in charge of the program from the time of admission to the time of graduation. And I found it to be a very very attractive and interesting program. And while I don't stay at places very long I've enjoyed the two and a half years I've been there.

That's enough of my work experience, I think. The next point is would you comment on and evaluate Philadelphia city planning and housing programs over the years that you have observed them in terms of their quality and their orientation to the social problems of the city. Wow! That's a thesis. I'd like to save that one for the next time. I see that I'm going to have to have two interviews because I see the time is getting away.

The fourth question is could you trace for us the political organization of the black community in Philadelphia and identify the most active and effective leaders. Well, you really have hooked me up with some questions here that are designed to have me talk for three or four days!

The political organization of the black community of Philadelphia is kind of -- I think I better put it in context of what I see political organizations as being. Political organization in black communities did not spring full-blown from the brow of Job. It has its roots in the organization of people in protest against conditions which exist in the black community. We've done some pretty careful looks at the way in which political organization develops and it has a very very identifiable history. It goes back to the protest against slavery, movement out of that into the attempts to hold office in reconstruction, the destruction of reconstruction, which resulted in other attempts to organize in organizational form, such as the NAACP in the very early 1900's, the
urban league in the very early 1900's, moving from that point into the organization after World War I and into World War II of numerous organizations throughout the country which had various forms of protest as a base. Following the World War II, a few years thereafter I'd better say, we had a revitalization of organization and a movement which kind of reflected itself in the Brown decision on education and in the burgeoning of the non-violent movement with Martin Luther King in Montgomery, and moving from that across the country. Identifiable movements which took place in various parts of the country after 1955, which was the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott, and spreading through the college campuses in 1960, '61, and on up to the point where we had the march on Washington and flowing from the march on Washington numerous attempts which were probably best epitomized in the attempt in Newark and in Cleveland to elect blacks to the highest offices of those cities. I was a member of a group that met in Newark in 1967 -- this was on the heels of the riots in Newark which resulted in 26 blacks being killed by the Newark police. And the black power conference, which took place there in July of 1967 had as a part of its discussions -- internal discussions -- the recall of Mayor Adonizio and at the discussion of the recall of the Mayor and what it would entail it was decided that instead of recalling Adonizio let's run a candidate and elect someone to office. Then of course what happened is that Gibson did run and eventually became the mayor of Newark. This was a logical development out of the frustration of the civil rights and non-violent movement, which had resulted in the passage of a voting rights act, but which had not resulted in appreciable change in the condition of blacks throughout the country. In other words, I think the best way of illustrating that is by the kinds of slogans that became a part of this movement. In the non-violent movement, for instance, when you broke open your discriminatory institutions which had not served blacks, which had not allowed blacks to stay in hotels, and so forth -- the question was well how could you afford to stay there anyway because of the money that is involved. So therefore it became very obvious that there would have to be some attempts to improve the economic condition of blacks through political organization and through economic development if the advantage would be taken of the laws which had been created. So it was a logical step into political
organization throughout the country and it was a logical step from the development in Philadelphia which had grown from the protest of the '40's and '50's into the development in the '60's of attempts to hold office in 1967, for instance, Lennert Roberts, a realtor, had run for mayor with his own funds and while he got a small vote he made the run. Cecil Moore ran for mayor. Rev. Leonard Smalls ran for mayor in the same year. So it was a logical step toward organizing politically to make things happen at the level of office holding and the power that accompanies that office holding from the development of the community organizations, the civic organizations, the thrust that Cecil had made in the NAACP in 1962 and '63, into the organized attempts to bring people into the political process, which was occurring in the poverty program, in the Model Cities program, then it made sense that the next step is to move into the offices where power resides. And in 1967 was the first big attempt to do that and in 1971 Hardy Williams ran for mayor it really took its most concrete and probably its most viable form that he got 45,000 votes thereabouts in 1971 on a minimal budget in his attempt to run for mayor.

So it hasn't stopped since, actually. In 1975 when Charlie Bowser ran for mayor he ran because he was not allowed to be slated as the official Democratic party candidate and his break with the Democratic party organization was based upon his belief and knowledge that he was the most qualified candidate and probably could do the job that Philadelphia needed. So he just moved out of it and some others who felt the same way worked with him in 1975 to make that a reality. And by his small budget and relatively large vote, which actually surpassed the Republican vote in 1975, it became quite obvious that the political organization of blacks in Philadelphia was well on the way. Many of us persuaded him to stay in and work from 1975 until 1979 in order to run again and we kept the organization together through those years, which resulted of course in his primary run which has just been completed.

There is a question here that asks about the Philadelphia Party. I'll save that one, too, because that is going to require some historical development which I would
rather think about before I get into it. So then I'm simply saying that the political organization in Philadelphia is very similar to that which has gone on in various parts of the country. That it grew out of protest into a development which is directed toward holding political offices that carry the power which can allow for some of the changes to be made which need to be made in the power balance, first of all, and secondly, in concrete benefits to the black community. Essentially, that has what has been happening both in Philadelphia and other parts of the country.

(BF: Which parts of the black community get involved in politics?)

In the black community presently all levels are involved in this part of politics which is the working for and electing to office people. Now that's only one part of politics. But in terms of both of Charlie's campaigns, in '75 and '79, in Hardy's in 1971, it is safe to say that all strata of the black community were involved. It is not middle class, it is not those who have professional and business connections, it is everywhere.

(BF: Is that because of the organizers -- because of how they went about getting support, or does it stem from the different levels of the black community?)

I think it comes primarily from the aspirations of people. We have more political consciousness now among blacks in large cities than ever before. Not just being conscious of the fact that you've problems, but political consciousness in the sense that we must find a solution to the problems and the logical avenue is politics.

(WMP: How much progress has been made in organizing politics?)

A great deal in Philadelphia. Not enough. Let me just tick off a few of the people who have been responsible for this -- Dave Richardson, a young black organizer who figured very heavily, by the way, in that organization of the students in 1967, has become a political office holder and a political organizer. There is Lucian Blackwell, who is a union organizer and official and who is now in City Council and he does a most effective job
of organizing. There is Hardy Williams and his organization in the legislature that he has been developing over the years, actually, in West Philadelphia. There is John White, who in order to win his office had to off-set the entrenched political power of Rose Toll, who had inherited that office from her husband, who had been there before her. There is the campaign which Bill Grey ran against Bob Nix, which involved a coalescing of various groups in order to get himself elected -- John White's group, Charlie Bowser's group, Dave Richardson's group all contributed to Bill Grey's becoming the Congressman from the Second Congressional District. Now that is just some of it that has been going on. I'm talking about now the burgeoning newness of the politics, not the old-line politicians who still have some segments of their organizations intact but for the most part don't have the profound impact anymore on the black community. It's the newer, more independent politician and politics that affect a change in the black community now.

Dolores Tucker's run, which resulted in a very very heavy vote for her for Lt. Governor, which was another part of this development. So it has been coming from people obviously realizing that their aspirations and hopes can be best gained through having people in office who care about them and who are willing to turn some of the keys that bring about benefits for the black community. I don't mean to imply by that that we don't go for the organization of all levels -- we do -- but the reality is -- and I think it was proven this time in 1979 -- that the momentum which people have has been stronger than that which the organizers have had so it has been kind of getting people to come together into something common rather than having to go out and convince them that it is important to come together because they really are on the move, there is no question about that at all.

That meeting we had last Sunday on fair elections was 2,000 plus people -- all kinds of people, all strata, not just leadership, but people from every walk of life and the tone is exactly the same all the way up.
So I've named some of the most active and effective leaders in politics in Philadelphia, but I don't want to leave it there because I think there are other kinds of leadership that figure into it.

(WMP: What about that fellow on Broad St -- Leon Sullivan?)

Oh, well. He's not a political leader as such but he is certainly a very very strong leader -- no question about that. His leadership stretches across the entire spectrum of community life -- OIC, his church, his political consciousness, but he hasn't taken a direct role in the political leadership of the city.

There -- Rev. Lorenzo Shepherd is a very strong influence in the political leadership. There are just innumerable people I could put together in terms of how much they have effected the political life of the community. In this latest few years. Every one of the people in city council has their own sphere of influence. Those in the legislature have their sphere of influence. Milton Street and his brother, John, have developed a tremendous influence in North Philadelphia and in other parts of the city, too. Georgie Woods and his radio program. Mary Mason and her radio program. They have had a very profound influence on the development of political consciousness, even though neither of them can be considered a politician. And on and on. A lot of people can be named.

The next question, of course, is what are the issues around which the black community organizes -- housing, education, health, and jobs. And the recent development in political organization. That is recent -- you have to see that as a logical development in the way in which things have been going. You protest against, you demonstrate for, and the question becomes how can you get this and then political organization flows into the picture by logic. You can't separate one from the other. You can't separate housing from jobs, from education, from health. You have to see it as being a part of a cohesive whole and it really boils down to the politics of a city. While you can't control the economic structure of a city you can certainly control the political structure of a city and have a tremendous influence upon the economy of the city.
and the way in which the benefits of the city are distributed. So I think that is what many of us have seen -- that it is the trade-offs between the politics and the economics which eventually will be involved. There is no way for blacks to ever control the economy of the city. No way. We can't start from where we are and all of a sudden become captains of industry, etc. There is no way to delude ourselves into thinking that we will control the financial institutions of this city. There is no way. It's just not going to happen. Because when you do that you have changed the entire structure of the nation because city banks are not institutions sitting over here by themselves -- they are connected with the financial institutions of the nation. There is no reason that we should ever think that 10% of the country is going to control the 90%. So I'm not kidding myself into thinking that we will control the financial institutions of Philadelphia through becoming in charge of a political system. But there is definitely a trade-off involved in the political system and the economic system of a city or of a nation. So becoming powerful politically and having political decisions that you make can definitely influence the way in which the economics of the city do flow. And I think that's what we ought to be looking at. Even if we become 70% of a city, as blacks have in certain parts of the country. We still don't control the economics of the city -- Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Gary, Indiana, don't control the economics. You have a tremendous impact on it because the political structure does have a great deal of impact on the economics of the city.

So the issues around which the black community organizes have become highly political in the sense of political organization and political office-holding and we make a distinction between political office-holding and the development of political power. We have had offices held before by people who have been put there. That is completely different than holding an office which you have, in effect,  

(tape changed)

I think it would be better for me to think through the rest of these questions -- these kinds of questions you are asking are not the kind I want to give snap answers to because I want to do some thinking before we put it on tape. Trends, for instance, that you have identified in black voting patterns -- that's not something you want to treat lightly. Trends in voting patterns are identifiable and need to be thought through.
And analyzing the results of last week's mayoralty primary -- we are going into court this morning! My wife is taking the petition into court today so I don't want to go into that too far, yet.

So I'll come back and we'll work on the rest of these questions.