

Sure, Reavis is interested in the development of Cleveland ports to help Negroes.

Before we get any further with the firm's business interests, we'll take a look at its "civic contributions."

It was 1964 when Jack Reavis first began a role of the businessman's volunteer fireman on racial unrest. Reavis, with the help of James 'Dolph' Norton, who also tends to feel secure behind the scenes, called top business and black leaders to sit down and reason away problems of city schools. Norton is chief of the Cleveland and Greater Cleveland Associated Foundations, which have gobs of money, some of which is used to buy off people and problems.

The result of the Reavis-Norton meeting was the establishment of the Businessmen's Interracial Committee, the hiring of Paul Briggs as superintendent of schools and a sweep under the rug of school problems.

At the time Reavis said, "I secured the guarantee of a modest operating expense (eventually about \$40,000) from the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation. It almost makes it seem as if there were some question of funding. But that's unlikely because the foundation funds are essentially reserved for use in social control and because Frank E. Joseph, trustee of the foundation and Seth Taft, its secretary, are members of the Reavis firm.

But cooling out the black community on the school issue was not enough. It was obvious by 1964, that the schools were to be a continuing source of irritation to the establishment and instability to the city. Thus, Hugh Calkins moved into Cleveland, ran and was elected to the school board as the shining liberal. Calkins too is a partner of Jones, Day, Cockley and Reavis.

Thus we have a situation in which the superintendent of schools, Paul Briggs, is strongly supported by Jack Reavis, yet the liberal community is counting on Calkins, a Reavis underling, to "reform" the schools.

If the public has trouble understanding the school crisis as it is developing, Reavis is a good one to blame. In 1964, he secured "a pledge from the editors of the newspapers that they would give us no publicity except as we asked for it." How's that for a free press and a reading on Reavis Power.

This news ban extended to Briggs, as Reavis felt school problems could be better worked out "privately."

To those black leaders now involved in trying to redress the school mess, Reavis' congratulations to Negro leaders who helped him sweep problems under the rug five years ago, should serve as an apt warning. Reavis said of them, "The Negroes on this committee have behaved magnificently."

One assumes he will have an equally appropriate pat on the head for the NAACP on Sunday.

But education was not the first foray of the law firm into the game of social control and manipulation. Back in 1954, the Cleveland Development Foundation was formed, supposedly to eliminate slums, provide relocation housing and rehabilitate housing. The Reavis firm was involved with Seth Taft as attorney and Carter Kissell, another partner, as chairman.

The foundation did spur some relocation housing, but one look at it tells you it was built for black people. The housing was located to preserve the ghetto, much of it on swamp and dump land and built to curiously resemble public housing.

Under the charity guise, meanwhile, the development foundation was planning (behind closed doors, admittedly) such projects as Erieview to help downtown business. Further, the push for University-Euclid helped Case Western Reserve University and research corporations more than the people of Hough.

Not unexpectedly, both Reavis and Kissell are trustees of the university as are four other trustees with close business associations to JDCR.

By 1966 the lid was off again and the Hough riots made it necessary to create another "communications device" to get people talking, not acting. Attempts prior to this to get Reavis to act on white gangs causing trouble in Hough were unsuccessful.

Now the Inner City Action Committee, another control mechanism of business, was born with Ralph Besse, chairman of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., as its head. Reavis was its first member.

The Besse committee served a dual purpose. First, it was a mechanism to cool out the black community again; secondly, it served as a political mechanism to further undermine the weak Locher administration.

It had already become evident that

the business community wanted to dump Locher. But it had to retain the image of being "non-political," thus less obvious methods had to be used.

Locher should have known too by this time that he was being dumped. But he asked for help from Besse, who forced him into an untenable position. A Locher aide returned from a meeting with Besse in Jan. 1967, to say that Besse was "quite frank in stating that while the business community wants to assist, it probably will do so only if it can be assured of control..."

Further, he told Locher, "All in all, I was not encouraged to believe that the portion of the business community represented by Mr. Besse would be willing to offer any real assistance except on its own terms."

Eight days later, the business community and Locher were divorced publicly in blazing headlines. But the writing had been on the wall.

The Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation and other foundation sources had funded the \$100,000 Cleveland Little Hoover Commission. The commission reports were to be a study of immediate needs of the city, its sources of revenue and long range capabilities.

The major reports, however, released at strategic times, were defeating to the Locher administration and were accompanied by a barrage of newspaper and television publicity.

Not surprising, the Jones, Day, Cockley and Reavis touch was there.

Carter Kissell, a partner, was chairman of the Little Hoover Commission. Kissell touches the funny bone by explaining, "I really don't know how they came to choose me for the committee. I suppose some of the people they (Locher, presiding over his own funeral, and Jim Stanton) talked to mentioned my name."

Kissell, who served on the Republican National Finance Committee, was obviously a natural choice of Democrats Locher and Stanton.

Further, the publicity engineer for the Hoover commission was Bill Silverman. Since that time, Silverman, who also worked to create the "new Nixon," has been given some \$65,000 by the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation to open

his own public relations office. His major account: the image of Carl B. Stokes, Locher's successor.

Reavis' attendance at the Stokes dinner was obviously not the first sign of the business community's closing ranks behind the Mayor. The Stokes-"Cleveland Now" program (see Vol. 1, No. 1) has its overwhelming support.

Again, as might be expected, the purse strings are held by a six-member expenditure committee, one of whom is Jack Reavis.

Three others, George Grabner of Weatherhead; Richard T. Baker of Ernst and Ernst; and Tom Patton of Republic Steel, are corporate customers of the Reavis law firm.

The Reavis firm keeps its tentacles in other parts of the elite's social control mechanism. Carter Kissell, for example, headed the last United Fund drive; Calkins, Alexander Ginn and A.C. Holmes, among others, are Reavis partners in the Welfare Federation apparatus. Reavis and Taft represent the firm on the Greater Cleveland Growth Association board of directors.

Reavis, we're sure, believes he knows what is best for others. When the Council of Churches in 1967 made contact with Saul Alinsky, Reavis said it would be a "tragedy" if Alinsky were to come to Cleveland. Then he added a financial threat to the Council if it dared bring Alinsky. It did not.

A couple of years ago when Carl Stokes was pushing a fair housing law in Columbus and all the fair housing groups were kicking their heels, it wasn't until Jack Reavis, asked for help by Stokes, went down to Columbus to "urge" the appropriate persons to "put this law through," that it was passed. And when a movement of real estate interests throughout the state -- not exactly a group with League of Women Voters lobbying power -- started to bring the law to a referendum vote, Reavis stepped in, talked with Gov. James Rhodes and the realtors, squashing the referendum idea.

Reavis obviously represents the type interests that make governors listen, then act. Strange then that Mayor Stokes didn't let Jack Reavis go down to see the Governor to get higher welfare payments.

One can only look at the Mayor's trip to Columbus as a "political" trip for the fans back home. But this is the type of response welfare recipients can expect. Reavis said

it plainly himself: he responds only when not responding means trouble.

"It was the violence that really caused us to try to establish lines of communications," he said of the formation of the Businessmen's Committee.

Back to the Reavis business connections. Playing both sides of the political street is nothing new to JDCR which plays both sides of the banking street too.

Jack Reavis is a director of National City Bank, while H. Rose Chapman, a partner, is director of the Cleveland Trust.

But as with politics, it really doesn't make too much difference which side you're on. Because Cleveland Trust is a major stockholder in National City anyway,

Jones, Day, Cockley and Reavis represents a host of corporations, many of whose lawyers hold directorships.

Their customers include American Greeting, Brush Beryllium, Chrysler, Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co., Cleveland Trust, Clevite, Diamond Shamrock, East Ohio Gas, Firestone Tire and Rubber, General Motors, Hanna Mining, Jones and Laughlin Steel, Lincoln Electric, Midland-Ross, National City Bank, North American Coal Co., Ohio Bell, Reliance Electric, Republic Steel, Sherwin Williams, Timken Roller Bearing, TRW, Inc., Warner-Swasey, Weatherhead, Westinghouse Electric.

Wright Patman's subcommittee said that the pattern of bank stock ownership and control in Cleveland was "the most alarming" of the cities studied by him. Three of the top banks, two of which have directors from the Reavis law firm, hold 71.7%

of all commercial bank deposits in the Cleveland area (1966 figure).

Making it even worse, Cleveland Trust, one of the three, is a major stockholder in three of its principal competitors -- National City, Central National and Union Commerce.

Many of the employees of the companies represented by JDCR contribute through their employe benefit funds to the banks. This applies to such companies as American Greeting, Midland Ross, Hanna Mining, Scott-Fetzer, Cleveland Cliffs, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Republic Steel, TRW, Inc., Sherwin-Williams, Warner and Swasey.

Reavis himself is director of Jones and Laughlin Steel, National City Bank, Anchor Hocking Glass, Gray Drug Stores, Westinghouse Electric, Diamond Alkali, Lehman Corp., a large investment firm, Midland Ross and Weatherhead Corp.

Other law partners are directors of Interlake Steel, Basic, Inc., Brush Beryllium, Clevite Corp., Cleveland Trust, Lincoln Electric, Aeronca Mfg. Co., Midland-Ross, Medical Mutual, Bell Inter Continental, Wheelabrator, Intex Oil Co., Weatherhead, LPG Leasing Corp., American Greeting, Higbee Co., Warner Swasey, Murray Ohio Mfg. Co., Richmond Bros., and Ohio Brass, among others.

By the way, we hope after the NAACP dinner the hosts don't expect Old Jack to take them by the Union Club for a drink. It's not permitted, you know

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