

COMMISSION STATEMENT -

"GROUP VIOLENCE" (Vol. 3)

Chapter 5. American Society
and the Radical
Black Militant *

~~DRAFT~~

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~~RADICAL BLACK MILITANCY~~

our political
and social
institutions

How
should
respond
to a

The Report of the Kerner Commission, published in April of 1968, concerned itself primarily with the society and with the oppressive responses of government to that phenomenon of urban rioting. Recent developments in our phenomenon racially troubled nation make it necessary ~~for this~~ but related Commission to consider ~~a somewhat~~ different phenomenon: the small but increasing number of "radical black militants" who actively espouse and sometimes practice illegal retaliatory violence and even guerrilla warfare tactics against existing social institutions, particularly the police and the schools.

This new kind of purposeful violence is potentially even more destructive than the urban riots have been. We as a nation must take effective steps to stop the spread of radical black militancy, and we shall be effective only if we as a nation understand what it is we are dealing with. This ~~statement~~ chapter is intended to contribute to public understanding by ~~analysing radical black militancy, by~~ the tracing ~~the~~ causes of radical black militancy and by outlining the principles which of our nation's institutions should govern the ~~national~~ response to this threat.

For a fuller description of sources, see the

* This chapter was prepared by James S. Campbell ~~for the~~ largely on the basis of material contained in the Reports of this Commission's Task Forces on Historical and Comparative Perspectives on Violence and on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation, as well as on the basis of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. ~~See~~ Note following this chapter.

The Nature of
Radical Black Militancy

~~Radical black militants, who embrace retaliatory violence and guerrilla warfare tactics, are part of a larger militant movement within the rising generation of young black activists.~~

~~The history of black protest in America is the history of repeated efforts and failures and renewed efforts, by almost every conceivable means, to achieve Negro freedom, equality and dignity. Today the focus of attention is "black militancy," but black militancy is not a new phenomenon. Negroes in America have repeatedly engaged in militant action, and have continuously experimented with a wide variety of tactics, ideologies, and goals: insurrection and riot, passive resistance and non-violence, legal action and political organization, separatism and integration -- all these and many others have been tried in every period of our history. No simple linear or evolutionary explanation covers the complexity of those developments: in the larger perspective of American history there has been no constant historical trend of black protest from non-violence to violence.~~

← Black protest in America today is a similarly complex phenomenon. ~~Despite the public attention which acts of violent protest always seem to attract, the use of legal argument and of the ballot is far from dead in the contemporary black protest movement.~~ ^{the courts} Many black leaders are working quietly but effectively "within the system" toward the same basic goals--

black well-being and dignity -- as those who have adopted more militant tactics. ~~Inevitably, a report of the Commission on Violence will concern itself primarily with the violent aspects of current black protest, but this emphasis should not be permitted to obscure the multi-faceted character of Negro leadership today.~~

~~This same point must be made even more emphatically with regard to that part of the larger black protest movement which is now called "black militancy."~~ ~~Even ~~Even~~~~ ~~Contem-~~
~~porary black militancy~~ is a complex, many-dimensioned phenomenon, and violence is only one part of it. ~~Three~~ major themes stand out in contemporary black militancy:

- cultural autonomy and the rejection of white cultural values;
- political autonomy and community control;
- "self-defense" and the rejection of non-violence.

Each of these three themes is a cluster of ideas, values and activities which are shared in widely varying degrees and combinations by different groups and individuals.

Those whom we call "radical black militants" are ~~persons~~ ^{Negroes} who embrace notions of "self-defense" which include illegal retaliatory violence and even guerrilla warfare

and who are the main focus of this chapter,

tactics. ~~These radicals generally share ideas of black cultural and political autonomy with other militants who do not espouse violence in excess of the legal right of self-defense. As black militancy is only a part of the larger black protest movement and must be understood as such, so the radicals are only one wing of, one group within, militant black protest.~~

~~Before focussing on the violence of the radical black militant, we ^{briefly} first consider the values which he shares with black militants generally -- the values of black cultural and political autonomy.~~

(1) Cultural autonomy. The movement toward black cultural autonomy and rejection of white cultural values mixes both indigenous and international influences. Looking backward at the long history of white domination in this country, and outward at what is seen as contemporary American "neocolonialism," black militants increasingly question the traditional values of American culture.

~~The historical experience of the black man in this country has particularly made rejection of the "white culture" less difficult for the black militants. James Baldwin observes:~~

The American Negro has the great advantage of having never believed that collection of myths to which white Americans cling; that their ancestors were all freedom-loving heroes, that they were born in the greatest country the world has ever seen, or that Americans are invincible in battle and wise in peace, that Americans have always dealt honorably with Mexicans and Indians and all other neighbors and inferiors, that American men are the world's most direct and virile, that American women are pure.

From the Negro perspective, the performance of this country under the dominance of Western cultural values must seem far less impressive than it looks in white perspective, and militant blacks are now looking to their own cultural heritage as a source of affirmation of a different set of values.

Supported by the revival of awareness of African history and culture, militant blacks have grown more and more impatient with what is seen as the attempt of American institutions such as the ~~universities, the~~ schools and ~~the~~ mass media to impose white cultural standards which ignore or deprecate the independent cultural heritage of Afro-Americans. A SNCC position paper proclaims:

The systematic destruction of our links to Africa, the cultural cut-off of blacks in this country from blacks in Africa are not situations that conscious black people in this country are willing to accept. Nor are conscious black people in this country willing to accept an educational system that teaches all aspects of Western Civilization and dismisses our Afro-American contribution . . . and deals with Africa not at all. Black people are not willing to align themselves with a Western culture that daily emasculates our beauty, our pride and our manhood.

(2) Political autonomy. Contemporary black militancy is oriented strongly to the idea of black community control and the development of independent black political bases. The effort of the militants to overcome black powerlessness, while at the same time largely rejecting participation in traditional political avenues and party organizations, is a result of several influences.

Perhaps most important has been the failure of traditional politics to afford an effective means by which black leaders can exercise power on behalf of their constituencies. A recent study of Chicago politics, for

example, showed that of a total of 1,088 policy-making positions in federal, state and local government in Cook County, only fifty-eight, or five percent, were held by Negroes in 1965, although blacks comprised at least twenty percent of the county's population. Nationwide, the number of black elected officials is estimated at less than .02 percent of the total of 520,000 elected officials -- despite the fact that blacks are just under 12 percent of the population. ("Traditional politics" may yet prove responsive to black leadership aspirations, however: in 1965 when the Voting Rights Act went into effect there were but 72 black elected officials in the eleven Southern states; after the 1968 elections that number had increased more than fivefold to 388).

Another major factor influencing the militants' thrust for black political autonomy is the fact that residential segregation has created the conditions for effective black political organization. Residential segregation has meant that, in the black belt of the South as well as in the urban North and West, blacks occupy whole districts en bloc. With the growing concentration of blacks in the central cities and of whites in the suburbs, more and more cities are developing black

majorities: in the next fifteen years the number of major cities with Negro majorities will rise from three to thirteen.

A third factor in the drive toward black community control is the sharpened ^{political} perception that control over the centers of decision-making means control over the things about which decisions are made, such as housing, employment, and education, as well as newer focal points of black protest like the police and the welfare apparatus. Black power theorists like Stokeley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton believe that such control can be achieved only through independent black political organizations:

Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society. Traditionally, each new ethnic group in this society has found the route to social and political viability through the organization of its own institutions with which to represent its needs within the larger society.

~~Going beyond disenchantment with non-violence, and beyond the exercise of legal rights of self-defense, radical black militants now espouse and practice violence as a legitimate response to what are perceived as instances of illegitimate oppression by a racist society.~~

~~The third major theme in contemporary black militancy is self-defense and the rejection of non-violence.~~

Self-defense.

The civil rights movement of the 1950's and early 1960's stressed non-violence and what some called "passive resistance." But civil rights workers in the South sometimes found that they could not depend upon local or even federal officials for protection against violent attacks by the Ku Klux Klan and other white terrorist groups. Local police and sheriffs were often only half-heartedly concerned with the welfare of rights workers, and in a few instances at least were even active participants in terrorist groups. As a result, in the mid-1960's a number of civil rights activists and their local allies began to arm themselves, and local defense groups sprang up in several black communities in the South. As a rule, these groups still favored non-violence as a civil rights tactic, but they felt that it could be effective only when the demonstrators were protected from violent assault.

At this time the focus of black protest began to shift to the ghettos of the North, and expanded notions of self-defense soon arose. After the Watts riot of 1965, local Negroes formed a Community Action Patrol to monitor police conduct during arrests. In 1966, a small group of Oakland blacks carried the process a step further by instituting armed patrols. From a small group organized on an

ad hoc basis and oriented to the single issue of police control, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense has since grown into a national organization with a ten-point program for achieving political, social and economic goals.

and with an evident willingness to resort to violence when it appears that force and coercion will be successful in attaining the Party's goals.

The confrontation between radical black militants and some elements of the police has escalated far beyond self-defense and has in some cases become a bloody feud verging on open warfare. ~~The~~ Aggressive attacks by black radicals on the police obviously far exceed any lawful right of self-defense, but the radicals nonetheless believe such attacks to be legitimate and to fall within "self-defense" when that concept is properly understood. As a militant leader argues, "We have been assaulted by our environment." This "assault" is considered to neutralize moral restraints against the use of counter-violence, which is thus seen by the radicals not as aggression but still as "defensive" retaliation. A Seattle Panther stated

not long ago: "You see, we've been backed into a corner for the last 400 years, so anything we do now is defensive."

How easily violence against police and other symbols of authority can be perceived as legitimate by radical black militants was demonstrated in the thoughts expressed before ^{the violence} ~~this~~ Commission by a moderate Negro leader:

For you see, Mr. Chairman, what most people refer to as violence in the ghetto, I refer to as self defense against the violence perpetrated on the ghetto. Dr. King's widow has put it well: "In this society," she said on Solidarity Day, "violence against poor people and minority groups is routine."

I must remind you that starving a child is violence. Suppressing a culture is violence. Neglecting school children is violence. Punishing a mother and her child is violence. Discriminating against a working man is violence. Contempt for poverty is violence. Even the lack of will power to help humanity is a sick and sinister form of violence.

The people of the ghetto, Mr. Chairman, react to this violence in self defense. Their self defense is becoming more violent because the aggressor is becoming more violent.

How has it come about that substantial numbers of black people in this country, especially among the black youth, see the government and the white majority as an "aggressor?" ~~What are the root causes of radical black militancy and its readiness to use violence? These are the questions we must now try to answer.~~

Underlying Causes of Radical Black Militancy

~~The Kerner Commission found that the underlying cause of urban rioting by Negroes is the enduring structure of racial attitudes and behavior by white Americans toward black Americans: properly understood, the same cause ultimately underlies the phenomenon of radical black militancy.~~

In March of 1968 the ^{Kerner}~~National Advisory~~ Commission ~~on Civil Disorders~~ filed its historic Report at the end of a comprehensive investigation into the causes and prevention of the urban riots which have plagued this country in the 1960's. The Commission found that the causes of the rioting were "imbedded in a massive tangle of issues and circumstances - social, economic, political, and psychological - which arise out of the historical pattern of Negro-white relations in America." The most fundamental strand in that tangle, said the Commission, is "the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans."

White racial attitudes, the Commission found, are essentially responsible for the "explosive mixture" in our cities that has recently erupted into large-scale rioting. Three main ingredients of the mixture were identified:

1. Great numbers of Negroes have been excluded from the benefits of economic progress through discrimination in employment and education and their enforced confinement in segregated housing and schools.

2. The massive and growing concentration of impoverished Negroes in our major urban areas has greatly increased the burden on the already depleted resources of the cities and created a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.

3. In the teeming racial ghettos, segregation and poverty have intersected to destroy opportunity and hope, to enforce failure, and to create bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular.

The Commission found that other factors catalyzed the mixture, factors such as the frustrated hopes aroused by the successes of the civil rights movement; the climate of encouragement of violence arising out of white terrorism and violent black protest and rhetoric; and the frustrations of black political powerlessness and alienation from institutions of government and law. Thus catalyzed, relatively

minor racial incidents -- frequently involving the police -- are sufficient to spark the mixture into an explosion of violence.

~~THAT~~
We find no reason to disagree with this analysis.

No witness appearing before this Commission has disputed it. Our investigation of the Miami disorders of last August reached the same conclusions as to that particular instance of rioting. The research studies of our Task Forces have all yielded results consistent with the Kerner Commission's analysis, and a staff survey has in fact provided a striking confirmation of one essential feature of that analysis: we found that in response to a series of questions concerning segregation and integration, white Americans remain far less committed than black Americans to the goal of a fully integrated society.

Far from disagreeing with the Kerner Commission's analysis of the causes of urban riots, ~~we conclude that the analysis~~ is largely applicable to the phenomenon of radical black militancy. ~~We find that~~ radical black militancy, like the urban riots, is ultimately a response to conditions created by racial attitudes and behavior that have widely prevailed among the white majority since the days of slavery. ~~Having said this we must immediately add three essential qualifications, absent which our~~ finding might be misunderstood.

First, to say that the violence of contemporary radical black militancy is a response to an historical pattern of white racial attitudes is not to say that it is a justified response. We agree unequivocally with the Kerner Commission that violence cannot build a better society. On the contrary, violence is likely to erode the social progress that has been made.

Second, ^{and behavior} In speaking of white racial attitudes, we are not referring primarily to the personal relationships which today exist between individual white and black Americans. Rather we particularly mean ^{— and we think the Kerner Commission meant —} the enduring institutional and ideological legacy of white supremacy and Negro subordination which our tragic racial history has bequeathed to contemporary America.

-- Third, to identify white racial attitudes as the ultimate cause of radical black militancy is not to deny the existence of other, more immediate causes, without which this phenomenon would not have emerged. As we shall show, there are several other levels of causation

which cannot be ignored. All of these, however, operate in the matrix of our dominantly white society and its customs and institutions; it is to this matrix that we refer when we speak of white racial attitudes.

Before turning to these immediate precipitating causes of the rise of radical black militancy, however, we wish to amplify our second point by exposing at some length the historical roots of contemporary institutional and ideological "white racism."

The "white racism" of contemporary America is not primarily a matter of personal relationships between individuals; rather, it is a social condition whose roots are to be found in the institution of slavery, the aftermath of its destruction, and the rise of the urban ghetto.

The reaction of many white Americans to the Kerner Commission Report ^{however,} was to deny angrily that they were "racists," to point to friendships with individual Negroes, and to ask if the Commission thought that it was "white racists" who were doing all the rioting. This response misconceives both the basic thrust of the Kerner Commission Report and the true nature of "white racism." That rather incendiary phrase should be understood as ^{no more than} a short-hand

*An enduring institutional and ideological
legacy of white supremacy and Negro
subordination,*

designation for a complex social condition, whose source
is to be found only in the whole ^{tragic} history of race relations
in this country. If we are to understand "white racism",

~~This history has three major phases, which we now
we must understand this history in its three major phases --~~
~~trace~~ slavery, segregation and the ghetto.

(1) The Institution of Slavery. Slavery was established
in the New World almost immediately after its discovery
by the nations of Europe. For the blacks who were sub-
jected to slavery, the existing social systems of
West Africa were interrupted, and new, traumatic ones were
imposed. Tribal institutions and customs which prepared
blacks to meet their needs and cope as adults in African
societies were no longer useful or possible. A new kind
of socialization was necessary in order to develop --
not an adequate, competent participant in adult society --
but rather a subhuman, dependent creature fully sub-
servient to the master's needs.

Children born into the slave system were prepared from
birth for a life of subservience. Nurture and physical
care came from an adult -- not in the interest of a family,
kinship group or tribe -- but in the interest of the
master. Children were not destined to become elders,
chiefs, warriors, or traders and to hold positions of

respect and status within the tribe. Instead they were to become slaves, and the processes of their individual development were distorted by this unnatural end. Probably this is the reason why so many adult slaves cared so little for children -- a fact which confounded slave owners and observers.

The adult slave was without power and without security. His legal status was that of a piece of property, without rights in court and without the protection of any institution. Completely subject to their masters' control, dispersed throughout a larger white culture, and unable to maintain the institutions of their previous societies (kinship ties, family organization, religion, government, courts, etc.), slaves were generally unable to run away en masse, to organize effective large-scale attacks against their oppressors, or even to turn inward on their own culture for psychological support.

Some slaves were able to run away to the Indians, to Canada or to "freedom" in the North. Most could not, however, but had instead to find ways of adjusting to the slavery environment. Some led a passive-aggressive existence in relationship to the white master -- working as little as they could without being punished, feigning illness, sabotaging property and generally provoking the

master. Some participated in the small, relatively unorganized insurrections that occurred occasionally during the slavery years. Others internalized their aggressions and engaged in self-destructive behavior and in violent acts against other blacks. Some found in Christianity a relationship to God and a place in a spiritual kingdom that enabled them to endure the sufferings of their life in this world. Still others adopted a life style which tried to copy, to the extent possible, the style of the white master. Common to all these adaptations, and shaping the form they took, was the overriding fact of the slave system.

The impact of slavery on white society was no less profound. Because of their profound belief that "all men are created equal" and that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are among man's "inalienable rights," whites could not rationalize the slave system simply on the basis of the economic need for manpower. If slavery was to be justified, it was necessary to believe that the Negro was inherently inferior, that he belonged to a lower order of man, that slavery was right on scientific and social, as well as economic, grounds. A large body of literature came into existence to prove these beliefs

and the corollary belief in the natural superiority and supremacy of the white race. The ideology of white superiority and black inferiority was reinforced both by the destructive impact of slavery upon Negroes generally and by the institutional and cultural denial of individual Negro accomplishments in the face of overwhelming obstacles. For more than two centuries the institution of slavery studiously wove the strand of racism deep into the fabric of American life.

It is thus not surprising that the conditions of life in the United States were hardly better for free Negroes than for slaves. Some free Negroes achieved material success, a few even owned slaves themselves or had white indentured servants, but the vast majority knew only poverty and rejection by white society. Forbidden to settle in some areas, segregated in others, they were targets of prejudice and discrimination. In the South, they were denied freedom of movement, severely restricted in their choice of occupation, forbidden to associate with whites or with slaves, and in constant fear of being enslaved. In both North and South they were regularly the victims of mobs. In 1829, for example, white residents invaded Cincinnati's "Little Africa," killed Negroes, burned their property, and ultimately drove half the black population from the city.

(2) Segregation in the

~~The~~ Aftermath of Slavery. The violence of the Civil

War tore the nation apart and succeeded in destroying the institution of slavery -- long after France (1794) and England (1833) had abolished it in their overseas possessions in the New World. But the War proved incapable of rooting out the deeper structure of racism upon which slavery rested: that had been built up over too long a time and was too firmly embedded in American society, North as well as South. Indeed, as we have said, racism had become an integral part of the black man's experience in America: the large number of Negroes who could not or would not leave the plantation after slavery indicates the degree to which blacks had been absorbed into the master-slave relationship.

After the War, blacks were quickly, and often violently, closed out of the economic, political, and educational mainstream of American life. The program of Radical Congressional Reconstruction failed, for a variety of reasons, to provide blacks with a solid economic, political or social base and consequently failed as an adjustment tool. None of the organizational structures of the African culture remained to provide a basis for

group stability and direction. Only remnants of previous African life-styles remained, greatly modified by the American experience and of little value in promoting adjustment in the post-slavery period. As a result of factors such as these, Negroes remained economically, socially and psychologically dependent on whites who retained almost complete control.

In some respects the condition of the Negro worsened after the War. Under the segregation system which rapidly developed (and which was ratified by a series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the "separate but equal" doctrine embraced by the Court in 1896), control and authority over blacks were extended to all whites, most of whom were economically vulnerable and more in need of a psychological scapegoat than the wealthier slave-owning class. Whites outside the planter caste were more likely to act in an unjust, violent fashion toward blacks.

The first Ku Klux Klan, arising in 1865 and lasting until 1876, was a principal means of keeping the Negro in his place in the early post-War period. The Klan helped overthrow the Reconstruction governments of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, and was responsible, according to the findings of a Congressional investigation

in 1871, for hangings, shootings, whippings, and mutilations numbering in the thousands. The commanding general of federal troops in Texas reported: "Murders of Negroes are so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate accounts of them." By 1877, when white governments had returned to power in all the Southern states, and Reconstruction had been abandoned, the Klan and its allies in the South had been so successful that the Negro was effectively eliminated from the political life of the South.

Still denied the opportunity for personal achievement and the resultant sense of adequacy and security which achievement brings, blacks made various adaptations to meet adequacy and security needs in a society in which they were now "free" but still rejected and abused. Religion was embraced more firmly. Many informal and formal Afro-American mutual support organizations developed after slavery, reflecting the need for black sharing and mutual support in a hostile society. Some blacks continued as employees of their former masters and in many cases identified strongly with whites. Some wandered about, disorganized and hopeless.

Under the segregation system's omnipresent threat of violence, black parents had to teach their children to avoid aggressive life-styles which might lead to disastrous conflicts with whites. Such socialization, similar to that under slavery, naturally led to the diminution or destruction of the capacity for exploration, learning and work in many Negroes. Inadequately socialized, some blacks were largely pleasure-oriented, responding to inadequately controlled sexual and aggressive drives by behavior that often resulted in violence and in conflict with the larger society. Such behavior was not viewed by whites as the natural product of a society which had failed to create the conditions for adequate social and psychological development among many blacks -- instead it was viewed simply as "the way niggers are."

(3) The Rise of the Urban Ghetto. In 1910, 91 percent of the country's 9.8 million Negroes still lived in the South. During World War I large-scale movement of Negroes out of the rural South was stimulated when the industrial demands of the war created new jobs for unskilled workers in the North, while floods and boll weevils hurt farming in the South. The Depression temporarily slowed this migratory flow, but World War II set it in motion again. The migration

proceeded along three major routes: north along the Atlantic Seaboard toward Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston; north from the Mississippi to St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee; west from Texas and Louisiana toward Los Angeles and San Francisco. While the total Negro population more than doubled from 1910 to 1966 (from 9.8 million to 21.5 million), the number living outside the South rose elevenfold (from 0.9 million to 9.7 million) and the number living in cities rose more than fivefold (from 2.7 million to 14.8 million).

The early pattern of Negro settlement within the Northern cities followed that of other immigrants: they converged on the older sections of the central-city because the lowest-cost housing was located there, because friends and relatives were likely to be living there, and because the older neighborhoods then often had good public transportation. Unlike other immigrants, however, the Negro remained -- and remains today -- largely confined in the original ghetto -- still the prisoner of the American racial heritage.

In the light of our whole racial history, should we be surprised that, for the Negro, the great cities of the North have not been ports of entry into the mainstream of

American life? Can we fail to see that the black ghetto is ultimately the product of slavery and segregation, that it is but the third great phase of the black man's bondage in America? The Report of the Kerner Commission has exhaustively described the conditions of the black ghetto and the manner of its formation. For our purposes we need only to illustrate a few of the many continuities which exist between life in the ghetto and the black experience under slavery-segregation.

-- Race riots and violent racial conflict were a hallmark of the early twentieth century Negro experience in northern cities, the Negroes invariably suffering most of the violence. In East St. Louis, Illinois, a riot which claimed the lives of 39 Negroes and 9 whites erupted in 1917 against a background of fear by white workingmen that Negro labor was threatening their jobs. Other major riots by whites against blacks took place in 1917 in Chester, Pa., and Philadelphia. In 1919 there were riots in Washington (D.C.), Omaha, Charleston, Longview (Texas), Knoxville and Chicago. In Chicago between July 1917 and March 1921, 58 Negro houses were bombed, and recreational and residential areas were frequent sites of violent racial conflict. Negro soldiers returning home from service in

World War I in segregated combat units were mobbed for attempting to use facilities open to white soldiers.

-- Many Negro families in the ghettos attained incomes, living standards and cultural levels matching those of whites who upgraded themselves out of ethnic neighborhoods, but they still remained in predominantly black neighborhoods because they were effectively excluded from white residential areas. Able to escape poverty, they were unable to escape the ghetto -- and their confinement rendered their accomplishments less visible to the larger society which continued to embrace the old myth of innate Negro inferiority. More often, however, the pervasive discrimination in employment, education and housing rendered the escape from poverty even within the ghetto all but impossible.

-- Many ghetto blacks responded to their condition of oppression with self-hatred and low self-esteem. These traits in turn gave rise to passive, self-destructive modes of behavior such as excessive use of alcohol and narcotics, violent assault on a friend over a dime or a bottle of wine, poor impulse control generally, low aspiration levels, and high rates of family conflict. Another destructive pattern begun under slavery continued under conditions

patterns of
Such behavior are reflected in
the far higher rates for violent crime:
Negroes for robbery are 16 times higher than white
rates and for homicide they are 17 times
higher.

of unemployment in the urban ghetto: the Negro male often played only a marginal role in his family and found few cultural or psychological rewards in family life. Often the Negro father abandoned his home because he felt useless to his family, the absence of the father then condemning the sons to repeat the pattern.

Direct Causes of Radical Black Militancy

To say that an enduring structure of white racial attitudes and behavior is ultimately responsible for the phenomenon of radical black militancy is only to identify a first cause, an underlying matrix. We must ~~also~~ look to more direct causes in order to understand why radical black militancy has emerged at this particular point in our history.

~~Our study has identified four~~ ^{different kinds of} ~~such~~ ^{can be identified,} direct causes, each inextricably interwoven with all the others and with the underlying social matrix created by slavery, segregation and the ghetto: ~~these causes are of different kinds and operate in different ways:~~

- ~~1) contemporary-historical~~ ^{the} the frustrations of the civil rights movement;
- ~~2) ideological~~ ^{the} the rise of an "anti-colonial" dogma;

the cause;
 (S) economic the widening gap between
 white and black material advancement;
 the cause;
 (S) psychological the breaking of the
 Negro-white "dependency bond."

~~In this section we will discuss each of these causes in turn.~~

(1) The Political
 cause.

Radical black militancy arose out of the frustrations of the civil rights movement and the limitations of that movement as a force for Negro betterment and leadership in the Northern urban ghettos.

~~From the decline of the civil rights movement~~
 From the decline of Marcus Garvey's separatist philosophy in the 1920's until quite recently, the dominant thrust of black protest was toward political, social, economic and cultural inclusion into American institutions on a basis of full equality. Always a powerful theme in American black militancy, these aims found their maximum expression in the civil rights movement of the 1950's and early 1960's.

For the civil rights movement, the years before 1955 were filled largely with efforts at legal reform, with the NAACP, especially, carrying case after case to successful litigation in the federal courts. There was a considerable gap, however, between the belief of the NAACP and other

groups that major political changes were in sight and the reality of the slow pace of change even in the more advanced areas of the South. The gap was even greater between the conservative tactics and middle-class orientation of the established civil-rights organizations and the situation of the black ghetto masses in the North.

Since the NAACP, the Urban League, and other established groups continued to operate as before, new tactics and new leaders arose to fill these gaps. In 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her bus seat to a white man, and a successful boycott of the bus system materialized, led by a local minister, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Around the same time, with less publicity, another kind of organization with another kind of leadership was swiftly coming into its own in the northern ghettos: Elijah Muhammed and the Nation of Islam represented those segments of the black community that no one else, at the moment, seemed to be representing -- the northern, urban, lower-classes. It was this strange sect which would produce the man who was destined to rise from a petty criminal to a "black shining prince" and who would far overshadow Dr. King in influence among the new generation of black militants: Malcolm X.

Neither the direct-action, assimilationist approach of King nor the separatist, nationalist approach of the Black Muslims were new. Rather, they were both traditional strategies of black protest which had been adopted in the past in response to specific situations. Direct action was used by the abolitionists prior to the Civil War, by left-wing organizers in the ghetto in the 1930's, and by CORE in the early 1940's. It had been threatened by A. Phillip Randolph in his March on Washington in 1941, but called off when President Roosevelt agreed to establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. The roots of black separatism are equally deep, reaching back beyond Marcus Garvey in the 1920's to Martin Delaney, a Harvard-educated Negro physician and novelist who in the 1850's promoted the migration of American Negroes to Africa, as philanthropist and ship-owner Paul Cuffee had some forty years earlier.

The move to direct action in the south brought civil rights protest out of the courts and into the streets, bus terminals, restaurants, and voting booths. Nevertheless, it remained deeply linked to the American political process and represented an abiding faith in the power of the federal government and in the moral capacity of white Americans, both northern and southern. It

operated, for the most part, on the implicit premise that racism was a localized, essentially southern malignancy within a relatively healthy political and social order; it was a move to force American morality and American institutions to cure the last symptoms of the diseased member of the body politic.

Activists in SNCC, CORE and other civil rights organizations met with greater and more violent resistance as direct-action continued during the sixties. Freedom Riders were beaten by mobs in Montgomery; demonstrators were hosed, clubbed and cattle-prodded in Birmingham and Selma. In many parts of the South, civil rights workers, black and white, were victimized by local officials as well as by night-riders and angry crowds. At the same time, the problems of white violence were compounded by the intransigence of some southern courts and juries, and by political constraints on the federal government that prevented it from moving decisively toward a radical alteration of the situation faced by the civil rights activists. Deeply affecting the whole struggle were the continuing unlawful resistance to integration by some southern governors such as Faubus, Barnett and Wallace, and the relentless political pressure applied by powerful segregationists such as Senator Eastland.

The Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 was a hybrid phenomenon, less of a moral confrontation than Birmingham the year before, and more of a new kind of power play. Its sponsor was "COFO," the Council of Federated Organizations, a loose ad hoc consortium funded by established groups such as the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and the National Council of Churches, but given its cutting edge by the leaders of SNCC. Masterminded by a SNCC staff disillusioned by white reprisals and violence against earlier voter registration drives, the COFO Project was presented as a massive effort to get voter registration off the ground with the aid of large numbers of vacationing white college students. But COFO's voter registration goal turned out to be a cover for a more ambitious and aggressive SNCC strategy: to provoke massive federal intervention in Mississippi amounting to an occupation and a "second effort at Reconstruction."

The Mississippi Summer was an extraordinary one for many of the more than 2,000 participants from all over the United States. Three young men were murdered by a white conspiracy, and many others saw at firsthand the ugly face of racial repression. The Project culminated, not with a second Reconstruction, but with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's failure to get its delegation seated at the 1964 Democratic national convention (although two

at-large seats were offered and special efforts were promised to open state parties to Negroes during the next four years). This symbolic, highly emotional defeat climaxed a growing disillusionment with "white liberals" among young blacks, and perhaps more than any other single event destroyed the faith of civil rights activists in the ability of "the system" to purge itself of racism.

By the middle of the decade, then, many militant Negro members of SNCC and CORE began to turn away from American society and the "middle-class way of life." Despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, they became deeply cynical about the tradition of American liberal reform. They talked more and more of "revolutionary" changes in the social structure, and of retaliatory violence, and they increasingly rejected white assistance. The new militants insisted that Negro power alone could compel the white "ruling class" to make concessions. Yet, at this time, they also spoke of an alliance of Negroes and unorganized lower-class whites to overthrow the "power structure" of capitalists, politicians and bureaucratic labor leaders whom they accused of exploiting the poor of both races while dividing them through an appeal to race prejudice.

The increased criticism of liberals, white intellectuals, and federal bureaucracies was part of a broader turn to a renewed critique of the situation of blacks in the North. To a large extent, and despite such evidence as the Harlem uprisings of 1935 and 1943, most white northerners had congratulated themselves on the quality of their "treatment" of the Negro vis-a-vis that of the South. But direct action by civil rights leaders in Northern cities, largely in the form of street demonstrations, had failed to make any substantial impact on the problems of separate and inferior schools, slum housing, and police hostility, although it had succeeded in lowering some barriers to Negro employment.

With the explosion of Harlem and several other northern cities in 1964, attention among black activist leaders was drawn sharply to the problem of institutional racism in the North, and this shift of focus was accelerated by the Watts riot the following year. In a real sense, the outbreak of riots not only surprised liberal whites, but most established black civil rights leaders as well. While undermining the moral credibility of liberal northerners as to the nature of the racial situation in the North, the riots also left most civil rights

leaders without a vocabulary with which to express the deeper emotions of the northern ghettos. There was a sense among many young Negroes that established civil rights leaders could not get results from the white majority, that they could not speak to the kinds of issues raised by the riots, and that a wide gulf separated those leaders -- mostly of middle-class background -- from the black urban masses.

In this setting the rhetoric of "Black Power" developed, and was brought dramatically to the nation's attention on the Meredith March from Memphis to Jackson in June 1966. SNCC replaced its non-violent leader John Lewis with Stokeley Carmichael, and CORE elected Floyd McKissick, who refused to denounce the Watts riot of the previous year. Under Carmichael SNCC formally and deliberately disassociated itself from the civil rights movement's traditional commitment to nonviolence and took up a position on the leftward militant fringe. In 1967, while Rap Brown made incendiary speeches around the country, Carmichael traveled to Havana, Hanoi and Moscow, popularizing a new black revolutionary ideology. The extravagant speeches and behavior of Carmichael and Brown amplified the psychological effect of the 1967 riots on both blacks and whites, while the riots themselves --

and especially the then exaggerated reports of organized urban warfare -- lent credibility to their rhetoric.

Thus, with frustration of the civil rights movement and the outbreak of the riots, younger and more militant black leaders and organizations emerged to represent the interests of the Northern urban lower-classes, and the older representatives of the civil rights movement were required to redefine their programs and techniques to accommodate these new forms of militancy. The impact of the riots on young Negroes and on established black leaders was graphically depicted in the testimony before ~~this~~ ^{the violence} Commission of Sterling Tucker, Director of Field Services of the National Urban League:

I was standing with some young, angry men not far from some blazing buildings. They were talking to me about their feelings. They talked out of anger, but they talked with respect.

'Mr. Tucker,' one of them said to me, 'you're a big and important man in this town. You're always in the newspaper and we know that you're fighting hard to bring about some changes in the conditions the brother faces. But who listens, Mr. Tucker, who listens? Why, with one match I can bring about more change tonight than with all the talking you can ever do.'

Now I know that isn't true and you know that isn't true. It just isn't that simple. But the fact that we know that doesn't really count for much. The brother on the street believes what he says, and there are some who are not afraid to die, believing what they say.

When black activists came to interpret the urban riots as purposeful rebellions, and to advocate violence as one technique for achieving black dignity and well-being, the phenomenon of radical black militancy had become a part of the troubled American racial scene.

Radical black militancy is strengthened by an anti-colonial ideology which sees the white majority in this country as "an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage."

(2) The Ideological Cause.

By the mid-1960's, then, many militant black leaders had become convinced that the aims and methods of the civil rights movement were no longer viable. The failures of the white majority to meet black expectations, the fact of the urban riots, and the increasing American involvement in Vietnam all served to catalyze a fundamental transformation in militant black perceptions of the place of the Negro in American society. This transformation resulted in what can be called an "anti-colonial ideology," which is aptly expressed by a spokesman of the Black Panther Party as follows:

We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage.

Unique when expressed by Malcolm X in 1964, the anti-colonial perspective now provides many militant blacks with a structured world-view -- and, in the case of the radicals, with a rationalization for violence. Many articulate black militant spokesmen now see the final hope of black Americans in identification with the revolutionary struggles of the Third World. Even moderate leaders focus attention on the discrepancy between the massive commitment of American resources abroad and the lack of a decisive commitment to end racism at home. Martin Luther King wondered, for example, why "we were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our poverty and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia or East Harlem."

Black militants in America have in the past looked to Africa for recognition of common origins and culture, and the influence has been reciprocal. W.E.B. DuBois, one of the founders of the NAACP in 1909-10, saw that the "problem of the color line" was international in scope, and was a guiding force behind the movement for Pan-African unity. Marcus Garvey, founder in 1914 of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and other American and West Indian black nationalists have stimulated the development of African nationalism and informed the intellectual development of some of its leaders.

Today the successful revolt against colonialism in Africa and other non-white regions has created a heightened sense of the international character of racial conflict and has provided the impetus for the growth of an anti-colonial ideology among American black militants. This ideology may be somewhat artificially divided into two components, the cultural and the political, the latter of which is of far more significance so far as the violent aspects of black militancy are concerned.

Culture. The rise of the new African and Asian states since 1945 has been closely bound up with an assault on the dominance of Western culture and on what is seen as the cultural and historical dispossession of the nonwhite peoples of the world. After the Second World War, African nationalist movements began a process of reconstruction of African history and re-evaluation of African culture which continues today. Much scholarship has been devoted to charting and analyzing the growth of early African civilizations, and affirming their high level of cultural and technological development.

This cultural reconstruction has substantially reversed for many black intellectuals in this country the stereotypes which suffused Western thought and dominated the thinking of blacks as well as whites. There has thus been

~~an enthusiastic reappraisal by American black militants of the potential of nonwhites, and hence of themselves.~~

Politics. The revolt against colonialism has ~~also~~ altered the structure of political power in the world, ~~and this fact has demonstrated~~ ^{was} to black militants in America that peoples supposed to be culturally and technologically "backward" can emerge victorious in struggles with ostensibly superior powers. "Two-thirds of the human population today," wrote Malcolm X, "is telling the one-third minority white men, 'Get out.' And the white man is leaving." With the disintegration of white rule in Africa and the rise of autonomous black nations, political autonomy for Negroes in America -- ranging from traditional democratic concepts of community control to notions of geographic separatism -- has received a new impetus -- and a new ideological component.

The success of the movements for political independence in the colonial countries required a recognition that the plight of the "native" was a political problem, and that political action was the most effective vehicle of major social change. Early nationalist movements in Africa, therefore, sought ideologically to turn nearly every aspect of life into a political issue. This was true, for example, of the area of culture, whose political importance lay in

the fact that "natives," as people without history or culture, were also seen as people without political claims of their own, and therefore as people to be dealt with from above -- benevolently or otherwise.

Political ideology also worked its transforming magic on violence. Through the same process of "politicization," instances of black resistance in history were ideologically redefined as precursors of contemporary political struggles. Native crime was redefined as "pre-revolutionary" activity. Instances of rebellion were sought in the past and their significance amplified. ~~as much the~~
~~as much the~~

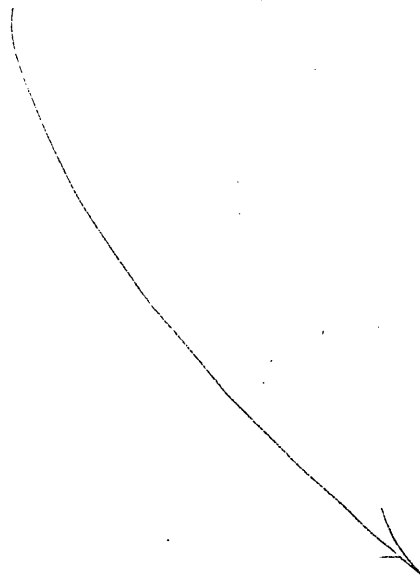
This process extended to the creation of a whole new world-view. History was viewed as an arena of struggle between colonial power and native population, with heavy emphasis on the intrinsically violent character of colonial domination and its supposedly irrevocable hostility to the interests of nonwhites. Colonialism was seen as dependent on the routinization of violence, both physical and psychological, against the native. Consequently, revolutionary violence against the colonial regime was not only necessary, but justifiable, on both political and psychological grounds. Colonialism, wrote Frantz Fanon, "is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence." Further, he said, "at the level of individuals,

violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex, and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores self-respect."

Under the influence of radical militant propagandists such as Stokeley Carmichael, similar ideological developments have taken place among some blacks in America. The anti-colonial ideology has enabled black radicals to see urban riots as the harbingers of revolution and to see in urban violence the means of destroying white domination and achieving black dignity. If, as the Panthers would have it, "White America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage," then it follows that violence against the police and other agents or symbols of authority is not crime but heroism, not merely an unlawful act but a revolutionary gesture against an illegitimate government.

~~Tragically~~ ^{organized} This poisonous ideology has found fertile soil in the black ghettos of America. Its roots do not yet, perhaps, go very deep, and the commitment to ~~violence~~ is found only among a relatively small group of black radicals. Most Negro leaders continue to believe that change can come in this country through legitimate, orderly political processes, and, indeed, that this is the only way it will come. But the anti-colonial ideology has the

potential for further growth, and it will grow to the extent that the white majority can successfully be cast by radical propagandists in the role of oppressors of the black minority.



~~The ghetto Negro's frustrated desire for improved living conditions has been one important cause of the rise of radical black militancy.~~

(3) The Economic Cause.

History teaches us that men's frustration over the material circumstances of their lives is a frequent cause of collective violence. The more intense and widespread the discontent is, the more intense and widespread the violence is likely to be. Of course, the occurrence, extent and form of economically motivated violence are strongly influenced by other factors: the degree of legitimacy which the discontented group accords to the existing social and political order; the effectiveness of agencies of direct social control such as the police; the extent to which political institutions afford peaceful alternatives to violence; and many other factors. But the economic motive, the frustrated desire for improved living conditions, has undeniably been one important cause of violence in many periods of man's history.

Has this cause been operative in the rise of radical black militancy? The answer is clearly yes. A dominant theme of black protest in the United States has always been the improvement of the material circumstances of the Negro, and this goal has proved most frustratingly unobtainable precisely in the cradle of radical black militancy: the northern urban ghettos.

The conditions of life in the racial ghetto have been exhaustively examined elsewhere, particularly by the Kerner Commission. It is unnecessary for our purposes to repeat these findings again in detail, since even a few of the facts of life in the ghetto are enough to suggest the level of frustration that prevails there:

-- Unemployment rates for Negroes are double those for whites. In the ghettos in 1966 the unemployment rate was 9.3 percent overall and even higher for blacks. Moreover, in these urban poverty areas two and one-half times the number unemployed were under-employed: part-time workers looking for full-time jobs, full-time workers earning less than \$3,000 per year, or dropouts from the labor force. Among nonwhite teenagers -- a group well represented both in riots and in radical black militant activities -- the unemployment rate in 1967 in poverty neighborhoods was approximately 30 percent.

-- Blacks own and operate less than one per cent of the nearly five million private businesses in the country -- typically small, marginal retail and services firms. Twenty-odd banks out of a national total of 14,000 are black-owned; seven automobile dealerships out of 30,000; fewer than 8,000 construction contractors out of a total of 500,000. In Washington, D. C., blacks comprise two-thirds of the population but own less than 7 per cent of the business. Ninety-eight per cent of all black income is spent outside the black community.

-- In the metropolitan northeast, Negro students start school with slightly lower scores than whites on standard achievement tests; by sixth grade they are 1.6 grades behind the white students, and by 12th grade, they are 3.3 grades behind. Many Negroes -- between one-third and one-half among male students -- fail to finish high school, the Negro drop-out rate being more than three times the white rate.

-- In 1965 a black woman was four times as likely to die in child birth as a white woman; the black child was three times as likely to die in infancy as the white child. White people on the average lived seven years longer than black people.

-- In 1966 the national illegitimacy rate among nonwhite women was 26%; in many large city ghettos it is over 50%; in Harlem 80% of the first-born are illegitimate. In 1966 over 50% of the known narcotics addicts were Negroes. Rates of juvenile delinquency, violent crime, venereal disease, and dependency on public assistance are many times higher in disadvantaged Negro areas than in other parts of large cities.

In the face of undisputed evidence of the disadvantaged condition of blacks in the urban ghettos, some persons tend to minimize the importance of deprivation as a cause of riots and of radical black militancy. Two observations are commonly offered in support of this point of view. First, it is pointed out that Negroes have long suffered from frustratingly inferior living conditions, yet they have never before resorted to collective violence of the magnitude that has occurred in the last five years. Secondly, it is urged that while the lot of the Negro may be an unsatisfactory one, nonetheless it has been continually improving, particularly during the precise period when the greatest violence has occurred. In support of this second point, the following facts can be offered:

-- The non-white unemployment rate in 1966 and 1967 was the lowest since the Korean War, and in 1968 the black unemployment rate in poverty neighborhoods had dramatically declined by more than 50% in comparison with the 1966 figure.

-- The seven black-owned automobile dealerships (out of a total of 30,000) are seven times as many as there were two years ago. New black-owned banks are in formation in seven cities, and one recent study showed that in certain areas of Harlem, black business ownership has risen to 58%. Between 1960 and 1967 there was a 47% increase in the number of blacks in white-collar positions, craftsmen and operatives -- the better jobs -- compared to a 16% increase in the number of whites in such jobs.

-- The percentage of non-white persons enrolled in school is higher in each age group than it was in 1960. In central cities, the median years of school completed by Negroes 25 to 29 years of age has increased by about one year, and the proportion of this group completing high school has risen from 43% in 1960 to 61% in 1968.

-- The non-white maternity mortality rate in 1965 was 20% less than what it was in 1960 and less than one-ninth of what it was in 1940. The proportion of non-white households situated in housing that either is dilapidated or lacks basic plumbing has decreased sharply since 1960

in all areas, especially in large cities. Although the number of non-white families living in poverty areas in large cities has been fairly constant between 1960 and 1966, of the total number of non-white families the percentage living in such areas has declined sharply since 1960.

One fatal difficulty, however, undermines most of this seemingly plausible case against the proposition that the disadvantaged condition of the Negro is a significant cause of ghetto violence. That is the failure to pay adequate attention to the comparative economic condition of whites and Negroes, and to make this comparison over a longer period of time than the last few years. The lesson of history is not that poverty as such causes violence, but rather that frustrations arising out of poverty can cause violence. There may often be poverty but no frustration: the frustration is present only when the disadvantaged person expects, or feels entitled to, better material circumstances than those he is living under. Increasingly, the black man in America has come to expect living conditions on a par with those of the white man and has come to believe that he is entitled to such equality.

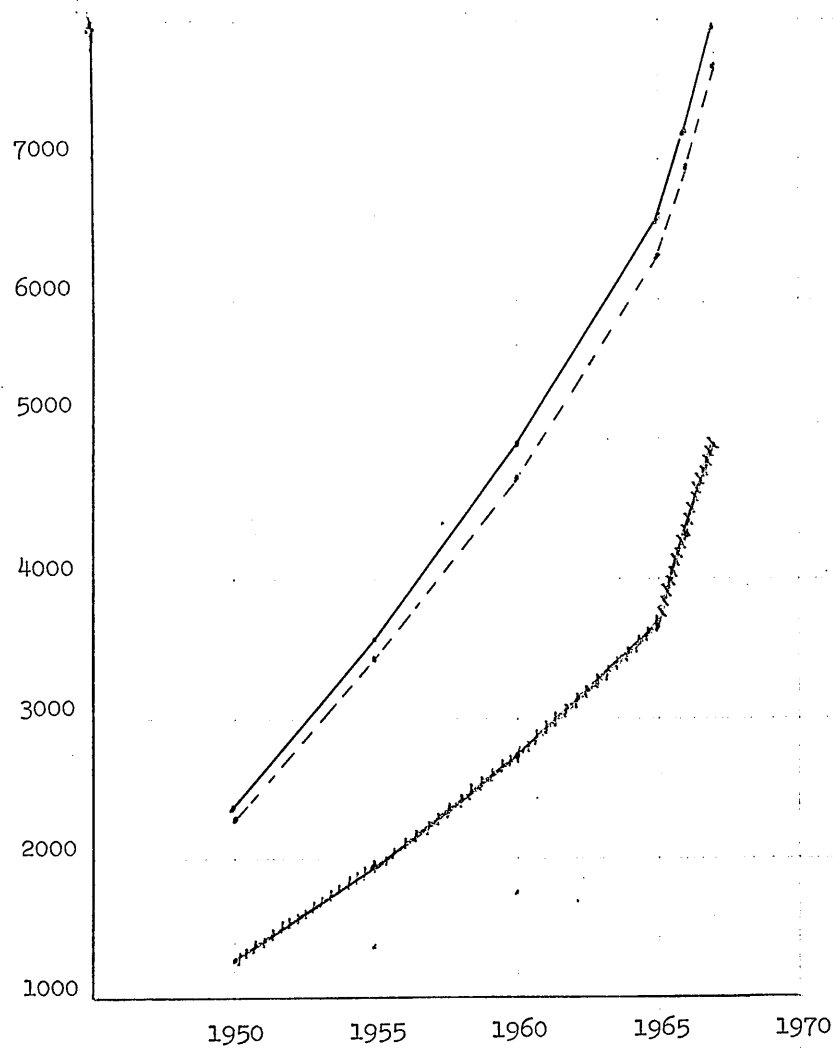
These expectations that the economic gap between black and white will be closed have stemmed in part from the Negro's experience of economic progress, and the frustration has occurred because in the late 1950's and the early 1960's the gap between black and white stopped narrowing and in some respects began to widen.

One basic measure of the gap between black and white is median family income. Figure 1 plots median family income (total, white, and Negro) for the years 1950 and 1965. Examination of this Figure reveals that while median Negro family income has risen steadily since 1950, the dollar gap between white and Negro family income has also steadily increased in nearly every year.

Figure 1

52

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME -- Total, White & Negro



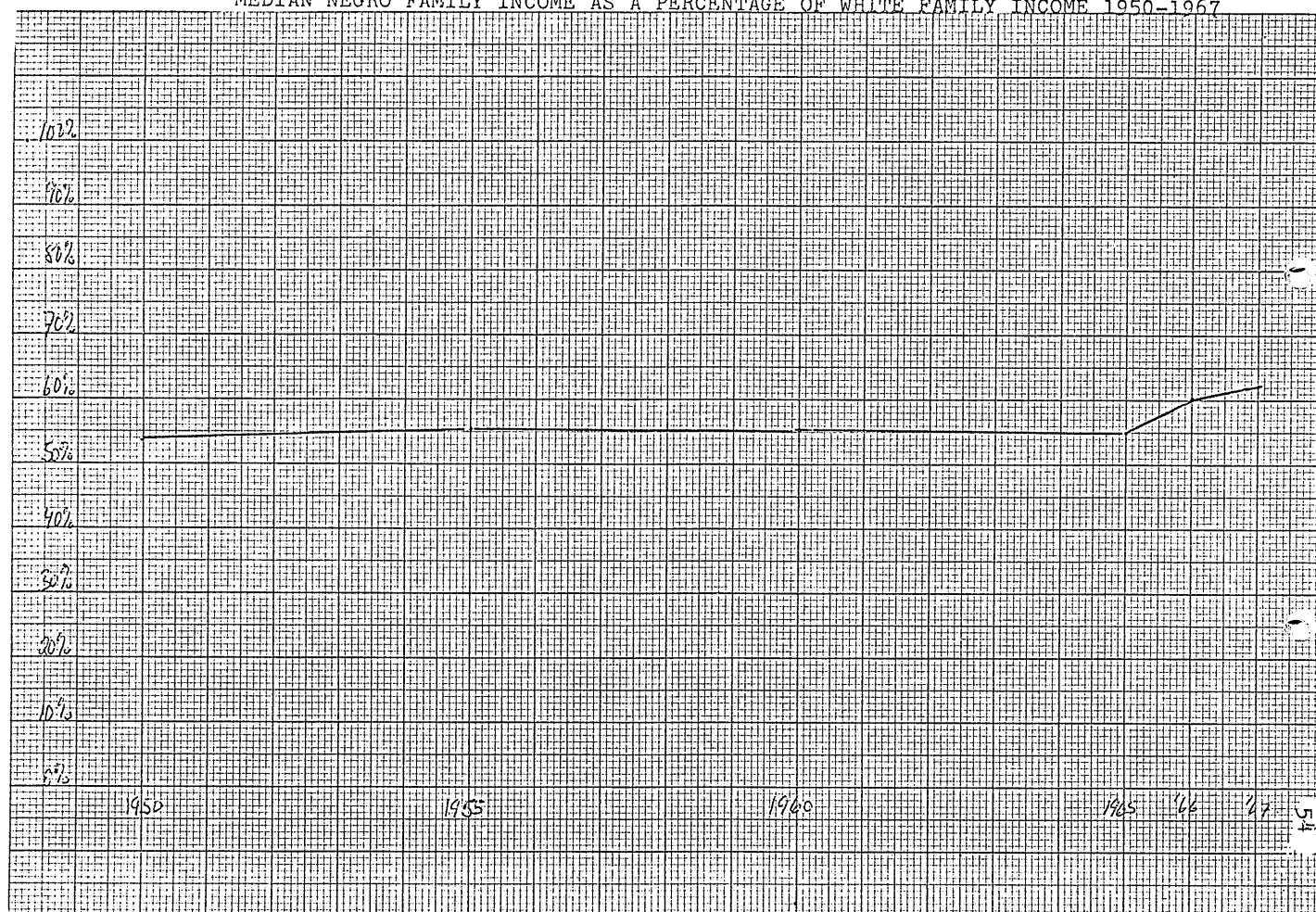
Total ---
 White —
 Negro + + + + +

Real 1968 \$ (Bureau of the Census figures)

Figure 2 expresses median Negro family income as a percentage of median white family income. It indicates no significant Negro progress in closing the gap between the years 1950 and 1965 -- but it does show a heartening upsurge between 1965 and 1967.

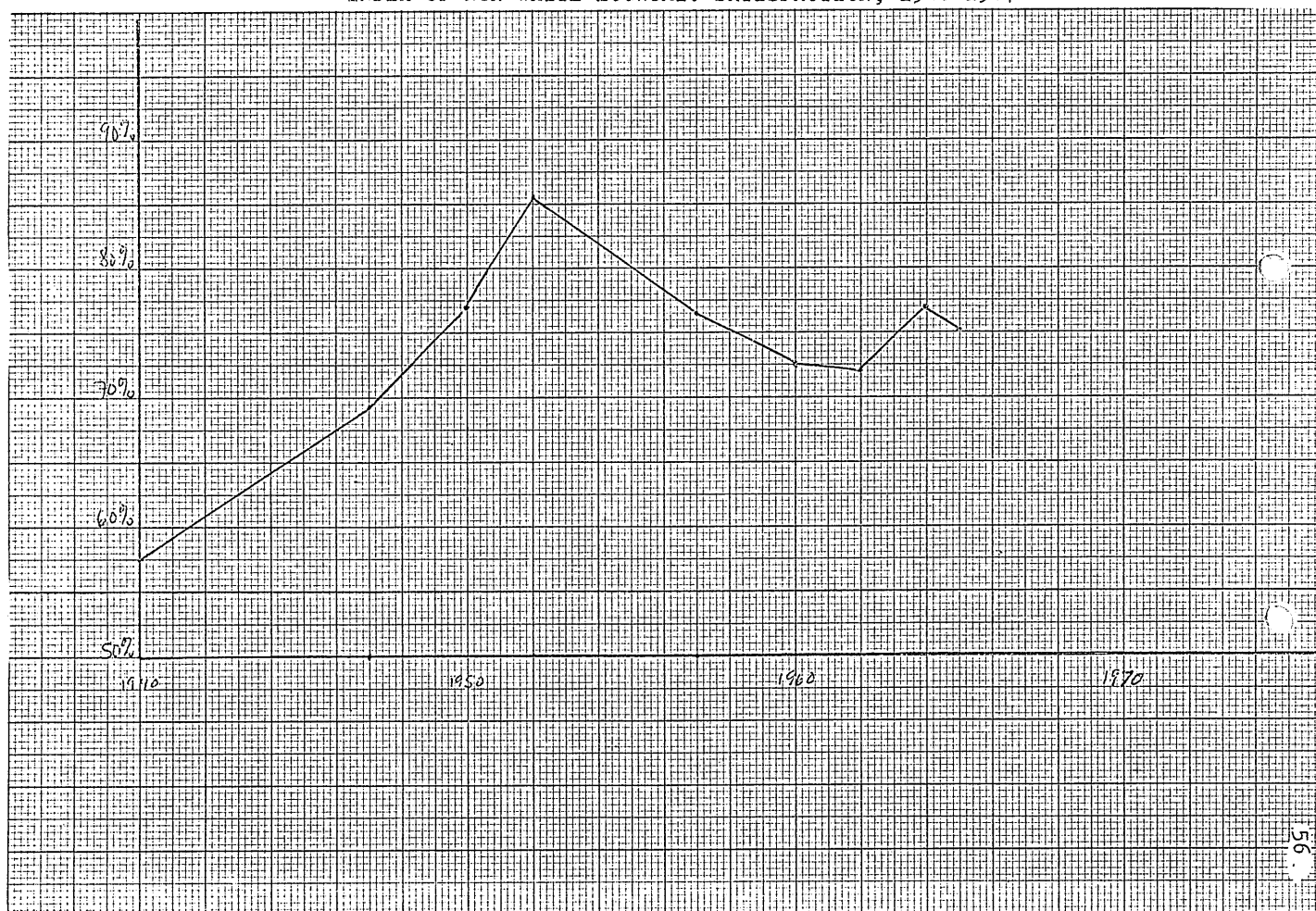
Figure 2

MEDIAN NEGRO FAMILY INCOME AS A PERCENTAGE OF WHITE FAMILY INCOME 1950-1967



In Figure 3 a further refinement of this analysis is introduced. In that Figure the average family income for the total population and for the non-white population has been divided by the average years of schooling for each group, and the resulting figure for the non-white population has then been expressed as a percentage of the resulting figure for the total population. This percentage can be considered an "index of non-white economic satisfaction": if blacks and whites with the same amount of education were earning the same amount of income, the index would be 100% and blacks would be as satisfied economically as whites. Figure 3 shows that this is not the case, that the progress toward closing the gap between white and black stopped in the early 1950's, and that the relative economic position of the Negro worsened over the next ten years. Only in the last few years has the gap begun to close again, and still the index of non-white economic satisfaction is below its high point in the early 1950's.

Figure 3
INDEX OF NON-WHITE ECONOMIC SATISFACTION, 1940-1967



The analysis in these three Figures is confirmed by other economic and social indicators. Thus, for example, although the non-white unemployment rate in 1966 and 1967 has been the lowest since the Korean War, the ratio of non-white to white unemployment has remained roughly the same: two to one. Although the school enrollment gap has narrowed for kindergarteners and sixteen and seventeen-year-olds, it has widened for persons in their late teens and early 20's, and proportionately more whites are going on to higher education. (Obviously, if proportionately higher percentages of non-white students do not continue on to college and graduate school, the relative gains of Negroes in professional and skilled jobs of the past decade may soon level off.) In 1940 the illegitimacy rate among non-white women was 17%; in 1966 it had risen to 26%. Between 1950 and 1966 the percentage of fatherless families among Negroes rose by one-third while the percentage of fatherless families among whites remained substantially constant.

What these facts all add up to is that after a period of black progress and rising expectations following the Second World War, a slackening of progress occurred and, by many indicators, the relative economic position of the Negro deteriorated over the next ten years. From defeated

expectations of progress, and an unsatisfactory condition to start with, frustration arises. It was this frustration which has been one important cause both of the recent ghetto riots and of the rising violence of radical black militancy.

~~The contemporary disruption of the historical pattern of white supremacy and Negro dependency has released among many black people an energy, usually constructive, that also finds violent, destructive expression in radical black militancy.~~

(A) The Psychological Cause.

All men are born with drives and needs which conflict with those of other human beings. In all societies, parents, caretakers and authority figures of one kind or another are charged with the responsibility of meeting the child's basic needs and helping the young convert their drive energy into skills and patterns of behavior which will help them cope with the demands of an adult society. This is the process of "socialization."

Without satisfactory socialization, these energies may result in a variety of troublesome forms of personal behavior, including self-destructive action and unwarranted conflict and violence against people and property.

When, however, the young are adequately developed and socialized and are able to cope as adults, they enjoy a sense of adequacy and security. Being able to cope and as a result receiving the respect and acceptance of significant peers is the primary way an individual meets basic and man-made needs. When members of a society experience satisfactory patterns of socialization, a high level of peace and stability can exist in families and the society without the use of physical force to control individuals or groups.

~~As our discussion in the second section of this state-~~
~~ment suggests,~~ The basic pattern of socialization running through the black man's history in America has been the destructive, unsatisfactory relationship of dependency and subordination vis-a-vis the white man. In slavery the master functioned as a father, ruler and god. The condition of total power in the master and total powerlessness in the slave, with the master providing and regulating the slave's most basic needs, resulted in an intense emotional bond between the black slave and the white master. Over time the values of the white master and of the slavery system were often internalized by the slaves and transmitted from generation to generation under

the continuing influence of the slavery system. The myth of Negro inferiority and white supremacy was widely and deeply ingrained into black man and white man alike.

Under segregation and in the ghetto the same pattern prevailed, although in a constantly weakening form. The clear implication of segregation was still that whites were superior and Negroes inferior, that the white man was the father and the Negro, the "boy." But other social forces were now unleashed: even under the segregation system black dependency on white power was sharply decreased in comparison with slavery, and in the teeming racial ghettos of the Northern cities the old relationship of dependency became attenuated in the extreme.

The widening "crack" in the pattern of forced dependency was the beginning of the development of a positive black group identity. Many blacks, as preachers, teachers, physicians, lawyers and other professional service people, began to develop skills which gave them a sense of adequacy and the capacity to cope. In the South in particular, successful business communities developed. Black youngsters were able to identify with people like themselves in positions of leadership and respect. Obviously the level of self-respect was limited by the implications of a segregated system, but nonetheless it was of tremendous value in

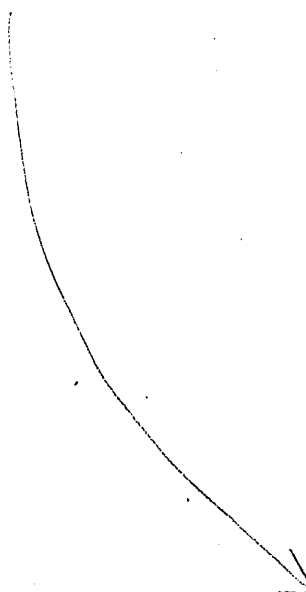
enhancing black self-esteem. More among the black masses were better able to earn enough money to take care of their families and as a result were able to develop a sense of personal adequacy. Involvement in two world wars and achievement in entertainment, athletics, and other areas, together with the myriad effects of migration to Northern cities, began to change the black American's image of himself. A positive sense of self began to replace the previous negative self concept.

Black adequacy and competence is now built on more than white approval. A significant number of black parents no longer teach their children to accept white authority, right or wrong. On the other hand, many whites, now economically more secure and better educated, no longer need or approve of the scapegoating of blacks. The white majority is increasingly transcending the limits of the old racial myths of America. In short, the tie that bound -- the old socialization pattern of black social, economic and psychological dependence on a dominating, often oppressive white community -- is now breaking decisively for the first time in American history.

With the destruction of the old socialization pattern and the breaking of the dependency bond have come expected responses, some constructive, some destructive. The painful social process is in some ways analogous to the difficult period of adolescence in the individual when the achievement of adult independence often seems to the youth to require a destructive rejection, not merely a quiet putting away, of childish things. Many militant blacks who are now seeking a positive cultural identity and a new pattern of black socialization also experience a "black rage" against whites who seem to block this development by their unwillingness to "get off the back" of the striving black man. In the case of the black radicals, this rage is expressed in aggressive violence against the newly-vulnerable symbols of white authority such as the police.

The breaking of the dependency bond, acceptance of blackness as a positive value, and a sense of outrage is an energizing, explosive set of psychological developments for the rising generation of militant blacks. The black American often experiences intense and ambivalent feelings as a result and is confronted with numerous questions and conflicts. Should he attempt to become a part of the mainstream of his society -- now changing but once so

abusive and rejecting -- or is he obliged to retaliate or reject it? Does manhood require retaliation, rejection or even violence? Can he trust what he sees as a white America which has never before demonstrated itself trustworthy with regard to recognizing and protecting the human rights of black Americans?



The new feeling among blacks sometimes results in a loss of self-control after "trigger incidents" (reflecting the old pattern of white superiority and black helplessness) with attendant burning of property and other acts of violence. With a temporary breakdown in personal control, some blacks loot and plunder the "symbolic enemy." This reaction is not one that is found only among a small "riff-raff" who are sometimes thought to be responsible for urban riots. Studies of participation in the 1967 riots have found that (1) a substantial minority, ranging from 10 to 20 percent, participated in the riots, (2) one-half to three-quarters of the arrestees were employed in semi-skilled or skilled occupations, three-fourths were employed, and three-tenths to six-tenths were born outside the South, and (3) individuals between the ages of 15 and 34 and especially those between the ages of 15 and 24 are most likely to participate in riots.

In the one-to-one black and white relationship where mutual respect exists and where interaction occurs on a personal rather than symbolic level, constructive interaction between the races is less difficult, perhaps

more so than ever before. It is in his abstract role as the symbolic enemy that the white man is anathema to some radical black militants. Disturbingly, this symbolic perception of whites has filtered down to youngsters, sometimes as young as three or four years of age. Just as young members of the Klan and other children of the "white ghetto" are taught that it is permissible to abuse blacks, some young blacks are now being taught that it is permissible to abuse whites, ^{in particular, white policemen (or}

The energy released by America's rejection of the old racial pattern and the development of a positive group concept among blacks is profound. If channeled, it can be a powerful force for black community development, pride and constructive change within the present social system. But if it is to be channeled and if new, healthy patterns of socialization among blacks are to replace the old pattern of white superiority and black subordination,

^{"pigs" (in radical argot).}

then it must be clear to blacks that support of the society's institutions and peaceful participation in them is in the interest of justice for the black masses.

Constructive attitudinal and economic changes have been made. In many places, members of the white majority have shown an unprecedented interest in facilitating black entrance into the mainstream of American life. The interaction is establishing new and more healthy ground rules for black and white relations. But often the complex factors related to emergence from a dependent, despised position to full participation in the society are often neither well understood nor subject to control in the short-run. Thus the black man's passage to full dignity and well-being in America has been, and will continue to be, marred by violence and destruction as well as by constructive action and positive social change.

Responses to
~~Prevention of~~ *Militancy*
~~Radical Black~~ *Militancy*

~~From our study of the nature and causes of radical black militancy we have reached four main conclusions~~
~~What are the principles which should~~
~~which we believe can guide the nation in dealing with the~~
~~this~~ *problem of radical black militancy? What are*
the policy implications of our analysis of the nature
and causes of this phenomenon?

First: because radical black militancy is a highly complex phenomenon, with many different causes, no unbalanced, one-dimensional solution is possible -- whether it be a program of intensified law enforcement or a program of expanded social reform.

Our analysis of radical black militancy has been an effort both to see this phenomenon in the perspective of the larger militant movement and to uncover the different kinds of factors which have operated to produce a commitment to illegal violence on the part of a small but significant element in the black community. We have seen that the radicals' destructive notions of "self-defense" or guerrilla warfare are often interwoven with constructive ideas in the areas of politics and culture. We have seen that in the rise of radical black militancy there has been a ^{strong political} ~~contemporary leadership~~ factor -- the new black radical leaders who have emerged following the failure of the society to respond ^{adequately} ~~fully~~ to the civil rights movement in the mid-1960's; there has been an ideological factor -- the spread of a revolutionary "anti-colonial" ^{propaganda} ~~perspective~~; there has been an economic factor -- the frustration bred by living conditions in the racial ghettos; there has been a psychological factor -- the violent emotions unleashed

as blacks break out of their dependent position. Moreover, underlying all these elements has been the historic institutional legacy of white supremacy and black subordination which has decisively shaped the Negro experience in America, including the recent emergence of a virulent radical black militancy.

In the face of complexities of this magnitude, it is impossible to believe that any one-dimensional package of solutions can effectively meet the problem of radical black violence. Improved law enforcement can undoubtedly deter and apprehend some radicals who engage in illegal violence -- but the policeman and the judge have little power to check the spread of an ideology, to improve economic conditions or to alleviate psychological pressures. Vigorous efforts to secure the political rights of Negroes and Accelerated social reforms in employment, education and housing can undoubtedly ~~improve living conditions and~~ open the doors of opportunity and constructive citizenship for increasing numbers of blacks who might otherwise be tempted to violence -- but incendiary leaders, violent ideologies and black ^{rage} ~~anger~~ can prove dismayingly unresponsive to well-meaning programs of social ^{and political} reform. Radical black militancy is not a one-sided problem -- and it does not admit of one-sided solutions.

Second: because radical black militancy is, like urban rioting, a phenomenon deeply rooted in the enduring legacy of white supremacy and Negro subordination, we must continue and intensify our national commitment to secure the full and equal ^{inclusion} ~~integration~~ of black citizens into all aspects of American life.

Our study of radical black militancy has convinced us that we must have unprecedented national action in support of the goal of black dignity and equality. In order for there to be a remission in the cancerous growth of black violence, Today's violent racial outbursts and race hatred are the outgrowth of fundamental attitudes, customs and institutions -- both white and black -- that have worked their way into our society for centuries. Today we reap what we have sown. We need action -- in the words of the Kerner Commission, "compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the will and resources of the most powerful and richest nation on this earth" -- to create quickly, as a nation, what we as a nation have destroyed through centuries of slavery and segregation: the necessary pre-conditions for equal black participation in American life.

The movement to secure the integration of black citizens into all aspects of American life must be continued and intensified. The demand of local black communities for ^{greater} ^{over} control ~~of~~ decisions that affect them and for

*obstacles must be removed which block
in particular opportunities for black
leaders to enter into the political process and to
seek to advance the interests of their constituencies.*

*fully elected -
no other than
self appointed*

Unless the political rights
of the "minority" are respected,
and ~~new means of expression~~
~~new means of expression~~ local
government structures are founded
which these rights can be exercised,

then "self-determination" is not inconsistent with the goal of
integration, so long as there is an open society which

does not exclude members of any social group from any
community. ~~Indeed~~, this demand is fundamentally consistent

with the historic commitment of the United States to demo-
cratic, local decision-making ~~as well as with the realities of the~~
process by which other minority groups have made their way into
change without violence, at least under conditions of
the mainstream of American life.
general economic health.

Third: because radical black militancy is ~~a powerful~~
among Negroes in the lower socio-economic brackets,
logical force ~~in the Negro community~~, the efforts which
must be made to control the violence of black radicals
must also involve attention to the effect of such efforts
on the legitimacy of the existing social order.

The radical black militant who attacks a policeman
or bombs a ~~school~~ college building is not simply a common criminal. He
is indeed a criminal, but he is different from the burglar,
the robber or the rapist. He is acting out of a profound
alienation from society. He believes that the existing
social and political order in America is not legitimate
and that black people in America are being held in "colonial
bondage" by "an organized imperialist force." Thus he
is able to interpret his act of violence not as a crime
but as a revolutionary (or "pre-revolutionary") act.

radical
black
militancy
will
continue to
attract
more and
more Negroes
as the
expense of
the goal
of peaceful
inclusion
of black
and white
in a single
orderly
society
functioning
according
to universally
accepted
political
processes.

political rights
of the "minority"
are respected
and new means
of expression
are founded
which these
rights can be
exercised

As an isolated occurrence, this distorted interpretation would not be significant -- but the interpretation is sustained by an articulated ideology that is today competing with traditional American values for the minds and hearts of the rising generation of black ghetto residents.

Whenever the police illegally harrass a radical black militant leader, whenever the courts fail to accord such a person equal justice under law, whenever political leaders advocate indiscriminate suppression of all expressions of discontent, then the anti-colonial ideology gains new adherents: new proof appears to have been given that the social order in the United States is inherently and unalterably oppressive of the black race. On the other hand, when leaders of undoubted goodwill and decency vacillate in the condemnation and control of unlawful black violence because of the grievances underlying it,

~~then such leaders~~ ~~they~~ seem to admit that the social order is so burdened with an ineradicable "guilt" as to be almost unworthy of preservation: this too feeds revolutionary violence. To deal effectively with the developing ideology of radical black militancy, we shall have to have able and effective leaders, skilled in the practice of statecraft, who will energetically strengthen, and not impair, the legitimacy

When responsible
authorities minimize the
seriousness of the violent
crime problem
among Negroes
as "not so
serious"
as "racism"

~~When responsible authorities will not even insist
that black extremists responsible live by the principles
of the First Amendment~~

of the institutions for whose preservation and improvement they are responsible.

Fourth: because radical black militancy is but one highly visible aspect of our total racial problem, uncommon courage and compassion will be required of the American people if the necessary steps toward solution are to be taken.

America's racial problem, of which radical black militancy is but one highly visible aspect, is grave and deep. It may be, however, that today we as a nation understand for the first time the full, terrible dimensions of this problem and what it has done to our ^{both black and white.} people, / Perhaps we realize that its solution will require far more of us than merely to recover old values or to improve on old techniques. Perhaps we now see that racial peace and justice will require us, white and black alike, in fact to transcend our whole history -- to create, often painfully, new institutions, new customs, new attitudes, in which the old ^{self-validating judgment} system of white supremacy and black ^{inferiority will be finally superseded.} subordination will no longer have any place.

Uncommon courage and compassion will be required from all our people if this challenge is to be met. We must all do what is right because it is right -- not

~~Perhaps the day will come when there are, proportionately, as many Negro bankers and stockholders as there are Negro farmers and laborers.~~

in the vain hope that it will quickly put an end to
 violence. A nation does not easily find its way out
 of a problem of this magnitude: we shall have to have
 the courage and the compassion to try and fail and try
 again, to see it through, to hold together, until we
 finally become, for the first time, one society, black
 and white, together and equal.

ADD -

[SOURCE NOTE]

The next demand
 is for the government
 to provide opportunities for
 Negroes, and we must move from
 a segregated society to a
 more integrated one. The
 effects of the
 73

in the vain hope that it will quickly put an end to violence. A nation does not easily find its way out of a problem of this magnitude: we shall have to have the courage and the compassion to try and fail and try again, to see it through, to hold together, until we finally become, for the first time, one society, black and white, together and equal.

SOURCE NOTE

This chapter is based principally on the following NCCRV staff studies and materials cited therein: Graham Gurr, "Perspectives on Violence," Report of Task Force No. 7, especially Ch. 4; also, Masotti, "The Cleveland Shoot-Out," Report of the Cleveland Study Team, and Orrick, "Campus Under Siege," Report of the San Francisco State Study Team. As noted in the text, principal reliance was also placed on the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, March 1, 1968, particularly Part II ("Why Did It Happen?"); also, "Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders," July 1968, and "One Year Later: An Assessment of the Nation's Response to the Crisis Described By the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders," March 1, 1969, prepared by Urban America Inc. and The Urban Coalition.

In addition to the above studies, the following works are recommended for interested readers: Meier & Rudwick, From Plantation To Ghetto: An Interpretive History of American Negroes (Hill and Wang, American Century Series paperback, 1968); etc. - to be completed

on Historical
and Comparative
Perspectives

Full
titles
of
chapters

also,

of materials contained

in other the reports of other Task Forces of this

Commission; it is not based

significantly on

original

research by the

Task

Force on

Law and

Law

Enforcement

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primary

sources

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NORC "The Extent and Characteristics of Racially
Integrated Housing in the U.S."
Journal of Business Jan. 1969 Rod Bl
Mil

This survey did not compare housing in different years. It was a survey of integrated neighborhoods in 1965, 1966 and gave no statistics on discrimination in housing. The only statements worth mentioning ^{were} ~~was~~, "We find that integrated neighborhoods are much more common than most Americans think they are. We estimate that 36,000,000 Americans in 11,000,000 households live in integrated neighborhoods. This is 19 % of the population or just about one in five. In housing, increasing acceptance has also been the trend; for example, in a May, 1963, Gallup Poll, 55 per cent of the population said they would not move if a Negro family moved next door; this percentage had increased to 65 per cent by May, 1965, Gallup Poll."

"Since this is the first time that national estimates have been made of the extent of integration, we do not know whether the percentage of families in integrated neighborhoods is now higher or lower than it has been."

"Although government policies have changed, and there are strong legal and moral pressures against builders who discriminate, we would still predict that large new developments built by a single builder will be less integrated than areas built by many builders, although there may be some token Negro families."

"Since discrimination in rental housing is illegal as well as immoral, one would hope that both government and private fair-housing groups would apply continuous pressure to landlords to desegregate their units. Although the task of first proving discrimination and then removing this discrimination is not an easy one, it does pay off."

"There are probably many more Negro renters than buyers who are willing and able to be pioneers into white segregated neighborhoods. The problem is with the landlords. IT is probably more productive, however, to work with these landlords than to find that rare Negro family that can afford an expensive home in the suburbs."

Negro voter registration in the South.

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Bl
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In 1960 the total number of Negroes registered to vote was 1,410,148. In 1966, the number increased dramatically to 2,469,837.

Percentage of eligible Negroes registered to vote.

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1966</u>
Alabama	15.2	48.9
Arkansas	37.6	54.0
Florida	34.7	62.1
Georgia	29.3	43.2 _k
Louisiana	30.4	42.3
Mississippi	5.2	27.8
North Carolina	31.3	49.0
South Carolina	15.7	45.0
Tennessee	41.1	71.7
Texas	34.9	58.5
Virginia	23.8	44.0

Franklin, John Hope and Isidore Starr. The Negro in Twentieth Century America. New York, Vintage Books, 1967.

File -
Roe Bl Mt
More statistics on voter registration in the South, & elected officials.

Negro voter registration in the South increased 30%, to 2.8 million, from 1964 to 1967.

Negro Voter Registration in the South, March 1964 and June 1967

(Numbers in thousands)

March 1964	2,164
June 1967	2,819

The number of Negroes elected to State office has risen sharply in the past few years.

Negro Legislators and Negroes Elected to Other Public Office, 1962, 1964, and 1966

	1962	1964	1966
Congress	4	5	7
House of Representatives	4	5	6
Senate	0	0	1
State legislatures;			
United States	52	94	148
South	6	16	37

Southern Regional Council, Potomac Institute, Democratic National Committee, Ebony Magazine. U.S. Depts. of Labor and Commerce, Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States, 1967.

There was no mention of discrimination in housing.

During the 20th century, there has never been one Negro
Senator or Congressman from the South. The 91st Congress
has 10 Negroes which is the largest number since Reconstruction.

Brooke, Mass.

Clay, Mo.

Chisholm, N.Y.

Conyers, Mich.

Dawson, Mich.

Diggs, Mich.

Hawkins, Calif.

Nix, Pa.

Powell, N.Y.

Stokes, Ohio

Page 8. Number of Negroes in political policy making decisions in the South and elsewhere.

According to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, in 1965 when the Voting Rights Act went into effect there were 72 elected black officials in the eleven Southern states. Since the elections in 1968, the number is now 388. This report only included those persons elected to public office while gains have also been made in the number of appointive offices held by blacks.

In the country now the total number of black elected officials is estimated by the Democratic and Republican National Committees at well over 800. However, the total number of elected officials in the nation is 520,000. With the black population just under twelve per cent, they are only holding .0153 percent of the elected offices.

**BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS
IN THE
SOUTHERN STATES**

Voter Education Project
Of the Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303



ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

Introduction

Prior to the inception of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project there was no record maintained of Negro citizens in the South who had been elected to public office, the chief reason being that such a phenomenon was virtually unknown until recent years. As the sixties began, only a handful of black persons had managed to gain political office in the South, and this primarily in the region's more enlightened metropolitan areas. In 1965, as the Voting Rights Act went into effect, the Voter Education Project listed some 72 black elected officials in the eleven Southern states covered by the Southern Regional Council. Now, with substantial gains in the 1968 elections, the count stands at 388. Their names, addresses and offices are the content of this special report.

With the first publication of this directory it must be recognized that systems for gathering the information contained herein are still being perfected by the Voter Education Project, the only agency in the region maintaining such records. Inevitably there will be some margin of error in terms of persons who have gone out of office and others who have been elected whom we have not heard about.

First assembled in preparation for the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials convened in Atlanta in December of 1968 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, this directory is now made available in the hope that

it will contribute to the ever-increasing political involvement of black persons in the South who, heretofore, have been denied full and free participation in the various levels of government in the region.

No effort has been made here to describe the various offices in the respective states to which black persons have been elected, most of which are self-evident in the ordinary terms of governmental nomenclature. However, it can be noted that the various states use widely differing titles for what we ordinarily call the county commission. In Louisiana it is called the police jury. In Virginia and Mississippi it is the board of supervisors, etc.

Note also might be taken of the fact that in Virginia all members of school boards are appointed. Thus, this directory shows no black persons serving as school board members in Virginia, which there, in fact, are. We include here only those persons who have run for and been elected to public office acknowledging at the same time that gains also have been made in the number of appointive offices held by blacks.

We will, of course, make every effort to keep this directory current. In the future, it might be updated and re-issued from time to time. Therefore, we will be most grateful to anyone who supplies us with corrections and additions.

January 8, 1969

John B. Morris

Conference Coordinator

Legislators

State Sena

State Hous

City Official

Mayor

City Council

Civil Serv

County Office

County Gov

County Adm.

Election Co

Law Enforcement

Judge, Dist

Sheriff

Coroner

Town Marsh

Magistrate

Constable

Justice of

School Board

School Boar

TOTAL

Chart prepared
In Tennessee o

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

	ALA.	ARK.	FLA.	GA.	LA.	MISS.	N. C.	S. C.	TENN.	TEXAS	VA.	TOTAL	
<u>Legislators</u>													
State Senate				2					2	1		5	30
State House			1	12	1	1	1		6	2	1	25	
<u>City Officials</u>													
Mayor	3	4			1	1		1				10	152
City Council	28	10	15	6	13	7	11	15	8	10	18	141	
Civil Service Board			1									1	
<u>County Officials</u>													
County Governing Board	2		1	5	11	4	1	4	5		2	35	54
County Administration	1			1		1					1	4	
Election Commission						15						15	
<u>Law Enforcement Officials</u>													
Judge, District Court							1					1	81
Sheriff	1											1	
Coroner	1					1						2	
Town Marshal					2							2	
Magistrate								4	4			8	
Constable	6		1		8	5			3			23	
Justice of the Peace	20	3			8	10			1		2	44	
<u>School Board Officials</u>													
School Board Members	5	33		3	9	6	4	2	1	8		71	71
<u>TOTALS</u>	67	50	19	29	53	51	18	26	30	21	24	388	388

Chart prepared as of information on hand January 10, 1969.
In Tennessee one man serves both as State Representative & City Councilman.

ALABAMA

William C. Allen
Justice of Peace
Drawer A
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Lucius Amerson
Sheriff
109 N. Elm St.
Tuskegee, Ala. 36083

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
305 Bruce St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

C. R. Atkinson
City Council
7 Draper St.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

David Barnes
City Council
Triana, Ala. 35601

Hillie Belcher
Justice of Peace
Box 1
Faunsdale, Ala. 36738

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Box 34
Coatopa, Ala. 35450

Frank H. Bentley, Jr.
City Council
Drawer 1099
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

John S. Billingsley
City Council
301-B Brighton Ave.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board
Box 245
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Albert C. Bulls, Jr.
City Council
211 Althea St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
1802 Patterson St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Jerry D. Coleman
City Council
228 63rd St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Robert Conley
City Council
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Joe L. DuBose
City Council
517 63rd St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Board of Revenue
Box 58
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Jesse Favor
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 145M
Tyler, Ala. 36785

Joe L. Fletcher
City Council
Triana, Ala. 35601

Clyde Foster
Mayor
Rt. 3, Box 128
Madison, Ala. 35758

Theodore Fox
City Council
157 South Spring St.
Jacksonville, Ala. 36265

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
214 Segar St.
Troy, Ala. 36081

T. M. Gilchrist
Justice of Peace
c/o Lowndes County Chri
Movement
Hayneville, Ala. 36040

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board
308 Bibb St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

William Griffin
City Council
Triana, Ala. 35601

James M. Harper
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 62
Thomasville, Ala. 36784

A. M. Hayden
City Council
Box 201
Uniontown, Ala. 36786

Isaiah Hayes, III
Justice of Peace
407 13th Ave., N. W.
Attalla, Ala. 35954

Mr. T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 7
Magnolia, Ala. 36754

Dr. J. H. M. Henderson
School Board
Box 247
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Elias Hendricks
Constable
1144 24th Ave. N.
Birmingham, Ala. 35204

Oscar Hildreth
Justice of Peace
c/o James Harper
Rt. 1, Box 62
Thomasville, Ala. 36784

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
214 Segar St.
Troy, Ala. 36081

T. M. Gilchrist
Justice of Peace
c/o Lowndes County Christian
Movement
Hayneville, Ala. 36040

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Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

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Triana, Ala. 35601

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Thomasville, Ala. 36784

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Uniontown, Ala. 36786

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Attalla, Ala. 35954

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Justice of Peace
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School Board
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Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

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Constable
1144 24th Ave. N.
Birmingham, Ala. 35204

Oscar Hildreth
Justice of Peace
c/o James Harper
Rt. 1, Box 62
Thomasville, Ala. 36784

James Johnson
Constable
609 Alder Ave.
Birmingham, Ala. 35214

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 228
Livingston, Ala. 35470

Earl Jerone King
Justice of Peace
Rt. 6, Box 38
Gadsden, Ala. 35901

Rev. Peter Kirksey
County School Board
Rt. 1, Box D-19
Boligee, Ala. 35443

McKinley Kolb
City Council
5321 Court G
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Afton M. Lee, Sr.
City Council
1718 S. 27th Ave.
Homewood, Ala. 35209

Samuel Little
School Board (Chairman)
Rt. 1, Box 14-C
Eppes, Ala. 35406

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
P. O. Box 1163
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
516 N. 9th St.
Gadsden, Ala. 35901

Ernest McLin, Sr.
City Council
121 61st St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

John L. Mason
City Council
612 Grays St.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Wilbur Miller
City Council
628 Country Club Drive
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
City Council
401 Brighton Ave.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 412-C
West Attalla, Ala. 35954

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
1200 5th Place
Birmingham, Ala. 35214

Virgie Lee Pearson
City Council
328 57th St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

William T. Peterson
City Council
Box 143 Rainbow Drive
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
317 Woodward Ave.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Richard Rowe
Constable
General Delivery
Witfield, Ala. 36923

Arthur Shores
City Council
P. O. Box 1668
Birmingham, Ala. 35201

Calvin Smith
City Council
Rt. 4, Box 521-B
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

James M. Snow
City Council
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Mrs. Willie Maud Snow
City Council
404 Lincoln St.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Moses Springer
City Council
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

J. R. Striplin
Mayor
712 Park Ave.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Rt. 1, Box 46
Panola, Ala. 35477

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 48
Panola, Ala. 35477

Frank J. Toland
City Council
Box 873
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

James R. Weatherly
Coroner
c/o Courthouse
Livingston, Ala. 35470

Harold Webb
Board of Revenue
102 Chambliss
Tuskegee, Ala. 36083

Rev. Herbert Wheeler
Constable
3633 Laurel Ave., S. W.
Birmingham, Ala. 35221

Mrs. Annie B. Williams
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 30
Panola, Ala. 35477

Jimmie Lee Williams
City Council
409 53rd St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Mrs. Bettie Wimbley
Justice of Peace
General Delivery
Witfield, Ala. 36923

Arthur Woods
Justice of Peace
Box 67
Faunsdale, Ala. 36738

Lee D. Young
City Council
616 McDaniel St.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Maud Snow
St.
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Ala. 35470

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Ala. 36083

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Ave., S. W.
Ala. 35221

B. Williams
Peace
30
a. 35477

Williams
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Ala. 35064

Mrs. Bettie Wimbley
Justice of Peace
General Delivery
Witfield, Ala. 36923

Arthur Woods
Justice of Peace
Box 67
Faunsdale, Ala. 36738

Lee D. Young
City Council
616 McDaniel St.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board
201 Arch St., Box 104
Eudora, Ark. 71640

Earl Austin
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

D. B. Bell
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

Mervin Bell
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

Alex Brown
School Board
General Delivery
Tucker, Ark. 72168

Charles Bussey
City Manager's Board
1860 Izard St., S.
Little Rock, Ark. 72206

R. C. Cravens
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

Sammie A. Criswell
School Board
Route 1, Box 79
Springfield, Ark. 72157

Cain Crockran
School Board
General Delivery
Solgochachia, Ark. 72156

Dennis Curry
Rte. 1, Box 139
Grady, Ark. 71644

Mrs. Syble Dockery
School Board
Rt. 1
Bucker, Ark. 71827

Press Dorris
Justice of Peace
721 Walnut St.
North Little Rock, Ark. 72114

Jethro Fair
School Board
Rt. 7, Box 68
Pine Bluff, Ark. 71601

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Town of Allport
Route 2, Box 36
Allport, Ark. 72046

A. L. Grant
Alderman
Route 1, Box 14
Dumas, Ark. 71639

DeArthur Grice
School Board
General Delivery
Moscow, Ark. 71659

J. C. Hamilton
School Board
Route 5, Box 320
Pine Bluff, Ark. 71601

J. D. Hammond
School Board
General Delivery
Menifee, Ark. 72107

R. E. Hemphill
School Board
General Delivery
Center Ridge, Ark. 72027

Mrs. Della Mae Hendricks
Justice of Peace
1311 W. 15th St.
Little Rock, Ark. 72202

John Holmes
School Board
Route 5, Box 322
Magnolia, Ark. 71753

Frank Hunter
School Board
Route 3, Box 98
Sheridan, Ark. 72150

Moses Johnson
Mayor
Town Hall
Reed, Ark. 71670

Oscar Johnson
School Director
Route 3, Box 57
Stephens, Ark. 71764

Rev. Lorenzo Jones
Aldermanic Board
1900 Cartwright Ave.
Earle, Ark. 72331

D. W. Jordan, Sr.
Aldermanic Board
126 Highway Avenue
West Helena, Ark. 72390

Frank Jordan
School Board
413 Elm Street
Helena, Ark. 72342

Charles Kelley
Mayor
Mitchelville
Rt. 1, Box 386-A
Dumas, Ark. 71639

Woodrow Keown
Justice of Peace
Rt. 2, Box 651
Little Rock, Ark. 72206

Shuley Lovett
School Board
General Delivery
Banks, Ark. 71631

Miss Minnie Macklin
School Board
General Delivery
Sherrill, Ark. 72152

Rev. G. R. Mazique
Aldermanic Board
Box 531
Helena, Ark. 72342

Abraham McCarrell
Alderman
Route 1, Box 385-B
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

Moses Johnson
Mayor
Town Hall
Reed, Ark. 71670

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School Director
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Aldermanic Board
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School Board
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School Board
1813 Collegiate Circle
Pine Bluff, Ark. 71602

Donald Mills
School Board
General Delivery
Ashdown, Ark. 71822

Ladell Morris
Aldermanic and School Boards
General Delivery
Menifee, Ark. 72107

Ivory Murphy
School Board
Route 2
Chidester, Ark. 71726

C. W. Olloway
School Board
Route 6, Box 102
Pine Bluff, Ark. 71601

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1306 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Ark. 72206

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Dumas, Arkansas 71639

James Sims
School Board
General Delivery
Wabbaseka, Ark. 72175

Frank Smith
Mayor
Town Hall
Menifee, Ark. 72107

John W. Smith
School Board
401 W. 21st St.
North Little Rock, Ark. 72214

T. L. Story
School Board
Route 5
Emerson, Ark. 71740

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Recording Treas. (Norall, Ark.)
1650 Cartwright St.
Earle, Ark. 72331

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Route 3, Box 169
Rosston, Ark. 71858

Ira J. Tidwell, School Board
Route 1, Box 22
Rosston, Ark. 71858

Andrew Walker
School Board
Route 2, Box 96
Altheimer, Arkansas 72004

Joe Walls
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

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Fort Smith, Ark. 72901

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1325 W. 28th St.
Riviera Beach, Fla. 33406

Earl J. Carroll
County Commission
c/o Room 252 County Court
Miami, Fla. 33130

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Fort Pierce, Fla. 33450

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Miami, Fla. 33142

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
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1160 Durkee St.
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Mrs. Athalie Range
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1132 Plummer Circle
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Boisy Waiters
City Commission
733 S. W. Third St.
Dania, Fla. 33004

Ozie F. Youngblood
City Commission
210 N. W. Sixth Avenue
Delray Beach, Fla. 33444

GEORGIA

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City Council
c/o City Hall
Augusta, Georgia 30902

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State House
859 Hunter St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Earl Baggs
City Commission
Rt. 1
Riceboro, Ga. 31323

Julian Bond
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162 Eurahlee St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

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250 Mathewson Place, S.W.
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Rt. 2
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J. C. Daugherty
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Atlanta, Ga. 30314

James E. Dean
State House
17 East Lake Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30317

B. L. Dent
City Council
1117 Gwinnett St.
Augusta, Ga. 30901

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245 Atlanta Ave., S. E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30315

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Atlanta, Ga. 30310

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Sparta, Ga. 31087

Robert Ingram
School Board
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Sparta, Ga. 31087

Leroy Johnson
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Mitchell, Ga. 30820

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Atlanta, Ga. 30314

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210 Ninth St.
Columbus, Ga. 31901

Horace T. Ward
State Senate
859½ Hunter St.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

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Board of Aldermen
855 Hunter St., N.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Asa G. Yancey
City School Board
2845 Engle Road, N.
Atlanta, Ga. 30318

. Ezzard
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a Ave., S. E.
Ga. 30315

Hamilton
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Ga. 30901

e T. Hamilton
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Ga. 30314

Hill
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road St.
Ga. 31401

D. Hill
cil

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Ga. 30310

n Jacqueline Ingram

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Constable
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Palmetto, La. 71358

Larry Balthazar
Ward Constable
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School Board
Welcome, La. 70993

Felton C. Ceasar
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 114
Welcome, La. 70993

Oliver Cooper
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Route 2, Box 120-B
Welcome, La. 70093

Eddie Davis
Police Jury
Weyanoke Post Office
Weyanoke, La. 70787

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Jeanerette, La. 70544

Joseph Delphin
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Baton Route, La. 70802

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Reed Green
Town Council
Maringouin, La. 70757

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Bayou Gaula, La. 70716

Levis T. Jackson
Marshall
Grambling, La. 7124

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Aldermanic Board
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Grambling, La. 7124

L. D. Land
Aldermanic Board
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Grambling, La. 7124

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Tallulah, La. 71282

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Anatole Monconduit
County Constable
Welcome, La. 70093

Henry A. Montgomery
Aldermanic Board
Box 259
Ferriday, La. 71334

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Box 120-B
La. 70093
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Post Office
La. 70787
Davis
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Box 43
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Box 38
La. 71456
Delpit
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Fusilier
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La. 70526
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132
La. 70090
Gordon
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Box 79
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letary Street
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olmes
ard
la, La. 70716

Levis T. Jackson
Marshall
Grambling, La. 71245

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Aldermanic Board
Grambling, La. 71245

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Police Jury
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County Constable
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Sondheimer, La. 71276

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Grambling, La. 71245

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P. O. Box 146
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Police Jury
River Road, P. O. Lucy
Lucy, La. 70069

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St. Francisville, La. 70775

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School Board
Weyanoke, La. 70787

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Grambling, La. 71245

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Howard T. Bailey
Election Commission
Rt. 3, Box 57
Lexington, Miss.

Miss Julia Banks
Election Commission
Rt. 1, Box 117
Fayette, Miss. 39

Osborne Bell
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195 W. Park Ave.
Holly Springs, Miss.

Ellis Braxton
Election Commission
Rt. 1, Box 139
Lorman, Miss. 390

Robert G. Clark
State House
Box 184
Lexington, Miss.

Rogers Clark
Election Commission
Royal St.
Port Gibson, Miss.

Alexander Collins
Justice of Peace
716 Coffee St.
Port Gibson, Miss.

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
716 Coffee St.
Port Gibson, Miss.

John Daugherty
School Board
Rt. 1, Box 14
Lamar, Miss. 38642

Mrs. Gladys Davis
Election Commission
Box 244
Woodville, Miss. 3

Rev. Dan Ferguson
Justice of Peace
General Delivery
Clarksdale, Miss.

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Chancery Clerk
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Canton, Miss. 39046

Mrs. Flonzie Belle Goodloe
Election Commission
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Shelby, Miss. 38774

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Box 553
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Mrs. Marie Green
County School Board
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Everett Jennings
Election Commission
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Mayor
Drawer 290
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Saints Junior College
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Constable
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Floyd Rollins
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Mayersville, Miss. 39113

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Guilford County District Court
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Reidsville, N. C. 27320

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Durham, N. C. 27707

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Sellers, S. C. 29592

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Mayesville, S. C. 291

Richard Johnson
City Council
General Delivery, Henry
Eastover, S. C. 29044

il H. Marcellus, Jr.
ncil
iams St.
le, N. C. 27320

McNeill, Jr.
chool Board
a St.
N. C. 27707

Reid
ncil
N. C. 27986

C. Ross, Sr.
f Aldermen
ce Street
-Salem, N. C. 27101

Russell
ncil
Ridge Ave.
-Salem, N. C. 27101

Spaulding
Commission
ncoln
N. C. 27701

Stewart
until
N. C. 27702

B. Turner
ncil
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on, N. C. 28358

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POPULATION

File -
Black
Military

Although there has been a 13% increase in employment of nonwhites in high-skill, high-status, and good-paying jobs, and the median family income has increased % in the past seven years (1960-1966), it must also be kept in mind that there has been a 14.4% increase in nonwhite population in the same period. Taking into account that the greatest increase in nonwhite population occurred in the 16 years and younger groups, the growth in population was across the board and this growth partially offsets the seemingly spectacular growth in jobs and income for the negro.

From 1940 to 1950 the growth in both white and nonwhite population was approximately the same, 15%. In the 1950's, however, there was spectacular increase: 19% white and 25.3% nonwhite. This rate has dropped off during the first seven years of the decade of the '60's to 8.2% white and 14.4% nonwhite. Even so, the negro race has maintained during the past 16 years a growth rate 1/3 again~~s~~ as great as the increase in the white population.

The population increase among Negroes since 1950 has been almost all in central cities of metropolitan areas -- 5.6 million of a total increase of 6.5 million. On the other hand, most of the whites' increase has been in the urban fringe or metropolitan suburbs -- 27.7 million in a total increase of 35.6 million.

The percentage of negro population living on the urban-suburban fringe has remained constant since 1950.

Negro population in absolute figures has remained fairly constant since 1950 in the smaller cities, towns and rural areas. 56% of all Negroes now live in metropolitan areas, concentrated in the central cities. Only about one-fourth of the white population is in central cities.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

The life expectancy of a nonwhite at age 25 in 1960 was 5.2 years less than that of a white of the same age. There has been no considerable change in the comparative life expectancy figures. In all age groups, the Negro can expect to live fewer years than his white counterpart.

The infant mortality rate is about 60% higher for nonwhites. The maternal mortality rate is about four times that of the white population, but the ratio is quickly narrowing.

HOUSING

The proportion of nonwhite households living in housing that either is dilapidated or lacks basic plumbing facilities decreased sharply since 1960 in all areas, especially large cities. Yet about 3 in 10 nonwhite households still live in such dwellings, compared to less than 1 in 10 of the whites. In the South, nearly half of all nonwhite households live in dwellings that either are dilapidated or lack basic plumbing facilities, compared to less than one-fifth in the North and West. In all regions housing is far worse in the smaller cities, towns, and rural areas than in the metropolitan centers, for both whites and nonwhites.

Dwellings occupied by nonwhite households not meeting specified criteria declined by one-fourth in the past six years, compared to one-third for whites. On the other hand, the percentage increase of housing meeting the specified criteria was greater for nonwhite households. This increase was almost all in the central cities, however.

EDUCATION

The nonwhite dropout rate among 16 and 17 year olds has fallen sharply. The school enrollment gap has narrowed for these ages and for kindergarteners, but has widened for persons in the late teens and early twenties. Proportionately more whites are going on to higher education. For example, 8 percent of the nonwhite population between the ages 20 to 24 were enrolled in school in 1960. 10% of the white population in the same group was enrolled. By 1966, 21% of all whites in the 20-24 age group ^{was} ~~was~~ enrolled in school, but the non-white school population had increased to only 14%. The gains in professional and skilled jobs in the past decade may level off if proportionately higher percentages of nonwhite students do not continue on to college and graduate school.

ECONOMICS

Except for the period during the Korean War, the years 1959-60, and the past two years, the median income of nonwhite families as a percent of white family income has tended to decline.

The proportion of nonwhite families with income of \$7,000 or more was almost 5 times greater in 1966 than in 1947 -- 28 percent compared to 6 percent adjusted for price changes. Outside of the South, 38 percent of nonwhite families had \$7,000 income or more in 1966.

Fifty-five percent of all Negro families had more than one earner in 1966 compared to one-half of the white families. Although family income rises with the number of earners, Negro families with multiple earners averaged less income than white families with one earner.

At each educational level, nonwhite men have less income than white men. The disparity is greatest at the college level.

EMPLOYMENT

In 1960, 6.9 million nonwhites were employed as opposed to 58.9 million whites. By 1967, there were 8 million nonwhites employed as opposed to 66.1 million whites. Nonetheless, the Negro makes up the same percentage of the total work force as he does of the population as a whole (11%).

The nonwhite unemployment rate in 1966 and 1967 has been the lowest since the Korean War, but the ratio of nonwhite to white unemployment has remained roughly the same: 2:1.

Of every 100 nonwhite married men in the labor force, 96 have a job. White married men have a slightly better ratio: 98 out of 100. Nonwhite teenagers have the highest unemployment rates in the labor force. The total unemployment rate among nonwhite teenagers was over 26 percent in 1967, more than double the white teenage rate. Total nonwhite unemployment rate is 7.3% and the total white unemployment rate is 3.4% ... again the rates for negroes are twice those for whites.

Despite 6 years of occupational advances, over two-fifths of the nonwhite men and three-fifths of all nonwhite women workers in 1966 remained in service, laboring, or farm jobs -- substantially more than twice the proportion among whites.

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME - Real 1968 \$

	Total	White	Nonwhite
1950	\$2293	\$2380	\$1291
1955	3404	3546	1963
1960	4783	4966	2751
1965	6310	6577	3623
1966	6938	7205	4318
1967	7647	7935	4930

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHITE AND NEGRO MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES
(Real 1968 \$)

1950	\$1089	54.2%
1955	1583	55.5%
1960	2215	55.4%
1965	2954	55.1%
1966	2887	60.0%
1967	3005	62.1%

Between 1950 and 1965, the total annual average increase in median family income in real 1968 dollars was \$274.40. For whites, it was \$279.80 and for Negroes it was \$155.50 per year.

From 1965 to 1967, the total annual average increase in median family income in real 1968 was \$668.50. For whites, it was \$679.00 and for Negroes it was \$653.50.

The spectacular inflationary pressures of the past three years must be taken into serious consideration when looking for long range trends. All families are experiencing considerable growth in income at this time. It is too early, however, to say whether this is a temporary condition or whether it will continue. If it continues, the chronic gap between white and black median family incomes will narrow

considerably. If not, the gap may remain constant or resume its previous trend to widen.

Although the economic lot of the negro has improved steadily over the past thirty years, white gains have been even greater ... resulting in an ever-widening gap between the realized incomes of the two races. Only in the past two years has the trend been reversed.

There was a sudden spurt in the 1940's and 1950's, which began to dwindle at almost the same time as the Civil Rights Movement began. Credit must be given to the Civil Rights Movement and the hopes it inspired for the delay in the effects of the J-curve. Nonetheless, in the last few years we have witnessed the growing chasm between expectations and promises on the one hand and reality on the other.

Starting from a pre-World War II level of practically nothing and continuing to the present level of income is an indictment of just how badly off the negro is and has been under the system, rather than praise for the system. The negro has not been catching up economically, but rather, he has just been carried along by the general wave of prosperity.

give - find another word for system

File-
Reel B1
Mil

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~~however too emotional & biased~~
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Silberman, Crisis in Black and White

Page 14. Incidents of confrontation between black militants and the police since last October.

In Oct. in San Francisco an off-duty policeman shot a Negro who had been charged with murder. Four Negroes were arrested from the crowd that gathered. That same month a bomb exploded under a car parked in front of the Highway Patrol office.

In November, in Wilmington, Del. 7 of 9 men charged with beating 2 FBI agents were members of the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council, a militant Negro youth group. In Chicago, a fire bomb was thrown through a police sergeant's window; there were two more bombings of police stations in Oakland. In Swann Quarter, N.C. police hurled smoke grenades into a building where Negro teenagers were protesting racial discrimination in school assignments.

In Berkeley a policeman and a Black Panther were both hit in a gun duel. On Nov. 22 in San Francisco a gunfight between police and Black Panthers was the 4th such incident since Oct.

In Dec. in Jersey City, Black Panthers Headquarters were blasted injuring 4 members. Two nights before this the police station was machine-gunned. Seven Panthers were being held inside at the time. In Dover, N.J. two Black Panthers were knifed in a fight and one was charged with assaulting a cop. In Jackson, Mich. two policemen were injured in a bomb explosion in city hall. In Omaha two Panthers were arrested for abusing a police officer. During this month in New York City bombs were planted in police cars and stations.

In 1969, most incidents involving militant Negroes and the police occurred during the demonstrations at the universities such as

the University of Wisconsin and Berkley.

In March in Olympia, Wash. armed Negro militants were turned away from the Capitol by the police.

-- After the conviction of Huey P. Newton for manslaughter in the fatal shooting of a white policeman, Oakland police last September reportedly fired into the Black Panther office with rifles and shotguns.

-- In July, Cleveland police were attacked by armed black militants, and the resulting disorder saw three police killed.

-- There were several attacks on police in Brooklyn in the late summer. In August, two policemen were wounded by shotgun fire. In early September, two policemen were hit by sniper fire as they waited for a traffic light. In mid-September, a police

communications truck was firebombed, slightly injuring two policemen. In the same month a group of 150 whites, allegedly including a number of off-duty policemen, attacked a group of Panthers and their white supporters in the Brooklyn Criminal Court building.

-- In Harlem, two policemen were shot and wounded, reportedly by two black men, as they sat in a parked patrol car.

-- Two September attacks on police took place in Illinois: in Kankakee, a policeman was wounded in what police termed an "ambush" in the black community; in Summitt, black youths reportedly fired shotguns at two police cars, injuring two policemen.

-- In the same month, eighteen black militants were arrested in St. Louis following a series of attacks on police, including shots fired at a police station and at the home of a police lieutenant.

-- During October, the San Francisco Bay Area was the scene of the bombing of a sheriff's sub-station and sniper fire against firemen in the black community.

Do! — Could you get this out of McCone Rept. — Black Military
John McCone
(former AEC etc) chaired a
governor's Committee to evaluate
Watts

He produced figures
on Los Angeles children
— comparable to those cited on
Pg 52 — which, as I recall,
is sharper.

Maybe you could check —

Don

Jim

Warren Christopher
can give you any
needed details. He was

the Vice-Chairman

W

Page 21.

Physical cruelty to slaves.

Profit-sharing overseers too often were interested only in getting many hours of work and as large a crop out of the slaves as they could. To this end they used the whip and occasionally various forms of torture. Even minor ⁿifractions might be punished by nailing a slave to the side of the barn by his ear, or by stringing him up by his wrists and flogging him. Severe discipline was generally thought necessary to keep the slaves in check and prevent rebellion. A master's control over his slaves was unquestioned, even to the meting out of torture or ~~death~~ death.

*Wesley, Charles H. & Patricia W. Romero. Negro Americans
in the Civil War. N.Y.: Publishers Co., 1968.*

Page 21.

When slavery was abolished in other countries.

The first European country to abolish slavery in the New World was France in 1794. The French proclamation provided for the ~~the~~ theoretical, if not actual, emancipation of all slaves in the French West Indies. The distinction of having been the first nation in the Western Hemisphere to do away with slavery belongs to Haiti (1804). Slavery was abolished in England in 1774, and the British slave trade halted in 1807. It was not until 1833, however, that Parliament passed an act eliminating slavery, after payment of compensation to slaveholders, in all British overseas possessions - including Canada, the mainland colonies in Central and South America, and the Caribbean. On the Spanish and Portuguese mainland, the abolition of slavery was linked with the independence struggles of various subject territories. Slaves were freed in the United Provinces of Central America (1824), in Mexico (1829), in Latin America by 1855, in Cuba (1886), and in Brazil in 1888.

Plaski, Harry A. & Roscoe C. Brown, Jr. The Negro Almanac. N.Y. Bellwether Pub. Co., Inc. 1967.

Page 24.

Negroes owning slaves.

Some free Negroes of means purchased slaves and premitted them to work their way out of bondage within a specific time. As early as 1651 there were free Negroes in Virginia who owned their own farms, and some even had white indentured servants.

In 1619 a cargo of ~~XXXX~~ Africans was purchased to help relieve Jamestown's labor shortage. They were freed following an agreed-upon number of years of labor. They were indentured servants rather than slaves. When freed some members of the group became landowners and slave holders. The first runaway slave case in Virginia involved a Negro master.

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Page 25.

The Supreme Court and Segregation.

After Reconstruction, the Supreme Court lent support to the restoration of white supremacy in the South. In a series of decisions, the Court greatly reduced the significance of the 14th and 15th Amendments as guarantees of Negro rights. In 1876, the Court decided that the 14th Amend. did not place ordinary private ~~XXXX~~ rights under federal protection except as against state interference. In the United States v. Cruikshank, it was decided that the 14th Amend. adds nothing to the rights of one citizen against another.

In 1883, in the Civil Rights Cases, the Court applied this doctrine in declaring void the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This law guaranteed to Negroes equal accommodations with whites in all inns, public conveyances, theaters, and other places of public amusement, and made it a misdemeanor for any person to deny these rights. It was pointed out that the 14th Amend. applied to the states and not private individuals. "Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject-matter of the amendment."

Equally important in the maintenance of a caste society in the South was the Court's acceptance in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) of the separate but equal rule. k

The Court also accepted as constitutional the literacy test, and the poll tax which were devices designed by

~~the~~

the South to prevent Negroes from voting.. In United States v. Reese (1876) the Court pointed out the fact that the 15th Amend. did not confer the right to vote on anyone. It merely prohibited the states or the United States from excluding a person from the franchise because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Kelly, Alfred H. & Winfred A. Harbison. The American Constitution. N.Y. W. W. Norton & Co. 1963.

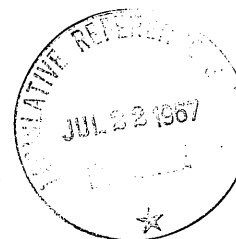
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LEADING DECISIONS OF
THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Plessy v. Ferguson

163 U.S. 537 (1896)



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PLESSY v. FERGUSON

ERROR TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

No. 210. Argued April 10, 1896. — Decided May 18, 1896.

538 This was a petition for writs of prohibition and certiorari, originally filed in the Supreme Court of the State by Plessy, the plaintiff in error, against the Hon. John H. Ferguson, judge of the criminal District Court for the parish of Orleans, and setting forth in substance the following facts:

That petitioner was a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State of Louisiana, of mixed descent, in the proportion of seven eighths Caucasian and one eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every recognition, right, privilege and immunity secured to the citizens of the United States of the white race by its Constitution and laws; that on June 7, 1892, he engaged and paid for a first class passage on the East Louisiana Railway from New Orleans to Covington, in the same State, and thereupon entered a passenger train, and took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated; that such railroad company was incorporated by the laws of Louisiana as a common carrier, and was not authorized to distinguish between citizens according to their race. But, notwithstanding this, petitioner was required by the conductor, under penalty of ejection from said train and imprisonment, to vacate said coach and occupy another seat in a coach assigned by said company for persons not of the white race, and for no other reason than that petitioner was of the colored race; that upon petitioner's refusal to comply with such order, he was, with the aid of a police officer, forcibly ejected from said coach and hurried off to and imprisoned in the parish jail of New Orleans, and there held to answer a charge made by such officer to the effect that he was guilty of having criminally violated an act of the General Assembly of the State, approved July 10, 1890, in such case made and provided.

539 That petitioner was subsequently brought before the recorder of the city for preliminary examination and committed for trial to the criminal District Court for the parish of Orleans, where an information was filed against him in the matter above set forth, for a violation of the above act, which act the petitioner affirmed to be null and void, because in conflict with the Constitution of the United States; that petitioner interposed a plea to such information, based upon the unconstitutionality of the act of the General Assembly, to which the district attorney, on behalf of the State, filed a demurrer; that, upon issue being joined upon such demurrer and plea, the court sustained the demurrer, overruled the plea, and ordered petitioner to plead over to the facts set forth in the information, and that, unless the judge of the said court be enjoined by a writ of prohibition from further proceeding in such case, the court will proceed to fine and sentence petitioner to imprisonment, and thus deprive him of his constitutional rights set forth in his said plea, notwithstanding the unconstitutionality of the act under which he was being prosecuted; that no appeal lay from such sentence, and peti-

tioner was without relief or remedy except by writs of prohibition and certiorari. Copies of the information and other proceedings in the criminal District Court were annexed to the petition as an exhibit.

Upon the filing of this petition, an order was issued upon the respondent to show cause why a writ of prohibition should not issue and be made perpetual, and a further order that the record of the proceedings had in the criminal cause be certified and transmitted to the Supreme Court.

To this order the respondent made answer, transmitting a certified copy of the proceedings, asserting the constitutionality of the law, and averring that, instead of pleading or admitting that he belonged to the colored race, the said Plessy declined and refused, either by pleading or otherwise, to admit that he was in any sense or in any proportion a colored man. 540

The case coming on for a hearing before the Supreme Court, that court was of opinion that the law under which the prosecution was had was constitutional, and denied the relief prayed for by the petitioner. *Ex parte Plessy*, 45 La. Ann. 80. Whereupon petitioner prayed for a writ of error from this court which was allowed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

Mr. A. W. Tourgee and *Mr. S. F. Phillips* for plaintiff in error. *Mr. F. D. McKenney* was on *Mr. Phillips's* brief.

Mr. James C. Walker filed a brief for plaintiff in error.

Mr. Alexander Porter Morse for defendant in error. *Mr. M. J. Cunningham*, Attorney General of the State of Louisiana, and *Mr. Lionel Adams* were on his brief.

MR. JUSTICE BROWN, after stating the case, delivered the opinion of the court.

This case turns upon the constitutionality of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, passed in 1890, providing for separate railway carriages for the white and colored races. Acts 1890, No. 111, p. 152.

The first section of the statute enacts "that all railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in this State, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white, and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations: *Provided*, That this section shall not be construed to apply to street railroads. No person or persons, shall be admitted to occupy seats in coaches, other than, the ones, assigned, to them on account of the race they belong to."

By the second section it was enacted "that the officers of such passenger trains shall have power and are hereby required to assign each passenger to the coach or compartment used for the race to which such passenger belongs; any passenger insisting on going into a coach or compartment to which: by 541

* Page numbers of the United States Reports appear in the margins for reference, at the point where the page begins.

The third section provides penalties for the refusal or neglect of the officers, directors, conductors and employes of railway companies to comply with the act, with a proviso that "nothing in this act shall be construed as applying to nurses attending children of the other race." The fourth section is immaterial.

The information filed in the criminal District Court charged in substance that Plessy, being a passenger between two stations within the State of Louisiana, was assigned by officers of the company to the coach used for the race to which he belonged, but he insisted upon going into a coach used by the race to which he did not belong. Neither in the information nor plea was his particular race or color averred.

The petition for the writ of prohibition averred that petitioner was seven eighths Caucasian and one eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every right, privilege and immunity secured to citizens of the United States of the white race; and that, upon such theory, he took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated, and was ordered by the conductor to vacate said coach and take a seat in another assigned to persons of the colored race, and having refused to comply with such demand he was forcibly ejected with the aid of a police officer, and imprisoned in the parish jail to answer a charge of having violated the above act.

The constitutionality of this act is attacked upon the ground that it conflicts both with the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits certain restrictive legislation on the part of the States.

1. That it does not conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument. Slavery implies involuntary servitude—a state of bondage; the ownership of mankind as a chattel, or at least the control of the labor and services of one man for the benefit of another, and the absence of a legal right to the disposal of his own person, property and services. This amendment was said in the *Slaughter-house cases*, 16 Wall. 36, to have been intended primarily to abolish slavery, as it had been previously known in this country, and that it equally forbade Mexican peonage or the Chinese coolie trade, when they amounted to slavery or involuntary servitude, and that the use of the word “servitude” was intended to prohibit the use of all forms of involuntary slavery, of whatever class or name. It was intimated, however, in that case that this amendment was regarded by

the statesmen of that day as insufficient to protect the colored race from certain laws which had been enacted in the Southern States, imposing upon the colored race onerous disabilities and burdens, and curtailing their rights in the pursuit of life, liberty and property to such an extent that their freedom was of little value; and that the Fourteenth Amendment was devised to meet this exigency.

So, too, in the *Civil Rights cases*, 109 U. S. 3, 24, it was said that the act of a mere individual, the owner of an inn, a public conveyance or place of amusement, refusing accommodations to colored people, cannot be justly regarded as imposing any badge of slavery or servitude upon the applicant, but only as involving an ordinary civil injury, properly cognizable by the laws of the State, and presumably subject to redress by those laws until the contrary appears. "It would be running the slavery argument into the ground," said Mr. Justice Bradley, "to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make as to the guests he will entertain, or as to the people he will take into his coach or cab or car, or admit to his concert or theatre, or deal with in other matters of intercourse or business."

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or reestablish a state of involuntary servitude. Indeed, we do not understand that the Thirteenth Amendment is strenuously relied upon by the plaintiff in error in this connection.

2. By the Fourteenth Amendment, all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are made citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside; and the States are forbidden from making or enforcing any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, or shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within their jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The proper construction of this amendment was first called to the attention of this court in the *Slaughter-house cases*, 16 Wall. 36, which involved, however, not a question of race, but one of exclusive privileges. The case did not call for any expression of opinion as to the exact rights it was intended to secure to the colored race, but it was said generally that its main purpose was to establish the citizenship of the negro; to give definitions of citizenship of the United States and of the States, and to protect from the hostile legislation of the States the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as distinguished from those of citizens of the States.

The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power.

The most common instance of this establishment of separate schools for which has been held to be a valid power even by courts of States where the colored race have been long enforced.

One of the earliest of these cases *of Boston*, 5 Cush. 198, in which the Supreme Court of Massachusetts held that the government of Boston had power to make provision for the education of colored children in separate schools, and to prohibit their attendance in the common schools. "The great principle," said Chief Justice Shaw, "is, that the laws of Massachusetts, all persons are equal before the law, by sex, birth or color, origin or condition." . . . But, when this great principle is applied to the actual and various conditions of life, it will not warrant the assertion, that all persons are legally clothed with the same civil rights, and that children and adults are legally clothed with the same civil rights and are subject to the same taxations of all, as they are settled and transient, and are equally entitled to the paternal care and protection of the law for their maintenance and education, and that the powers of the committee

ment of separate schools for children of different colors, and that they might allow for poor and neglected children, who attend the primary school, and yet have no means of learning, to enable them to attend the common schools. Similar laws have been sustained by its general power of legislation over the States. Rev. Stat. D. C. §§ 281, 282, 283, which give to the legislatures of many of the States power to establish separate schools if not uniformly, sustained by the Supreme Court. 21 Ohio St. 198; *Lelew v. Brumfield*, 6 Wall. 70; *Ward v. Flood*, 48 California, 36; *People v. Wood*, 10 Cal. 36; *rectors, &c. v. Woods*, 177; *People v. Cory*, 48 Indiana, 327; *Dunham v. Board of Education*, 49.

Laws forbidding the intermarriage of races are said in a technical sense to interfere with the contract, and yet have been universal exercises of the police power of the State. *State*

The distinction between laws in equality of the negro and those requiring two races in schools, theatres and frequently drawn by this court. *The Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, it was held that limiting to white male persons, 21 the State, the right to sit upon juries which implied a legal inferiority denied the security of the right of step toward reducing them to a condition the right of a colored man that, it pass upon his life, liberty and protection of his race, and no discrimination of color, has been asserted in a number of cases. *Rives*, 100 U. S. 313; *Neal v.*

day as insufficient to protect the colored persons which had been enacted in the Southern States in the colored race onerous disabilities and denying their rights in the pursuit of life, liberty and property to such an extent that their freedom and that the Fourteenth Amendment was violated.

Civil Rights cases, 109 U. S. 3, 24, it was held that where an individual, the owner of an inn, a place of amusement, refusing accommodation to a colored person, cannot be justly regarded as imposing servitude upon the applicant, but as a mere ordinary civil injury, properly cognizable by the State, and presumably subject to redress by the contrary appears. "It would be runment into the ground," said Mr. Justice, "to apply to every act of discrimination the principle that it is fit to make as to the guests he will take into his coach or cab, or to concert or theatre, or deal with in other or business."

applies merely a legal distinction between the races—a distinction which is founded on the color of the skin, and which must always exist so long as man is distinguished from the other race by color. The law is not to destroy the legal equality of the races, but to maintain it, forbidding involuntary servitude. In stand that the Thirteenth Amendment was violated by the plaintiff in error in this con-

stitutional Amendment, all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside; and the States are forbidden from any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the United States, or shall deny to any person within their jurisdiction the life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Violation of this amendment was first called in question in the *Slaughter-house cases*, 16 Wall. 37, 81, 109, 132, 174, 182, 191, 199, 211, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

One of the earliest of these cases is that of *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 5 Cush. 198, in which the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held that the general school committee of Boston had power to make provision for the instruction of colored children in separate schools established exclusively for them, and to prohibit their attendance upon the other schools. "The great principle," said Chief Justice Shaw, p. 206, "advanced by the learned and eloquent advocate for the plaintiff" (Mr. Charles Sumner), "is, that by the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, all persons without distinction of age or sex, birth or color, origin or condition, are equal before the law. . . . But, when this great principle comes to be applied to the actual and various conditions of persons in society, it will not warrant the assertion, that men and women are legally clothed with the same civil and political powers, and that children and adults are legally to have the same functions and be subject to the same treatment; but only that the rights of all, as they are settled and regulated by law, are equally entitled to the paternal consideration and protection of the law for their maintenance and security." It was held that the powers of the committee extended to the establishment of separate schools for children of different ages, sexes and colors, and that they might also establish special schools for poor and neglected children, who have become too old to attend the primary school, and yet have not acquired the rudiments of learning, to enable them to enter the ordinary schools. Similar laws have been enacted by Congress under its general power of legislation over the District of Columbia, Rev. Stat. D. C. §§ 281, 282, 283, 310, 319, as well as by the legislatures of many of the States, and have been generally, if not uniformly, sustained by the courts. *State v. McCann*, 21 Ohio St. 198; *Lehee v. Brummell*, 15 S. W. Rep. 765; *Ward v. Flood*, 48 California, 36; *Bertonneau v. School Directors*, 3 Woods, 177; *People v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438; *Cory v. Carter*, 48 Indiana, 327; *Dawson v. Lee*, 83 Kentucky, 49.

Laws forbidding the intermarriage of the two races may be said in a technical sense to interfere with the freedom of contract, and yet have been universally recognized as within the police power of the State. *State v. Gibson*, 36 Indiana, 389. The distinction between laws interfering with the political equality of the negro and those requiring the separation of the two races in schools, theatres and railway carriages has been frequently drawn by this court. Thus in *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, it was held that a law of West Virginia limiting to white male persons, 21 years of age and citizens of the State, the right to sit upon juries, was a discrimination which implied a legal inferiority in civil society, which lessened the security of the right of the colored race, and was a step toward reducing them to a condition of servility. Indeed, the right of a colored man that, in the selection of jurors to pass upon his life, liberty and property, there shall be no exclusion of his race, and no discrimination against them because of color, has been asserted in a number of cases. *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313; *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U. S. 370;

Bush v. Kentucky, 107 U. S. 110; *Gibson v. Mississippi*, 162 U. S. 565. So, where the laws of a particular locality or the charter of a particular railway corporation has provided that no person shall be excluded from the cars on account of color, we have held that this meant that persons of color should travel in the same car as white ones, and that the enactment was not satisfied by the company's providing cars assigned exclusively to people of color, though they were as good as those which they assigned exclusively to white persons. *Railroad Company v. Brown*, 17 Wall. 445.

Upon the other hand, where a statute of Louisiana required those engaged in the transportation of passengers among the States to give to all persons travelling within that State, upon vessels employed in that business, equal rights and privileges in all parts of the vessel, without distinction on account of race or color, and subjected to an action for damages the owner of such a vessel, who excluded colored passengers on account of their color from the cabin set aside by him for the use of whites, it was held to be so far as it applied to interstate commerce, unconstitutional and void. *Hall v. De Cuir*, 95 U. S. 485. The court in this case, however, expressly disclaimed that it had anything whatever to do with the statute as a regulation of internal commerce, or affecting anything else than commerce among the States.

In the *Civil Rights case*, 109 U. S. 3, it was held that an act of Congress, entitling all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances, on land or water, theatres and other places of public amusement, and made applicable to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude, was unconstitutional and void, upon the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory upon the States only, and the legislation authorized to be adopted by Congress for enforcing it was not direct legislation on matters respecting which the States were prohibited from making or enforcing certain laws, or doing certain acts, but was corrective legislation, such as might be necessary or proper for counteracting and redressing the effect of such laws or acts. In delivering the opinion of the court Mr. Justice Bradley observed that the Fourteenth Amendment "does not invest Congress with power to legislate upon subjects that are within the domain of state legislation; but to provide modes of relief against state legislation, or state action, of the kind referred to. It does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights; but to provide modes of redress against the operation of state laws, and the action of state officers, executive or judicial, when these are subversive of the fundamental rights specified in the amendment. Positive rights and privileges are undoubtedly secured by the Fourteenth Amendment; but they are secured by way of prohibition against state laws and state proceedings affecting those rights and privileges, and by power given to Congress to legislate for the purpose of carrying such prohibition into effect; and such legislation must necessarily be predicated upon such supposed state laws or state proceedings, and be directed to the correction of their operation and effect."

Much nearer, and, indeed, almost directly in point, is the case of the *Louisville, New Orleans &c. Railway v. Mississippi*, 133 U. S. 587, wherein the railway company was indicted for a violation of a statute of Mississippi, enacting that

all railroads carrying passengers should provide equal, but separate, accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger cars by a partition, so as to secure separate accommodations. The case was presented in a different aspect from the one under consideration, inasmuch as it was an indictment against the railway company for failing to provide the separate accommodations, but the question considered was the constitutionality of the law. In that case, the Supreme Court of Mississippi, 66 Mississippi, 662, had held that the statute applied solely to commerce within the State, and, that being the construction of the state statute by its highest court, was accepted as conclusive. "If it be a matter," said the court, p. 591, "respecting commerce wholly within a State, and not interfering with commerce between the States, then, obviously, there is no violation of the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. . . . No question arises under this section, as to the power of the State to separate in different compartments interstate passengers, or affect, in any manner, the privileges and rights of such passengers. All that we can consider is, whether the State has the power to require that railroad trains within her limits shall have separate accommodations for the two races; that affecting only commerce within the State is no invasion of the power given to Congress by the commerce clause."

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A like course of reasoning applies to the case under consideration, since the Supreme Court of Louisiana in the case of the *State ex rel. Abbott v. Hicks, Judge, et al.*, 44 La. Ann. 770, held that the statute in question did not apply to interstate passengers, but was confined in its application to passengers travelling exclusively within the borders of the State. The case was decided largely upon the authority of *Railway Co. v. State*, 66 Mississippi, 662, and affirmed by this court in 133 U. S. 587. In the present case no question of interference with interstate commerce can possibly arise, since the East Louisiana Railway appears to have been purely a local line, with both its termini within the State of Louisiana. Similar statutes for the separation of the two races upon public conveyances were held to be constitutional in *West Chester &c. Railroad v. Miles*, 55 Penn. St. 209; *Day v. Owen*, 5 Michigan, 520; *Chicago &c. Railway v. Williams*, 55 Illinois, 185; *Chesapeake &c. Railroad v. Wells*, 85 Tennessee, 613; *Memphis &c. Railroad v. Benson*, 85 Tennessee, 627; *The Sue*, 22 Fed. Rep. 843; *Logwood v. Memphis &c. Railroad*, 23 Fed. Rep. 318; *McGuinn v. Forbes*, 37 Fed. Rep. 639; *People v. King*, 18 N. E. Rep. 245; *Houck v. South Pac. Railway*, 38 Fed. Rep. 226; *Heard v. Georgia Railroad Co.*, 3 Int. Com. Com'n, 111; *S. C.*, 1 Ibid. 428.

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While we think the enforced separation of the races, as applied to the internal commerce of the State, neither abridges the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprives him of his property without due process of law, nor denies him the equal protection of the laws, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, we are not prepared to say that the conductor, in assigning passengers to the coaches according to their race, does not act at his peril, or that the provision of the second section of the act, that denies to the passenger compensation in damages for a refusal to receive him into the coach in which he properly belongs, is a valid exercise of the legislative power. Indeed, we understand it to be conceded by the State's attorney, that such part of the act as exempts from

liability the railway company and its officers is unconstitutional. The power to assign to a particular coach obviously implies the power to determine to which race the passenger belongs, as well as the power to determine who, under the laws of the particular State, is to be deemed a white, and who a colored person. This question, though indicated in the brief of the plaintiff in error, does not properly arise upon the record in this case, since the only issue made is as to the unconstitutionality of the act, so far as it requires the railway to provide separate accommodations, and the conductor to assign passengers according to their race.

It is claimed by the plaintiff in error that, in any mixed community, the reputation of belonging to the dominant race, in this instance the white race, is *property*, in the same sense that a right of action, or of inheritance, is property. Conceding this to be so, for the purposes of this case, we are unable to see how this statute deprives him of, or in any way affects his right to, such property. If he be a white man and assigned to a colored coach, he may have his action for damages against the company for being deprived of his so called property. Upon the other hand, if he be a colored man and be so assigned, he has been deprived of no property, since he is not lawfully entitled to the reputation of being a white man.

In this connection, it is also suggested by the learned counsel for the plaintiff in error that the same argument that will justify the state legislature in requiring railways to provide separate accommodations for the two races will also authorize them to require separate cars to be provided for people whose hair is of a certain color, or who are aliens, or who belong to certain nationalities, or to enact laws requiring colored people to walk upon one side of the street, and white people upon the other, or requiring white men's houses to be painted white, and colored men's black, or their vehicles or business signs to be of different colors, upon the theory that one side of the street is as good as the other, or that a house or vehicle of one color is as good as one of another color. The reply to all this is that every exercise of the police power must be reasonable, and extend only to such laws as are enacted in good faith for the promotion for the public good, and not for the annoyance or oppression of a particular class. Thus in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S. 356, it was held by this court that a municipal ordinance of the city of San Francisco, to regulate the carrying on of public laundries within the limits of the municipality, violated the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, if it conferred upon the municipal authorities arbitrary power, at their own will, and without regard to discretion, in the legal sense of the term, to give or withhold consent as to persons or places, without regard to the competency of the persons applying, or the propriety of the places selected for the carrying on of the business. It was held to be a covert attempt on the part of the municipality to make an arbitrary and unjust discrimination against the Chinese race. While this was the case of a municipal ordinance, a like principle has been held to apply to acts of a state legislature passed in the exercise of the police power. *Railroad Company v. Husen*, 95 U. S. 465; *Louisville & Nashville Railroad v. Kentucky*, 161 U. S. 677, and cases cited on p. 700; *Daggett v. Hudson*, 43 Ohio St. 548; *Cape v. Foster*, 12 Pick. 485; *State ex rel. Wood v. Baker*, 38 Wisconsin, 71; *Monroe v. Collins*, 17 Ohio St. 665; *Hulseman v. Rema*, 41 Penn. St. 396; *Orman v. Riley*, 15 California, 48.

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So far, then, as a conflict with is concerned, the case reduces the statute of Louisiana is a respect to this there must needs the part of the legislature. If reasonableness it is at liberty to established usages, customs and with a view to the promotion of the public peace and standard, we cannot say that requires the separation of the ty is unreasonable, or more obnoxious than the acts of Congress colored children in the District ality of which does not seem to corresponding acts of state legis

We consider the underlying ment to consist in the assumption of the two races stamps the inferiority. If this be so, it is not in the act, but solely because that construction upon it. That if, as has been more than likely to be so again, the colored dominant power in the state law in precisely similar terms, white race to an inferior position race, at least, would not acquire argument also assumes that social by legislation, and that equal negro except by an enforced We cannot accept this proposition meet upon terms of social equality natural affinities, a mutual approval and a voluntary consent of ind Court of Appeals of New York N. Y. 438, 448, "this end cannot be promoted by laws which conflict of the community upon whom When the government, therefore, citizens equal rights before the improvement and progress, it which it was organized and respecting social advantages Legislation is powerless to abolish distinctions based upon attempt to do so can only result of the present situation. If both races be equal one cannot or politically. If one race be the Constitution of the United the same plane.

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It is true that the question blood necessary to constitute a from a white person, is one upon of opinion in the different State admixture of black blood to the colored race, (*State v. Ch* others that it depends upon the v. State, 4 Ohio, 354; *Monroe* and still others that the predom

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any company and its officers is unconstitutional to assign to a particular coach obviously to determine to which race the passenger is the power to determine who, under the law of the State, is to be deemed a white, and who is to be deemed a colored. This question, though indicated in the brief, does not properly arise upon the error, since the only issue made is as to the validity of the act, so far as it requires the railway company to provide accommodations, and the conductor to assign passengers according to their race.

The plaintiff in error that, in any mixed community, the right of belonging to the dominant race, in this case, the white race, is property, in the same sense that the right of inheritance is property. Conceding that the purposes of this case, we are unable to see how it deprives him of, or in any way affects his property. If he be a white man and assigned to a coach, he may have his action for damages against the railway company for being deprived of his so called property. And, if he be a colored man and be so assigned to a coach, he is not deprived of no property, since he is not the reputation of being a white man.

It is also suggested by the learned counsel in error that the same argument that will be found in requiring railways to provide accommodations for the two races will also authorize the legislature to require that separate cars be provided for people whose color, or who are aliens, or who belong to a particular race, or to enact laws requiring colored people to ride on the street, and white people upon the street, and white men's houses to be painted white, and men's black, or their vehicles or business signs, upon the theory that one side of the street, or that a house or vehicle should be as one of another color. The reply to this is, that the exercise of the police power must be limited to such laws as are enacted in the promotion of the public good, and not in the oppression of a particular class. Thus, in *Robinson v. City of Chicago*, 118 U. S. 356, it was held by this Court that an ordinance of the city of San Francisco, requiring the use of public laundries within the city, violated the provisions of the Constitution, if it conferred upon the municipality arbitrary power, at their own will, and discretion, in the legal sense of the term, to consent as to persons or places, without regard to the persons applying, or the protection of the carrying on of the business. The attempt on the part of the municipality to justify its discrimination against colored people while this was the case of a municipal ordinance has been held to apply to acts of the municipality in the exercise of the police power. See *Husen*, 95 U. S. 465; *Louisville & Nashville R. Co. v. Kentucky*, 161 U. S. 677, and cases cited therein; *Hudson*, 43 Ohio St. 548; *Capehart v. State ex rel. Wood v. Baker*, 38 Wis. 5; *Collins*, 17 Ohio St. 665; *Hulseman v. Orman v. Riley*, 15 California, 48.

So far, then, as a conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals. As was said by the Court of Appeals of New York in *People v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438, 448, "this end can neither be accomplished nor promoted by laws which conflict with the general sentiment of the community upon whom they are designed to operate. When the government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized and performed all of the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed." Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

It is true that the question of the proportion of colored blood necessary to constitute a colored person, as distinguished from a white person, is one upon which there is a difference of opinion in the different States, some holding that any visible admixture of black blood stamps the person as belonging to the colored race, (*State v. Chavers*, 5 Jones, [N. C.] 1, p. 11); others that it depends upon the preponderance of blood, (*Gray v. State*, 4 Ohio, 354; *Monroe v. Collins*, 17 Ohio St. 665); and still others that the predominance of white blood must

only be in the proportion of three fourths. (*People v. Dean*, 14 Michigan, 406; *Jones v. Commonwealth*, 80 Virginia, 538.) But these are questions to be determined under the laws of each State and are not properly put in issue in this case. Under the allegations of his petition it may undoubtedly become a question of importance whether, under the laws of Louisiana, the petitioner belongs to the white or colored race.

The judgment of the court below is, therefore,

Affirmed.

MR. JUSTICE HARLAN dissenting.

By the Louisiana statute, the validity of which is here involved, all railway companies (other than street railroad companies) carrying passengers in that State are required to have separate but equal accommodations for white and colored persons, "by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations." Under this statute, no colored person is permitted to occupy a seat in a coach assigned to white persons; nor any white person, to occupy a seat in a coach assigned to colored persons. The managers of the railroad are not allowed to exercise any discretion in the premises, but are required to assign each passenger to some coach or compartment set apart for the exclusive use of his race. If a passenger insists upon going into a coach or compartment not set apart for persons of his race, he is subject to be fined, or to be imprisoned in the parish jail. Penalties are prescribed for the refusal or neglect of the officers, directors, conductors and employees of railroad companies to comply with the provisions of the act.

Only "nurses attending children of the other race" are excepted from the operation of the statute. No exception is made of colored attendants travelling with adults. A white man is not permitted to have his colored servant with him in the same coach, even if his condition of health requires the constant, personal assistance of such servant. If a colored maid insists upon riding in the same coach with a white woman whom she has been employed to serve, and who may need her personal attention while travelling, she is subject to be fined or imprisoned for such an exhibition of zeal in the discharge of duty.

While there may be in Louisiana persons of different races who are not citizens of the United States, the words in the act, "white and colored races," necessarily include all citizens of the United States of both races residing in that State. So that we have before us a state enactment that compels, under penalties, the separation of the two races in railroad passenger coaches, and makes it a crime for a citizen of either race to enter a coach that has been assigned to citizens of the other race.

Thus the State regulates the use of a public highway by citizens of the United States solely upon the basis of race.

However apparent the injustice of such legislation may be, we have only to consider whether it is consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

That a railroad is a public highway, and that the corporation which owns or operates it is in the exercise of public functions, is not, at this day, to be disputed. Mr. Justice Nelson, speaking for this court in *New Jersey Steam Navigation Co. v. Merchants' Bank*, 6 How. 344, 362, said that a common carrier was in the exercise "of a sort of public office, and has

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The Thirteenth Amendment does not permit the withholding or the deprivation of any right necessarily inhering in freedom. It not only struck down the institution of slavery as previously existing in the United States, but it prevents the imposition of any burdens or disabilities that constitute badges of slavery or servitude. It decreed universal civil freedom in this country. This court has so adjudged. But that amendment having been found inadequate to the protection of the rights of those who had been in slavery, it was followed by the Fourteenth Amendment, which added greatly to the dignity and glory of American citizenship, and to the security of personal liberty, by declaring that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," and that "no State shall make or en-

The decisions referred to show the scope of the recent amendments of the Constitution. They also show that it is not within the power of a State to prohibit colored citizens, because of their race, from participating as jurors in the administration of justice.

It was said in argument that the statute of Louisiana does not discriminate against either race, but prescribes a rule applicable alike to white and colored citizens. But this argument does not meet the difficulty. Every one knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied

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The answer given at the a that regulations of the kind t able, and could not, therefore meant that the determination depends upon the inquiry whe is questioned is, in the judgm one, taking all the circumst statute may be unreasonable policy forbade its enactment. the courts have anything to d of legislation. A statute may of public policy, may well be Mr. Sedgwick correctly states legislative intention being clear no other duty to perform than without any regard to their v of the particular enactment? There is a dangerous tendency the functions of the courts, by

shall abridge the privileges or immunities of any citizen of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of liberty or property without due process of law. These two amendments, if enforced with true intent and meaning, will protect all that pertain to freedom and citizenship. And that no citizen should be denied, on account of race, the privilege of participating in the political life of the country, it was declared by the Fifteenth Amendment that citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied the right on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." In addition to the fundamental law were wellsprings of liberty throughout the world. They flow from our governmental systems. They have a common purpose, namely, to protect the recently emancipated, a race that through centuries has been held in slavery, all the civil rights of which they enjoy." They declared, in legal effect, that the law in the States shall be the same for the white; that all persons, whether white or black, shall stand equal before the laws of the country. In regard to the colored race, for whose protection the law was primarily designed, that no discrimination should be made against them by law because of race. "The words of the amendment, prohibitory, but they contain a necessary inviolable immunity, or right, most valuable to the race—the right to exemption from unfriendly discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, and of their enjoyment of the rights which are denied to the colored race. It was, therefore, that a state law that excluded citizens of the colored race from juries, because of their race and however otherwise respects to discharge the duties of juror, is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Strauder v. West*, 100 U. S. 303, 306, 307; *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313; *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U. S. 339; *Neal v. Louisiana*, 100 U. S. 370, 386; *Bush v. Kentucky*, 107 U. S. 110. The present term, referring to the previous decision, declared that "underlying all of those principles that the Constitution of the United States forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the General Government against any citizen because of his race, is equally forbidden by the States." *Gibson v. Mississippi*,

referred to show the scope of the recent decision. They also show that it is the power of a State to prohibit colored citizens, on account of race, from participating as jurors in the administration of justice.

argument that the statute of Louisiana does not discriminate against either race, but prescribes a rule of conduct for white and colored citizens. But this does not meet the difficulty. Every one knows that the question had its origin in the purpose, not to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied

by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. Railroad corporations of Louisiana did not make discrimination among whites in the matter of accommodation for travellers. The thing to accomplish was, under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while travelling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be so wanting in candor as to assert the contrary. The fundamental objection, therefore, to the statute is that it interferes with the personal freedom of citizens. "Personal liberty," it has been well said, "consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or removing one's person to whatsoever places one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law." 1 Bl. Com. *134. If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so, and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each.

It is one thing for railroad carriers to furnish, or to be required by law to furnish, equal accommodations for all whom they are under a legal duty to carry. It is quite another thing for government to forbid citizens of the white and black races from travelling in the same public conveyance, and to punish officers of railroad companies for permitting persons of the two races to occupy the same passenger coach. If a State can prescribe, as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not so regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns as to compel white citizens to keep on one side of a street and black citizens to keep on the other? Why may it not, upon like grounds, punish whites and blacks who ride together in street cars or in open vehicles on a public road or street? Why may it not require sheriffs to assign whites to one side of a court-room and blacks to the other? And why may it not also prohibit the commingling of the two races in the galleries of legislative halls or in public assemblages convened for the consideration of the political questions of the day? Further, if this statute of Louisiana is consistent with the personal liberty of citizens, why may not the State require the separation in railroad coaches of native and naturalized citizens of the United States, or of Protestants and Roman Catholics?

The answer given at the argument to these questions was that regulations of the kind they suggest would be unreasonable, and could not, therefore, stand before the law. Is it meant that the determination of questions of legislative power depends upon the inquiry whether the statute whose validity is questioned is, in the judgment of the courts, a reasonable one, taking all the circumstances into consideration? A statute may be unreasonable merely because a sound public policy forbade its enactment. But I do not understand that the courts have anything to do with the policy or expediency of legislation. A statute may be valid, and yet, upon grounds of public policy, may well be characterized as unreasonable. Mr. Sedgwick correctly states the rule when he says that the legislative intention being clearly ascertained, "the courts have no other duty to perform than to execute the legislative will, without any regard to their views as to the wisdom or justice of the particular enactment." Stat. & Const. Constr. 324. There is a dangerous tendency in these latter days to enlarge the functions of the courts, by means of judicial interference

with the will of the people as expressed by the legislature. Our institutions have the distinguishing characteristic that the three departments of government are coördinate and separate. Each must keep within the limits defined by the Constitution. And the courts best discharge their duty by executing the will of the law-making power, constitutionally expressed, leaving the results of legislation to be dealt with by the people through their representatives. Statutes must always have a reasonable construction. Sometimes they are to be construed strictly; sometimes, liberally, in order to carry out the legislative will. But however construed, the intent of the legislature is to be respected, if the particular statute in question is valid, although the courts, looking at the public interests, may conceive the statute to be both unreasonable and impolitic. If the power exists to enact a statute, that ends the matter so far as the courts are concerned. The adjudged cases in which statutes have been held to be void, because unreasonable, are those in which the means employed by the legislature were not at all germane to the end to which the legislature was competent.

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.

In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. It was adjudged in that case that the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves were not included nor intended to be included under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and could not claim any of the rights and privileges which that instrument provided for and secured to citizens of the United States; that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution they were "considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them." 19 How. 393, 404. The recent amendments of the Constitution, it was supposed, had eradicated these principles from our institutions. But it seems that we have yet, in some of the States, a dominant race—a superior class of citizens, which assumes to regulate the enjoyment of civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race. The present decision, it may well be apprehended, will not only stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens, but will encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to

defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments of the Constitution, by one of which the blacks of this country were made citizens of the United States and of the States in which they respectively reside, and whose privileges and immunities, as citizens, the States are forbidden to abridge. Sixty millions of whites are in no danger from the presence here of eight millions of blacks. The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens? That, as all will admit, is the real meaning of such legislation as was enacted in Louisiana.

The sure guarantee of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, National and State, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race. State enactments, regulating the enjoyment of civil rights, upon the basis of race, and cunningly devised to defeat legitimate results of the war, under the pretence of recognizing equality of rights, can have no other result than to render permanent peace impossible, and to keep alive a conflict of races, the continuance of which must do harm to all concerned. This question is not met by the suggestion that social equality cannot exist between the white and black races in this country. That argument, if it can be properly regarded as one, is scarcely worthy of consideration; for social equality no more exists between two races when travelling in a passenger coach or a public highway than when members of the same races sit by each other in a street car or in the jury box, or stand or sit with each other in a political assembly, or when they use in common the streets of a city or town, or when they are in the same room for the purpose of having their names placed on the registry of voters, or when they approach the ballot-box in order to exercise the high privilege of voting.

There is a race so different from our own that we do not permit those belonging to it to become citizens of the United States. Persons belonging to it are, with few exceptions, absolutely excluded from our country. I allude to the Chinese race. But by the statute in question, a Chinaman can ride in the same passenger coach with white citizens of the United States, while citizens of the black race in Louisiana, many of whom, perhaps, risked their lives for the preservation of the Union, who are entitled, by law, to participate in the political control of the State and nation, who are not excluded, by law or by reason of their race, from public stations of any kind, and who have all the legal rights that belong to white citizens, are yet declared to be criminals, liable to imprisonment, if they ride in a public coach occupied by citizens of the white race. It is scarcely just to say that a colored citizen should not object to occupying a public coach assigned to his own race. He does not object, nor, perhaps, would he object to separate coaches for his race, if his rights under the law were recognized. But he objects, and ought never to cease objecting to the proposition, that citizens of the white and

black races can be adjudged criminals because they sit, or claim the right to sit, in the same public coach on a public highway.

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.

The result of the whole matter is, that while this court has frequently adjudged, and at the present term has recognized the doctrine, that a State cannot, consistently with the Constitution of the United States, prevent white and black citizens, having the required qualifications for jury service, from sitting in the same jury box, it is now solemnly held that a State may prohibit white and black citizens from sitting in the same passenger coach on a public highway, or may require that they be separated by a "partition," when in the same passenger coach. May it not now be reasonably expected that astute men of the dominant race, who affect to be disturbed at the possibility that the integrity of the white race may be corrupted, or that its supremacy will be imperilled, by contact on public highways with black people, will endeavor to procure statutes requiring white and black jurors to be separated in the jury box by a "partition," and that, upon retiring from the court room to consult as to their verdict, such partition, if it be a moveable one, shall be taken to their consultation room, and set up in such way as to prevent black jurors from coming too close to their brother jurors of the white race. If the "partition" used in the court room happens to be stationary, provision could be made for screens with openings through which jurors of the two races could confer as to their verdict without coming into personal contact with each other. I cannot see but that, according to the principles this day announced, such state legislation, although conceived in hostility to, and enacted for the purpose of humiliating citizens of the United States of a particular race, would be held to be consistent with the Constitution.

I do not deem it necessary to review the decisions of state courts to which reference was made in argument. Some, and the most important, of them are wholly inapplicable, because rendered prior to the adoption of the last amendments of the Constitution, when colored people had very few rights which the dominant race felt obliged to respect. Others were made at a time when public opinion, in many localities, was dominated by the institution of slavery; when it would not have been safe to do justice to the black man; and when, so far as the rights of blacks were concerned, race prejudice was, practically, the supreme law of the land. Those decisions cannot be guides in the era introduced by the recent amendments of the supreme law, which established universal civil freedom, gave citizenship to all born or naturalized in the United States

and residing here, obliterated the of governments, National and State, upon the broad and sure of all men before the law.

I am of opinion that the statute with the personal liberty of citizen State, and hostile to both the spirit of the United States. If it be enacted in the several States to be in the highest degree mischief tolerated by law would, it is, our country, but there would result by sinister legislation, to interfere the blessings of freedom; to regulate all citizens, upon the basis of race

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ng into personal contact with each other. I can-
at, according to the principles this day announced,
islation, although conceived in hostility to, and
e purpose of humiliating citizens of the United
articular race, would be held to be consistent
titution.

em it necessary to review the decisions of state
h reference was made in argument. Some, and
rtant, of them are wholly inapplicable, because
to the adoption of the last amendments of the
when colored people had very few rights which
race felt obliged to respect. Others were made
n public opinion, in many localities, was domi-
nstitution of slavery; when it would not have
p justice to the black man; and when, so far as
blacks were concerned, race prejudice was, prac-
treme law of the land. Those decisions cannot
e era introduced by the recent amendments of
aw, which established universal civil freedom,
p to all born or naturalized in the United States

and residing here, obliterated the race line from our systems
of governments, National and State, and placed our free in-
stitutions upon the broad and sure foundation of the equality
of all men before the law.

I am of opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent
with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that
State, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Consti-
tution of the United States. If laws of like character should
be enacted in the several States of the Union, the effect would
be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institu-
tion tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from
our country, but there would remain a power in the States,
by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of
the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights, common to
all citizens, upon the basis of race; and to place in a condition

of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now
constituting a part of the political community called the
People of the United States, for whom, and by whom through
representatives, our government is administered. Such a sys-
tem is inconsistent with the guarantee given by the Constitu-
tion to each State of a republican form of government, and
may be stricken down by Congressional action, or by the
courts in the discharge of their solemn duty to maintain the
supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws
of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

For the reasons stated, I am constrained to withhold my
assent from the opinion and judgment of the majority.

MR. JUSTICE BREWER did not hear the argument or partici-
pate in the decision of this case.

Page 25.

Failure of the federal Reconstruction program and Tilden-Hayes election.

by 1876 only three Southern states, Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, had Reconstruction governments. The fate of the Southern freedmen was finally sealed as part of the "deal" that gave the 1876 Presidential election to Rutherford B. Hayes. When it first appeared that he had lost to the Democrat, Tilden, Hayes said "I don't care for myself; and the party, yes, and the country, too, can stand it; but I do care for the poor colored ~~man~~ man of the South."

The Presidential election gave Tilden a popular-vote margin of 250,000; but Republican headquarters refused to concede his election on the ground that the returns were in dispute in Fla, La., S.C., and Ore. Without these electoral votes Tilden would be one short of the necessary majority. On Dec. 6 two sets of electoral returns were reported from the four disputed states. In Jan. an Electoral Commission was set up by Congress to ~~break~~ break the deadlock. The Commission awarded the election to Hayes. Support by the Southern Democrats for the Electoral Commission's decision was the result of Republican promises

1. to withdraw Federal troops from the South
2. appoint at least 1 Southerner to the Cabinet, and
3. make substantial appropriations for Southern internal improvements.

The period of Radical control of the ex-Confederate states had been under attack for corruption, incompetence, and extravagance.

Corrupt financial practices were notorious in S.C. which raised the public debt; but in other states such as Ark., La., and N.Y. the states extravagant governments raised the tax burdens and increased state debts. On the credit side, large sums were needed for rebuilding devastated areas and for essential public services, public education, hospitals, and ~~as~~ asylums. In reaction against Radical rule the conservatives won control in GA., N.C., Tenn. and VA. in 1869-71; in Ala., Ark., Miss., and Tex. in 1874-75. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In 1877 carpetbag rule ended in Fla. with the inauguration of George Drew, Democratic governor, and the radicals also lost control of the two remaining states of the South.

Encyclopedia of American History.

Katz, William Loren. Eyewitness, the Negro in American History.
N.Y. Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967.

Page 26.

The influence of the Ku Klux Klan on the elimination of the Negro from the political life of the South and the destruction of the Reconstruction governments.

During Reconstruction, when the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were adopted, campaigns of violence and intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan sought to suppress the emergence into society of the Negroes. Major riots occurred in Memphis killing 46 Negroes and in Louisiana where more than 100 Negro and white Republicans were massacred.

However, in 1875, the first Civil rights law was passed giving the Negro the right to equal accommodations, facilities, and advantages of public transportation. But, the law had no effective enforcement provisions and was poorly enforced.

At this time Negroes were elected to every Southern legislature, served in the U.S. Congress, and one Negro was Governor of Louisiana for a short time.

Opposition to Negroes in state and local government was open and bitter. Every available means was employed to drive Negroes from public life. Negroes who voted or held office were refused jobs or punished by the Ku Klux Klan. A Klan in Mississippi proudly reported killing 116 Negroes, and a single county in South Carolina murdered 6 men and whipped 300 others during the first six months of 1870. The federal government could provide no help having withdrawn the troops when the Southern states organized

governments.

These acts of violence by the Ku Klux Klan and other secret organizations deove the Negroes from any attempts to hold office or a place in society. The KKK had become so active that in 1870 and 1871 Congress passed the Enforcement Acts, which protected the Negro's right to vote. In 1871, the Congress also appointed a committee to investigate the Klan's activities. The report revealed widespread violence and disorder which had developed in many areas of the South. The objectives of the Klansmen did not include the murder or removal of all Negroes from the South. Their purpose was to keep the Southern Negro ignorant and under white control. The following sworn testimony of a Negro state Senator from Mississippi indicates the aims of the KKK in the early 1870's.

State Senator Robert Gleed of Mississippi, " Well, sir, we have thought from their organization and from other indications we have had, ~~XXX~~ that the...puroposes of the organization have veen to remand the colored men of the country to as near a position of servitude as possible, and to destroy the Republican Party if possible; it has been in other words, political... Do you think one of the objectives of the Ku Klux organization in its various visits has been to brack down the ~~growing~~ growing spirit of independence in the black man? Yes, sir; and to establish white supremacy in the South, and to destroy the republican party....

Katz, William Loren. Eyewitness, the Negro in American History.

N.Y. Putman Pub. Corp., 1967.

Kerner Report

Crisis in Black & White. Silberman, Charles E. N.Y. Vintage Books, 1961

Page 34.

Martin Robinson Delaney and the American Colonization Society.

Martin Delaney like Paul Cuffee, started out as a militant integrationist. Cuffee refused to pay taxes until Massachusetts recognized his right to vote. Later in 1815, being the owner of a fleet of ships, he took a shipload of free Negroes to settle in Sierra Leone. Martin Delaney, a Harvard-educated physician, novelist, and pamphleteer, underwent the same conversion. He gained prominence in the 1830's as an opponent of the American Colonization Society, which wanted to transport American Negroes to Africa. By the 1850's he had himself become an advocate of migration. In answer to criticism from William Lloyd Garrison, he wrote, "I am not in favor of caste and would as willingly live among white men as black" - if he could enjoy the same rights. "If there were any probability of this, I should be willing to remain in the country, fighting and struggling on... But I must admit that I have no hopes in this country - no confidence in the American people..." After serving as prime mover in several conventions of free Negroes to discuss the possibility of emigrating to Africa, in 1859 Delaney led the first and only exploratory party of American-born Negroes to Africa. In the region of the Niger River, Delaney's party carried out scientific studies and made agreements with several African chiefs for the treatment of prospective emigres from America.

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1817 under the leadership of John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

That same year free Negroes in large cities held protest meetings against the American Colonization Society's efforts to "exile us from the land of our nativity."

In 1820 the American Colonization Society colonized 11,000 Negroes in ~~the~~ Liberia and helped that country become recognized by the major European powers as an independent republic. The society had actively engaged in efforts to detect vessels which were engaged in the slave trade and to prevent them from clearing ports.

Adams, Russell L. Great Negroes Past and Present. Chicago:
Afro-American Publishing Co., 1963. p.54.

Sloan, Irving J. The American Negro. New York: Oceana Publications,
Inc., 1965.

Page 36.

COFO Project - Council of Federated Organizations. Aims of the organization.

The Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 was planned as the most extensive program of Negro education and political action in the South. Some 2000 people including 1000 white and Negro students from all over the US participated. Moses was the director of the Council of Federated Organizations funded by the NAACP, CORE, SNCC, and the National Council of Churches. 45000.

Before the drive began Mississippi white and Negroes feared that the student volunteer project would lead to violence; therefore, the Legislature passed a number of laws aimed at restricting demonstrations. The state Highway Patrol was increased and the law enforcement agencies made para-military preparations. At this point civil rights leaders charged a reign of terror against Negroes.

The first phase of the summer project was to conduct a Negro voter registration drive expecting to alter Negro-white relationships. Moses stressed that the major objective was to arouse national pressure on the Federal Government to act.

The first group of students arrived on June 20. On June 23 3 civil rights workers (2 white, 1 Negro) were reported missing after being released from Jail in Phila., Miss. Dulles was sent to Miss. by Johnson who indicated that the Administration took a grave view of the disappearance and of the entire summer project. Negro leaders asked for Federal protection of their workers. Kennedy stressed that the situation was a local

matter and the Federal authority was very limited even though the FBI had been called in to search for the missing workers. There had been demonstrations by the Negroes and violence and burnings by the whites.

Difficult legal and political problems were raised by the demand for Federal protection in Miss. Marshals or troops would not be enforcing specific court orders or Federal laws but protecting ~~some~~ students' general constitutional rights, which Government officials feared might turn Federal intervention into occupation.

Although repeatedly throughout the summer campaign, Federal protection was urged for the civil rights workers and residents in Mississippi, President Johnson and Atty Gen Kennedy contended that the Fed Govt did not have the power to send Federal troops.

The NYT assessed the project as having ended the state's insult from civil rights movement despite the few tangible results. The project continued on a limited scale after its closing date in late Aug. King and Farmer still called for Federal protection for Negroes in Mississippi fearing what will happen to the Negroes when summer volunteers depart. Gov. Sanders said the Civil Rights Act would be enforced without fear of Federal force or Federal intimidation and with regard to local customs, traditions and usage. The sequel to the Summer Project would involve freedom schools and voter registration.

Alabama and Mississippi Delegates Quit

BUT TOKEN GROUPS STAY ON THE FLOOR

Both Delegations Refuse to Sign Pledge of Support for the National Ticket

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

bama's finance director and the key aide to Gov. George C. Wallace present at the convention, said Mr. Wallace "recognizes that the Alabama delegation has been kicked out of the Democratic party."

"The donkey has used its heels instead of its head," he said.

Convention officials were prepared tonight to prevent a resumption of the events of Monday and Tuesday nights, when members of the unpledged faction entered the Convention Hall and took seats. Aides filled all but 11 seats in the Alabama section two hours before the session started tonight.

When Mr. Connor approached the seats, accompanied by Vernon Connor, his 11-year-old grandson, sergeants-at-arms blocked his way. A convention official told him he must take the oath.

"That's not for me," he said. "I will retire."

'Like a Gentleman'

"I'll go like a gentleman," Mr. Connor said. "I'll let the people of Alabama decide who represents them—me or the Democratic National Committee."

Harry P. Clark, one of the unpledged delegates, remained behind when Mr. Connor left. And when the roll-call of states for Presidential nominations began, Mr. Clark attempted to take the microphone at the state's position.

Jack Sullivan, an assistant sergeant-at-arms, blocked him.

Reuben Newton, co-chairman of the pledged Alabama group, then took the microphone and yielded to Texas, whose Governor, John B. Connally Sr., placed the President's name in nomination.

Although refusals to make the pledge reduced the regular Alabama and Mississippi delegations to token delegations, President Johnson's leaders here said they believed the issue had been settled with as little damage to party unity as possible.

The Johnson forces had regarded Alabama and Mississippi expendable or irrecoverable from the outset. Thus, their problem was to devise a formula that would recognize Mississippi's legal right to be seated and the moral case of the Freedom Democrats, prevent a walk out by other Southern delegations and provide a nondiscrimination rule for delegations to the next convention.

A three-point proposal providing for a loyalty pledge by the Mississippi regulars, seating of the Freedom Democrats with out voting rights and a nondiscrimination clause proved unacceptable. Under this proposal, the Freedom Democrats would have been given two symbolic votes.

The compromise came Monday night when a member of the Credentials subcommittee suggested that the Freedom Democrats be given two at-large delegates with voting rights. This brought agreement from supporters of the Freedom Democrats and a deal was struck.

The Negro and Politics

Freedom Party Episode Points Way To Transition From Rights Protest

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTIC CITY, Aug. 26—In the middle of the crush around the Mississippi Freedom party delegates as they sat in the unauthorized Mississippi seats last night, a sympathetic Northern white liberal said sadly how unwise and damaging he thought the demonstration was to their own cause. A member of the Freedom group turned around and said: "You don't live in Mississippi."

The exchange provided an illustration of how difficult it is, and will be, to channel the emotions of the civil rights movement into the ordinary political process.

Friendly outsiders may regard this channeling as essential to racial peace in this country. But there is emotion involved, not just logic. It is plainly difficult for those long deprived of the most elementary rights to move from the first action of demonstrations to the necessarily slower and often frustrating business of exerting influence by means of the vote and other political action.

The problem for the Freedom Democrats in their credentials fight was that in strictly legal terms they did not have much of a case. They were more a protest movement than a political party.

Their strength was moral. It was apparent that the law of Mississippi did not give them fair access to the political process—that they could not, realistically, express themselves politically under the rules of Mississippi.

An Emotional Case

The lawyer for the Freedom party, Joseph L. Rauh Jr. of Washington, recognized that he had a moral and an emotional case to present, not a legal one. His parade of witnesses before the Credentials Committee who had been beaten and tortured by those sworn to uphold the law in Mississippi made it impossible for Democratic leaders to brush the group aside.

The fact is that the Freedom party's claims would have been brushed aside at any previous convention because of their legal insubstantiality. But this country has become much more sensitive to the cruelties of racism, and the convention reflected this change.

Seen in this framework, the Credentials Committee compromise appeared a remarkable victory for the Freedom group.

The convention applied to the Mississippi and Alabama party regulars a more rigorous loyalty test than ever before. It promised special efforts in the next four years to open all state parties to participation by Negroes. And, again without precedent, it created two seats at large in the 1964 convention for the leaders of the Freedom party, Aaron Henry and the Rev. Edwin King.

Mr. Rauh called these terms a substantial gain for the Freedom party. He urged the delegates to accept. So did a number of Northern sympathizers.

forces had intended all along to force the national party's hand and thus to clear the way for the Governor to support Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the Republican Presidential nominee.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was reliably reported to have urged the same course, although he denied this today.

But Bob Moses, the leader of the Mississippi protest movement, said it was not enough. The Freedom delegates agreed with him and chose to go on demonstrating.

The outcome, some felt, must have been particularly painful for Mr. Rauh. In effect, he had turned on a current of emotion and could not shut it off.

A Political Distinction

One of the most effective moments in Mr. Rauh's presentation to the Credentials Committee came when he told about his speech to the state convention of the Freedom party.

He got his biggest applause, he said, when he told the delegates that their distinction from the regular Mississippi Democrats was not their race so much as the fact that they were for Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Freedom group, it was felt, had a rare chance here to demonstrate that contrast. They could have accepted a rule that they did not altogether like, instead of slipping into unauthorized seats, just as the all-white Alabama delegation had done. They could have made a point not of their demand for total victory but of their loyalty to the national Democratic party and to President Johnson.

But those close to the situation felt it unfair to hold so new a group, so ridden by emotion, to a standard of such maturity and restraint—a standard that the opposing all-white delegation could not meet. Things do not work out as Northern liberals wish they would, in a nice, orderly way.

The liberal concern is that a failure of the civil rights movement to accept the amenities and frustrations of politics—a decision to go on demonstrating instead—could have dangerous consequences in the long run.

The Ballot's Alternative

Judging by the experience in New York and other Northern cities as well as in Mississippi, it is felt, the tendency may be for the leadership of a movement outside the ordinary political process to go steadily leftward.

The tendency seems to be to curse all parties, to distrust government itself.

Justice Department officials have considered it desperately important to win the vote for Negroes in the South for the particular purpose of providing a rational outlet for just demands. They have said that the alternative to the ballot might be chaos or revolution.

The episode of the Freedom party was felt to show that the solution is difficult but not necessarily impossible. Although the Freedom delegates did not accept it, the credentials compromise emerged as a long step toward ending racism in Southern Democratic politics.

The question is whether the offer of political rights to the Negro is coming too late.

committed to supporting Senator Goldwater, even if the Mississippi delegation had been accepted in Atlantic City and seated without having to sign

ing months. The confusion could succeed where reasoned logic has failed and result in the establishment of a two-party system in Mississippi.

Much will depend on action taken by the state convention. It first met on July 28 but postponed the naming of Presidential electors until Sept. 9 in order to see what happened at the national convention.

The state convention adopted a resolution promising to put up a slate of electors pledged to President Johnson, and there was strong sentiment to put up another slate pledged to Senator Goldwater.

This would have given voters a three-way choice in November—one slate pledged to President Johnson and two, Democratic and Republican, committed to Senator Goldwater.

In fear of splitting the Goldwater vote, party leaders have recently been reported to put up having no Democratic slate pledged to Mr. Goldwater and permitting Democrats to cross over and vote for the Senator on the Republican ticket, which can be done without penalty under Mississippi law.

No decision has been made on how far the state convention should go in endorsing Senator Goldwater and in condemning President Johnson. But Governor Johnson said in a television appearance last night that the state Democratic party was free to go as far as it wished.

"We are absolutely free to take such actions as we feel to be in the best interest of our state, of our nation, and of our people," he said. "The choice to be made is not so much a choice between men—it is more a choice between philosophies."

He then went on to espouse what could be interpreted only as Goldwater conservatism.

Mr. Adam, a long-time party loyalist who actively supported John F. Kennedy in 1960, said he was in full accord with Governor Johnson. He said the Mississippi delegation had been "cowed and horse-whipped" at the national convention and "treated like a stepchild who has no place at the family reunion."

Circuit Judge Russel Moore of Jackson, a leader of the state convention, said the state party should either divorce itself completely from the national party or join the Republicans.

23 Jailed in South Africa Under Anti-Red Measure

CAPETOWN, Aug. 26 (Reuters)—Sixteen Africans were sentenced to six years in jail and seven others to three years today for offenses under South Africa's Suppression of Communism Act.

Ten others were acquitted of charges of belonging to the banned African National Congress.

The judge said the 23 convicted had been prepared to use "every conceivable means—including bloodshed, violence, sabotage and murder—to achieve their aim of overthrowing the Government."

In Johannesburg, two white women who have been on a hunger strike and a young white journalist were refused bail by a court when they appeared with seven other whites on charges under the act.

The judge said "as far as the hunger strike is concerned, the court must stress it has no sympathy for these people."

Conservation Foundation To Instruct Australians

CANBERRA, Australia — A

Page 45.

Technology in Egypt by Malcolm X.

So I spent two happy days sightseeing in Cairo. I was impressed by the modern schools, housing developments for the masses, and the highways and the industrialization that I saw. I had read and heard that President Nasser's administration had built up one of the most highly industrialized countries on the African continent. I believe what most surprised me was that in Cairo, automobiles were being manufactured, and also buses.

The friendly people I met there were astounded when they learned I was a Muslim - from America! - Egypt's rising industrialization was one of the reasons why the Western powers were so anti-Egypt, it was showing other African countries what they could do.

The captain of the plane came back to meet me. He was an Egyptian, his complexion was darker than mine; he could have walked in Harlem and no one would have given him a second glance. He was delighted to meet an American Muslim.

The co-pilot was darker than he was. I can't tell you the feeling it gave me. I had never seen a black man flying a jet. That instrument panel: no one ever could know what all of those dials meant! Both of the pilots were smiling at me, treating me with the same honor and respect I had received ever since I left America.

Page 45.

Anti-colonialism- reference to Muslims and religion from
Chapter 4 (Skolnick).

Every colonial administration has aimed at establishing a depoliticized regime or has emphasized maximum depoliticization of all the expressions of native life....Consequently, political reactions against the colonial situation were expressed indirectly at first, for example, through new syncretist religious movements loaded with revolutionary implications.

Again, the American parallels are not hard to find. Black religious movements of this kind--best typified by the Nation of Islam--have generally drawn recruits from the most oppressed sectors of the American black population. p.25.

Page 52.

Employment statistics from McCone Report.

The total number of unemployed in Los Angeles county is about 160,000. It is clear that unemployment in the Negro community is two to three times that in the white community; from all indications there are some 25,000 unemployed Negroes in the central section of LA county and probably an equal number of unemployed Mexican-Americans.

The most recently released figures on employment and unemployment in the United States, according to the US Dept. of Labor, indicate that in July, 1967, 76.2 million persons were employed (a new all time high) and that 3.25 million persons in the labor force were unemployed, making the unemployment rate 3.9%. They also estimate that the non-white unemployment rate was 7.2% and remains at least twice as high as the unemployment rate for Caucasians.

In the state of Calif., the most recently released figures of the Departments of Employment and Industrial Relations indicate that in July 1967, 7,439 million persons were employed in Calif. (a new all time high); and the 407,000 persons were unemployed, making the unemployment rate 5.2%. Compared to July of 1966, there are 200,000 more persons employed and 30,000 more persons unemployed.

In LA county, the most recently released figures of the Department of Employment indicate that in July 1967, 2,995,600 persons were employed; and that 156,400 persons in the labor force were unemployed, making the unemployment rate 4.8%.

Federal and local officials believe the unemployment within specific areas of the City of LA is greater than the overall area. For example, whereas the unemployment in the City of LA on August 10, 1967 was reportedly 4.4%, in certain disadvantaged areas it was 10.7%; yet, government authorities do not have figures on employment and unemployment compiled on smaller geographic areas .

McCone Status Report II, 1967.

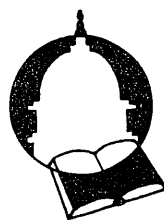
Violence in the City-- an End or a Beginning? McCone
Commission Report 1965.

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PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABOUT RIOTS:
Comments by Negro Leaders, Government Officials, Educators,
Scientists, Editors, and Columnists from the Watts Riots to Date



By
Diane McDevitt
John Brewster
Congressional Reference Division
August 23, 1967

Washington D.C.

STATEMENTS ABOUT THE RIOTS BEGINNING WITH WATTS

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I. NEGRO LEADERS

LRS-4

JAMES BALDWIN

Fortune, November 1965, p. 150.

James Baldwin warned two years ago, in *The Fire Next Time*: "The Negroes of this country may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream."

H. RAP BROWN

Washington Post,
June 23, 1967,
p. A6.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's new national chairman, said yesterday Negroes will get home rule in Washington, "and if it must be gotten by going into the streets, that will be dictated by Lyndon Baines Johnson."

"The white man won't get off our back, so we're going to knock him off," he said.

"If America chooses to play Nazi, black people don't choose to play Jews. Destruction and violence are not determined by the victims, but by the oppressors."

"If it comes to the point that black people must have guns, we will have means and ways to obtain those arms."

Washington Daily News,
August 21, 1967.

"If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny . . ." Mr. Brown said. "To all black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines: I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for freedom is yet to come."

U.S. News & World Report,
August 7, 1967, p. 32.

From atop a parked car in the heavily Negro Second Ward he harangued a street crowd: "Black folks built America," he declared, "and if America don't come around, we're going to burn America down." Then Brown got down to cases, namely the nearby ramshackle Pine Street Elementary School. "You should have burned it down long ago," he rasped. "Then you should have taken over the new elementary school on the other side of town."

"Be serious," he said, shrugging off the riot and arson charges against him. "I don't have to tell black people what to burn. Did I tell black people to burn Detroit?" The real blame for Negro rioting, Brown asserted, belonged to Lyndon Johnson, whom he called "a wild, mad dog, an outlaw from Texas." Mr. Johnson, Brown charged, had sent "white killers" and "honky, cracker Federal troops into Negro communities to kill black people."

Life,
June 3, 1966.

"We found many years ago that many of our nonviolent acts had violent consequences," says Stokely Carmichael, SNCC's new chairman, whose election last month has marked a shift in SNCC policy toward racial separatism. "But we don't care about that. We do what we have to do."

New York Times
August 5,
p. 10.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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JAMES BALDWIN
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August 5, 1966,
p. 10.

A thorough re-examination must be made by black people concerning the contributions that we have made in shaping this country. If this re-examination and re-evaluation is not made, and black people are not given their proper due and respect, then the antagonisms and contradictions are going to become more and more glaring, more and more intense until a national explosion may result.

When people attempt to move from these conclusions, it would be faulty reasoning to say they are ordered by racism, because, in this country and in the West, racism has functioned as a type of white nationalism when dealing with black people. We all know the habit that this has created throughout the world and particularly among nonwhite people in this country.

Therefore any re-evaluation that we must make will, for the most part, deal with identification. Who are black people, what are black people, what is their relationship to America and the world?

It must be repeated that the whole myth of "Negro citizenship," perpetuated by the white elite, has confused the thinking of radical and progressive blacks and whites in this country. The broad masses of black people react to American society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the West in Africa, and Latin America, and had the same relationship—that of the colonized to ward the colonizer.

U.S. News & World Report,
September 5, 1966.

"We have to protect ourselves against State troopers, against police in Mississippi. . . . If we do not protect ourselves, since the police forces of this country and the Federal Government and the law officials are not protecting us, then who is going to protect us?"

Wall Street Journal,
July 27, 1967,
p. 1.

Violent Talk in England

Stokely Carmichael, the U.S. advocate of Black Power, just wound up a visit to England during which he advised Negroes to burn down British homes if they can't otherwise get their way. In a speech Monday, a British Black Muslim leader said, "Fear of these monkeys (whites) is nothing. If ever you see a white man lay hands on a black woman, kill him immediately."

Wall Street Journal,
July 26, 1967,
p. 1.

Carmichael in Havana, said Negroes were forming groups of "urban guerrillas" for a "fight to the death" on city streets.

Carmichael was quoted the Prensa Latina press agency as saying that "we applied war tactics of the guerrillas" during last week's rioting in Newark.

"The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay," he said. "This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting."

LRS-6

CHARLES EVERS

U.S. News & World Report,
June 20, 1966,

p. 38.

Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary whose brother, Medgar Evers, was slain from ambush in Jackson in 1963, said: "There are many Negroes who now feel the only time we are going to get response and action is when we start shooting whites. Many of them are ready to do it now."

DICK GREGORY

Washington Star,
July 26, 1967,
p. A1.

"When a man has had his foot on your back for 100 years, you don't need no ideology to tell him to get his foot off your back," Gregory said. Noting the widespread reaction in Congress and elsewhere to the rioting, the comedian said, "The white man's attitudes have changed in the last three days; we might be able to deal with them now."

JAMES FARMER

U.S. News & World Report,
March 7, 1966,
p. 46.

More violence? Warning of the danger of violence, Mr. Farmer says, "The young Negroes are more impatient than the old," and:

"The fear that for so many years bound the Negro to passive acquiescence in his degradation has evaporated.

"The danger is that in its place a spring of resentment and fury will boil up which can know no expression short of violence."

In the South, he says, more and more Negroes are arming themselves with guns. He cites an organization calling itself the Deacons, which he describes as "a fully armed and trained militia, holding regular drills . . . prepared to respond with organized violence to any attack upon the Negro community."

In the North—where several riots have broken out—Mr. Farmer reports many Negroes have been influenced toward violence by such "black nationalists" as the late Malcolm X.

While most Negro organizations continue to advocate nonviolence, Mr. Farmer says "the area of their effectiveness seems to be rapidly dwindling."

LEROI JONES

U.S. News & World Report,
August 7, 1967,
p. 31.

"We citizens have the right to rebel," said LeRoi Jones, a Negro playwright who was arrested in the Newark riots.

Washington Post,
May 30, 1966,
p. A8.

Reacting to insinuations
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Southern Christian Lea
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LRS-6

DICK GREGORY

on Star,
1967,
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LRS-7

Washington Post,
May 30, 1966,
p. A8.

Reacting to insinuations by SNCC that he is not hard-fisted enough, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said, "We have been as militant as anybody. The only thing I insist on is that our militancy must always be nonviolent. Violence in our struggle will create many more social problems than it will solve."

Washington Post,
August 11, 1966,
p. All.

Ailing Dr. Martin Luther King condemned race rioting and the black power slogan today and called instead for a Negro-white alliance, using nonviolent pressures.

Dr. King said the results of violence were "Negro women and children lying dead in the streets, the few places of employment and enterprise in the ghetto destroyed in anger, the continued breeding of resentment and frustration."

"Violence cannot provide adequate educational opportunities and health facilities, but nonviolent action can so plague the conscience of the community and arouse the latent good will that the just demands of the poor or the Negro will be met."

New York Times,
October 1, 1966.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that recent race riots had been "very depressing" developments.

He described as discouraging, in addition to the outbreaks, the defeat of the civil rights bill in Congress and the nomination of Lester G. Maddox as the Democratic candidate for Governor in Georgia.

"We confront desolate days ahead," he told the annual conference of the Radio and Television News Directors Association.

"I'm more convinced than ever that nonviolence is the most effective weapon available to the Negro," Dr. King declared.

He said nonviolent demonstrations must continue to call attention to problems of Negroes.

"I have not lost faith in the future," he said.

Dr. King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, asserted that violence and separatism must be rejected, but he contended that nobody could disagree with the use of black power to achieve legitimate goals.

"We need striped power—black and white together," he said.

Washington Post,
December 4, 1966,
p. A26.

Dr. Martin Luther King warned last night that "more ruinous riots will develop" in this country unless the "human rights movement" accelerates.

"Any cutback in the poverty program will be tragic," King said, "and will be an open invitation to violence." As long as intolerable conditions exist in the cities, he added, we are creating the atmosphere for the kind of riots seen in the last few years.

LRS-8

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Washington Post,
July 27, 1967.

Rights Leaders' Appeal

Following is a joint statement on urban violence issued yesterday by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney M. Young Jr.

Developments in Newark, Detroit and other strife-torn cities make it crystal clear that the primary victims of the riots are the Negro citizens. That they have grave grievances of long standing cannot be denied or minimized. That the riots have not contributed in any substantial measure to the eradication of these just complaints is by now obvious to all. We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community joins us in opposition to violence in the streets. Who is without the necessities of life when the neighborhood stores are destroyed and looted? Whose children are without milk because deliveries cannot be made? Who loses wages, because of a breakdown in transportation or destruction of the place of employment? Who are the dead, the injured and the imprisoned? It is the Negroes who pay and pay, whether or not they are individually involved in the rioting. And for what?

Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people. We who have fought so long and so hard to achieve justice for all Americans have consistently opposed violence as a means of redress. Riots

have proved ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging to the Negro population, to the civil rights cause and to the entire nation.

We call upon Negro citizens throughout the nation to forego the temptation to disregard the law. This does not mean that we should submit tamely to joblessness, inadequate housing, poor schooling, insult, humiliation and attack. It does require a redoubling of efforts through legitimate means to end these wrongs and disabilities.

We appeal not only to black Americans but also to our fellow white citizens, who are not blameless. The disabilities imposed upon Negro citizens are a century old. They remain because the white citizenry in general supports these restrictions.

The Ninetieth Congress has exhibited an incredible indifference to hardships of the ghetto dwellers. Only last week the House defeated a rat-control bill which would have enabled the cities to get rid of the rats which infest the slums.

And finally, we fully support President Johnson's call upon all our people (black and white alike) in all our cities to join in a determined program to maintain law and order, to condemn and to combat lawlessness in all its forms, and firmly to show by word and by deed that riot, looting and public disorder will just not be tolerated.

No one benefits under mob law. Let's end it now!

U.S. News & World Report,
May 1, 1967,
p. 42.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., warned on April 16 that at least 10 cities are "powder kegs" that could "explode in racial violence this summer." He named among those cities: New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, Washington and Newark, N. J.

As head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Dr. King says: "I'll still preach nonviolence with all my might, but I'm afraid it will fall on deaf ears. The intolerable conditions which brought about racial violence last summer still exist."

LRS-9
FLOYD B. MCKIN
New York Times
July 25
p. 17.
"We
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LRS-8

MARTIN LUTHER KING
Washington Post,
July 27, 1967.

Leaders' Appeal
Statement on urban violence issued
by Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip
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The
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LRS-9

FLOYD B. MCKISSICK

New York Times,
July 25, 1967,
p. 17.

"We are through clapping our hands and marching," said Lincoln Lynch, an organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality. "From now on, we must be ready to kill."
The group of about 125 marchers applauded and cheered Mr. Lynch and A. Z. Young, a Bogalusa civil rights leader, who said that Negroes would "burn up Louisiana" if they were not granted equal justice.

U.S. News & World Report
May 23, 1966.

Q Do demonstrations raise dangers of violence?

A No, though demonstrators are often the victims of violence. Peaceful demonstrations should not raise dangers of violence.

Those people who are opposed to demonstrations often become violent against us. But we have never yet, by a demonstration, created a violent situation by initiating any type of violence.

Q Are civil-rights leaders seriously worried about the prospects for violence in the coming summer?

A Yes. It worries us because we are so limited. This is a time when our funds are short. You see, many people thought that, after passage of the Civil Rights Act, the battle was over. And our financial support has fallen off greatly. Not only ours, but that of all the civil-rights organizations, because so many people thought the fight was over.

And yet this is the most crucial time. Funds are needed badly.

God knows that nobody wants to see violence erupt. But just saying you don't want it, and praying about it every Sunday in church isn't going to help the problem at all.

We're going to really have to do something about it, or we are going to be confronted with the danger of violence, whether we want it or not.

Q Does violence help to solve these problems of Negroes?

A It's not a question of whether it helps. But I think we have learned something from what happened in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Maybe, for the first time, people will start recognizing just how severe this problem is. But I really don't know whether we've heard the message, for we haven't made any progress. We sit around and wait for something else to occur in Watts. I'm afraid this is going to happen in some other localities, too, unless we really commit ourselves to making some major changes to elevate the Negro.

Q All of these cities you have named are in the North. Why do you see more possibilities for trouble in the North than in the South?

A For the simple reason that in Northern cities there are more Negroes that are suffering en masse and are suffering together, concentrated in ghettos.

It is a misconception to think that the problem of racial discrimination is confined to the South or to any one area. It extends throughout the United States. I can see that the same potentialities for trouble can possibly occur in the South. But I'm saying that where you have a great number of Negroes concentrated in ghettos—as you have in the urban North—with large numbers of unemployed, then that increases the danger.

And when the school term ends and the kids are out of school to join in this mass frustration, with nothing to do in the summer heat, then the problem becomes far more acute.

LRS-10

U. S. News & World Report,
May 23, 1966 cont.

But laws alone are not the solution to the Negroes' problems.

Q What is the solution?

A It takes a commitment on the part of other people, institutions, big business, not just the legislature which passes the laws, and not just the Supreme Court which interprets the law. The entire nation has to realize that "the Negro problem" is an American problem—a very crucial problem. And it's a moral question. It's a question of moral integrity—whether a man is prejudiced or bigoted.

What I'm trying to say is that the passage of laws is meaningless without those laws' being enforced. There are many laws that have been passed that are not being enforced.

Basically, the Negro is still controlled, economically. So he can't send his kids to good, integrated schools, in spite of the Supreme Court decision of 1954. He can't borrow money if he tries to register and vote in some counties—his loans are denied or his home mortgage is foreclosed. He had better not eat in certain restaurants in certain areas if they tell him not to eat there, or else he loses his job. Economic reprisals still exist.

Realtors conspire to deny a Negro the right to live or buy a home in a white neighborhood. There are bankers who will

Q What can be done to lessen the danger of violence in these cities that you have named?

A I would suggest that in every community the mayor and the city council and county commissioners decide that they are going to meet with the representatives of the Negro community. These representatives should also include indigenous leaders who have not heretofore been included as Negro leaders. There should be a free and open discussion of every problem that confronts that community.

The second thing that ought to be done concerns employment. The businessmen of this country ought to come forward and say: "We're going to employ every high-school kid this summer or see that he gets some training."

Thirdly, these meetings with Negro leaders ought to continue and work should be started toward solving the problems that are found to exist. But the first step is to find out what the problems are, and to get the people together who can solve them.

U.S. News & World Report,
May 1, 1967,
p. 42.

"Hardly any community in this country can call itself immune to trouble this coming summer," says Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which has 200 branches in 43 States.

It was Mr. McKissick who called the turn last spring by naming in advance eight cities where riots occurred and predicting the likelihood of trouble in as many as 40 cities.

This year, when asked to name the most likely trouble spots, Mr. McKissick told "U. S. News & World Report": "Cleveland stands out like a very sore thumb. Nearly every city in New Jersey is in bad trouble. I'd bet that New Jersey will never get through the summer without trouble."

"Among other cities, I'd name New York, Detroit, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis and especially East St. Louis, Chicago, Gary, Ind., San Francisco and Oakland, Los Angeles, of course, and also Washington, D. C."

New York Times,
July 31, 1967,
p. 19.

"Rebellion is more accurate than riot," Mr. McKissick, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, told his audience. "Riot implies criminal activity."

The real criminal, he said, is the person "who charges you 89 cents for a dozen eggs while downtown they sell for 69."

"You are looted every day of your life because you are black," he told the crowd.

Washington Star,
July 23, 1967,
p. A18.

McKissick said that a year ago he had listed 40 cities that faced racial trouble because of the intolerable conditions in which Negroes lived. One of them was Newark. "Now," he said, "the white folks are paying for not listening."

"It can improve," he said. "If you recognize what people are saying and attempt to deal with people who represent the masses."

McKissick said Newark's Negro community would push for a recall election in an attempt to unseat Mayor Hugh Addonizio "and replace him with a black mayor."

LRS-11
ARCHIE MOORE

Washington Star,
August 20, 1967,
p. F5.

Granted, the Negro has a long way to go to shake with the white man. But if we resort to the only thing that is civil war and the only way out of it.

LRS-10

LRS-11

ARCHIE MOORE

Washington Star,
August 20, 1967,
p. F5.

Granted, the Negro still has a long way to go to gain a fair shake with the white man in this country. But believe this: If we resort to lawlessness, the only thing we can hope for is civil war, untold bloodshed, and the end of our dreams. We have to have a meeting of qualified men of both races. Mind you, I said qualified

men, not some punk kid, ranting the catch phrases put in his mouth by some paid hate-monger. There are forces in the world today, forces bent upon the destruction of America, your America and mine. And while we're on the subject, do you doubt for a minute that communism, world communism, isn't waiting with bated breath for the black and white Americans to turn on each other full force?

INTERVIEW WITH RAM

Life,
June 10, 1966.

Q: How far do you suppose the brothers might go if the next big riot were to take place, say, in Harlem?

A: Well, let's see . . . hmmm. What's that first big commuter train to Connecticut after it gets good and dark? The 7:05? Yeah, well what do you suppose all those big Madison Avenue men would do if that train was to be derailed at 125th Street, or just before it came out of the ground at 91st? Stay there in line in the bar car waiting for that drink in a paper cup? Hah! Run? Where to? Call for help? How? Man, wouldn't they make some hostages?

Q: Where would the police be while all this is going on?

A: Don't you suppose like the police might be busy several other places just then? Like putting down a big fuss over on Lenox Avenue, yeah, or trying to un-snarl the world's biggest traffic jam on the East River Drive. Maybe the lights might all go out about now. . . ."

"One of the brothers' real hang-ups now," said one such scholar, twirling his martini glass in a Brooklyn bar, "is that there's no really definitive book on urban guerrilla warfare. I've checked the libraries; it's too new a subject. . . . Maybe," he chuckled in afterthought, "we'll write our own." Q: How would you tell if a man you don't know is an extremist? A: Well, if I was sitting in a really good espionage movie, like—oh—*The Train* or *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, and the guy sitting next to me was black and he was taking notes, I'd figure he's probably a brother.

LRS-12

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Christian Science Monitor,
October 7, 1966,
p. 1.

A. Philip Randolph, the highest American Negro labor leader, says he is "greatly concerned" about growing race tension—the "confrontation of blacks and whites in America." Rioting in San Francisco and demonstrations in St. Louis, with "faces ugly with rage and resentment," solve nothing and could hurt the civil-rights fight, according to Mr. Randolph, a vice-president of the 13,000,000-member AFL-CIO.

"I deplore riots of any kind. Throwing Molotov cocktails [gasoline bombs] is not the answer to the problem of the Negro. The answer is deeper than said," Mr. Randolph told a convention session of the United Steelworkers in Atlantic City recently. He deplored "Negroes throwing bottles and bricks, turning over automobiles, throwing rocks into stores, looting the stores, engaging in lawlessness of any kind."

"I want to see the civil-rights leaders take care against overheating the ghettos that have the racial and social chemistry full of ingredients with explosive potentialities," Mr. Randolph warned.

"This could escalate into a race war in this nation which could become catastrophic to the Negro and to America."

Washington Star,
August 4, 1967,
p. A3.

A. Philip Randolph, the venerable hero of the March on Washington, testifying last December before a Senate committee told of the sullen silence of the alienated Negro youth.

"I have walked up and down the streets of Harlem for over 60 years," he reported mournfully. "I do not recall the time when I met young men with whom I was not able to talk."

"Have No Faith"

"They believe society is against them," Randolph said. "The teen-age Negro who is in poverty doesn't trust the Negro leadership. They have no faith in them. They believe they represent the will of the so-called white power structure."

JACKIE ROBINSON

U.S. News & World Report,
May 1, 1967.

Riots in white areas? Jackie Robinson, first Negro to play baseball in the major leagues, warns that rioting this year is likely to move out of Negro neighborhoods into white areas of big cities. He put it this way: "If we don't end our problems, I'm very much concerned with what could be a very hot summer—not in Harlem or in Watts, but a hot summer on 42nd Street, in Beverly Hills and in the suburbs."

Why? Mr. Robinson reports this:

"People have been saying to me, 'Why should we run around shooting and looting in our areas? If we are going to create the problem, we'll create it in other areas.'"

Commentary,
March 1966, p. 32.
This is not to say that relations between police and the Negroes of Watts could not have headed off a full-scale riot had they from denouncing the Negro leaders, meet with them early on. Over a rioters claimed that violence they could get these officials, McCone Commission, proposal for an independent General be established Chief of Police.

LRS-13
BAYARD RUSTIN

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

LRS-12

Washington Star,
August 4, 1967,
p. A3.

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LRS-13

BAYARD RUSTIN

Commentary,
March 1966, p. 32.

This is not to say that relations between the police and the Negroes of Watts could not be improved. Mayor Yorty and Police Chief Parker might have headed off a full-scale riot had they refrained from denouncing the Negro leaders and agreed to meet with them early on. Over and over again—to repeat the point with which we began—the rioters claimed that violence was the only way they could get these officials to listen to them. The McCone Commission, however, rejects the proposal for an independent police review board and instead recommends that the post of Inspector General be established—under the authority of the Chief of Police—to handle grievances.

New York Times,
December 12, 1966,
p. 35.

He called for "political action" by Negroes and whites working for civil rights in order to avoid riots.
"We have simply got to get people in action politically," he said. "We have got to do the education job that is required. Unless we do that we are faced with nothing but tragedy."

Journal of Intergroup Relations,
Autumn 1966,
p. 47.

Michael Harrington reports that fifty per cent of the people of Watts were without work. If fifty per cent of the American people were out of work, we would not only have rioting and revolt; we would have revolution. Therefore why are we surprised that these people do this? And how chagrined we should be that, having done it, the government then makes a half-hearted effort and a response leading young Negroes to feel that this is one of the ways now to legitimize it.

My prediction: There is not a major city in this country—given the revolutionary mood of the Negro youth and their alienation and their separation from the leadership—which may not have a Watts, unless we are prepared to build a coalition of forces, including labor, religious groups, church groups and others, that will come forward with a truly revolutionary plan—a non-revolutionary plan is never adequate for a revolutionary situation.

Now, this is amusing, but it is terribly serious, because Watts has caused thousands of young Negroes in this country to speak not what is untrue but what is precisely true—that the great majority of white people in this country, and particularly those with political power, did in fact, after they had burned, bring in the war on poverty; did in fact, after they had pillaged, pay attention to them; did in fact, after the rampaging and the looting, finally say, "Well, something must be done." The danger is not so much from the looting or the burning; the real danger is that, objectively, from what these youngsters have seen happen, they now believe that looting and burning have become a legitimate means for forcing social change. If anyone is at fault, it is the authorities who have failed to see the first aspect of this revolution, which is dignity.

LRS-14

STERLING TUCKER

Washington Post,
July 22, 1967.

Washington Post,
June 18, 1967,
p. B2.

gave the keynote address.
"Rioting is a low and primitive but real form of communication," he said. "This is a way people feel they can get a response from a society that isn't listening."

Washington Urban League Director Sterling Tucker yesterday bitterly denounced the House-passed anti-riot bill and called it "punitive legislation to whip the Negro into line and make him a good boy."

Tucker, considered a moderate among civil rights leaders, told a press conference that the legislation would not prevent riots. He said it might keep responsible civil rights leaders from traveling to a troubled community to cool off a potential disturbance.

"The House of Representatives seems to forget that there is already legislation on the books designed to prevent riots," Tucker said.

"It's called the Economic Opportunity Act. It provides money and services that help get at many of the long standing causes for discontent in the ghetto."

GEORGE A. WILEY

Washington Post,
August 3, 1967,
p. B6.

The National Welfare Rights Movement director yesterday blamed an inadequate and "evil" welfare system for riots in American cities and predicted more violence unless recipients get more money from the Federal-state relief program.

George A. Wiley, head of the Poverty/Rights Action Center here, also charged that many Congressmen and citizens were seizing recent racial disorders as an excuse for airing their "fundamentally racist attitudes" and ignoring basic problems of ghetto dwellers.

LRS

New York Times
July 6

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LRS-14

STERLING TUCKER

Washington Post,
July 22, 1967.

Washington Urban League
Director Sterling Tucker yesterday
denounced the House-passed anti-riot bill and
called it "punitive legislation."
Tucker, considered a moderate
among civil rights leaders, said
the bill would not prevent
riots. He said it might
have the effect of making
the civil rights movement
less effective by making it
less attractive to a
broader audience.
He said that
the bill would
make it more
difficult for
the movement
to gain the
support of
the white
middle class.

New York Times,
July 6, 1966.

Besides denouncing their concept of black power, he rejected any modification of the doctrine of nonviolence as a prelude to "lynchings" and "counterviolence."

If nonviolence is reinterpreted to mean "instant retaliation" in cases adjudged by aggrieved persons to have been grossly unjust," Mr. Wilkins said, "this policy could produce in extreme situations lynchings, or, in better-sounding phraseology, private vigilante behavior."

"Moreover in attempting to substitute for derelict law enforcement machinery, the policy entails the risk of a broader, more indiscriminate crack-down by law officers under the ready-made excuse of restoring law and order."

LRS-15

ROY WILKINS

Christian Science Monitor,
November 16, 1966.

NAACP principles

To The Christian Science Monitor:

A few months ago the slogan black power was introduced into the civil-rights struggle. Since then it has created alarm and confusion among Americans of all races and has made it plain that civil-rights groups differ not only in strategy and tactics but also in objectives.

It is therefore appropriate at this juncture in history to state—or, more accurately, to restate—the fundamental principles which have guided the NAACP since 1909. Our objective now, as then, is the full participation of Negro Americans, without discrimination, in all phases of American life.

During these six decades we have employed many methods to achieve that objective. If these methods have any single common denominator, it is that they have always been nonviolent. Today nonviolence is stridently challenged on the premise that Negroes must defend themselves when attacked. But the right of Negroes and of all others to self-defense is not truly an issue. The NAACP has always defended this right.

What we oppose is the doctrine that Negroes should stand in armed readiness to retaliate and deal out punishment on their own. The record of unpunished murders of Negroes and civil-rights workers makes this position emotionally understandable, but its fruit would be disastrous. As private vigilante vengeance, it would inevitably breed white countervigilantism and would furnish a pretext to any law officer wishing to "crack down" on Negro protest.

A more serious issue is posed by the slogan black power. No matter how often it is defined, this slogan means antiwhite power. In a racially pluralistic society, black power has to mean that every other ethnic group is the antagonist. It has to mean "going it alone." It has to mean separatism.

We of the NAACP will have none of this. We have fought unceasingly for genuine pride of race and for the inherent nobility of equal citizenship. We deny that racial dignity requires the ranging of race against race.

We are Americans as well as Negroes. While we will fight to defend this country, we are also determined to improve it.

Roy Wilkins,
New York Executive Director, NAACP

LRS-16

ROY WILKINS

New York Times,
July 10, 1967.

rights between those who say they believe in law and order and those who say the only way to make you believe in law and order is for us to riot." Mr. Wilkins said the term "black power" was "provocative, antagonistic, and it tends to rouse opposition."

On Avoiding Riots

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said today that there would be more racial riots unless the white community did more to help Negroes gain jobs, housing and economic security. Mr. Wilkins, here for the annual convention of his organization, told a news conference: "There is a contest on civil

He said the N.A.A.C.P. had been working for years as a multiracial organization to help Negroes. "But when you make it an effort on ethnic grounds," he said, "you stir up other groups, and you rouse Italian power, Swede power, German power and all the others." Mr. Wilkins said some riots "could have been avoided with a little common sense." "In Chicago last year there was a riot because a cop told

some kids they couldn't open a hydrant," he said. "It was a regulation. After the riot the city bought hundreds of sprinklers, and portable swimming pools. But not until after the riot."

He continued: "In Boston you had a riot. It revolved around a question of public welfare. It was just a small segment of the people, but then it was augmented by youngsters with nothing to do who thought it was fun to break windows."

"In Buffalo, in that great industrial center, surrounded by a lot of other businesses, it was over jobs. Everybody knows the Negroes there need about 2,500 jobs—3,500 would be better—and they came up with 100 jobs for colored men."

He said that education, jobs

and housing were the three primary problems for Negroes in the urban centers.

"After that come police-community relations, and how welfare is handled, and those are the problems we are working on," he said.

New York Times,
July 16, 1967,
p. 55.

"This convention of the N.A.A.C.P. can understand, but not condone, quick violence which occurs to express mass resentment over a particular outrage."

"We cannot understand nor do we in any way condone prolonged and seemingly stimulated riotous destruction of life and property extending over days and nights and spreading, apparently under plan, to persons and places not involved in any specific occurrence."

"We condone such violence. However, much of the blame for this unfortunate eruption must be placed on the city administration for its failure to take corrective action to meet any of the grave social ills of the Negro community."

"Slum housing conditions in Newark are among the worst of any urban community in the United States. The recent effort of the Mayor to appoint an unqualified white man over an exceptionally qualified Negro to a post on the Board of Education in the face of a unified demand from the Negro community is certainly a contributing cause of the riot."

"We call upon all law-abiding citizens of both races to act promptly and sternly to put down such violence. Any indulgence of this destruction of life and property under the color of frustration over items that warrant more than routine attention, but do not warrant rioting, will be but an encouragement to an anarchy in which the whole society loses."

"There must be a rooting out of evils in race relations and a thorough redress of legitimate grievances, but insurrection cannot be tolerated as the instrument for the attainment of these goals."

Washington Star,
July 10, 1967,
p. A2.

"Black power permits some people to fall back on their groupness and their blackness so that they will be able to fight their way through the bind in this multiracial society," he remarked.

"And I sympathize with the struggle to get out of that bind. But I disagree on strategy. And I think that any definition of black power of an ethnic nature is going to antagonize people. I think it is a monumental error."

New York Times,
March 28, 1967,
p. 26.

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LRS-16

WILKINS

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LRS-17

WHITNEY YOUNG

New York Times,
March 28, 1966,
p. 26.

Young said he deplored cuts
in the antipoverty community
action budget by the last ses-
sion of Congress after organ-
ized poor groups had become
threats and irritants to may-
ors and Congressmen.

"It is better to have people
expressing their frustrations
and impatience and bitterness
through the normal machinery
for bringing about change
than to have them feel that
their only hope is to riot."

Washington Post,
January 21, 1967.

"We are not immune or free
of the possibility of riots," the
civil rights leader said after
an appearance on "Page One"
over WABC-TV. "The ingredi-
ents that precipitated the riots
of the past are still here. There
is more impatience, more anger
and more willingness to express
one's feeling."

"The Negro," he said, "is get-
ting terribly upset about the
fact that along about April or
May of every year you see a
great flurry of activity to pro-
duce something for the summer
to keep it cool."

"The Negro of the ghetto to-
day is increasingly of the no-
tion that the powers that be
are more interested in peace
and order than they are in the
promotion of justice and equal
opportunity."

"The Negro no longer can be
appealed to on the basis of
love and non-violence and being
patient," he said.

LRS-18

II. STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
Mayor of Atlanta

Washington Post,
September 8, 1967,
p. A4.

Ivan Allen Jr. today accused members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee of deliberately provoking a riot that injured 15 persons here Tuesday night. The Mayor, who personally directed police in restoring order after a mob of Negroes attacked them with rocks and bottles, said, "Hundreds of normally good citizens were inflamed out of their normal good senses. They were victims of those who sought to incite violence."

WARREN CHRISTOPHER
Vice chairman of the
Committee that investigated
the Watts riot.

Washington Post,
July 18, 1967.

"The riots I have looked at produced such a legacy of bitterness, hatred and fear that it takes a community months, years or maybe a decade to work its way out of a riot situation."

BRYCE KINNAMON
Police Chief of
Cambridge, Maryland

Washington Star,
August 2, 1967.

Kinnamon blamed the outbreak of the rioting in Cambridge on a highly inflammatory speech given by H. Rap Brown head of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and described how the streets were filled with people carrying shotguns, sawed-off shotguns, pistols and other arms soon after Brown spoke.

Kinnamon said that Brown brought out people with criminal records and the riffraff. Some, he added, were outsiders.

He also expressed the view that guns were made available at the meeting where Brown spoke and, he told the committee, the rioters "obviously had been trained" in the use of Molotov cocktails.

Kinnamon, when finally called as a witness, was asked by Eastland to "tell us exactly what happened."

Kinnamon testified that several weeks prior to the riot, efforts had been made to organize the Negroes in Cambridge, but there was little success. One small group was formed, the witness said, and it was announced that Brown would be there on the night of July 24 to speak.

He testified that Brown urged the Cambridge Negroes to "burn and tear Cambridge down . . . and shoot any policeman, black or white, who tried to interfere."

LRS-19

LEONARD KOWALEWSKI
President, New Jersey Lodge
of the Fraternal Order of Police
New York Times,
August 8, 1967,
p. 24.

At one point, Senator McClellan asked:
"Is it true that these people have become a privileged class in this country? Are they above the law?"
"You can carry a gun and not get through the streets," Kowalewski said. "Through that, Mr. McClellan, that's the way it is."

BRUCE KINNAMON
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At one point, Senator McClellan asked:

"Is it true that these rioters have become a privileged class in this country? Are they above the law?"

"You can carry a machete through the streets of Newark and not get locked up," Mr. Kowalewski said.

Throughout his testimony, Mr. Kowalewski maintained that the Newark riot—which stemmed from the arrest of a Negro taxi driver—had been planned.

"Within half an hour of the time he was locked up, there was a story around that he had been murdered," Mr. Kowalewski said. "Within another half hour, 75 taxicabs were lined up to take people downtown to picket and demonstrate outside the police station. I fail to understand how you can get 75 cabs lined up within half an hour."

JOHN V. LINDSAY
Mayor of New York

Washington Post,
July 29, 1967,
p. A1.

At a news conference, Lindsay said he felt the disorders this summer have "set back" progress in civil rights. The disturbances are "rooted in the problems of the poor and in urban decay" and "people who know the problem, and have lived with it ought to be tapped" for the commission, he said.

GEORGE ROMNEY
Governor of Michigan

New York Times
August 10, 1966,
p. 28.

—Gov. George Romney assailed advocates of "black power" today and threatened state action against the bands of youths who have taken part in two nights of racial violence.

In an appeal that put his personal and professional prestige on the line, Mr. Romney pleaded with "all citizens" to end the disturbances.

"I am gravely concerned over the events of the last two nights," the Michigan Governor said. "I believe that part of the reason for what has happened is a general confusion by many, particularly young people, over the question of power."

"The only power is that of democracy," he continued. "There can be no private power based on force—not black power nor white power nor shared power."

JOHN A. SARACE
Captain of Nashville Police

Washington Star,
August 3, 1967,
p. A3.

As police officers from riot-hit Cambridge, Md., and Cincinnati, Ohio, have testified, Sarace also said he believed that the Nashville rioting was "well organized" and followed a pattern similar to outbreaks in other cities.

The rioting occurred, Saracco said, after a visit and inflammatory speeches by Stokely Carmichael, the former head of SNCC who is now in Cuba.

LRS-20

FRANK A. SEDITA
Mayor of Buffalo

New York Times,
June 29, 1967,
p. 14.

Mr. Sedita told reporters that "out-of-towners" were responsible for the ghetto turmoil. "My information is that the trouble has not been started by local people," he said.

"On the contrary, local people have been working feverishly together to prevent what has happened."

The Mayor said he was willing to meet with anyone to discuss possible solutions to the problems that led to two nights of rioting.

Then he paused, glared at the cameras and added grimly: "But this is going to stop."

JACOB W. SHOTT
Police Chief of Cincinnati

Washington Star,
August 3, 1967,
p. A3.

Col. Jacob W. Shott, Cincinnati's police chief, testified yesterday that the rioting there was planned and organized by people who want black power.

Those who have adopted this philosophy, Shott added, feel

they "can't get a fair shake... the 'Soul' mark, he added, and the only way they can get back is 'burn, baby, burn.'"

The Cincinnati rioting, Shott testified, broke out in the Avondale area where the population has been about evenly divided—a quiet neighborhood with tree-lined streets and remodeling, the witness said, nothing like a ghetto.

Businesses owned and operated by white people were destroyed even though the greater percentage of workers were Negro, the police chief said. Those with Negro ownership identified by

were spared.

Since the rioting was brought under control, Shott said white businessmen in the area had been threatened and warned against trying to resume their operations there.

He said the Negro militants wanted complete control in the area and with regard to this he cited one of what he called 20 unreasonable demands that had been made on Cincinnati's city officials by the Negroes. This was that no policeman be assigned there "without community approval."

HAROLD M. TOLLEFSON
Mayor of Tacoma, Washington
President, National League
of Cities—reading their
resolution.

Washington Post, July 31, 1967,
p. A4.

The statement said "we call upon all citizens of this Nation and all levels of government to mobilize and supply all resources, including courts, military, state and local police, and FBI, in order:

- "To guarantee law and order for every community, and
- "To accelerate all programs designed to achieve better opportunity and decency in American life."

Q. V. WILLIAMSON
Alderman of Atlanta

Christian Science Monitor,
September 13, 1966, p. 3.

Mr. Williamson explains Atlanta's riots this way:

"This has been building up over a period of years. Lack of employment, poverty, and everything needed to be a good citizen has been missing in these areas [where the riots occurred]. It takes several ingredients to build a fire, and over a period of years, we'd been putting paper and kindling in these areas, but until last week, nobody had put a spark to them."

"Last Tuesday [Sept. 6] SNCC [the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] struck a match, and Saturday night [Sept. 10] a political candidate struck another one."

Mr. Williamson charged that Saturday night's violence was triggered by an incident "calculated and planned" by a segregationist candidate for governor. (Georgia's Democratic primary is Sept. 14.) He contended there was evidence to support his charge.

III. NATIONAL OFFICIALS

EDWARD BROOKE
Senator from Massachusetts
New York Times,
July 12, 1967,
p. 22.

Senator Brooke accused public authorities of reluctance to move ahead with new laws and the proper enforcement of the laws. "As a result," he said, "more Negroes believe that through the only proper contribution to the objective of the movement."

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III. NATIONAL OFFICIALS

EDWARD BROOKE
Senator from Massachusetts
New York Times,
July 12, 1967,
p. 32.

Senator Brooke accused public authorities of reluctance to push ahead with new laws and the proper enforcement of existing laws.

"As a result," he said, "more and more Negroes have come to believe that progress is possible only through militant action, that moderation has failed to accomplish enough to satisfy the objectives of the civil rights movement."

Continuing, the Senator said: "The state and local governments have been extremely shortsighted. They have failed to provide the most elementary services for the Negro communities within their cities. Legitimate grievances are legion. Action to eliminate them lags."

"A disgruntled and potentially revolutionary class grows at a record pace. The very public figures who most often deplore the rise of militant civil rights leadership are often its unwitting partners."

"Each time that extremism compels a state or municipal government to take long-overdue but desirable and necessary action upon grievances, moderation suffers another defeat in the eyes of the Negro community."

Mr. Brooke asserted that "the answer to extremism is clear."

"Government at all levels," he said, "must respond to the legitimate requests of responsible civil rights leadership. Black power is a response to white irresponsibility."

EMANUEL CELLER
Representative from New York

U.S. News & World Report,
June 20, 1966,
p. 37.

Mr. Celler warned, however, that "sinister influences among certain Negro groups" might "sabotage" efforts to pass new legislation. He said:

"When the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with its fiery chairman, Stokely Carmichael, deprecates integration and demands black nationalism, and when others of the same ilk . . . accentuate the theory of blacks for blacks and the devil take the whites . . . the task of getting any effective civil-rights bill at this session of Congress will be thorny, if not impossible."

RAMSEY CLARK
Attorney General

Washington Post,
July 10, 1967,
p. A 4.

Clark said the letter will advise each Governor of the legal requirements for using Federal troops to put down domestic violence. He listed as the three basic requirements:

1. That a situation of serious "domestic violence" exists within the State.
2. That such violence cannot be brought under control by the law enforcement resources available to the Governor, including local and state police forces and the National Guard. The judgment required here is that there is a definite need for the assistance of Federal troops, taking into account the remaining time needed to move them into action at the scene of violence.
3. That the Legislature or the Governor request the President to employ the armed forces to bring the violence under control.

The Attorney General made the remark before a Senate sub-committee studying fire-arms control legislation.

He added that the Nation had "an immense job to do" in the central cities of large, metropolitan areas.

"It's a building of excellence," he said, adding that cities need "better police, better pay for police." He said the cities should hire police who are "alert to the environmental condition and community relations and the building of correctional institutions" that offer better chances for rehabilitation for convicted criminals.

LRS-22
CONGRESS

House Committee on Un-American Activities.

New York Times,
August 3, 1967,
p. 16.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2 (AP) study indicates that Communist parties, and fronts created by them, have been distributing literature in Negro areas which is inflammatory in nature and is designed to foment hatred of, and resentment against, police forces, city and state administrations and the Federal Government.

The still-secret study, prepared by the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, recommended that the committee undertake a formal investigation of the role of subversive elements in the riots. Such a decision may be made later this week.

The study said that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose leaders include Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, initiated and helped to incite rioting in Atlanta last year and in Nashville, Tenn., this year.

As for Chicago, the report contended that a riot in August, 1965, and the incidents that touched it off "were deliberately planned in advance by certain leaders of A.C.T., a militant civil rights group who are also members of the Revolutionary Action Movement and are using A.C.T. as a R.A.M. front."

Many Riots Spontaneous

The study held that many of the riots in 1964, 1965 and 1966 were spontaneous, including the Watts riot in Los Angeles in 1965 and a riot in Chicago's Puerto Rican section in 1966.

But it said that "evidence contained in the report makes it clear that a Communist organization, the Progressive Labor party, played an important role in instigating the Harlem riot in 1964.

"Beyond that," it added, "as far as Communist organizations are concerned, information in the preliminary

study indicates that Communist parties, and fronts created by them, have been distributing literature in Negro areas which is inflammatory in nature and is designed to foment hatred of, and resentment against, police forces, city and state administrations and the Federal Government."

The report contends that literature and speeches, "whether Communist or Black Nationalist in origin, are often so extreme and violent in nature that they appear to be clearly intended to engender such resentment and hatred of the police that riots can be sparked by a perfectly normal and proper police action—the simple arrest of a Negro for drunkenness, speeding, etc., in which the arresting officer's conduct is above reproach."

"Some of the literature of the Black Nationalist organizations and the speeches of their leaders—and of leaders of S.N.C.C.—go beyond merely promoting hatred of police," the report added. "They openly call for the use of weapons—for violence, burning and killings."

Reaction to anti-riot bill

Washington Post,
August 3, 1967,
p. A 8.

But several Committee members indicated clearly that they had misgivings about the bill, which passed the House last month by 347 to 70.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) said he doubted there could ever be a conviction under the bill as it is drafted. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) called it a "fraud on the American people," because it may "present an appearance of action where there has in fact been only reaction; it may lull the Congress and the public into a sense of complacency about having done something to control riots when in fact we have done nothing."

The bill would make it a Federal crime to cross state lines with the purpose of inciting a riot.

"We are only fooling ourselves if we believe this bill will solve the basic problem facing our Nation," Sen. Edward V. Long (D-Mo.) said. And Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) said that "this bill and 97 like it wouldn't have stopped what happened in Detroit."

Comments on troops to Detroit.

U. S. News & World Report,
August 7, 1967.

Reaction in Congress. Senator Robert Griffin (Rep.), of Michigan, criticized Mr. Johnson for not moving federal troops into Detroit sooner. The Senator read a report from "The Detroit News" which said the President acted only after Representative Charles Diggs, Jr. (Dem.), of Michigan, a Negro, threatened to go on television and charge that troops were being withheld for political reasons.

Representative Carl Albert, of Oklahoma, House Democratic Leader, said the President didn't move troops into Michigan sooner because Governor Romney was slow in making such a request.

Representative Robert H. Michel (Rep.), of Illinois, said the nation was now reaping "the sorry whirlwind" of bad decisions by the Supreme Court. Representative Thomas G. Abernethy (Dem.), of Mississippi, said all legislators who supported civil-rights legislation had encouraged "black power" advocates to riot. See his remarks, page 33.

Representative Durward G. Hall (Rep.), of Missouri, blamed radio and television for overexposing Negro agitators. He said it built them up from "odd balls" into national figures.

PAUL H. DODD
Former Senator from Illinois
Washington Post
August 14, 1967,
p. A 17.

Former Sen. Paul H. Dodd (D-Ill.), said yesterday "fundamental differences" solving the race "lack of will on the American people." "Except at he told the Arlington "there was war" to Negro "it

The bill would make state-
funded riot control riots when in-
surrendering done only in the
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ducing a riot.
"We are only fooling our-
selves if we believe this bill
solves the basic problem
of our nation," Sen. Ed-
ward Brooke (D-Mo.) said.
Philip A. Hart (D-
Mich.) said "this bill has
not been passed because
it wouldn't have
passed in D.C."

Philip A. Hart, Democrat of Michigan, said:
 "This bill and 97 more like it would not have stopped [the riots in] Detroit."

LRS-24

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director of the F.B.I.

Washington Star,
August 2, 1967.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, was quoted today as reporting that "outside agitators" have been a factor in city riots, although the FBI has no evidence to date of a conspiracy for organizing them.

David Ginsburg, executive director of President Johnson's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, disclosed this today in answering questions of reporters about testimony by Hoover before the commission yesterday.

Congressional Record,
July 31, 1967,
p. H9624.

Regarding outside influences in riots and disturbances, Director J. Edgar Hoover had this to say before a House Appropriations subcommittee earlier this year:

For the most part the riots and disorders that have occurred in this country since the summer of 1964 were sparked by a single incident, generally following an arrest of a Negro by local police for some minor infraction of the law. Although most of the riots and disturbances have been characterized by spontaneous outbursts of mob violence dominated by young hoodlums, the involvement of other violent, lawless, subversive, and extremist elements became readily apparent as the rioting grew and spread.

Continuing his testimony, Mr. Hoover stated:

Communists and other subversives and extremists strive and labor ceaselessly to precipitate racial trouble and to take advantage of racial discord in this country. Such elements were active in exploiting and aggravating the riots, for example, in Harlem, Watts, Cleveland, and Chicago.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice-President

U.S. News & World Report,
August 8, 1966,
p. 40.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey: Describing what he would do if he had to live in slums—"I think you'd have more trouble than you have had already, because I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions." The Vice President also said that unless Congress provides rent subsidies for the poor, "We will have open violence in every major city and county in America." (July 18 speech at New Orleans.)

LRS-24

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director of the F.B.I.

Congressional Record,
July 31, 1967,
p. B9624.

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LRS-25

NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH
Under Secretary of State

New York Times,
January 30, 1967,
p. 16.

"that men who
and justly treated do not riot;
men with a stake in their soci-
ty do not pillage and burn."

His comments followed by
less than two days an outbreak
of violence in two Negro ghettos
of Chicago, where bands of loot-
ers broke into stores and tav-
erns during a heavy snowstorm.

"The violence and terror of
Hough or a Harlem or a
Watts must be condemned," he
said, referring to Negro ghettos
in Cleveland, New York and Los
Angeles, which have been the
scenes of racial disorders in
recent years.

"To denounce is simple," he
said. "What is difficult, what is
necessary, is to understand."

For 12 years, he said, Amer-
ica has been alive "to revolution
against the legacy of injustice
visited upon the American
Negro."

"After a century of failure,"
he said, "America seized on
that rare thing in the history
of nations—a second chance to
redress ancient wrongs and to
confer the full rights of citizen-
ship on the Negro in reality as
well as rhetoric."

He said justice and fairness
are not rewards for good con-
duct and that the country must
push ahead toward those goals
regardless of the behavior of the
poor and disadvantaged.

"We cannot say to any group:
You may share in democracy,
you may share in fairness—but
only if you behave yourself,"
Mr. Katzenbach asserted.

To be just to the Negro edu-
cationally after the race sys-
tematically has been deprived
of quality education may take
money, he said, and the same
is true of health or employment.

"But it does not require new
appropriations to answer fairly
when the Negro asks why he
has been deprived of the vote,"
he said.

He said it was his belief that
"we are, all of us, when justice
requires it, revolutionaries."

ROBERT F. KENNEDY
Senator from New York

U.S. News & World Report,
August 8, 1966,
p. 40.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy (Dem.), of New York: "There
is no point in telling Negroes to obey the law," because "to
many Negroes the law is the enemy," and in the New York
City riot areas, the law "has almost always been used
against Negroes." (Statement of Aug. 17, 1965.)

LRS-26

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
President

Johnson's statement
after Detroit.
Washington Post,
July 29, 1967,
p. A 1.

"Let us feed and care for
those who have suffered at
the rioters' hands—but let
there be no bonus or reward
or salutes for those who have
inflicted that suffering."

Johnson's statement about
sending troops to Detroit.
U.S. News & World Report,
August 7, 1967.

Johnson: "I take this action with the great-
est regret—and only because of the clear,
unmistakable and undisputed evidence
that Governor Romney and the local
officials have been unable to bring the
situation under control.

"Law enforcement is a local matter.
It is the responsibility of local officials
and the Governors. . . . The Federal
Government should not intervene, ex-
cept in extraordinary circumstances.

"The fact of the matter, however, is
that law and order have broken down
in Detroit. Pillage, looting, murder and
arson have nothing to do with civil
rights. They are criminal conduct. The
Federal Government in the circumstances
here presented had no alternative but to
respond."

LAW AND ORDER IN AMERICA

The President's Address to the Nation on Civil Disorders. July 27, 1967

My fellow Americans:

We have endured a week such as no nation should live through: a
time of violence and tragedy.

For a few minutes tonight, I want to talk about that tragedy—and
I want to talk about the deeper questions it raises for us all.

I am tonight appointing a special Advisory Commission on Civil
Disorders.

Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois has agreed to serve as Chairman.
Mayor John Lindsay of New York will serve as Vice Chairman. Its other
members will include Fred R. Harris, Senator from Oklahoma; Edward
W. Brooke, United States Senator from Massachusetts; James C. Cor-
man, U.S. Representative from California, 22d District, Los Angeles;

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William M. McCulloch
the 4th District; I. W.
Charles B. Thornton
of Litton Industries
NAACP; Kath
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authorities have been unable to bring the
situation under control.
The Federal
Government is a local matter;
it is not the business of local officials
to intervene in such circumstances.
Under the circumstances, ex-
treme action, however, is
not warranted. The Federal
Government is broken down
by the murder and civil
disobedience with civil
disobedience. The
Government is broken down
but the Government is broken down

William M. McCulloch, the U.S. Representative from the State of Ohio, the 4th District; I. W. Abel, the president of the United Steel Workers; Charles B. Thornton, the president, director, and chairman of the board of Litton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the NAACP; Katherine Graham Peden, the Commissioner of Commerce of the State of Kentucky; Herbert Jenkins, the chief of police, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Commission will investigate the origins of the recent disorders in our cities. It will make recommendations—to me, to the Congress, to the State Governors, and to the mayors—for measures to prevent or contain such disasters in the future.

In their work, the Commission members will have access to the facts that are gathered by Director Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots, in accordance with my standing instructions, and continue to search for evidence of conspiracy.

But even before the Commission begins its work, and even before all the evidence is in, there are some things that we can tell about the outbreaks of this summer.

First—let there be no mistake about it—the looting, arson, plunder, and pillage which have occurred are not part of the civil rights protest. There is no American right to loot stores, or to burn buildings, or to fire rifles from the rooftops. That is crime—and crime must be dealt with forcefully, and swiftly, and certainly—under law.

Innocent people, Negro and white, have been killed. Damage to property—owned by Negroes and whites—is calamitous. Worst of all, fear and bitterness which have been loosed will take long months to erase.

The criminals who committed these acts of violence against the people deserve to be punished—and they must be punished. Explanations may be offered, but nothing can excuse what they have done.

There will be attempts to interpret the events of the past few days. But when violence strikes, then those in public responsibility have an immediate and a very different job: not to analyze, but to end disorder.

That they must seek to do with every means at their command: through local police, State officials, and—in extraordinary circumstances where local authorities have stated that they cannot maintain order with their own resources—then through Federal power that we have limited authority to use.

I have directed the Secretary of Defense to issue new training standards for riot control procedures immediately to National Guard units across the country. Through the Continental Army Command, this expanded training will begin immediately. The National Guard must have the ability to respond effectively, quickly, and appropriately, in conditions of disorder and violence.

Those charged with the responsibility of law enforcement should, and must, be respected by all of our people. The violence must be stopped: quickly, finally, and permanently.

It would compound the tragedy, however, if we should settle for order that is imposed by the muzzle of a gun.

In America, we seek more than the uneasy calm of martial law. We seek peace that is based on one man's respect for another man—and upon mutual respect for law. We seek a public order that is built on steady progress in meeting the needs of all of our people.

MONDAY, JULY 31, 1967

LRS-28

Not even the sternest police action, nor the most effective Federal troops, can ever create lasting peace in our cities.

The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack—mounted at every level—upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions—not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America.

In the past 3½ years, we have directed the greatest governmental effort in all of our American history at these ancient enemies. The roll call of those laws reveals the depth of our concern: the Model Cities Act, the Voters Rights Act, the Civil Rights Acts, the Rent Supplement Act, Medicare and Medicaid, the 24 educational bills, Head Start, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Teacher Corps, manpower development and training. And many, many more acts too numerous to mention on television tonight.

We will continue to press for laws which would protect our citizens from violence, like the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act now under consideration in the Congress, and the Gun Control Act.

Our work has just begun. Yet there are those who feel that even this beginning is too much. There are those who would have us turn back even now, at the beginning of this journey.

Last week in Congress, a small but important plan for action in the cities was voted down in the House of Representatives. The Members of that body rejected my request for \$20 million to fight the pestilence of rats—rats which prowl in dark alleys and tenements, and attack thousands of city children. The passage of this legislation would have meant much to the children of the slums. A strong Government that has spent millions to protect baby calves from worms could surely afford to show as much concern for baby boys and girls.

There are some tonight who feel that we cannot afford a model cities program. They reduced my request for funds this year by two-thirds.

There are some who feel that we cannot afford additional good teachers for the children of poverty in urban areas. Or new efforts to house those who are most in need of housing. Or to aid in education to those who need to read and write.

Theirs is a strange system of bookkeeping.

I believe we should be counting the assets that these measures can bring to America: cities richer in opportunity; cities more full of promise; cities of order, progress, and happiness. Instead, some are counting the seeds of bitterness.

This is not a time for angry reaction. It is a time for action: starting with legislative action to improve the life in our cities. The strength and promise of the law are the surest remedies for tragedy in the streets.

But laws are only one answer. Another answer lies in the way our people will respond to these disturbances.

There is a danger that the worst toll of this tragedy will be counted in the hearts of Americans: in hatred, in insecurity, in fear, in heated words which will not end the conflict, but prolong it.

So let us acknowledge the tragedy; but let us not exaggerate it.

Let us look about tonight. Let us look at ourselves. We will see these things:

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and productive lives.
Most Americans, Negro
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Nothing can destroy
and suspicion between the
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Most Americans, Negro and white, are leading decent, responsible, and productive lives.

Most Americans, Negro and white, seek safety in their neighborhoods and harmony with their neighbors.

Nothing can destroy good will more than a period of needless strife and suspicion between the races.

Let us condemn the violent few. But let us remember that it is law-abiding Negro families who have really suffered most at the hands of the rioters. It is responsible Negro citizens who hope most fervently—and need most urgently—to share in America's growth and prosperity.

This is no time to turn away from that goal.

To reach it will require more than laws, and much more than dollars. It will take renewed dedication and understanding in the heart of every citizen.

I know there are millions of men and women tonight who are eager to heal the wounds that we have suffered; who want to get on with the job of teaching and working and building America.

In that spirit, at the conclusion of this address, I will sign a proclamation tonight calling for a day of prayer in our Nation throughout all of our States. On this Sunday, July 30, I urge the citizens in every town, every city, and every home in this land to go into their churches—to pray for order and reconciliation among men.

I appeal to every Governor, every mayor, every preacher, and every teacher and parent to join and give leadership in this national observance.

This spirit of dedication cannot be limited to our public leaders. It must extend to every citizen in this land. And the man who speaks to break the peace must feel the powerful disapproval of all of his neighbors.

So tonight, I call upon every American to search his own heart.

And to those who are tempted by violence, I would say this: Think again. Who is really the loser when violence comes? Whose neighborhood is made a shambles? Whose life is threatened most?

If you choose to tear down what other hands have built,

—You will not succeed;

—You will suffer most from your own crimes;

—You will learn that there are no victors in the aftermath of violence.

The apostles of violence, with their ugly drumbeat of hatred, must know that they are now heading for ruin and disaster. And every man who really wants progress or justice or equality must stand against them and their miserable virus of hate.

For other Americans, especially those in positions of public trust, I have this message:

Yours is the duty to bring about a peaceful change in America. If your response to these tragic events is only "business as usual"—you invite not only disaster, but dishonor.

So, my fellow citizens, let us go about our work. Let us clear the streets of rubble and quench the fires that hatred set. Let us feed and care for those who have suffered at the rioter's hands—but let there be no bonus or reward or salutes for those who have inflicted that suffering.

Let us resolve that this violence is going to stop and there will be no bonus to flow from it. We can stop it. We must stop it. We will stop it.

And let us build something much more lasting: faith between man

LRS-30

and man, faith between race and race. Faith in each other—and faith in the promise of beautiful America.

Let us pray for the day when "mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Let us pray—and let us work for better jobs and better housing and better education that so many millions of our own fellow Americans need so much tonight.

Let us then act in the Congress, in the city halls, and in every community, so that this great land of ours may truly be "one Nation under God—with liberty and justice for all."

Goodnight and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in his office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

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THRUSTON MORTON
Senator from Kentucky

Christian Science Monitor,
August 2, 1967,
p. 13.

In explaining his plan, the Senator said:
"My proposal is a relatively simple concept. Its principal difficulties would be in implementation."

"I'm urging that a joint resolution be enacted as soon as possible, providing the President with the power of transferability to direct the allocation to potential trouble spots of 10 percent of all federal urban-program funds."

"With that as a beginning I feel we must also authorize the President to make available to our mayors and other local officials up to 10 percent of those urban funds yet to be appropriated in the next fiscal year. This anti-riot war chest could amount to more than \$1 billion."

Asked about the use of such funds at the local level, the Senator said:

"I think that local governors and mayors have reached the point where they would use the money responsibly—and not politically. They are tense, and worried. They want to avoid these riots. I feel they would use it effectively."

"My thinking," he said, "is that in every troubled spot these funds be used to set up a youth organization, of young men between the ages of 16 and 25. These would be men from among the jobless, among the potential activists of riots."

"They would be given pay to serve as an auxiliary, reserve force to calm the public. Give them white hats and a brown belt. That's what they would be paid for—as a reserve force to prevent riots. And give them a decent wage."

"Then every effort should be made—among unions, in industry—to find full-time jobs for these young men. In the City of Louisville, for example, this group would perhaps number 200. In the bigger cities it would have to be a much bigger group."

"Get these youngsters employed. Give them a feeling of responsibility and usefulness and dignity. And do it right now. Not later. This plan is something that would help in the short range, and it is where we need help."

Previously, the Senator had been critical of his own party leaders for blaming the President for the riots. At the same time he criticized the President for "playing politics" in the way in which he responded to the appeal for federal troops in Detroit.

The Senator said that the new presidential commission "could be useful" in finding out "who triggered the riots."

"But," he said, "it won't help if, in the end, they simply tell us that we need to do something about housing, education, and jobs. We've known that for a long time."

OTTO KERNER
Governor of Illinois
Chairman, President's
Committee on Civil Disorder

New York Times,
July 29, 1967,
p. 8.

The Governor said the President had told him that the full resources of the Government would be at the disposal of the commission. Mr. Kerner said that it was also important that the full resources of the Government be available "to wage war against poverty and discrimination."

"There must be no holds barred in this war," the Governor said.

He called it "a war that is truly a continuation of the American Revolution."

He barred prejudice of the participants in recent disturbances, but said "without hesitation" that "there is no room in America for any provocateurs who would wish to change the course of our democracy, aimed always at a harmonious society in which all people pursue happiness and freedom without sapping that same strength and purpose from his neighbor."

"I agree with President Johnson that first, lawlessness and violence cannot be tolerated or condoned in our society. I also agree with his expression of his continuing conviction that we must work with urgency to make equal opportunity real for all Americans. I would, therefore, assume that our recommendations would be in both fields."

LRS-32

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

Washington Post,
May 30, 1966,
p. 27.

"Negroes need more arrogance of power but it must be 'God-inspired, God-led,' Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) said yesterday.

The "era of compromise for the black man" is gone, he told graduating students in a baccalaureate speech at Howard University.

The leaders of Negroes have been drugging them too long with the "LSD" of integration and civil rights, he said. Consequently, integration has been marked by "intellectual mediocrity, economic inferiority and political subservience."

Civil rights are man-made but human rights are God-given, Powell said. To demand human rights, the Negro must seek "audacious power—the power to build black institutions of splendid achievement," he said.

The Negro must cast out those "that sell black people down the river," Powell declared. He deplored the use of conferences to promote civil rights and gaped at the White House Conference of civil rights leaders scheduled for this week. SNCC leaders have announced they will boycott it.

U.S. News & World Report,
August 8, 1966,
p. 40.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell (Dem.), of New York: "It is almost a historical axiom that you can only trample on a people so long before that people reach up from the gutters and try to break both your feet. This is precisely what black people did in Los Angeles. I do not agree nor have I ever accepted violence as a solution. I have always condemned it. But, in Los Angeles, this was an oppressed people's last resort proclaiming to the world: 'Now hear this: The world heard and listened carefully and with awed respect.'" (Address in Buffalo, N.Y., Aug. 27, 1965.)

New York Times,
October 10, 1966,
p. 33.

"Black power is the brain power," Mr. Powell said, "that admonishes instead of 'Burn, baby, burn,' we should be shouting 'Learn, baby, learn.' Instead of lighting up the sky with Molotov cocktails, we should be brightening the skies with the stars of millions of registered voters. Instead of throwing fire bombs, we should fire up our energies to build more black-owned businesses in our communities."

Washington Star,
July 26, 1967,
p. A 1.

He said Congress had to bear some of the blame for riots. The Detroit riots, he commented, were due to conditions among Negroes in that city. They are "still being mercilessly crowded into the filthiest, dilapidated slums. They need room to breathe," he said.

Powell predicted that new rioting would "explode" in more than a dozen cities unless Negroes are nominated to Congress by Sept. 1. He didn't explain why he used that date.

He said the cities were Brooklyn, the Bronx (New York City), Newark, Atlanta, St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago's west side, two areas of Mississippi, an unnamed city in South Carolina, Richmond and Baltimore.

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CLAYTON POWELL

LRS-33

REPUBLICANS

Neighborhood Action Crusade

Washington Star,
August 1, 1967,
p. A 3.

The four GOP members who introduced the resolution in the House and urged the White House to implement it were George Bush of Texas, William O. Cowger of Kentucky, Charles E. Goodell of New York and William A. Steiger of Wisconsin.

"The overwhelming majority of Negro Americans are dedicated citizens strongly opposed to disorder and violence," they wrote President Johnson. "Involvement of these, our fellow citizens in keeping the peace within their own neighborhoods is essential to the resolution of the current crisis in our cities."

"De-Fuse the Tensions"

"We suggest that you use the persuasive powers of the presidency by dramatically calling upon the communities to initiate a Neighborhood Action Crusade to de-fuse the tensions threatening the lives and property of urban Americans. We view the crusade as autonomous local programs organized, developed and directed completely by local citizens."

"We urge the creation of the Neighborhood Action Crusade, local quasi-volunteer organizations to work constructively in rallying the stabilizing influence that exists in the neighborhoods," they said.

Republican Co-ordinating Committee

U.S. News & World Report,
August 7, 1967.

One major attack on President Johnson was by the Republican Co-ordinating Committee, which includes former President Eisenhower, eight Republican Governors and 16 congressional leaders. The group adopted a resolution which, in part, read:

"Rioting and violent civil disorders have grown to a national crisis since the present Administration took office."

"When city after city across the nation is overwhelmed by riots, looting, arson and murder which mounting evidence indicates may be the result of organized planning and execution on a national scale, the Federal Government must accept its national responsibility."

"The nation is in crisis and this Administration has failed even to make a proposal to protect our people. . . ."

"We are rapidly approaching a state of anarchy and the President has totally failed to recognize the problem. Worse, he has vetoed legislation and opposed other legislation designed to re-establish peace and order within the country."

LRS-34

HUGH SCOTT
Senator from Penn.

New York Times,
August 2, 1967,
p. 17.

ROBERT C. WEAVER
Secretary of Housing

Washington Star,
August 6, 1967,
p. A 7.

Secretary of Housing Robert C. Weaver says, "If the current riots keep up, our cities definitely are in danger of disintegrating entirely—they just can't stand it."

But, he says, "I don't think that has to happen" because "violence can be suppressed and put down by law enforcement."

In an interview, the nation's first Negro cabinet member said:

"The type of riots we've been having is a tragic and serious development and threatens the whole fabric of America unless something is done about it."

Weaver said the relationship of the riots to the problems behind them is like an iceberg: "The violence is what you see above the surface. What you don't see is below."

Asked whether the reaction of many whites to the riots might threaten to destroy relations between white and Negro in America, Weaver said:

"There are dangers of that. The question is whether this is an instant reaction or a deep-seated one, and I don't think anybody can tell now."

He said the initial reaction—both from the public and from Congress—has been negative: "I would be less than honest if I did not say that."

But he said he has hopes that such feelings will subside within a few months and that Congress still will meet the Johnson administration's basic requests for such programs as model cities, rent supplements and antipoverty.

The House has in effect killed the rent supplement program and has drastically reduced funds for the model cities program. The measures now are in the Senate.

New York Times,
August 2, 1967,
p. 67.

"Thus, he said, 'I do not ignore the angry words of the militants. For their tone, their demand for reform, their challenge of dominant values, their repudiation of middle-class behavior are real and basic.'"

The difference between the old gang ghetto violence of former times and that of today, he said, was that "today the larger society is increasingly the target."

"Class antagonisms within the minority group accompany attacks upon the power structure," the Negro official said. "This behavior, in turn, is reinforced when society tends to remain inactive unless or until there is the threat of violence or disorder."

Nevertheless, the Secretary affirmed, "unless I read incorrectly the mood of Negro America, most Negroes want to be able to believe in the promises of our democratic institutions."

Senator Hugh Scott said today that news media "in many instances inadvertently contributed to the turmoil" in their reporting of recent riots.

The Pennsylvania Republican held a news conference he was urging the wire services and the broadcasting networks to "draw up a code of emergency procedure to be followed in reporting riots."

He said they should balance the statements of "violent extremists" with appeals for law and order by moderate Negro leaders.

The Senator said he has written to officials of The Associated Press, United Press International, American Broadcasting Company, Columbia Broadcasting System, Mutual Broadcasting Company and the National Broadcasting Company.

Asked if he believed that television had contributed to the violence and had been used by extremists to further their purposes, Mr. Scott said:

"I am afraid that it has. If you are going to fill the screen with H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, what they say is going to be a signal to their followers in other cities to start riots there."

WILLARD WIRTZ
Secretary of Labor

Washington Post,
May 17, 1967,
p. 1.

By repeatedly referring to the possibility of explosive slum situations, said Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, the Senators are contributing in part "to the likelihood of that explosion."

IV. EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS

CALIFORNIA ADVISORY
TO THE U.S. COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington Post
January 23

It observed that
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LRS-34
 HUGH SCOTT
 Senator from Penn.
 New York Times,
 August 2, 1967,

Senator Hugh Scott said today that news media "in many instances inadvertently contribute to the turmoil" in their reporting of recent riots. The Pennsylvania Republican said a news conference he was holding the wire services and the broadcasting networks to "draw up a code of emergency procedure" to be followed in reporting riots. He said they should balance the statements of "violent extremists" with appeals for law and order by moderate Negro leaders. The Senator said he has written to officials of the Associated Press, United Press International, American Press International, Columbia Broadcasting System, Mutual Broadcasting System, and the National Broadcasting Company. Asked if he believed that television had contributed to the violence and had been used by rioters to further their purposes, Mr. Scott said: "I am afraid that it has. If you go to the screen and see what a signal they give to the cities to start

LRS-35

IV. EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS

CALIFORNIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington Post,
 January 23, 1966, p. A6.

It observed that the McCone report demonstrated "a surprising ignorance of studies conducted by other groups" and "a tendency to criticize those who ask for a redress of grievances rather than those who deprive citizens of their constitutional rights." They added that the McCone Commission in effect "whitewashed Chief Parker and the administration of the Police Department."

The rights group said that in view of this and other studies "... we cannot help but feel that the absence of constructive steps to avert a riot, and the lack of preparation for dealing with one when it occurred, constituted acts of gross negligence on the part of local officials, including Mayor (Samuel W.) Yorty and Chief of Police Parker.

"The officials of Los Angeles were expressly warned of the possibility of riots, failed to act, and instead chose to label those who cried out for reform as troublemakers or rabble-rousers."

The advisory group told the Civil Rights Commission that the McCone report's recommendations for an inspector general in the Police Department and a more active Police Commission "fall far short of a serious treatment of the problem" and added:

DAVID CAPLOVITZ Sociologist

New York Times,
 October 11, 1966.

The professor, David Caplovitz, said that a report on the nationwide pattern of recent riots showed evidence that they were really consumer revolts. The report is being prepared for the National Crime Commission by Robert Fogelson, a historian at Columbia.

Mr. Caplovitz, a sociologist and author of the 1963 book "The Poor Pay More," testified before a House government operations subcommittee investigating the extent to which the Federal agencies protect the American consumer.

"In the past year or so, we have seen some alarming evidence that the poor are aware of the exploitation they face in the marketplace and are rebelling against it," the professor said.

"Selectivity" of Rioters

"Students of the riots that have swept our country have been struck by the selectivity exercised by the rioters in their destruction. It seems that not all buildings are ransacked and burned, but mainly those of the credit merchants," he added.

Reached by telephone in New York, Mr. Fogelson confirmed that he was writing a 40,000-word document for the commission. This and dozens of other reports dealing with crime and violence will be condensed and presented to President Johnson Jan. 23.

Mr. Fogelson's findings were based on interviews in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York and other data gathered from Rochester, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Omaha and San Francisco over a 10-week period.

Mr. Fogelson disputed the assertion of the McCone Commission study on the Watts riot that it was "a formless, quite senseless, all but hopeless violent protest."

"There and elsewhere," Mr. Fogelson said, "if you look at the rioting what becomes clear is that the forms of violence are not senseless but an articulate expression of very specific grievances that plague the ghetto."

Various efforts have been made to blame the civil rights movement for the recent outbursts of violence and looting in Northern and Western Negro ghettos. Even though a link between the civil rights movement and the "riots" seems quite doubtful, much confusion remains on this point.

Part of the blurring of issues may be due to purposeful distortions by enemies of the movement. But part of it also may have resulted from incompletely reported statements by leaders of civil rights groups who view the "riots" as part of the "Negro Revolt," involving misguided forms of social protest. Yet several veteran leaders of "direct action" civil rights groups risked their lives attempting to curtail the violence in New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. Their hostile reception by the mobs was stark testimony to the negligibility of the impact their organizations had had upon the poor Negroes of the North and West.

As Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote very recently in the "Saturday Review," nonviolent direct action "has never been utilized on a large or protracted scale in the North." Indeed there has been (and still is) a massive vacuum in organization, strategy, and leadership among the poor in the Northern ghettos. Part of the vacuum has been filled, King writes, by angry proponents of Black Nationalism whose exhortations do not include programs of organized community action that either would express feelings of protest or achieve actual relief from social oppression. The major civil rights organizations devoted to community-based non-violent direct action (SCLC, SNCC and CORE) are now moving speedily, though belatedly, toward substantial involvement with the people and problems of the Northern ghettos.

Predictions Hazardous

If direct action by organized communities "moves North," what might some of the consequences be? In particular, what effect would this have on the amount of violent crime among ghetto Negroes? Predictions are very hazardous in this complex field. Nevertheless, on the basis of our investigation into two Southern cities and one town in a Border state, we would anticipate a lessening of the "routine" violence and crime within the ghettos—at least for the duration of community mobilization for public protest.

Our research findings, which will be summarized below, have confirmed the informal observations of several activists in the Southern civil rights movement. In his book

"Stride Toward Freedom," Dr. King mentions a sharp decline of crime and "Saturday night violence" within the Negro community of Montgomery, Ala. during its historic bus boycott of 1955-56. We asked Mr. Bayard Rustin for his recollection of this phenomenon, inasmuch as he had been an aide and advisor to Dr. King during the boycott. Mr. Rustin stated that the Negro nurses and physicians in Montgomery were quite aware of the diminution of knifings and other violence in the Negro community during its year of organized protest. He correctly predicted, however, that we would be unable to obtain any data from the police department of that city.

Similar observations were made at Howard University by Mrs. Gloria Richardson in her remarks during the 1963 Gandhi Memorial Conference on Youth, Nonviolence and Social Change. Speaking (as both a social worker and a civil rights leader) of the potential power of the direct action arm of the civil rights movement to reach even the "alienated," unemployed Negroes of Cambridge, Md., she recounted how crime and vice virtually disappeared during periods when "the movement was strong" in her city.

Major Crime Dropped

These reports seemed to us to be consistent with newspaper accounts of the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" on August 28, 1963. According to the Washington Evening Star, there were only seven "major crimes" recorded by the District of Columbia police in the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. on August 29, 1963. The Star noted that the same time period in the previous week, there had been 19 such crimes.

CENTER FOR YOUTH & COMMUNITY STUDIES
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
DR. FREDERIC SOLOMON,
DR. JACOB R. FISHMAN,
WALTER L. WALKER.

Washington Star,
January 16, 1966.
"Rights and Riots—The Experience of
Three Cities"

Thus, reported major crime in Washington apparently dropped 63 percent for the day of and the night after the march. Somewhat more surprising is an article which appeared in the New York Times. A reporter spent most of August 28th in Harlem and then wrote a story about the serious but happy mood that seemed to pervade Harlem on that day. The story in the Times concluded with the following:

Police cars patrolled Harlem's streets all day, thinking it would be a big day for robberies, with so many Negro residents away from home, for the trip to Washington.

But in the evening, the desk sergeant of the 26th precinct reported no robberies or other crime.

Our research group became interested in this phenomenon because of our view that, in the long run, the impact of the civil rights movement upon the self-image and social behavior of the American Negro may be as important as the movement's direct effect on segregation patterns.

LRS-36

Life,
June 10, 1966.

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KENNETH CLARK
Sociologist

Life,
June 10, 1966.

"Given the chronic debasement and assaults on his ego, probably the most difficult feeling for any American Negro to maintain toward himself or any other Negro is that of stable and unqualified respect." Since he hates the role imposed on him, it is all too natural for him also to hate either the white man or himself. The Muslims, and especially the late Malcolm X, began to cure this self-hatred with their brand of reverse racism. The cure is now spreading in a saner, non-Muslim form among many, or perhaps most, Negroes.

"Ten Negroes" by Roger S. Bird,
Reprinted from the New York
Herald Tribune.

Justice and equality for the American Negro must either come now "or we must risk ourselves for a kind of disaster which I think is too horrible to contemplate," Dr. Clark said.

And Fanaticism

"By horror I mean not that there would be civil war in America, but I think it could be worse. I think we could have in America an American version of what happened in Nazi Germany."

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
Director of the Joint Center
of Urban Affairs

New York Times,
July 25, 1967,
p. 22.

"Race interacts with everything in America," Dr. Moynihan said. But he emphasized that in his view the present violence was essentially caused by "a large, desperately unhappy and disorganized lower-class community" in American cities that happened to be prevalently nonwhite.

Yesterday the sociologist declared himself appalled by Negro nationalists and white liberals who were advocating or condoning ghetto violence. "They'll have an awful lot to explain," he said, "because the one thing the American Negro now has is due process of law."

The present outbreaks endanger constitutional safeguards for ghetto dwellers, Dr. Moynihan asserted.

He suggested that a continued wave of riots would lead to "repression that gets more savage." He feared that United States society might "lapse into reaction, as happened in France."

Dr. Moynihan deplored the fact that "we have become accustomed to employing troops in our cities—this is the great symbol of totalitarianism in the world."

Potential for Terrorism

Negro extremists and white liberals who "legitimized violence" have created an "enormous potential for terrorism" in American cities, Dr. Moynihan contended. However, he ruled out the possibility of "mass violence, such as the Communist party could organize in Paris, say, 10 years ago."

LRS-38

NATHAN E. COHEN
Expert on U.C.L.A.
Study Group on the
Watts riot.

Washington Post,
August 22, 1967.

Stop treating Negroes like "yo-yos," start listening to their increasing militant representatives, and don't look for an overnight pill to halt riots.

Those ABC's of riot control were put forth yesterday when the Senate Judiciary Committee resumed hearings on the House-passed anti-riot bill.

The Committee's instructor was Nathan E. Cohen, head of the team of University of California at Los Angeles experts who have just completed a two-year probe of the 1965 Watts violence.

Cohen's lesson fell on deaf ears insofar as Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) was concerned. He badgered Cohen for "straight-out" answers to questions aimed at showing that Watts Negroes had no cause for discontent. Cohen

finally retorted that he would like some "straight-out" questions.

Before Cohen testified, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) thanked acting Chairman Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) for the chance to call witnesses who could give a broader view of the causes of urban disorders.

Earlier this month, witnesses had blamed Black Power activists for fanning riots. But Cohen said this was not the case in Watts. Neither were outsiders responsible for Harlem's 1964 riots, according to later testimony by Lloyd Sealy, New York City's Assistant Chief Police Inspector.

Cohen warned there will be growing distrust of whites as long as Negroes "feel like yo-yos." They get "cool-it-off-summer programs," but

nothing happens the rest of the year, he said.

Cohen urged the white community to show tangible evidence of its sense of commitment to the Negro by delivering jobs and housing instead of empty promises.

"I don't think integration is the name of the game anymore," he said. "They are more interested in job opportunity, security and housing."

A new type of urban Negro youth is emerging, he said, and hostility to militants should not blind the Nation to the growing role this group has in the Negro community.

It is folly, he said, to push away from those who are increasingly speaking for the Negro, and to continue to rely solely on traditional Negro groups.

JOHN J. SPIEGEL ET AL.
New York Times,
August 6, 1967,
p. 1.

Rioting in the northern Negro ghettos feeds on a common factor of psychology and social troubles set off by a local incendiary incident according to a congressional psychiatrist and psychologists who have a problem. These doctors there was no to the cause because interviewed seated ratio

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New York Times,
August 6, 1967,
p. 1.

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Riots Laid to Old Hates

By RICHARD D. LYONS

been taken to smooth the problem or resettlement," said another psychiatrist. "None were."

The specialists agreed that the migration was a flight from the South, its authoritarianism and poverty, to what the Negroes believed would be a better life in the North.

"In the rural South the Negro knew exactly where he stood, even though he may not have liked it," another psychiatrist said. "But at least there was a social structure with rules and emotional supports. In Northern cities these were missing."

The doctors also contended that the migrating Negroes soon found that, while the North was supposed to be egalitarian, Northern society actually was "two-faced" and equivocating toward the newcomers.

"The Negroes who moved North discovered that they were confined to working at menial jobs and living in slums and that the promises of the Northern politicians were only made to 'keep the Negro quiet,'" a psychologist said.

A psychiatrist agreed, adding that because of this "hypocritical, fork-tongued attitude" the Negro became disillusioned and disenchanted with the Northern white, who soon was viewed as being "as mean as the Southern white."

"In the past 10 to 15 years," said another psychiatrist, "the Negro has come to realize that the North and the South are not so different after all—they are equally humiliating."

Among the other factors cited by the psychiatrists and psychologists as contributing to the mood of unrest were:

¶The tapping of a reservoir of hatred that had been suppressed for 200 years because it could not be expressed in the South, coupled with the attempt to settle old scores with the whites.

¶A loss of conscience and self-imposed controls because of mass hysteria.

¶The contagiousness of violence once it starts because of an attitude of "we want to be in on it too."

¶The accentuation of violence by television, films, newspapers and magazines, and particularly the impression this makes on children.

¶The disrespect of Negroes for law and order stemming from lynchings and slavery.

¶The lack of effective and impartial law enforcement in Negro neighborhoods and the tendency of the police to veer between harsh and lenient attitudes.

¶The exposure of the Negro, even more than the white, to the Big City Sickness; congested, polluted living conditions that dull the senses and make city dwellers less humane toward themselves and others.

¶The discovery of the falsehood of the Big Dream that the streets of Northern cities are paved with gold.

¶The difficulty of the young Negro male in developing a feeling of self esteem because he is the product of a matriarchal society.

¶Self-destructive or suicidal impulses generated by the attitude of "what have we got to lose?"

Many of these factors were cited by Dr. John P. Spiegel, the psychiatrist who directs the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

Dr. Spiegel based his impressions on interviews with 135 Negroes living in slums in six Northern cities, three of which have been swept by rioting. The Lemberg Center has been studying ghetto problems for the last year under a \$170,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

Dr. Spiegel said in a telephone interview that the psychological factors behind the riots could be traced back to "the culture in which most Negroes grew up; a Southern culture having an authoritarian structure with the white man as boss and the Negro as servant."

"Then the Negro headed North where the official culture said that he was to be treated as an equal, rather than a servant, and this meant showing his true feelings," he said. "But this strained the Negro's internal controls over his suppressed hostility."

The next-to-last step, Dr. Spiegel said, "was the recent conclusion by the Negro that the white man doesn't mean

nothing happens the rest of the year, he said. Cohen urged the white community to show tangible evidence of its sense of commitment to the Negro by doing more than housing integration. "I don't think promises are more," he said. "They are more interested in job opportunity, security and housing. A new type of urban Negro is emerging, he said, and hostility to military and growing role as in the Negro said to push who are in the Negro to

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New York Times, August 6, 1967, p. 1 cont.

to keep his promises; that they were only meant to keep the Negro quiet and that the Northern white was as mean as the Southern white."

"The Last Straws"

Minor incidents such as the arrest of the cab driver in Newark and the raid on the speak-easy in Detroit were, Dr. Spiegel said, "the last straws toward keeping internal control and containing the Negro's long stored up demand for revenge."

As for solutions to the ghetto unrest, Dr. Spiegel said one thing that must be done immediately was for city officials "to make a much stronger effort to get in touch with ghetto street leaders before their attitudes become so dominated by suppressed hostility that they no longer want to discuss problems with whites."

"Different police strategy also is needed," he said. "The police tend to veer between extreme suppression and doing nothing to escape charges of police brutality. Yet if they do nothing they encourage the rioters and looters. The police should, from the beginning, warn that arrests will be made if called for, but that they will be made without cruelty."

Dr. Alvin Poussaint, assistant professor of psychiatry at Tufts Medical School, Boston, said solutions would come only through massive efforts to correct long-standing ghetto problems.

Dr. Poussaint said in a telephone interview that "there is going to have to be some breaking up of the ghettos because solutions to Negro unrest can't work as long as white society denies open housing to Negroes."

Need for Jobs Cited

Dr. Poussaint, a Negro who grew up in East Harlem, said "jobs have to be made available to unemployed Negroes because this is the best way of making them feel like men."

There also has to be an attempt to make Negroes take over as much responsibility as possible by giving them municipal support and financing," he added. "Negro governing boards for ghettos might be tried."

Dr. Poussaint also foresaw that the Negro rioting that has been mainly confined to Northern cities "is going to spread to the South."

Dr. M. Robert Coles, a research psychiatrist to the Harvard University Health Services, agreed.

Dr. Coles, who is on a tour of the South, said in a telephone interview that "Southern Negroes are aware of what is going on elsewhere in the country and they have a shared sense of frustration with Northern Negroes."

"The Negroes who moved North after World War II did quite well until the economic recession of the 1950s," he said. "Then the civil rights movement breathed life and hope into Negro aspirations. But their surge of hope has dropped again as the movement became stalemated. Cynicism and disillusionment then set in among Negroes."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at City University, who is a Negro, was equally pessimistic.

"The appointment of committees can almost tell you how seriously the Federal Government is taking the situation. 'I find myself becoming more and more extremist because of governmental inaction — I am becoming less moderate and less balanced.'"

LRS-41

V. EDITORIAL COMMENTS ARRANGED IN C

August 27, 1965,
Time

ANY Negro—literate or illiterate—who fails to interfere to blame. Unless democracy is a fraud, says is "secondary only to the Emancipation Proclamation and the surrender at Appomattox," gives Negro the enactment of this ultimate guarantee of the Negro's constitutional due, of detailed his rights when he says "I want a motel, and likewise when he says 'I want a job for my child,' even in Louisiana. The Project Head Start provides cat him assistance in getting a job for his kids. Yet just as the fra gets its finishing touch come fornia: 'I haven't got a chap can't wait any longer. Burn, The hallowed counsel of been patience—until at out that he had been pa counsel now has a m implicit in all the s strike at anyone w political weapon Negroes: those see those who in Georgia " Milton Upie leans, "is t Against for the of the know Com ye to

August 6, 1967, LRS-40
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V. EDITORIAL COMMENTS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

August 27, 1965,
Time

ANY Negro—literate or illiterate—who fails to vote in future elections will have only his own ignorance or indifference to blame. Unless democracy is a fraud, the new Voting Rights Act, which Mississippi Publisher Hodding Carter says is "secondary only to the Emancipation Proclamation and the surrender at Appomattox," gives Negroes the power to force change as they never could before. And even before the enactment of this ultimate guarantee of what has long been the Negro's constitutional due, other new laws have detailed his rights when he says "I want a room" at any motel, and likewise when he says "I want good schooling for my child," even in Louisiana. The War on Poverty offers him assistance in getting a job and occupational training; Project Head Start provides catch-up preschool education for his kids. Yet just as the framework of civil rights laws gets its finishing touch come angry Negro cries from California: "I haven't got a chance. Whitey is sitting on me. I can't wait any longer. Burn, baby, burn!"

The hallowed counsel of the white man to the Negro has been patience—until at length the Negro was able to point out that he had been patient for one full century. The same counsel now has a more concrete content: patience, to let the new laws work, to let elections bring about the change implicit in all the stress on voting rights, to let the courts strike at anyone who discriminates in housing or jobs. This political weapon already feels good in the hands of many Negroes: those who form an effective voting bloc in Tennessee, those who have for the first time elected state legislators in Georgia. "The answer to police brutality," says the Rev. Milton Upton of the Negro Ministerial Alliance in New Orleans, "is the vote."

Against these hopeful and largely middle-class aspirations for the law lies the glowering distrust of almost all Negroes of the poor and angry lower levels. Everyone should have known, says CORE Chairman Floyd B. McKissick, that Congress could not "by one or two measly acts relieve 200 years of injustice." A Southern Negro woman who moved to Los Angeles' Watts district scoffs: "I always been votin' since I got here. But what has it got me?" Civil Rights Leader Bayard Rustin interprets the Watts riots as signifying "a society where a Negro can show he is a man only by setting a fire"—all other channels supposedly being closed to him. A Charlotte Negro dentist argues that "when the white man says to me, 'Look how fast you have come in such a short time,' he is making a remark that is an offense to a Negro."

Thus the setting of the capstone on the civil rights structure brings disillusionment to whites ("Isn't that enough?") and to Negroes ("Is that all?"). The mood of many Negroes in the late summer of 1965 ranges from letdown to rage. Many secretly or openly think that "violence is valuable" because "now people care about Watts." "I'm as full of hate as a rattlesnake is of poison," hisses a Negro in Montgomery. "There's people walking around mad all over here," an unemployed Memphis janitor says. A rich Harlem lawyer finds it reasonable that "anybody could get caught up in rioting like that." The Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., one of Detroit's most militant Negro leaders, reports that Negroes there "had a tremendous sense of sympathy and identity." Across the U.S., more moderate Negroes, rejecting such words as hatred and anger, admit at least to bitterness.

All of this adds up to a great deal of political, social and economic advancement, and a great many Negroes know it and take pride in it. But more than ever, after the overriding duty of thinking of all human beings as individuals, the U.S. must look upon Negroes as divided into two groups: a prospering level, committed to integration and possessed of a stake in society; and a slum level, mired in deepening ignorance, immorality and irresponsibility, and growingly enamored of a chauvinistic, equal-but-separate kind of segregation. This schizophrenia visibly affects Negro leadership. Understandable compassion for the poor leads even the most moderate leaders to play down Negro duties, play up white guilt; the extremists of Negro hatred get by unchided. Understandable embarrassment on behalf of the law-abiding middle classes leads the same leaders—generally after a riot has got out of control—to declarations that "violence must be deplored, but . . ." The vital counsel of patience is lost in the competition among leaders to say, "Baby, you've got the whole world coming to you now"—when the unalterable fact, as certain as the aging of a good bourbon, is that much time will elapse before all Negroes are free, black and 21.

June 12, 1966
New York Times,
p. E13.
"Opinion in the United States"

MEREDITH SHOOTING

These are some comments from the South on the shooting last week of James Meredith, Negro civil rights worker, as he began a march to Mississippi's capital to encourage Negroes to register and vote.

The Miami News: The tragedy that befell Mr. Meredith is evidence that danger still stalks the Negro who dares to rise above the crowd. If the Meredith shooting gives rise to a larger march and more disorders many people will blame Mr. Meredith, but it takes opposition to stir violence. Why not let them march and finally show that a Negro or anyone else can, indeed, travel along any highway in the country without endangering his life. It should be an easy point to prove.

Richmond Times-Dispatch: When will the minority of whites in the Deep South, who persist in these crimes wake up to the fact that every time they murder a civil rights worker of either race, or try to do so; every time they use mob violence against such workers, every time they burn a Negro church, they stimulate vastly the already great and mounting demand for extreme racial legislation? Thanks to this apparently never-ending series of killings, near-killings, beatings and other outrages, the civil rights movement in this country bids fair to get entirely out of hand.

The Atlanta Journal: Our prize for the ultimate stupidity of the year goes to whoever figured it would be a good idea to shoot James Meredith as he walked along a Mississippi road. This is another of those shots which

is going to be heard around the world. This is another of those idiot acts which many ill-informed people are going to think is representative of the entire white South. This is another of those bits of backwoods bravado which makes it so easy to pass a new civil rights bill each year.

The Courier-Journal, Louisville: You can always count on the Southern racists to come to the rescue when civil rights proposals need some help. . . . This one act of senseless violence makes it virtually certain that new Federal laws will be enacted protecting the persons of civil rights workers. It is a shame they are needed. It is a shame that in some areas of the South the law is enforced unequally and that because it is, some fanatics interpret this as a license to kill. Mississippi could start writing a new record by treating Meredith's assailant just as it would any other potential killer, and perhaps it will this time.

The Birmingham News: Whoever prompted the attempted assassination of James Meredith, the fact is ill-advised actions on both "sides" of late have stored tinder-dry fuel in society's storeroom, constantly in imminent danger of bursting into hungry flame at the slightest spark. The attack on Meredith could have been the spark. It ought to be obvious that all of us have individual and collective obligations to do some social fire prevention—to go through our community human relations closets, cleaning out potential hazards and letting in the fresh air and light of better understanding.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi, speaking of the shooting and of James Meredith's march: . . . "A fool

thing . . . a tragedy. . . I think it was a very, very foolish thing for him [Meredith] to have done. There was no reason for it, because we have registered so many colored people in our state. He said his reason was to encourage more Negroes to go register. I don't think it would have had any particular effect. There are several registration drives on now, with no barriers to Negro registration. Of course he thought it would do some good, and he was certainly entitled to his opinion.

Charles Evers, Mississippi field director for the N.A.A.C.P., commenting on the march: I don't want this to turn into another Selma where everybody goes home with the cameramen and leaves us holding the bag.

June 12, 1966
Washington Post,
P. E1.

White Vi

By Robert E. Bala
Washington Post staff writer
THE SOUTH CONTINUES
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June 12, 1966
Washington Post,
p. E1.

White Violence Aids the Negro

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

THE SOUTH CONTINUES to provide villains who enable the civil rights movement to dramatize injustices suffered by Negroes. Last week, the villain was the white man who jumped from the brush and shotgunned James H. Meredith as he walked along a Mississippi highway.

And so, for the third time in three years, an act of violence in the South sparked the Nation's conscience into support for civil rights legislation.

The repressive police measures used against Negro demonstrators in Birmingham in 1963 helped pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1965, the brutal police attack on Negro demonstrators in Selma helped pass the Voting Rights Act.

With no intention of being insensitive to the deaths of people killed in the cause, it has been proposed facetiously in civil rights circles that a monument be erected to the villains.

There would be a marble statue of Police Commissioner Eugene Bull Connor of Birmingham, surrounded by writhing fire hoses and snarling dogs,

inscribed with one of his famous quotes, like, "Look at those niggers run."

There would be a marble statue of Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma with the famous quotation from the button he wore: "Never."

Now, perhaps, there is another figure to be added: the white bushwhacker who shot Meredith after shouting a possible inscription: "Meredith! James Meredith! I only want Meredith!"

Even before Meredith reached the Memphis hospital for treatment of the wounds which luckily were superficial, the shots were heard around the world.

They echoed in the halls of Congress, where President Johnson's civil rights package had been bogged down in controversy and apathy. The next day, Congressmen were calling for action—especially on the provision to protect civil rights workers, perhaps on the effort to abolish all-white juries. But they still were chary of the fair housing provisions.

However, the bushwhacker's shots echoed loudest in the ears of the civil rights leaders who had virtually ignored Meredith and his Mississippi March plans during the White House

Conference to Fulfill These Rights the week before.

That conference was intended to chart a new agenda for the Negro American which would help him move from opportunity to achievement, as President Johnson put it—an agenda to deal with the complex, sophisticated problems of unemployment, poor education and slums produced by the injustices of the past.

The new agenda was supposed to deal with the hard social and economic problems that require vast sums of money, effort and time, and not merely—as with the old agenda—a smashing of legal obstacles to Negro equality. It is one thing to pass a law that opens hotels and restaurants to Negroes; it is something else to train uneducated Negroes for meaningful jobs or refurbish the sprawling slum areas of the cities.

At the conference, the divisiveness within the civil rights movement and leadership over how to proceed from here was clearly apparent.

There was the group that believes greater progress can be made by working within the Establishment—like Roy

continued

June 12, 1966, Washington Post, p. E1 continued.

Wilkins and his NAACP and Whitney Young and his National Urban League.

There was the King wing of the movement, represented by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who believes nonviolent demonstrations are a vital key. At the conference, Dr. King became disturbed—and understandably so—when the demonstration technique that he developed was given no credit for any progress in the civil rights field.

Then there was the CORE wing of the movement, represented by CORE's new national director, Floyd McKissick, who seems to be withdrawing his organization from the Establishment.

And there was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, now definitely outside the Establishment under its new leader, Stokely Carmichael. SNCC boycotted the conference, a subject of table talk inside with delegates discussing what they considered to be SNCC's turn toward "anti-whitism."

The Conference Loner

AMONG THE 2400 DELEGATES to the conference was Meredith, the former Air Force sergeant who desegregated the University of Mississippi in the uproar of 1962. Meredith still was the "loner," the serious-minded Negro who believes he has a "divine responsibility" to break down the system of white supremacy.

Meredith's personality and ideas have never endeared him to other civil rights leaders. He said the 1963

March on Washington would not be in the best interests of the cause and he has said the Emancipation Proclamation was the "most detrimental" thing to happen to Negro Americans.

He told a handful of reporters at the conference that he would begin his Memphis-Jackson march Sunday, June 5, to help Mississippi Negroes overcome their fear and to stimulate voter registration. Meredith said he wanted no women or children to join him.

"I'm sick and tired of Negro men hiding behind their women and children," he said.

And he said that, in his opinion, the civil rights movement has reached its peak and it is now the Negro Movement.

But few people were listening to the "loner." Nor did the call of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights for passage of the Johnson Administration's civil rights package seem to stir much interest.

Then the white bushwhacker on Route 51 near Hernando, Miss., entered the picture with his shots at Meredith, who started his march with only a few supporters.

King, McKissick and Carmichael rushed to the spot, as did other leaders and a covey of Congressmen, like panting prospectors who had suddenly learned of a gold strike.

The nugget, of course, was the old tragic truth that the South has whites who will do violence to Negroes who choose to exercise their constitutional rights—such as walking down a public highway.

Such acts by the violent ones shock, repel and disgust the great majority of white Southerners. So often these atrocities which bestir the

Nation's conscience and result in legislation—the bombing of churches, the assassination of Medgar Evers, the night-rider slayings, the beating death of the Rev. James Ray—seem to come at a point when moderate Southerners feel that their section of the country is beginning to turn the corner toward justice and progress.

Watts a 'Relief'

THERE WAS a feeling of relief, perhaps even of progress, in Alabama when the Nation's attention was fastened on California's Watts riots—and then suddenly in Hayneville, a white man shot and killed Jonathan Daniels, a white civil rights worker.

Last Monday in Mississippi, people who had hoped that their state had turned the corner were stunned and dismayed by the shooting of Meredith.

It seems to take something like the shooting in Mississippi to achieve unity within the civil rights movement. The Kings, the Wilkinses, the McKissicks, the Youngs, the Carmichaels can stand together.

Meredith's little march has been taken over by a big one (without Meredith, for the moment, at least, as he returned, quite emotionally upset, to New York). And Congressmen were talking about making sure that any civil rights law they pass is strong enough to help prevent such incidents as the Meredith shooting.

Yet the shooting, the march, the unity in the civil rights movement and the congressional activity don't seem to be contributing much to the new agenda and the troubled Negro Americans in the Northern cities.

For the moment, the old agenda, the act of violence in the South, has obscured the new.

June 23, 1966
New York Times,
p. 38.

Brotherly Love?

When William Penn cast about for a suit to give the chief city of the colony he must have thought of the literal meaning of the word, Philadelphia. St. Paul used the Epistle to the Romans: "Be kindly, affable to one another with brotherly love."

What's in a name? Other Phoenicians were born in the United States in Mississippi. There, on Tuesday, Negro civil rights marchers were stoned, while the police hauled them and newspapermen and photographers to the police station.

Department lawyers and a headed the "law-enforcement" men facing trial in Federal court. They took part in a murder of three Negroes years ago.

No one needs to take part in the permitted the United States of nothing of their view in their kind; and they took part in the trial.

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Watts a 'Relief'

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June 23, 1966
 New York Times,
 p. 38.

Brotherly Love?

When William Penn cast about for a suitable name to give the chief city of the colony he founded, he must have thought of the literal meaning of the Greek word, *philadelphos*. St. Paul used the word in his Epistle to the Romans: "Be kindly, affectionate one to another with brotherly love."

What's in a name? Other Philadelphias subsequently were born in the United States, one of them in Mississippi. There, on Tuesday, a peaceful group of Negro civil rights marchers was reviled, beaten and stoned, while the police hardly interfered. Photographers and newspapermen were roughed up. Justice Department lawyers and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation looked on helplessly. The sheriffs who headed the "law-enforcing" body were among eighteen men facing trial in Federal court on the charge that they took part in a conspiracy which ended in the murder of three Northern civil rights workers two years ago.

No one needs to be told that the white thugs who took part in the violence, and the authorities who permitted them to carry on with impunity, are typical of nothing decent in Mississippi or anywhere else in the United States. But they exist; they knew that their vicious behavior would be condoned among their kind; and worst of all, they had hatred and bitterness in their hearts.

This is where that performance in Philadelphia takes on a frightening and, indeed, universal aspect. There are students of our disordered and violent age who argue that the greatest danger to world peace is racism. Dozens of nations, as well as the United States, are struggling with the issue in more or less serious form. Always the problem goes deeply into the blind, irrational world of feelings, emotions and instincts. The reactions are then translated into pseudo logic.

"The Negro (or Indian or Chinese or whatever he may be) is inferior." There are those who ape the Devil and cite Scripture to their purpose, persuading themselves in the American South or in South Africa that segregation is good Christian doctrine. The Negro who keeps his place is respected, even loved—but he must keep his place. Otherwise, he is a trouble-maker who can be reviled, beaten and even killed with impunity.

These are truisms of our times. Everybody knows them. Why bother to repeat them for the thousandth time? But then there is hooliganism of the kind that has just exploded in Philadelphia, Miss. And when there is, the bell tolls for all of us. Racism is the cause; the result is defiance of law. The solution, surely, is to enforce the law—even if it has to be enforced by state or Federal authorities when local communities fail.

June 28, 1966
 "How Guilty is the South?"
 William F. Buckley, Jr.
 National Review, p. 611.

If the South cannot prevent its killers and bomb-throwers and assassins from doing their dirty work, at least the South should see to it that they are, when apprehended, punished. The exoneration of the apparent killers of Medgar Evers and Mrs. Liuzzo did much to build up the steam which is now exploding. Senator Irvin of North Carolina has raised the point that if we are in effect going to take the administration of justice out of the hands of the South we should do it by a constitutional amendment, so as not to vitiate the Constitution by legislative and judicial erosion; but his voice will be lost. Meanwhile, the court in Hernando, Miss. is not scheduled to convene again until next November, so that Norvell will be sitting around untried all summer, making pressure for the passage of yet another federal law.

June 28, 1966
Christian Science Monitor,
p. 5.

Pompano Beach violence studied

By Bert Collier

Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Pompano Beach, Fla.

There are two faces to Pompano Beach—on Florida's glittering southeast coast about 40 miles north of Miami.

One is the neat, ocean-front community of modern homes and condominiums, attractive to tourists and wealthy retirees. The other is the crowded Negro area "across the tracks" of the Florida East Coast Railroad, where most of the residents work on nearby farms that grow winter vegetables.

It was this other Pompano Beach that exploded in violence on two successive nights last week, touched off by a seemingly insignificant event.

A white grocer was accused of striking a Negro boy who, the store owner declared, was trying to steal a dollar.

Mob roamed streets

On the first night, a mob of 600 Negroes roamed the business area of the Negro section, smashing windows, and overturning cars. More than 100 policemen called in from neighboring cities, some with dogs, finally restored order. At least 23, including the white grocer, were arrested.

On the second night, with almost 200 police and a riot-control truck from the state capital on hand, there were scattered incidents of rock throwing and vandalism, quickly brought under control.

Part of the white community was shocked because considerable change in racial patterns has taken place in recent years. Many schools have been desegregated and all bar-

riers were to be dropped when classes begin next September.

A Negro was recently named to the Pompano Beach Housing Authority. The Police Department has Negro members, one of whom was conspicuous in the riot-control activity. But other white residents have been aware of a smoldering discontent and were expecting trouble.

School recently stoned

One forerunner was the stoning of a new Negro school by its own students on the last day of classes. Police were called to barricade the streets and disperse the crowd.

The incident developed because the Negro community thought a former principal whose name was given the school was "too moderate" in racial matters. Community pressure forced the principal out.

Although some Negroes had used the public beaches without incident, a couple of massive "wade-ins" had caused white resentment. White Pompano Beach blamed "outsiders."

The Negro community is not a "ghetto" in the usual urban sense. Although the homes are generally shabby, there is room to play and lounge outdoors. Most of the residents, however, are classed as "rural poor." They work on the nearby farms but are not technically migrants since they remain in Pompano Beach the year around.

Slack season at hand

They have a hard time finding jobs in the slack season. This is the slack season, and it coincides with the end of school, idling several hundred restless youths.

Two federal projects have been operating in the community, one for more than a year. A Vista project has been trying to give instruction in the fundamentals of living to older residents, many of whom are illiterate.

The basic trouble, according to workers in these projects, is that the gulf between the two worlds of Pompano Beach—the beach homes and condominiums and the shacks—is even wider than in most communities. There has been almost no communication between the races.

When the trouble broke out there was no common ground on which to meet.

Two days after the violence, police announced that the trouble was over. But Negro leaders, as well as some of the white residents, feel that it is only in suspense until some better answers can be found than constant vigilance by the police.

LRS-47

September 6, 1966
Christian Science Monitor
p. 3.

By John
Staff of
The Christian Science Monitor

This Mob
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LRS-46

Violence studied

LRS-47

September 6, 1966
Christian Science Monitor,
p. 3.

By John Allan Long
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dayton, Ohio

This Midwestern city fits the loose pattern of summer racial violence across the nation. But with a difference. Dayton was prepared for a riot.

For over a month, city and Negro leaders had been meeting secretly, mapping out step-by-step moves to quell possible rioting.

The Cleveland outbreak, a flurry of rumors that rioting would hit Dayton by Labor Day, the building tension of the Negro community—all prompted the planning.

It worked. Within hours after trouble broke out on the city's Negro west side, it was ended.

Prompted by the sudden, early morning shooting of a Negro man by whites in a passing car, bands of Negroes had poured into the streets looting and burning.

Like a prairie fire, it spread down a mile and a half of the Negro section.

Guardsmen summoned

There was no waiting by the city to see if local police could contain the exploding west side. Mayor David Hall, as planned, asked for national guardsmen.

The commanding general began alerting them to duty even before the governor could be found and asked. But with the governor's orders, guardsmen were on the scene quickly.

The Mayor's statements over a loud-speaker to looting Negroes were prepared in advance. So, too, exactly what police, ministers, civil-rights groups, other city officials would do.

The key was to act without delay. Result: Rioting was kept to one day. In other cities, it has carried through several nights before all forces could be coordinated.

There is a pattern, though, to the Dayton outbreak. This southern Ohio city is as prone to racial trouble as any city with Negro communities.

There has been rioting in little Benton Harbor, Mich., and in Lansing, Mich., Cleveland, Omaha, Chicago, etc. In all these cities, as in Dayton, there are these common threads:

A long build-up of Negro tensions, frustrations, feelings. Despite what is being done to improve housing, education, jobs, life for the Negro appears little changed.

Negro leadership too often is not reaching down to the mass of young Negroes.

Dayton's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People doesn't touch the youth, many contend. But neither do the splintered and small militant groups.

March 23, 1967
Washington Star.

The Needed Voice

A quiet, devastating answer to the hot-headed exponents of Black Power has just been given. Forty-seven of this nation's wealthiest Negroes have agreed to raise \$1 million a year for the legal defense of all those whose pro-civil rights activities get them in trouble with the law.

The money will be raised exclusively from the Negro community. It will be turned over to the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund to be used in the defense of both Negroes and whites in court cases. It is, by all odds, the best thing that has happened in the civil rights movement since the passage of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964.

With the passage of that act, the immediate legislative goals of the civil rights drive were achieved. The rights activists, to whom most of the credit for that triumphant achievement belongs, were left with no clear objective. The energy, the momentum and the enthusiasm that produced the victory over bigotry and inertia were still loose in the land. The civil rights movement was an army, still geared for battle, with no enemy in sight.

Into this vacuum of purpose stepped the new generation of militant Negro leaders—the Black Power advocates, the separatists, the black racists—demanding blind, anti-white prejudice from their followers and bent on wiping out the major advances in race relations gained so painfully in recent years.

In many ways, the months just passed have been the most perilous in the long history of race relations in

this nation. They were also the most disheartening to those genuinely interested in seeing the Negro gain his rightful place in the economic and social fabric of the nation. What was lacking—and what was desperately needed—was a clear, responsible, rational new voice within the Negro community itself to proclaim the truth that self-respect for the Negro does not mean setting himself in opposition to the white man.

Such a voice has just been provided by the National Negro Business and Professional Committee for the Legal Defense Fund.

June 15, 1967
Washington Star,
p. A19.

CROSBY S. NOYES

Negro Extremist

Before everybody gets too worked up over the things being said about the coming "long, hot summer" by some of our more militant Negro leaders, it might be a good idea to find out just whom these self-styled leaders actually represent. The answer is that a good number of them, including the most inflammatory, represent virtually nobody but themselves. And the powerful sounding "organizations" they claim to head can't even be found on a telephone directory. There are, of course, a number of relatively conservative organizations, including the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Reverend Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Muslims, too, have their millions of members. On the extreme

June 15, 1967
Washington Star,
p. A19.

CROSBY S. NOYES

Negro Extremists' Following Called Small

Before everybody gets too worked up over the things being said about the coming "long, hot summer" by some of our more militant Negro leaders, it might be a good idea to find out just whom these self-styled leaders actually represent.

The answer is that a good number of them, including the most inflammatory, represent virtually nobody but themselves. And the powerful-sounding "organizations" that they claim to head can, in some cases, be fitted comfortably inside a telephone booth.

There are, of course, a number of sizable Negro organizations, including such relatively conservative groups as the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The racist-religious Black Muslims undoubtedly count their membership in the tens of thousands.

On the other hand, the extremist groups—who claim

to speak for the vast majority of dispossessed Negroes of the northern urban ghettos—number their adherents in handfuls. Stokely Carmichael's Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and Floyd McKissick's Congress of Racial Equality don't make a practice of publishing membership lists. But the best informed guess is that neither organization has more than 200 members. Purely local firebrands like Washington's Julius Hobson have, in fact, no organization whatever.

When it comes to influence with the masses they claim to represent, the picture is, if anything, less convincing.

Even such established leaders as King have few "followers" in any meaningful sense of the word. His effectiveness depends entirely on the amount of enthusiasm he is able to whip up in an immediate local situation. And if this is true for King, it is doubly so for the young militants who, apart from their extremism, have no program, no organization and no legiti-

mate claim to speak for anyone.

These leaders themselves, in their less public moments, are sometimes astonishingly candid about this problem.

Whatever leverage they may have depends, they readily admit, on sounding wilder, more reckless and militant than rival leaders. Even if they have, as some of them privately claim, a serious and legitimate purpose—including the prevention of racial violence—it must be carefully camouflaged under a smoke screen of incendiary verbiage.

There are two reasons for this. The first is a conviction that the slightest hint of respectability—or even responsibility—would mean the end of any effectiveness within the ghettos. Whatever the ultimate objective may be, the conviction among these leaders is that the only exploitable emotion among the mass of Negro dispossessed is a universal feeling of resentment and alienation from the society as a whole.

But the other reason is at least as compelling. All of these extremist leaders are utterly dependent on the publicity they receive from the press and television. The more outrageous their public behavior may be, the surer they are of making headlines, followed up, in due course, by indignant editorials and invitations to appear on TV panel shows.

Violence or the threat of violence is the one sure-fire road to fame and fortune in the white and black community alike. It is the quick way of making something out of nothing—of achieving instant power without the need of any power base. It is, essentially, the same method used by the late Senator Joe McCarthy—and in the hands of a Stokely Carmichael, equally dangerous.

"Stokely," says one of his long-time friends and admirers, "is fascinated by the techniques by which people can be manipulated. He's very good at it. But the purpose for which he manipulates them is something I've never been able to figure out. And I doubt that Stokely has either."

It is time, perhaps, for the press and television to wake up to the fact that they are also being "manipulated" by

Carmichaeland

Carmichael and his cohorts in their purposeless rise to prominence. The willingness with which they serve his purposes is the surest guarantee of his ultimate success. It is also the despair of more responsible leaders of the Negro community, for whom the prospects of the coming summer are as grim as for the country as a whole.

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June 19, 1967
Washington Star,
p. A14.

The Tampa Formula

Racial tension and the ugly stain of race violence has already begun to spread from city to city, before the long, hot summer has really gotten under way. It is not an encouraging picture. But last week the city of Tampa, Florida, came up with an imaginative—and successful—plan to cool things down.

The Tampa story began Sunday with the event that has heralded so many racial tragedies. A white patrolman shot and killed a Negro youth suspected of taking part in a burglary. The official ruling was justifiable homicide.

Racial unrest swept through the city's Negro ghettos during the next three nights. Gangs of teen-agers gathered. Rocks were hurled at patrol cars. And on Wednesday afternoon as the tension mounted, 500 National Guardsmen and special police riot squads were put on stand-by call.

On Thursday morning, the guardsmen marched out of the city. The crisis that everyone had braced for never materialized.

Tampa's solution, proposed by Sheriff Malcolm Beard, was to issue a call for help to the city's Negro youth. Some 150 of them responded. They were organized into the City Youth Patrol, equipped with white helmets, and were dispatched to the potential trouble spots with a message for their peers: "Cool it. We don't need any more trouble."

The City Youth Patrol was made up, virtually overnight, of high school students and dropouts, most of them unemployed and all volunteers. Almost certainly some of them had spent the preceding nights rioting, shouting

insults at the police and hurling rocks at patrol cars.

Sheriff Beard had a simple explanation for the phenomenon. "We gave them a job to do," he said, "and they did it." And it's just possible that the Tampa strategy is that simple formula for averting a major racial crisis that so many cities have been searching for so hard.

June 24, 1967
Christian Science Monitor
p. 16.

Desperate situations often choose martyrdom for the they believe. The same sit lead men to irrational vi it is a common condition hand, has led boxer M sius Clay) to court it fusing military serv has driven a black allegedly to plot Negro moderate Whitney Young group may v interested in selves in a martyrs of It is al white civil- is a end W

June 24, 1967
 Christian Science Monitor,
 p. 16.

Desperation

Desperate situations often lead men to choose martyrdom for the cause in which they believe. The same situations can also lead men to irrational violence. And thus it is a common condition that, on the one hand, has led boxer Mohammed Ali (Cassius Clay) to court imprisonment for refusing military service and, on the other, has driven a black revolutionary group allegedly to plot the assassination of such Negro moderates as Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. Indeed, this bizarre group may very well have been more interested in making martyrs of themselves, in a twisted way, than in making martyrs of their proposed victims.

It is always difficult to write in clear-cut terms at any particular time of what the white community usually refers to as the civil-rights movement. At any moment, it is a spectrum — not a movement. At one end are the Whitney Youngs and Roy Wilkinses, at the other the angry and frustrated revolutionaries such as were arrested in New York and Philadelphia this week. But having said that, there can be no gainsaying that the mood between the races in the United States is now more sullenly tense across the length and breadth of the land than perhaps at any time since the great school desegregation decision of 1954.

Certainly the over-all direction of the United States on this awesome issue is forward. Certainly there is significance in the election of a Negro to the United States Senate — and now in the appointment of a Negro for the first time to the

Supreme Court of the United States. Yet it is equally certain that the gains of the past decade which have made this possible have in fact hardly touched the daily lives of the Negro masses. Indeed, to many of them their lot seems worse because to their chronic burdens is now added the weight of frustrated expectation.

Here lies the explanation for recent and seemingly senseless troubles that splutter angrily for a few nights in Negro ghettos, first in this city and then in that. Many Negroes talk of revolution. There is a growing tendency to leave nonviolence behind. Sniping from rooftops has overtaken the singing, arm in arm, of "We shall overcome." At first sight, here are some of the hallmarks of a classical revolutionary pattern. But as has often been said, the Negro in the United States wants, in the last resort, not to ravage the society at which he rails but to be admitted to it.

This, of course, is one of the reasons why it is blind folly for any thinking Negro to believe that he can advance the black man's cause by removing such "collaborators" as Mr. Wilkins or Mr. Young. These are the men who, whenever the dust settles, can be seen to keep society's door open for the longed-for admission. But society as a whole can and must boldly tackle the ills and wrongs which provoke the frustrated to lash out at it. Those who lash outside the law must not expect society to let them posture with impunity above the law. Yet society has its abiding and urgent responsibility to them nonetheless.

June 25, 1967
New York Times, p. E7.

Race Riots

'Tear the City Apart!'

6

By GENE ROBERTS

ATLANTA--In the beginning, the scene at St. Joseph's Baptist Church in Atlanta looked familiar. Negro teenagers arrived early for the rally to get their choice of seats. A few couples lagged behind to hold hands in the twilight before going inside. There was talk of the plight of the Negro and the need for the white man to change.

Veteran reporters, who had covered dozens of rallies at such civil rights battlegrounds as Selma, Ala., felt a twinge of nostalgia as they watched the crowd enter the small Negro church. If this went like the rallies of other years, then the reporters knew the script by heart. The audience would sing "We Shall Overcome." There would be a speaker or two, then at the end, everyone would file out of the church, form a line on the church lawn, and start marching non-violently down the streets—singing "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round."

That, at any rate, is what would have happened in the heyday of the civil rights movement. But the audience at St. Joseph's did not follow the script.

They listened as Stokely Carmichael, the black power leader and former chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating

Committee, told them that the day of non-violent protest was over and that "the only way these honkies [white people] and honkey lovers can understand us when they are met by resistance." Then, many in the audience walked from the church to a shopping center a block away, where there had been several recent incidents involving Negroes and police. There, they began hurling stones at policemen.

The policemen finally dispersed the teenagers by firing shotguns and carbines into the air. But the next night, many of the youths were back again. This time, police said, there was at least one Molotov cocktail hurled along with the rocks. Police fired their weapons once again. A Negro youth was killed.

Thus, Atlanta became the eighth city to be wracked by Negro violence this year.

Unlike the disturbances in most other cities, however, Atlanta's trouble was not so much a riot as a series of confrontations between youths and police. But in one important way—the role of the teenager and college-age youth—Atlanta's turmoil was akin to that of the other violence-marked areas of the nation.

In every riot this year, young Negroes provided most of the manpower and have taken most of the risk—just as they did in

such non-violent forms of protest as the sit-in, the freedom ride, and the street march.

The first three riots this year (in Nashville, Tenn., Jackson, Miss., and Houston, Texas) were almost exclusively college affairs. Although there was adult participation in Cincinnati, Dayton, Boston, and Tampa, policemen blamed roving bands of Negro youths for most of the damage.

Thrill and Protest

Why so much teenage and college-age involvement? It is difficult not to get the impression as you witness riot after riot, that hundreds of Negro youths now look on rioting as a legitimate form of protest, and they are taking it up partly as a way of experiencing a thrill, partly because they feel it will advance the Negro's cause.

It can be argued that most riots are spontaneous. But so, too, were many of the sit-in demonstrations and street marches. The sit-ins developed so rapidly in early 1960 that S. N. C. C. was formed as part of an effort to give them cohesion and prevent them from turning into violent clashes between Negroes and whites.

Now, ironically, the Student Committee is in the avant garde in the current trend toward Negro violence. Such Student Committee leaders as H. Rap Brown, Mr. Carmichael and Willie Ricks talk regularly of "tearing cities apart." Part of their rationale seems to come from Frantz Fanon's "The

The Labor Example

Violence was a part of the labor scene for decades, for example, but the workers' greatest gains did not come until after they adopted the non-violent sit-down demonstration as a tactic.

But you only have to visit a riot scene and soak up the mood of the rioters to learn that many of them are under the impression that they can get by rioting what they have thus far failed to get by non-violent protest.

And you only have to listen to street talk among whites in riot-torn cities to realize that more often than not, Negro riots leave many whites embittered and uninterested in supporting Negro drives for more jobs and better housing.

Wretched of the Earth," a book that says, among other things, that there is something therapeutic in violence, that the black man can free himself mentally as well as physically from a servant-master relationship with whites by defeating the white man in battle.

But some Negro intellectuals say Student Committee members have missed the point of the book. It was aimed at colonial Negroes in colonies in which black men are clearly in the majority. Here, Negroes are not only in the minority, but are part of a nation where most social reforms have come through politics and non-violent protest rather than through violence.

July 12
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LRS-53

July 12, 1967
Washington Post,
p. A18.

Scapegoat Bill

Congressman Cramer's antiriot bill, which unfortunately is to reach the floor of the House today, is another in the long tradition of hysterical and unconstitutional legislation drawn up merely to enable Congress to strike a posture. The great danger in this kind of performance is that something may go wrong in the later stages of maneuver and result in actual passage of the bill.

Its putative purpose is to authorize Federal prosecution of anyone who crosses a State line, or uses the mail, to encourage a riot. The real purpose, of course, is to permit Congressmen to appear to be taking action against the current wave of ghetto violence. Congressmen do not need to be told that the real causes of riots are native to their sites, and grow amidst unemployment and bad housing. But Congressmen also know that the remedies to unemployment and bad housing are extremely complicated and not very dramatic. In moments of stress Congress always turns to simple solutions like, in this case, trying to put Stokely Carmichael in jail.

In its trenchant and highly expert analysis of the bill, the American Civil Liberties Union points out that here Congress is resurrecting the bankrupt myth of the outside agitator as the source of rioting. If this bill were to pass, any riot would be automatically followed by a great combing through personal mail and public statements to find evidence that someone, somewhere, said something that might in retrospect seem to have promoted or encouraged the violence. The bill is an unconscionable attempt to use Federal law to find scapegoats, after the riots, for the cities' inability to preserve order.

July 15, 1967
New York Times,
p. 29.

LRS-54

July 13, 1967.
New York Times,

In The Nation: The Deadliest Pollution

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON, July 12—The other day in Cincinnati the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth—once a lieutenant of Martin Luther King in the nonviolent upheavals in the South—told Gene Roberts of this newspaper that the basic reason Negroes rioted was that "they say, 'we've already tried nonviolence and we're still where we are.'"

Even Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, always a moderate, warned at the N.A.A.C.P. convention in Boston this week that the failure of public officials to respond adequately to the needs of Negroes was "an invitation to violence." And Roy Wilkins, who has risked his leadership to stand for reason and understanding, told the N.A.A.C.P. that Congress's refusal to pass open housing and other needed legislation was "creating the atmosphere" for violence.

Is Gratitude Due?

This will outrage those whites who believe that the civil rights legislation of recent years ought to have "satisfied" the Negroes, and that "these people" are only prov-

ing themselves beastly ingrates by rioting in the streets. The fact is, however, that all that legislation has yet to produce real gains for ghetto Negroes in employment, housing or education; and while Southern Negroes finally have the right to vote and cat grits in the local cafe, and a small percentage of them can even send their children to adequate schools, why should they be grateful for that? What gratitude is due a thief who steals your money, keeps it for a few generations, then grudgingly gives a little of it back under court order?

'Long Cold Winter'

During this season's rioting in Buffalo, Mayor Frank Sedita pleaded for "just a few days" to find jobs for unemployed Negroes. He was willing enough to find jobs to end violence in the long, hot summer; but why had jobs not been found to prevent violence in what Martin Luther King calls the "the long cold winter"?

In an even more myopic answer—or non-answer—to the ghetto, the House may bravely pass this week an "antiriot" bill that would make it possible

to jail and fine anybody who crosses a state line "with intent to incite street violence and rioting."

This political popgun is aimed squarely at Stokely Carmichael, described by its sponsor, Cramer of Florida, as a giant of a fellow whose itinerant rabble-rousing has left in its wake "thousands of Negroes whose blood is simmering and waiting for a chance to riot."

Even assuming that Carmichael and other supermen actually caused the trouble in Los Angeles, Cleveland, New York, Chicago, Rochester, Buffalo, Tampa, Lincoln, and points west; even assuming that local authorities could not, in that case, deal with them in the manner of Atlanta, which put Carmichael in jail; even assuming the constitutionality of the bill's language and intent; even assuming all these dubious propositions, the truth of this bill still is to be found in the words of Representative Celler of New York, who at least tried to block it.

Nevertheless, he confessed to the Committee on Rules, "I don't want to be in a position of opposing this bill."

That is what Shuttlesworth

and Brooke and Wilkins, none of whom ever threw a Molotov cocktail or stoned a police officer's office, were talking about. A Congress representing a dominantly white society, that will not pass even a diluted open-housing law or provide increased protection for civil rights workers, but which does not "want to be in a position of opposing" a demagogic antiriot bill, is unlikely to persuade unemployed, slum-dwelling, poorly educated, often ill-fed and ill-clad Negroes that they can get relief from the law before they can get it in the streets.

Squeaky Wheels

Shuttlesworth told Roberts about a new park being built in the riot area of Cincinnati. "A lot of people think they got that because of rioting, and I think they are right," he said. "Nonviolence didn't get it."

And the final tragedy is that while violence produces jobs in Buffalo and a park in Cincinnati, it also produces untold hatred and suffering and bitterness. Thus white myopia and black despair work together to pollute a nation's soul.

LRS-55

July 15, 1967
New York Times,
p. 29.

Newark—and beyond

The sorry rollof of American cities ripped by summer riots grows. In Newark, National Guardsmen patrol the streets; in Hartford, a state of emergency has been declared; even in the heart of the nation's Corn Belt young Negroes riot in a small Iowa town.

The rioting is contagious, but it is not caused primarily by outside agitation. This is internal combustion. The flame of frustration may be fanned by militant cries of black power, but the combustible material is already present.

It is visible, but few whites experience it close up: the ratty conditions of slum dwellings; the slammed doors in the faces of job-seekers; the ghetto schools where learning is handicapped by inadequate faculties, facilities and funds; the countless humiliations in everyday existence for the poor who see the products—and the rewards—of American middle-class prosperity but can attain neither.

Obviously none of this excuses the burning, looting and shooting. Lawbreaking must be prevented, order enforced and persons and property respected. But at the same time city officials and police officers must be aware that they are dealing almost entirely not with professional arsonists and thieves but with flaming youth and burning adults, living in summer tinder boxes.

In the name of their own self-interest as well as the rights of others, the rioters must be stopped. And they must be discouraged from violating the law. This cannot be successfully done with mere counter-violence. A ghetto will not fit into a jailhouse. But when men and women run amok as they did in Newark yesterday the force of civil authority must be exercised, with firmness and with strength; and it must prevail. No one—Negro or white—must be left in any doubt about the futility as well as the criminality of such anarchic violence as has now taken place in the streets of Newark.

The immediate aim has to be to restore calm in the troubled cities and to preserve it where no violence has broken out. There are many courses of action. Representatives of the strife-torn or the smoldering areas should be called together and their grievances heard. Members of the larger community and the so-called white establishment certainly must participate. The Mayor and municipal leaders should "show the flag"—as some, including Mayor Lindsay, have already done—by personally getting out into the streets and entering houses instead of simply sending police cars when it is too late. Community relations groups should be formed where none exist. If there is no civilian police review board—and Newark has none—it ought to be created.

But all such measures, important as they may be to dampen down the tendency to riotous behavior, are only palliatives. Cities will smolder until the walls that block Negro opportunity come tumbling down. Promises and even civil rights legislation alone will not do. The short fuse of frustrated Negroes will stop igniting only when the long-range, positive opportunities of modern American society are themselves brought nearer, and on a scale far greater than anything yet in sight. Anti-riot police will not prevent riots; pro-job, pro-education, pro-housing measures—in the long run—will.

LRS-56

July 19, 1967
 "Negro Violence-Wallace Viewed as Chief Gainer"
 William S. White
 Washington Post,
 p. A 21.

NEGRO VIOLENCE is causing profound alterations in the power balances of American politics in general and most notably among the urban-based Democratic liberals.



White

The savagery of Newark, of what the liberal Democrat Governor of New Jersey, Richard Hughes, calls a criminal insurrection in no way related to genuine civil rights protest, casts a lengthening shadow.

Every Newark spells accumulating trouble for the very politicians who have done the most the longest for legitimate Negro aspirations. Every Newark heightens the possibility that the racially ultra-conservative George Wallace of Alabama will enter the presidential contest of next year as a Third Party candidate. Every Newark clearly increases his chance to gather a substantial vote, in the North as well as in the South.

The one certain immediate gainer from every Newark is George Wallace. The one certain loser is the Democratic Party.

It has always been plain that a Wallace Third Party candidacy in the South would gravely lessen Republican opportunity there in 1968. President Johnson is

unpopular in the region; and in a traditional, two-party race the Republicans could have been expected to do well there. With Wallace in the field the Republican prospect would be gloomy, indeed, since he would simply draw votes from angry whites who would otherwise have marked Republican ballots.

BUT WHAT has not been nearly so clear is that even before the onset of this summer of racial disorder, Wallace was in a fair way to cut deeply into traditional Democratic low-income white wards in the North, because it is these whites who are more intimately touched by integrated housing and who are in job competition with the Negroes.

The Newarks are now immensely sharpening these Negro-poor white abrasions and it is obvious that many angry white laborers are turning from their old association with the Democrats toward Wallace in fear and in frustration. Take away even 5 per cent of the ordinary Democratic labor vote in any Northern industrial and urbanized state in November, 1968, and the Democratic Party can lose just where almost always before it has won.

Beyond doubt it is a nightmare that is riding such Democratic politicians as Gov. Hughes. For it is just such politicians—such men as Hughes in New Jersey and Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago—who have spent their lives in attempts to further just Negro demands only now to be caught in the vise of extremist Negro manifestations which do not reflect the bulk of the Negroes themselves but which nevertheless alienate the blue collar white legions which have so long formed the base of Democratic Party power in the urban North.

THE REALITY is that a revolutionary thirst not really concerned with civil rights motivates some of the Negro leaders and they are using as their troops other Negroes whose interest is in sheer hoodlumism.

Thus, the revolution-minded Negro extremists are co-operating from the far left with the Wallaces of the far right and jointly attacking the responsible elements of both political parties. But, because of the circumstances, they are more damagingly attacking those elements in the Democratic Party.

So it is that while the immediate inheritor of civil disorder will surely be Wallace, the Republicans might in the end be the greater inheritors where it counts the most—that is, in the North.

And if the Democratic Party is torn in one way, the forces of change are working in another way within the Republican Party. Every Newark promotes the conservative wing within the GOP because that wing is least identifiable with Negro demonstrations of any kind. Thus, every Newark reduces the prospects for a Presidential nomination for Republican liberals such as Governors George Romney of Michigan and Nelson Rockefeller of New York and increases those of such conservatives as Richard Nixon and Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. For the Nixons and the Reagans would be far more likely to benefit from this ever sharpening form of white backlash.

July 20, 1967
 Washington Star,
 P. A 9.

JAMES J. KILPATRICK

A Long Hot G

The difficulty in finding a rational solution to the appalling problem of Negro riots is that the riots themselves are irrational. The most reasoned arguments are wasted on a lunatic; appeals to common sense have no meaning to those who have lost their senses. How do you deal with a sniper? The short answer is to run him down. Every riot, of course, is a manifestation of madness. have covered two of the most extraordinary chain of events in Newport News, Va., before Newark. No such cover-up can be over a picket line. The latest outbreak of violence. The schools, of Newark, of powder the last the arg driver, such

July 20, 1967
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JAMES J. KILPATRICK

A Long Hot Generation, Not Just a Summer

The difficulty in finding a rational solution to the appalling problem of Negro riots is that the riots themselves are irrational. The most reasoned arguments are wasted on a lunatic; appeals to common sense have no meaning to those who have lost their senses. How do you deal with a sniper? The short answer is to gun him down.

Every riot, of course, is a manifestation of madness. I have covered two of them; I know the wild contagion. Yet ordinarily there is some definable chain of cause and effect. Men riot from hunger; men riot at specific injustices; in Newport News, a few days before Newark, men rioted over a picket line.

No such convenient explanation can be found for these latest outbreaks of Negro violence. They no longer can be rationalized in terms of schools, housing, jobs. In Newark, one is told of a long powder train of grievances; the last grain, it is said, was the arrest of the Negro cab driver, John W. Smith. But such explanations fall short.

At bottom is a poisonous hatred by a few Negroes of all whites. You do not cure such hatred quickly; indeed, you may never cure it at all. You can hope only to contain it.

This was never true of white and Negro relationships in the old South. I cannot remember encountering a white man — even the most rabid segregationist — who hated all Negroes; nor can I recall a Southern Negro who hated all whites. The red-necked farmer who joined a lynch mob was entirely capable of treating individual Negroes with kindness and affection; the poorest colored sharecropper, ground down by poverty, had no bloodlust for every "whitey." Ordinarily the two races, dwelling in an intimate remoteness, followed the rule of live and let live. One generation after another, they learned to get along.

Newark and Plainfield, and Hartford, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Omaha, Watts — none of them — has shared in this long experience of living closely together. In urban

centers outside the South, the Negro is not a native; he is seen as an alien force, unknown, an immigrant. Newark's Negro population soared from 17 percent to 50 percent in a decade. Who could grow roots so quickly?

The question is what to do now? One answer, it seems to me, is for the white communities to keep it firmly in mind that in terms of the total Negro population, the number of actual rioters is exceedingly small. But this is equally true: The sense of grievance is disarmingly large. The two problems have to be dealt with separately. Rioters must be punished; the aggrieved must be understood.

Society cannot tolerate or excuse the sniper, the arsonist, the looter. These are criminals. They will have to be isolated, brought to trial, sent to prison. But we are talking here of 1 or 2 percent or something less.

An entirely different feeling has to be developed toward the rest. These Negro migrants have come to stay.

Like it or not, the long-resident whites will have to accept that fact. The arriving Negroes must be provided decent schools, decent homes, decent jobs, but more than this: They must be accepted as human beings who are entitled, until they prove otherwise, to the decent and courteous disinterest of fellow passengers on the train: Live and let live.

In such a prolonged effort at understanding, the urban Negroes themselves have the first responsibility. They alone can influence their lawless teenagers. They alone can set the examples of industry and obedience to law that put the rioters in perspective. When it is reported, out of Plainfield, that "the old folks were looting while the young folks were shooting," the prospect of reconciliation grows fearfully dim.

This is not to be just a long hot summer. It is to be a long hot generation. But it is not too late for the 98 percent on each side to begin the search for human understanding.

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LRS-58

July 24, 1967
"Riots and their cure"
Roscoe Drummond
Christian Science Monitor,
p. 14.

Washington

It is vital to get beneath the surface and look faithfully at all of the factors which bear on the hideous rioting in Newark.

This is the only way we can begin to see what most needs to be done to preserve the peace and to reduce the tinder which can be so easily ignited.

Having half the facts is almost more dangerous than having none at all.

There are some who suggest that primary attention should be centered on the causes of this perilous resort to violence — and then the peril will go away. Referring to Newark, one leader put it this way: "This cannot be classified as a riot. It is a cry for help."

Menacing violence

I submit that we must not skirt over the extent to which the resort to violence in United States cities is tearing apart the very fabric of American society by spreading fear, suspicion, and hate.

There are others who suggest that primary attention should be centered on maintaining law and order and on ruthlessly putting down violence as the best way of keeping violence from coming up—and then the peril will go away. On the scene in Newark, a New Jersey state official put it this way: "This is criminal insurrection, not a race riot."

I submit that we must not skirt over the racial origins and the racial content of the menacing violence which has taken place in Newark, in Los Angeles, in Cleveland, and in a dozen other cities during the past two years.

What I am saying is that if we are going to contain and begin to heal this festering problem, we cannot give primary attention to the causes of the rioting, we cannot give primary attention to suppressing the violence—we must give equal and priority attention to both.

To do one without the other — either way — is inadequate and doomed to failure.

All society loses

It is well to realize that there is a foundation on which to build. It is this:

Most Negro and white leaders are agreed in condemning without reservation this senseless and self-destructive resort to violence. It is not condoned. It is totally rejected.

This view could not have been more strongly put than it was in the resolution that was passed unanimously at the national convention of the NAACP. It said:

We call upon all law-abiding citizens of both races to act promptly and sternly to put down such violence. Any indulgence of this destruction of life and property under the color of frustration . . . will be an encouragement in which the whole society loses.

There must be a rooting out of evils in race relations and a thorough redress of legitimate grievances, but insurrection cannot be tolerated as the instrument for the attainment of these goals.

The truth is that violence is the mortal enemy of racial justice and that is exactly what the NAACP is saying.

At the same time most white and Negro leaders

are agreed that this rioting does not spring into being without underlying causes. They are agreed that if we allow the anger and fear and hate, which such violence engenders, to turn government at any level from dealing constructively with the causes, we will thereby be making matters worse—and will inherit the whirlwind.

No one more rejects resort to violence as a means for furthering equal rights than Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R) of Massachusetts, but he wisely warns that if government "out of fear or anger continues to choose the path of inaction, racial violence in the United States will not only continue, it will recur with increasing intensity."

Accumulated blight

What inaction? To answer that question we must realize that in the city slums where potential violence is near the surface, the problem is no longer one of securing equal legal and constitutional rights. The problem here is that equality under the law has not brought anything near equality of opportunity for the Negro poor.

Negro poverty is far worse—wider and deeper—than white poverty. The rate of unemployment is far higher among Negroes than among whites. The quality of education for the Negro poor lags far behind and this is the accumulated blight which is the heritage of two and one-half centuries of slavery and a century of unequal opportunity.

The most determined effort to redress these wrongs must go hand in hand with the sternest measures to end resort to rioting.

LRS-59

July 26, 1967
Christian Science Monitor
"U.S. pushes search for order, justice"
Saville R. Davis

The United States has a shooting revolution on its hands. As a constitutional country, where the people are committed to law and peaceful change, order is being restored by federal troops if necessary. As a democracy where the pursuit of happiness is the goal of the people, the country is torn apart by the slowness of helping the Negro ghettos.

As a political country, everyone is blaming everyone else for the carnage of human and humane values that violence has brought.

Four vignettes from the day's news cameras at midnight, saying what a mess, we will not endure violence, law and order have broken down, with murder and arson have not with civil rights."

A Negro in the midst of broke the pall of smoke that hung over Blaine Streets, Detroit, saying back from Vietnam a few months ago you know I think the war is hell was to kill there. People are all this. Now what am I doing? Just think about that."

The second-echelon is political parties in Washington. "This administration is making a proposal even to make a proposal to strike down laws aimed at the rioters and violence."

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Four vignettes from the day's news show the tragic and explosive mixture:

- President Johnson before the television cameras at midnight, saying what a president has to say: "We will not tolerate lawlessness, we will not endure violence . . . law and order have broken down . . . pillage, murder and arson have nothing to do with civil rights."

- A Negro in the midst of broken glass and the pall of smoke that hung over 12th and Blaine Streets, Detroit, saying: "I just got back from Vietnam a few months ago. But you know I think the war is here . . . my job was to kill there. People are tired of taking all this. Now what am I supposed to do? Just think about that."

- The second-echelon leaders of the two political parties in Washington, needling each other. "This administration has failed even to make a proposal to protect our people on the streets and in their homes from riots and violence," said a statement by GOP leaders.

" . . . there are those among us who have already turned their backs," retorted the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives. "Those who today speak piously of anarchy in the streets have not hesitated to strike down some of the most progressive laws aimed at these problems."

- A dispatch from Harlem, New York, printed in the nation's capital by the Washington Post and written by columnist Jimmy Breslin, entitled "The Rats Come Every Night." It was an eyewitness account of one evening's battle with rats in a Harlem apartment by a couple with three children, including a three-weeks-old baby.

Breslin began, "At eight o'clock at night the rats come up from the space around the sewer pipes under the boiler room where they have slept all day. . . . They start up the pipes which are inside the walls of the five-story tenement. They come for food and water in the apartments where the people live. . . ."

After this evening battle was over -- graphically recounted--Breslin concluded: "Last week the House of Representatives thought it all was a cause for laughter."

The least that could be said about the progress of the revolution, caused by events like these, was that constitutional government was acting drastically and swiftly to put down the overt violence of desperate men against their society. This was the easy thing to say and was being said here in Washington on all sides--from Capitol Hill to the White House.

The most that could be said was said quietly and not in public: that the American democracy is slowly heaving itself out of the slowdown and inertia which developed after the first brilliant successes of the civil-rights movement.

No one here wished to say, or would say, that violence could produce progress or that the extremist leadership of the black power groups could shoot their way into the centers of power in middle-class America.

It was also evident, however, that the sound of civil and police gunfire in the early morning newscasts in the homes of the American public was beginning to have an effect.

It was evident in the Republican charge that the Democrats had not recognized the "criminal element" in the inciting of riots in city after city -- on what, the Republican leaders said they could prove, was an organized basis.

It appeared in the charge of Democratic leaders that big city ghetto legislation had been voted down by conservatives.

Direction pointers missing

These were strong charges, made under the lash of the spreading riot situation, in a country that looks to politics for the solutions to its problems. It seemed evident here that a major review of where the country stands, at the federal as well as the local level, would emerge from the turmoil.

There were no reliable indications here, as smoldering words were added to smoking buildings, of the course the new ferment would take or whether it would cut in one partisan direction.

The balance of the angry Negro vote versus the angry white vote throughout the country has not been tested in the new situation and remains in the stalemate of the last elections under the banners of "backlash" and "frontlash." Opinion polls no doubt will bring some clarification soon.

It remains to be seen, too, whether the latent dispute over the calling out of federal troops between two presidential candidates--Messrs. Johnson and Romney--will emerge into words or be allowed to fade back.

The only certainty, as seen from the perspective of Washington, was that the inertia had gone, blasted by gunshot and seared by flames, and that some new period had plainly begun.

July 28, 1967
Christian Science Monitor
p. 6.

Programs for ghettos . . .

It is more and more obvious that two answers are required for the challenge of racial unrest in the United States, one of these long-range, the other short-range. Both are indispensable and unavoidable.

As has often been stressed in this newspaper, the long-range answer will be found in the complete integration of the Negro into the full rights, opportunities, and obligations of his citizenship. This will be done through making the Negro feel wanted and welcome. It will be done through the destruction of all artificial barriers to his progress. It will come through a recognition and application of special assistance to help overcome the handicap of three and one-half centuries of, first, slavery and then discrimination.

Racial peace—and, even more important, true racial harmony and brotherhood—can only come when such long-range goals are achieved.

In the meantime, however, it is glaringly apparent that an immediate, short-range program is unavoidable. This is to put an end to the rioting, lawlessness, murder, looting, and arson, which have made this summer (still only halfway over) the most racially violent in American history.

Just as, say the French, the appetite comes with eating, so too rioting has spread with rioting. It is clear that we are witnessing a contagious development. Riots in one area spark those in another.

Although we recognize that, in many instances, public officials and the police have bent over backwards to avoid aggravating a situation, we are also impressed by complaints from Negro observers that sometimes the police have not reacted quickly enough. What has often been needed is a nicer balance between wise restraint and quick, decisive action.

Equally urgent is the need for the Negro communities to take decisive action to control the firebrands in their own midst, if only for the protection of those communities themselves. Not only has Negro community after community suffered immense material loss—to say nothing of loss of life—but there is another danger which it would be well to face up to before it occurs. This danger is a violent white reaction, a possibility which grows increasingly acute as the violence approaches or even enters white urban areas.

So far there has been, mercifully, little direct white reaction. For this the country can be grateful. And every effort on the part of public officials, politicians, leaders, businessmen, and clergymen should be directed towards seeing that whites continue to exercise this forbearance. But it is crucial that the Negro communities themselves do more to stamp out the burning fuse which could too easily lead to the powder-barrel of interracial warfare.

August 2, 1967
Christian Science Monitor,
p. 13.

By John Allan Long
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

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August 2, 1967
Christian Science Monitor,
p. 13.

By John Allan Long
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Milwaukee

The first thing one notices in Milwaukee—aside from the deserted streets, broken glass, and armed troops and police everywhere—is that almost nobody is surprised that a riot occurred this week.

At least 50 American cities have had some degree of racial violence in the past two months. The opinion voiced here is that rioting was bound to come, that it is contagious, skipping back and forth across the country like a fad, whatever each city's racial climate.

To this extent, the city was prepared.

Mayor Henry W. Maier unhesitatingly shut down his city in the predawn hours Monday. It was the most swift and sweeping racial-trouble action ordered in any American city—early, strong, and smothering—and it followed prearranged plans.

All business was ordered closed. Entry into the city was guarded by police. The immediate riot area was enclosed by 4,000 national guardsmen called in less than three hours after the Mayor heard of the outbreak. Two deaths were recorded, numerous injuries, more than 70 fire alarms, and scattered looting.

Movement halted

Movement within the entire city was halted except for emergency vehicles. Thus, with an unflinching show of force, he moved to stop the momentum of roving violence in its initial stages.

Though sniper fire and looting continued Monday night police maintained control of the city.

Less decisive are the reasons for the riot. There is a definite tiring of violence among a great many Negroes.

Negro residents this reporter chatted with on the streets in the near north-side riot area appear torn more than ever between condemning violence and using it to express their needs.

There is a mixture of relief that the trouble was for the most part quickly ended and anger that no solutions for their grievances

of de facto segregation, joblessness, and bad living conditions will probably result.

Attention Doubled

One Negro who runs a small shop near his home said: "Three years now there's been riots in this country and now we got it and I don't imagine they [the city] are listening to us yet. . . ."

Yet he frankly admits he was happy his home and store were spared.

And a young woman who is a secretary in the downtown business district puts it: "It destroys our neighborhood and all I see is the politicians arguing still."

Many Negroes feel the violence was triggered by the festering controversy surrounding the Rev. James Groppi, a Catholic priest and militant civil-rights leader.

This summer he has picketed the homes of aldermen who voted against opening housing bills and has been convicted and fined \$100 for obstructing a police officer.

Negroes generally have better living conditions here than, say, Negroes in Chicago's West Side.

But civil rights is in a turmoil as dramatized by Fr. Groppi.

Equally concerned over the rioting are civil-rights workers who are concerned that what rapport they have built with the city and white community now may be destroyed.

For his part, Mayor Maier echoes the pleas of Detroit Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh for "a greater share of the national resources" for his city.

The Mayor has long been an outspoken advocate of channeling more state and federal money into the core city.

Early Monday, when he announced the city's total use of police force, he devoted more than two-thirds of his statement to arguing the problems of the American city.

"Piddling pennies," he said, "will no longer do the job. . . ."

Mayor Maier's unique contribution to the matter of riots remains his immediate use of force.

No part of the city was left open. Suburbs followed suit.

The result was like one massive rural town on a quiet Sunday afternoon.

Curfew lifted

Though there were incidents Monday, very few Negroes even sat on their porches after dark. Merchants whose shops were looted and smashed did not even come in to clean up.

The city cleared the streets, but not the stores.

The citywide curfew was lifted for two hours Monday evening to allow people to find food staples in stores which opened but then restrictions were tightened again.

With the riots of Detroit and Newark fresh in the minds of Milwaukeeans, Mayor Maier moved quickly to utilize all sources of assistance Sunday night.

Within an hour of hearing of the outbreak he notified both Republican Gov. Warren Knowles and the White House. He closed down the city less than two hours later after hearing of two policemen wounded by sniper fire.

LRS-62

August 7, 1967
Christian Science
Monitor, p. 15.

U.S. Bar Ponders Rising Civil Strife

By Howard James
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Honolulu

Distinguished lawyers and dignified judges in flowered sport-shirts and thong sandals wander along Waikiki Beach between meetings. Wives shop for bright muumuus.

Yet the hot sun and soothing sea spray will not wash away a nagging concern of many of the 6,000 lawyers attending the 90th annual meeting of the American Bar Association: growing civil strife.

Jurists and members of the bar say little about root causes of the riots. And few new ideas are being offered here.

Talk centers on traditional solutions: decisive police action; stiff penalties imposed by the courts; and citizen support of law and order.

The conference of chief justices—the men who head state supreme courts—warns that civil disobedience is “shaking the very bedrock of our political and social structures.” It passed a resolution deploring the “unprecedented lawlessness and mob violence.”

The chief justices have taken two controversial positions. The most significant: a reappraisal of “the laws and procedures which affect the task of the policemen, the prosecutor, and the courts in their effort to protect society, to the end that we will successfully meet the challenge of lawlessness.”

This should be done by “all our judicial, executive, and legislative bodies and agencies.”

The group also takes what appears to be a carefully worded slap at recent Supreme Court of the United States rulings on criminal law. The resolution states that “among the causes of the spreading disrespect for law and its enforcement are the publicly held views that it is inordinately difficult, and many times impossible, to convict those who are guilty of the gravest crimes against our society. . . .”

Public support urged

Like most law enforcement officials, many worried citizens and conservative lawyers, a number of state chief justices privately blame the high court for this.

They point to the series of landmark cases handed down that curb the securing of confessions; restrict search and seizure; and require lawyers to be present at the earliest stages of the criminal prosecution process, even when a suspect cannot afford to hire an attorney.

Taking a hard-line position, the chief justices—who also noted there are “unreasonable and unnecessary delays in the administration of justice”—urged that those resorting to “force, mob violence, and riot, accompanied by looting, arson, and murder” to bring about changes in our society “must be swiftly, fairly, and surely prosecuted and punished according to the law they have violated. . . .”

The way of social change and “correcting unjust laws” is through the ballot box and legislative bodies, the conference added. It

then urged support by all citizens of the police, the prosecutor, and the courts.

While also calling for “massive and sustained policing programs” to curb violence, Orison S. Marden, president of the American Bar Association and his organization's board of directors called for the nation's courts to use reason rather than passion when dealing with the civil disturbances.

“A policy of firmness, but not of vindictiveness should be faithfully followed, with justice meted out individually and according to law,” he said. “Vengeful or indiscriminate retaliation is no substitute for justice, and is indeed a corruption of it.”

(During recent rioting in Detroit, this writer found that the recorder's court was setting what many judges call excessively high bail for those arrested in the disturbances. Court officials told reporters that because of the nature of the disturbances and the thousands jailed, constitutional guarantees were sometimes being ignored—even while the President and other officials appealed for respect for the law and the Constitution.)

Commenting here on the problems facing the nation in the area of criminal law, Byron R. White, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, urged the nation's judges to become more involved “in the current ferment within the criminal law.”

Pointing out that historically “criminal law is to punish deliberate sinners for morally reprehensible acts,” now “vengeance or retribution as the primary goal of the criminal law . . . is under attack.”

“Instead it is said that the aims of the criminal law are to control conduct, to incapacitate, i.e., intimidate, and reform the offender, to caution others against like conduct and to reinforce the standards of conduct thought necessary for a civilized community. . . .”

Still others, “chiefly behavioral scientists,” assert that “man's conduct is determined by cultural forces or mental deviations or both,” he continued. Thus it is believed “the individual has little or no ‘free will’ in the sense of conscious control over his conduct,” and “that he is therefore . . . blameless and undeserving of the stigma and punishment meted out by the criminal law.”

Pointing to the growing threat of crime in the United States, and alluding to the riots indirectly, Mr. Justice White made clear what he sees as a root problem:

“We are appallingly ignorant about why people disobey the law.”

With the lawyers in disagreement, and few new solutions being presented as the old systems appear to fail to curb lawlessness, there is concern by some of those attending the conference that conditions will grow worse before they get better.

LRS-63

August 10, 1967
Christian Science Monitor.

On cooling the

By Erwin D. Canham

President Johnson's new Commission on Civil Disorders has been asked to determine “what effects do the mass media have on the riots.”

It will not be an easy question to answer. There are both long-range and short-range aspects. Taking the long view, it is obvious that the engines of modern publicity have greatly intensified the civil-rights revolution. So they have everything to do with the inevitable information system.

The nature of the conflict. From the sit-downs to the store lunch to the South—and far to the north and far to the Detroit causes.

August 10, 1967
Christian Science Monitor.

On cooling the news

By Erwin D. Canham

President Johnson's new Commission on Civil Disorders has been asked to determine "what effects do the mass media have on the riots."

It will not be an easy question to answer. There are both long-range and short-range aspects. Taking the long view, it is obvious that the engines of modern publicity have greatly intensified the civil-rights revolution. So they have everything else. It is an inevitable part of the information system in the modern world.

The nature of news is often conflict. From the days of the sit-down strikes at dime-store lunch counters in the South—and how innocuous and far-away they sound—to the riots in Newark and Detroit, news coverage focuses on trouble.

It does not adequately focus on solutions. But to develop support for solutions there must be awareness of the intensity of problems. It can be argued that many white Americans have not yet adequately learned through their news media of the bitterness and distress harbored by many black Americans. One may assert that more perceptive and probing news coverage would have contributed to solutions, and that mere headlining and picturing of disorder did not really get to the heart of the matter.

Media under attack

If we lived in a different kind of news world—and this applies to Vietnam, or Cuba, or baseball championships—we might be

able to cope with problems more leisurely, and conceivably more effectively. But this is no sure thing. Information is vital. It should be efficiently distributed. It can awaken. Sometimes it inflames.

The news media are almost always under attack. When they do their job fairly, they are likely to displease all partisans. Southern whites—or some Northern whites, for that matter—have smashed cameras with as much enthusiasm as did Negroes in Newark. The luckless reporters and cameramen bear many scars suffered from both sides.

Civil disorder is very difficult to cover accurately, above all with speed. Supposedly accurate sources of information often are wrong. This newspaper's correspondent in Detroit documented such cases, including their subsequent dissemination. These are not necessarily deliberate cases of distortion or suppression, but of human error under very trying circumstances.

National scrutiny

Did the news media "make" Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown? Again, it is a very hard question. As Rep. Durward G. Hall of Missouri said, a Carmichael "calling for insurrection on a street corner soap box is a curiosity, a 'hippie' talking to a few other 'hippies.' But a Stokely Carmichael talking face to face to millions of people, recognized by those whose responsibility is to make sober judgment about

whom to give mass media exposure, is immediately transformed from an oddball to a national figure."

Yes, but do not the Carmichaels and Browns accurately represent the minority of fanatics who touch the torch to tinder of social discontent? Can or should news of them be suppressed?

In Newark, Detroit, and other riot-struck cities, great damage was done by false rumors. Some of these were the match touching off the flames. Without swift and accurate reporting of actual events, would not the rumors have been much worse?

Reports withheld

And yet Martin S. Hayden, editor of the Detroit News, said he thought television was "probably the biggest instigator of the riots here" because coverage of Newark showed looting and stirred up those watching in Detroit to go and do likewise later.

Meantime, agreements with police forces in some cities are holding back reports of violence until checked out, in order not to inflame and intensify. Certainly electronic news draws crowds to a scene of action, riot, accident, or flying saucer!

So there is much to be said for very sober, responsible reassessment of the role and duty of news media. The proper and urgent role of information must not become inflammation. It is not easy to draw lines. But we all know the fire we are trying to put out.

August 14, 1967
U.S. News & World Report

OUR DISORDERED SOCIETY

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

CONGESTION—whether on the highway or in the life of an urban community—presents a threat to human safety. Outbreaks of disorder in our crowded cities can hardly be avoided if any substantial number of people continue to be depressed.

We are witnessing not just accidental disruptions of society but tragic examples of what can repeatedly happen in moods of desperation resulting from the monotony of idleness and frustration.

Poverty alone is not responsible for the discontent. Nor is the friction of race or color the only cause of riots.

President Johnson is hopefully relying on the recently appointed Commission on Civil Disorders to analyze and define the relationship between sociological problems and the outbursts of violence in so many cities. But it obviously will be months, if not years, before reforms will be legislated and an effective system for administering them can be established.

What shall be done in the meantime?

Firmness is absolutely essential in dealing with those who break the law and create disorder. Immediate cooperation between federal, State, county and city governments is imperative. Police systems and law-enforcement agencies must be improved and enlarged.

Vice President Humphrey, in a talk to the mayors of the National League of Cities on July 31, said:

"There can be no freedom, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior."

Mr. Humphrey added that the needs of the urban communities "in no way justify riots, looting, and arson" but that they provide "the combustible environment in which a spark of criminal violence can burst into a flame of social disorder."

Many observers have wondered if a "conspiracy" was behind the series of riots across the country. Certainly it looks as if there is a national pattern. The evidence indicates that subversives as well as what have been officially described as "outside agitators" from other cities—some of them with Communist connections—have helped to incite many of the disturbances and to aggravate them.

But "inside agitators" have been active, too. Who can gauge the psychological effects of four years of "demonstrations" and "marches" and preachments of "civil disobedience"? Cries of "inequality" are not necessarily met by affirmations of "equal rights." For when "black power" is exploited by unwise leaders, a stimulus

is given to "white power." We then witness a backlash and there is a temptation by some white elements to go back to Ku Klux Klan tactics. Groups of the uneducated, uninformed, unthinking—both whites and Negroes—thereupon can plunge us into anarchy.

It seems incredible that, in a country which possesses the most efficient systems of communication in the world, large numbers of persons in our cities refuse to obey the laws.

When we focus, moreover, on the riots which have swept across the land in recent months, we find that the disorderly included many persons idle on the streets, many youngsters without parental discipline, and many individuals with criminal records who had guns in their possession. Where feelings of despair and hopelessness prevail, ordinary clashes and street fights provoke wider participation as the infection of a mob spirit spreads and emotions are aroused.

No single deficiency has created the crisis. We must acknowledge the realistic fact that our economic system has not provided an adequate number of jobs for the residents of our cities.

We must face up, therefore, to the inevitable consequences of our "population explosion." We have a big enough country to accommodate the increases in numbers, but do we know how to distribute workers geographically so as to reduce joblessness? More facilities for occupational training are needed. We note page after page of "help wanted" ads in the newspapers, but many of the applicants prove to be untrained.

We have before us a massive task of reorganization. We have been talking in recent years in optimistic terms about a "Great Society." But we now realize that we have a disordered society. It is not just a question of providing material benefits. We must also reiterate and impressively sloganize the words from the Ten Commandments:

"Thou shalt not kill. . . . Thou shalt not steal. . . . Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house . . . nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

As a sequel to the day of prayer recently proclaimed by the President, every radio and TV station, every newspaper and every other means of communication available to us should be used to transmit every day the message which warns that the law must be obeyed and that sniping and looting can and will be punished. What better "commercial" could there be for the American people to sponsor today as we strive to remove the handicaps of our overcrowded society?

Page 67.

Faubus, Barnett, Wallace.

1957- Little Rock. Faubus called out the Ark, National Guard to prevent Negroes from entering Central High School. Ike flew in federal troops when violence threatened, but the Little Rock school board shut the school rather than integrate. A year later it opened on an integrated basis. During his second term as governor, the buses in Little Rock were integrated, and Central High was integrated but not as quietly. The Governor's resistance to this integration and the fact that he all but stopped further integration in the South ~~had~~ made him a national figure and a led to his election to an third term which was only tried once before. He continued as governor until ~~he decided not to run~~ ~~his was beaten in his bid for a 6th term by~~ ~~again?~~ Rockefeller. In the case of the desegregation of the school, federal troops had to remain in the ^{ui} building for the entire year. The Court found 'indisputable' that these conditions "are traceable to the actions of legislators and executive officials of the State of Arkansas, taken in their official capacities, which reflect their own determination to resist the Court's decision in the Brown case and which have brought about violent resistance to that decision in Arkansas... Levinson. In its Little Rock decision the Supreme Court proclaimed that its decisions on constitutional matters had "binding effect" on all state officials. IT is very easy for state and local officials to resist a Supreme Court decision, and it is very difficult for a private citizen to force them to comply. Years

are lost going through legal channels. This is when they lose patience and escalate their struggle beyond the courtroom.

Barnett's success as a politician has been attributed entirely to his racial views. He twice failed to win the governorship, but soon after his second defeat in 1955, he gained attention throughout the south by going to Tenn. to defend a group of white persons who had been arrested during riots over school desegregation. He was also outspoken in his support of Faubus. Armed with this fame and supported by the White Citizens Council he easily won in 1959 against an opponent who charged him with advocating inflammatory tactics in the racial question. His refusal to allow James Meredith to enroll in the U. of Miss. ~~has~~ raised his stock enormously. JFK sent federal troops to force his registration. In this case, the court ordered him and other state officials to admit Meredith without further interference. When the Gov. defied this order, the court found him in contempt, and threatened him with fines and imprisonment unless he immediately yielded to its order. He yielded. He did not actively help in enforcing the court order, in fact he permitted an angry mob to riot until federal authorities restored ~~the~~ order, but he no longer played any active, open role in obstructing enforcement of the court order. The court of appeals did not impose any punishment on him. Barnett had clearly defied a court order directed at him personally. The President prevailed in enforcing the order, but the governor may reap a political advantage at home

if his defiance echoes the predominant mood of his constituents. Levinson.

In January, 1959, Wallace had his first clash with the Federal Government and its ^{courts} ~~courts~~ by refusing access to county voter registration files to Civil Rights Commission examiners. He ignored a court order and turned the files ~~XX~~ over to grand juries. In his campaign for the governorship in 1962, he ran on a militant segregationist platform. He promised to resist all efforts" of the federal courts, the Justice Dept. and the Civil Rights Commission to destroy our social and educational order." He vowed to keep Ala. schools segregated "to the point of standing in the school house door if necessary." In this campaign he was backed by the KKK.

In 1963 violent demonstrations between Negroes and white broke out in Birmingham. The President notified ^{Wallace, he} ~~he~~ would send federal troops if necessary. Wallace's appeal protesting the use of troops was rejected by the Supreme Court, but the troops were never sent.. On June 11, 1963, Wallace fulfilled his campaign pledge to "stand in the ~~XXX~~ school house door". He was under a federal court injunction not to bar the entry ~~XX the entry~~ of two Negroes to the U. of Ala. but he was at the door waiting when federal officials arrived with a proclamation from the President directing him to end his stand. He didn't and they returned later with an order from Kennedy federalizing the Ala. national guard. The Negroes were then registered.

In Sept., 1963 he attempted to prevent integration of

the public shools. Again JFK federalized the National Guard but they were never called into action. In a statement 9/16 JFK said "It is regrettable that public disparagement of ~~the~~ ^{law} and order had encouraged violence which has fallen on the innocent." The statement was widely interpreted as a reference to Wallace's defiance of court orders effecting desegregation.

Wallace was unable to get legislative approval of a bill allowing him to seek a second consecutive term as governor. His showing as a Presidential candidate and the election of his wife could be proof of the popularity of his defiance of the law.

CG 6/30/67

21 Black Panthers Accused of Plotting Bomb Terror Here

By MORRIS KAPLAN

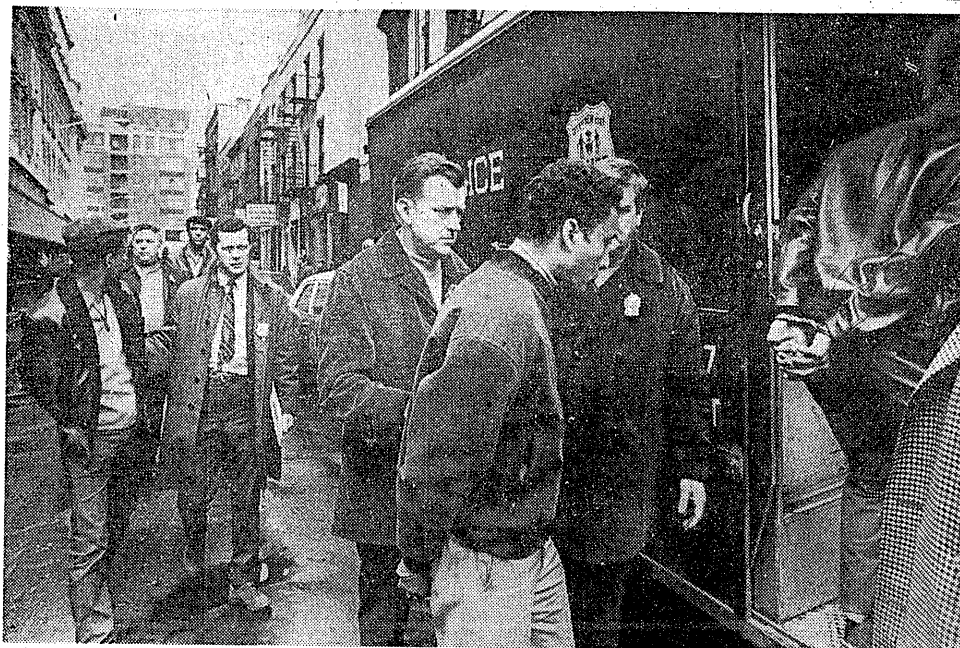
Twenty-one members of the Black Panther party were indicted here yesterday on charges of plotting to kill policemen and to dynamite city department stores, a police station and a commuter railroad's right-of-way.

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan announced the 12-count indictment, which was handed up by a grand jury at 1 A.M., yesterday. It charged the militant Negroes with planning to destroy what the Panthers regard as part of "the power structure."

The Black Panthers, Mr. Hogan said, planned to plant bombs today in the midtown stores of Macy's, Alexanders', Bloomingdale's, Korvette's, and

Continued on Page 36, Column 1

File
Roo 3/3/69
THE NEW YORK TIMES,



NAMED IN CONSPIRACY CHARGE: Robert S. Collier, center, and other members of the Black Panther party being led to a police van near Police Headquarters here.

They had been indicted by a grand jury for allegedly plotting to kill policemen and dynamite city department stores, a police station and Penn Station Railroad tracks.

The New York Times (by Neal Boenzi)

21 Accused of Plot to Terrorize City With Bombings

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2
Abercrombie & Fitch at the height of the Easter season shopping.

The police, heavily armed and wearing bullet-proof vests, arrested 12 of the defendants at their homes, or at the homes of friends, on charges of conspiracy to murder, arson, reckless endangerment and possession of weapons and explosives.

Ex-Convict Seized

In early morning raids, teams of policemen directed by Chief of Detectives Frederick M. Lusen seized, among others, Robert S. Collier, 32 years old, of 336 East Eighth Street.

Collier served 21 months of a 5-year sentence in the Lewis-

bomb the police station at Third Avenue and 160th Street in the Bronx as a diversionary action.

They were prepared to place bombs in department store areas where highly combustible material, like paints and dry-goods, would be found, the District Attorney charged.

"They agreed to assassinate police officers by bombs and guns and planned a number of other coordinated acts of violence," Mr. Hogan said.

He said the Black Panthers used a paramilitary structure and discipline, with its members required to wear uniforms and to carry weapons.

He named Lumumba Abdul Shakur, 27, of 112 West 117th Street, as the captain of the New York area. Another captain, he said, is Michael Tabor,

had escaped the police yesterday by leaping 35 feet to the ground from his apartment window. Generally, he said, the police encountered little resistance in making their arrests.

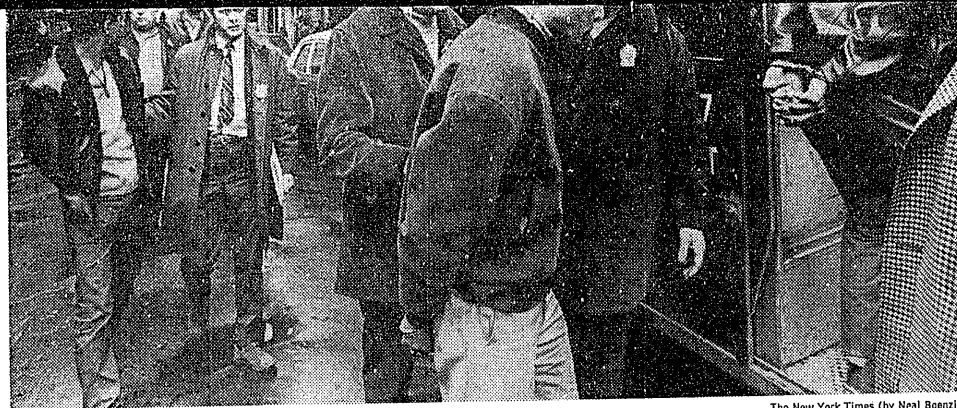
Last Nov. 8, the indictment said, the conspirators detonated a bomb at the police station at 148 East 126th Street. Again, no one was hurt. Another bomb exploded harmlessly at the 28th School District headquarters, 174-10 125th Avenue, Jamaica, Queens.

The chief declined to say whether his men or detectives from Mr. Hogan's squad had infiltrated the Black Panther group. Undercover agents had been used to foil two earlier plots—the 1965 Statue of Lib-

Catarras, of 40 West 135th Street. Eddie Joseph, 17, also known as Jamal Baltimore, of 960 East 223d Street, the Bronx. Richard Harris, 32, of 1510 Jessup Avenue, the Bronx, held on robbery charge in Newark. Curtis Powell, 33, of 629 East Fifth Street.

Others Being Sought

The following, also indicted, are being sought by the police: William King, 31, also known as Kinshasa, of 20 Morningside Drive, a Transit Authority clerk. Larry Mack, 23, of 114-60 201st Street, Hollis, Queens. Thomas Berry, 26, also known as Mshina, of 2020 Davidson Avenue, the Bronx. Lee Roper, 22, also known as Shaba-Um, 22, of 127 West 119th Street. Lonnie Epps, 18, of 41-04 10th Street, Long Island City, Queens. Lee Berry, also known as Mkuba, of 101 Lafayette Avenue.



NAMED IN CONSPIRACY CHARGE: Robert S. Collier, center, and other members of the Black Panther party being led to a police van near Police Headquarters here.

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Collier served 21 months of a 5-year sentence in the Lewisburg, Pa., Federal Penitentiary after he was convicted June 15, 1965 of conspiring with others to blow up national monuments, including the Statue of Liberty, and of smuggling dynamite from Canada.

Released from prison in March, 1968, he sought a job as a Parks Department employee in charge of recreational activities at the Tompkins Square Community Center. Parks Commissioner Heckscher defended Collier, saying he had been endorsed by the police and religious leaders.

Subsequently an anonymous donor gave \$5,750 to Mayor Lindsay's Commission on Physical Fitness to pay Collier for working at the center.

Manhattan Borough President Percy E. Sutton yesterday denied a report that he had named Collier to his advisory council on the Lower East Side, a non-salaried post. Mr. Sutton said that Collier's application, filed March 10, was being "considered." He said he would defer action, pending the outcome of yesterday's charges.

Rifle Confiscated

The police said Collier had a high-powered rifle and "other contraband" at the time of his arrest. They described him as the Black Panther "minister of education" for the New York area.

Last Oct. 5, Collier was one of eight adults and four juveniles arrested during a violent demonstration on the school decentralization issue at Seward Park High School. He has been charged with inciting to riot.

Two of those indicted yesterday are in prison in Newark facing robbery charges, according to Mr. Hogan, and seven others are at large.

The conspirators, Mr. Hogan said, planned to dynamite the tracks of the New Haven branch of the Penn Central at six points north of 148th Street. They planned, also, he added, to

bomb the police station at Third Avenue and 160th Street in the Bronx as a diversionary action.

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He named Lumumba Abdul Shakur, 27, of 112 West 117th Street, as the captain of the New York area. Another captain, he said, is Michael Tabor, also known as Cetewayo, 23, of 459 East 163d Street, a laborer.

An indictment was returned also against a 19-year-old student nurse, the only woman in the group. She is Joan Victoria Bird, of 2859 Eighth Avenue, a sophomore at Bronx Community College. She was indicted last Feb. 7 on a charge of attempting to murder two policemen in upper Manhattan in January.

Similar charges were dropped against two of her Black Panther companions because of insufficient evidence. The two, named in yesterday's indictment, are Clark Squires, 32, of 668 Riverside Drive, a computer operator, and Shakur, described as an investigator.

Bombing Is Cited

The three had been arrested after a gun battle Jan. 17 at 170th Street and the Harlem River Drive. The indictment yesterday, which also covered alleged earlier actions, said two men with high-powered rifles had planned to shoot across the Harlem River at policemen running from the Sedgwick Avenue police station in the Bronx after it was bombed on Jan. 17.

The bomb was detonated but no one was hurt, according to a spokesman for Mr. Hogan. A bomb was also planted that day at the police station at 151 West 100th Street, it was alleged. It failed to explode.

That part of the plot was foiled, Mr. Hogan's spokesman said, when two patrolmen in a radio car approached an apparently disabled car and were fired upon. Two other men who allegedly fled the scene were named in yesterday's indictment. They are Donald Weems, also known as Kwesi Balagoon, 22, of 2859 Eighth Avenue, jailed in Newark, and Nathaniel Burns, 25, also known as Nathaniel Williams and as Sekou Odinga, of 723 Prospect Place, Brooklyn.

Chief Lussen said that Burns

had escaped the police yesterday by leaping 35 feet to the ground from his apartment window. Generally, he said, the police encountered little resistance in making their arrests.

Last Nov. 8, the indictment said, the conspirators detonated a bomb at the police station at 148 East 126th Street. Again, no one was hurt. Another bomb exploded harmlessly at the 28th School District headquarters, 174-10 125th Avenue, Jamaica, Queens.

The chief declined to say whether his men or detectives from Mr. Hogan's squad had infiltrated the Black Panther group. Undercover agents had been used to foil two earlier plots—the 1965 Statue of Liberty plan and a 1967 conspiracy to begin guerrilla warfare in New York.

Chief Lussen said arms and ammunition had been seized during the arrests yesterday. The police also said they had confiscated three homemade pipe bombs, a five-pound can of blasting powder, bomb components, a switchblade knife and a dagger.

"We believe they have other material cached away," a spokesman for the prosecutor said. "We have not covered everything."

12 Plead Not Guilty

The 12 arrested defendants pleaded not guilty on their arraignment before Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks. Each was held in \$100,000 bail over the objection of defense lawyers, who called the amount unconstitutional.

Gerald Lefcourt, an associate of William M. Kupstler, the civil rights lawyer, appeared with Arthur F. Truce Jr. as defense counsel. Mr. Lefcourt told Judge Marks:

"It is the feeling of the Black Panther party that this indictment was an attack on the Black Panthers directed from Washington. The desire of the Government to wipe out the Black Panther party was obvious."

Kay Martin, chairman of Youth Against War and Fascism and Andy Stapp, head of the American Servicemen's Union, issued separate statements deploring the indictments and arrests.

Also named in the indictment and in custody were the following:

Richard Moore, 25, also known as Anayle Dahruba, of 460 West 126th Street.
Walter Johnson, 24, also known as Baba Odinga, of 2016 Seventh Avenue.
Afeni Shakur, 23, wife of Lumumba Shakur, 112 West 117th Street.
John J. Casson, 28, also known as Ali Hassan, of 1259 Grand Avenue, the Bronx.
Alex McKiever, 19, also known as

Catarra, of 40 West 135th Street.
Eddie Joseph, 17, also known as Jamal Baltimore, of 960 East 223d Street, the Bronx.
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Lee Berry, also known as Mkuba, of 101 Lafayette Avenue.



Brandeis University

LEMBERG CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE

Waltham, Massachusetts 02154 / Telephone: 617-894-2605

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Dear Reader:

By monitoring the press and systematically making inquiries via telephone and letter, members of the Lemberg Center staff for some time now have attempted to record race-related civil disorders occurring in the United States. In the first and second issues of our Riot Data Review the further step was taken of pointing out trends and offering general reflections on the pattern of occurrences. Nonetheless the bulk of those first two issues consisted of factual summaries of disorders taken one by one.

For the work of the Center, finding out about and analyzing each disturbance remains a necessity. For the readers of the Review, however, the value of reproducing hundreds of summaries is not so clear. Many of you have no special use for raw research data. Whether you do or not, we have an intellectual obligation to focus conclusions sharply to make analysis meaningful.

Consequently in Issue No. 3, which this letter accompanies, Riot Data Review moves away from "wholesale data" toward more intense coverage of one or two important developments at a time. Only 25 factual accounts of disorders summarized from the press appear in this issue, and a cardinal point in the analysis is that many of them are seriously misleading.

Of course before hazarding such a judgment, let alone deciding what topic to focus upon for the present issue, the staff scrutinized all the newsclips and other information they could gather. A mimeographed compilation on approximately 200 U.S. race-related disturbances occurring between May 1, 1968, and August 31, 1968, may be obtained by readers from us. A few copies of Riot Data Review No. 2 are also available. (An order form is provided at the end of this letter.)

* * * * *

The subject that Terry Ann Knopf, editor of Riot Data Review, concentrates upon this time is the so-called menace of sniping--premeditated, lethal, hit-and-run attacks on police by black citizens with guns. Reports of sniping in this sense have given impetus to theories that more or less spontaneous crowd outbreaks in American cities are being supplanted by controlled racial guerrilla warfare.

We do not claim to know what the future holds, but, if I read RDR correctly, we can say that reports of "sniping" to date have been composed of two parts fantasy to one part fact. For instance, newspaper accounts of a fracas in Peoria, Illinois, last summer would lead readers to believe that an undetermined number of armed blacks deliberately sought a gun battle with police. The implication is that this incident, in which 11 patrolmen supposedly were hit, approached the magnitude of

a small insurrection or military action. Yet Peoria's Director of Public Safety has subsequently told us that precisely 7 officers were wounded, that all were peppered by the same single shotgun blast, that only 3 of them required hospitalization, and that no pre-planned sniping occurred.

The particulars of this incident and all similar ones of which we have a record are given in Riot Data Review No. 3. The sooner I clear out of the way so that you can read it, the better. After digesting the issue, however, please turn to this letter again for news about a line of publications that the Lemberg Center is launching.

* * * * *

Partly because of pressure from magazines to keep articles short and from book publishers to stretch manuscripts out, writing of a middle length congenial to many authors in the past is now rare. With respect to length, in fact, Macaulay's essays, the pamphlets of the Puritan Revolution, some of Marx's works, and the Book of Job may be cited as examples of a nearly vanished species. Yet in violence research and reflections on violence a middle range--between the conventional article and the conventional book--is often highly desirable. Both the rapid unfolding of the events which must be analyzed and the interim character of theories which so far can reasonably be formulated guarantee this.

Hence the Lemberg Center is beginning publication of a series of paperbound APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE. The series will include historical, analytical, theoretical, and policy studies from 35 to 95 pages long, printed in a format much like the higher-price paperbacks you find in your bookstore. The first study--on the use of black youths for community self-policing--will be followed by works on street culture, clinical intervention in violent situations, early industrial upheavals, and many other subjects. In addition to the work of Lemberg Center associates, the series will include some studies written outside the Center by authors in a variety of disciplines and professions.

Now Youth Patrols: An Experiment in Community Participation, first study in the series, is nearing publication. It will be out in March (about 80 pages, \$1.25 per copy). The author is Terry Knopf, who, removing her cap as editor of RDR and donning her hat as Center research associate, describes the organization and activities of White Hat groups formed in 12 American cities in 1967-68. Besides providing the first comprehensive account of youth patrols, she throws light on certain interesting aspects of city administrative style and on the ambiguous vanguard role of young people, some of whom both precipitate disorder and help to quell it.

By the nature of his trade, an editor receives a lifelong postgraduate course. This may make him a little calloused with regard to the endless "contributions to knowledge" flowing from the presses. But I genuinely learned something from Youth Patrols and in all good faith urge you to read it.

We expect Youth Patrols to roll off the press in March. To obtain a copy (or copies), fill out the reservation form provided below and mail it to us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Erwin

Robert Erwin
Executive Editor

Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

- ☐ When Youth Patrols by Terry Knopf is ready (about 80 pages, tentative price \$1.25), send _____ copy(ies) and bill me.
- ☐ Send me the Riot Data Clearinghouse mimeographed Summaries of U.S. Race-Related Civil Disorders, May 1, 1968 - August 31, 1968.
- ☐ Send me a copy of Riot Data Review No. 2.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

RIOT DATA REVIEW

Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence / Brandeis University



February 1969

Number 3

SNIPING INCIDENTS--A NEW PATTERN OF VIOLENCE?

I

The Cleveland Confrontation and Its Aftermath

On July 23, 1968, at 2:15 P.M., Cleveland's Mayor Carl B. Stokes, who was in Washington, D.C., that day, made what he expected to be a routine telephone call to his office back home. He was told of information from military, FBI, and local police intelligence sources indicating that an armed uprising by black militants was scheduled to take place at 8:00 A.M. the next day. According to the reports, Ahmed Evans, a militant leader who headed a group called the Black Nationalists of New Lybia, planned to drive to Detroit that night to secure automatic weapons. There were further reports that Evans' followers had purchased bandoliers, ammunition pouches, and first aid kits that same day. Simultaneous uprisings were reportedly being planned for Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Chicago.

At 6:00 P.M. in response to these reports, several unmarked police cars were assigned to the area of Evans' house. At about 8:20 P.M. a group of armed men, some of whom were wearing bandoliers of ammunition, emerged from the house. Almost at once, an intense gunbattle broke out between the police and the

armed men, lasting for roughly an hour. A second gun battle between the police and snipers broke out shortly after midnight about forty blocks away. In the wake of these "shoot-outs," sporadic looting and firebombing erupted and continued for several days. By the time the disorder was over, 16,400 National Guardsmen had been mobilized, 9 persons had been killed (including 3 policemen), while the property damage was estimated at \$1,500,000. Police listed most of their casualties as "shot by sniper."

Immediately the Cleveland tragedy was described as a deliberate plot against the police and said to signal a new phase in the current course of racial conflict. The Cleveland Press (July 24, 1968) compared the violence in Cleveland to guerrilla activity in Saigon and noted: "...It didn't seem to be a Watts, or a Detroit, or a Newark. Or even a Hough of two years ago. No, this tragic night seemed to be part of a plan." Thomas A. Johnson writing in the New York Times (July 28, 1968) stated: "...It marks perhaps the first documented case in recent history of black, armed, and organized violence against the police."¹

As the notion that police were being "ambushed" took hold in the public's mind, many observers reporting on the events in Cleveland and similar confrontations in other cities such as Gary, Ind., Peoria, Ill., York, Pa., and Seattle, Wash., emphasized several prominent features.

A. Planning--Racial outbursts have traditionally been spontaneous affairs, without organization and without leadership. While no two disorders are similar in every respect, studies conducted in the past have indicated that a riot is a dynamic process which goes through stages of development. This line of thought was pursued by Dr. John P. Spiegel of the Lemberg Center, for example, when early last year he outlined four phases of a riot:

¹
To date, no official account concerning the events in Cleveland has been released, although a report is currently being prepared for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

1. The precipitating event. The initial outbreak (such as the precipitating event is frequent community as insulting or unjust.
2. Street confrontation. An angry, young people, law enforcement to disperse the crowd.
3. Roman holiday. Young people, law enforcement to disperse the crowd.

1. The precipitating event. The incident which triggers the initial outbreak (such as an arrest). The precipitating event is frequently seen by the black community as insulting or unjust.
2. Street confrontation. An angry, hostile crowd gathers at the scene. Law enforcement officers appear and try to disperse the crowd.
3. Roman holiday. Usually the crowd leaves the scene of the street confrontation and reassembles elsewhere. Young people display an angry intoxication indistinguishable from glee. They hurl rocks and bottles at white-owned stores and at cars containing whites or police, wildly cheering every "hit."
4. Siege. The black community is subjected to a state of siege. Citizens can no longer move freely into and out of their neighborhoods. Forces within the ghetto, now increasingly composed of adults, throw firebombs at white-owned establishments and disrupt fire-fighting. Snipers attack paramilitary forces. The siege runs its course until "order has been restored."²

A sequence of stages is outlined in somewhat similar terms in the section of the Kerner Report on "the riot process." It is significant that neither the Lemberg Center nor the Kerner Commission found any evidence of an organized plan or "conspiracy" in recent civil disorders prior to 1968. According to the Kerner Report: "...The Commission has found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group--international, national, or local."³

Since the Cleveland "shoot-out," however, many observers have suggested that civil disorders are beginning to take a new form characterized by some degree of planning, organization, and leadership.

² John P. Spiegel, "Hostility, Aggression, and Violence," paper prepared for the Tufts-New England Medical Center, March 12, 1968.

³ Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1968), p. 89. See pp. 67-73 of the Report for a discussion of the riot process.

B. Attacks on the Police--In the past, much of the racial violence that occurred was directed at property rather than persons. Cars were stoned, stores were looted, business establishments were firebombed, and residences, in some instances, were damaged or destroyed. However, since the Cleveland "shoot-out" there have been suggestions that policemen have become the central targets of violence. A rising curve of ambushes of the police was noted in the October 7, 1968, issue of U.S. News & World Report which maintained that at least 8 policemen were killed and 47 wounded in such attacks last summer.

C. Sniping--Attacks on the police are now said to be regularly characterized by hit-and-run sniping. Using either home-made weapons or commercial and military weapons such as automatics, bands of snipers are pictured initiating guerrilla warfare in our cities.

The views just outlined represent a broad spectrum of the press, ranging from the moderately liberal New York Times to the militantly rightist American Opinion. A look at some recent statements reveals a surprising unanimity of views.

On August 3, 1968, the New York Times suggested in an editorial:

...The pattern in 1967 has not proved to be the pattern of 1968. Instead of violence almost haphazardly exploding, it has sometimes been deliberately planned. And while the 1967 disorders served to rip away false facades of racial progress and expose rusting junkyards of broken promises, the 1968 disorders also reveal a festering militancy that prompts some to resort to open warfare.

Shortly afterward (August 14, 1968), Crime Control Digest, a bi-weekly periodical read by many law enforcement officials across the country, declared:

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The pattern of civil disorder
the pattern that prevailed in
Army, National Guard and Police
to meet this year's "long
if this year's type of
or controlled.
This year
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In the past, much of the racial violence that
 ty rather than persons. Cars were stoned, stores
 iments were firebombed, and residences, in some
 destroyed. However, since the Cleveland "shoot-out",
 that policemen have become the central targets of
 ambushes of the police was noted in the October 7,
 maintained that at least 8

The pattern of civil disorders in 1968 has changed from the pattern that prevailed in 1967, and the elaborate U.S. Army, National Guard and police riot control program prepared to meet this year's "long hot Summer" will have to be changed if this year's type of civil disturbance is to be prevented or controlled.

This year's riot tactics have featured sniping and hit and run attacks on the police, principally by Black Power extremists, but by teen-agers in an increasing number of instances. The type of crimes being committed by the teen-agers and the vast increase in their participation has already brought demands that they be tried and punished as adults.

On September 13, 1968, Time took note of an "ominous trend" in the country:

Violence as a form of Negro protest appears to be changing from the spontaneous combustion of a mob to the premeditated shoot-outs of a far-out few. Many battles have started with well-planned sniping at police.

Predictably, the November 1968 issue of American Opinion went beyond the other accounts by linking reported attacks on the police to a Communist plot:

The opening shots of the Communists' long-planned terror offensive against our local police were fired in Cleveland on the night of July 23, 1968, when the city's Glenville area rattled with the scream of automatic weapons....What happened in Cleveland, alas, was only a beginning.

To further emphasize the point, a large label crying "terrorism" (reproduced on the following page) was included on the cover of the November issue.

Despite its inclinations toward extremism, American Opinion is the only publication which has attempted to list sniping incidents. Twenty-five specific instances of attacks on police were cited in the November issue. Despite warnings that "scores of American cities have been affected" and that "many battles" between blacks and the police have occurred, virtually every other publication claiming a change in the nature of racial violence has confined itself to a few

RED TERRORISTS ASSASSINATE LOCAL POLICE

- An expose of Communist terrorism already taking place in American cities.

perfunctory examples as evidence. Furthermore, even though a few examples have been presented, the reporters usually have not attempted to investigate and confirm them.

In view of the importance of this subject and the superficiality displayed by the press, this issue of Riot Data Review is devoted to the subject of race-related sniping incidents. Our objectives are threefold:

1. To chronicle reported sniping incidents
 2. To assess these reports in as
 3. To make a series of reports
- Several methods of investigation
monitor the New York Times
newsclipping service
across the country
organizing

1. To chronicle reported sniping incidents.
2. To assess these reports in as objective a manner as possible.
3. To make a series of recommendations based on our findings.

Several methods of investigation have been employed. Members of our staff monitor the New York Times and the Washington Post. We employ a national newsclipping service which monitors a substantial portion of local newspapers across the country. In addition, we have utilized the resources of other organizations such as the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence and the Southern Education Reporting Service. Finally, information has been obtained directly from police officials in those cities which have reportedly experienced sniping attacks. This information has been acquired mostly through interviews by telephone. (In most cases, the main points of these interviews were later confirmed by letter.)

II

Summary of Reported Sniping Incidents

What follows is a chronological listing and summary of race-related civil disorders which reportedly involved sniping. The list begins with the Cleveland disorder in late July and ends with sniping incidents reported through August 31. Our objective in this section has been to identify the largest possible number of apparent sniping incidents.

It should be stressed that the summaries taken from newspaper clips are not necessarily accurate and are bound to reflect the stereotypes previously mentioned. Moreover, it should be recognized that in condensing so many newsclips, some distortions are bound to have occurred on our part. This point is especially true in our treatment of precipitating events. Owing to their importance,

precipitating events are frequently the first item mentioned in our summaries-- even though they may have received scant attention from the press. Nevertheless, taken on the whole, the summaries do reflect what the country was told at the time.

No claims are made that our Riot Data Clearinghouse (RDC) has uncovered every single case of possible sniping for this period. The tentative nature of our information, owing to our heavy reliance on newspaper accounts (at least initially), has been noted in previous issues of Riot Data Review. All we can say is that on the basis of working through hundreds of newspaper clips, accounting for more than one hundred disturbances in July through August 1968, RDC researchers uncovered a possible maximum total of 25 incidents involving sniping.⁴ These incidents are chronicled in this section and analyzed in the next.

The following abbreviations have been used: NYT and WP for New York Times and Washington Post and PD for property damage. A dash (-) is used for statistics which were unclear at the time. Most statistics (number of arrests, number of casualties, etc.) contained in the summaries have been taken from newspaper accounts and should therefore be regarded as tentative. References to gunfire and sniping have been underlined for the convenience of the reader, who is again reminded that all the accounts should be taken skeptically.

1. July 23-26, 1968 - Cleveland, O.

Shortly after 8 P.M. a police tow truck arrived at an intersection in the predominantly black area of Glenville to remove an abandoned auto. At about 8:20 armed men wearing bandoliers of ammunition emerged from the home of Fred Ahmed Evans, a black nationalist. The house had been under surveillance by

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On August 4, 1968, shots were exchanged between police and a suspect in a predominantly black housing project in Detroit. However, Police Commissioner Johannes Spreen at the time stressed that there was no sniping. The shooting followed attempts by the police to settle a domestic argument. Thus the incident was omitted from our summaries.

Police units after reports of an armed up-
office. A tow truck in the area was fir-
aid police officers were also shot at by
while hundreds pinned down by gunfire
Evans' house after the 65
Immediately, 3 policemen and
Firemen attempting to
beat them; 15 P.M.
ran through the
gun battle
were looted and
blocks
and

police units after reports of an armed uprising were received in the Mayor's office. A tow truck in the area was fired upon by men with shotguns, and police officers were also shot at by snipers. Other police cruisers arrived to aid policemen pinned down by gunfire; 25-35 policemen entered the immediate area while hundreds cordoned off the streets. Several policemen were wounded immediately; 3 policemen and a sniper were killed as police pursued men fleeing Evans' house after the 65-minute gun battle. Several fires broke out, and firemen attempting to extinguish the blazes were pinned down by rifle fire. Beginning at 10 P.M. a crowd of 250 blacks stopped autos driven by whites and beat them; 15 policemen used tear gas to disperse the group. A band of teenagers ran through areas of Glenville setting fires with torches. By midnight, stores were looted and torched, while many cars were overturned and burned. Another gun battle between police and snipers broke out shortly after midnight about 40 blocks from the first outbreak. Three black youths were arrested in that battle and were charged with shooting to kill. National Guard troops were ordered into Cleveland after 16,400 had been mobilized at 1:00 A.M.; 1800 troops patrolled the streets at about 3 A.M. On Wed. (7/24) 2,200 additional troops were ordered into the East Side area. Wed. afternoon, Mayor Carl Stokes met with black community leaders and agreed to withdraw all but 250 Guardsmen and all whites from the troubled area as blacks patrolled the streets. Several fires were reported on Wed. By Thurs. (7/25) more fires were reported, and many complaints of looting were made by merchants in the 7-sq. mile area; Mayor Stokes imposed a curfew and a ban on liquor. A crowd formed in the Harvard-Lee area and committed some minor acts of violence before being dispersed by National Guardsmen. On Fri. (7/26) only a few incidents and a major fire were reported. National Guard troops began leaving on Sat., and by 2:30 A.M. on Sun. (7/28) all had left the city as police resumed normal activities.

Arrests: 96 Injured: 27 (17 police) Killed: 11 (3 wh police,
7 blk civs, 1 wh) PD: \$1,500,000

Cleveland (O.) Plain Dealer, 7/24-31, 8/7, 8/10; Cleveland Press, 7/24-30;
Cleveland Call and Post, 8/3; NYT, 7/25-28, 8/8, 8/28; WP, 7/28, 7/30;
Los Angeles (Cal.) Times, 8/3-4

2. July 27-28 - Cincinnati, O.

At 11:00 P.M. Sat. (7/27) police officers responded for the second time to complaints of disorderly conduct at a large party held in a home located in the city's predominantly black area. At 2:30 A.M. on Sun. (7/28) an auto struck a parked car near the house of the party. A crowd gathered, and a fight broke out between the motorists. Police units responded, claiming that the crowd had grown to 500 persons, and fired shotgun blasts into the air to disperse the group. The police alleged that at least half a dozen shots were fired at them and that bottles, rocks, and bricks were thrown. Residents in the area denied that there was sniper fire, charged that police had shot a young man, and claimed that only 75-100 persons were present. Several residents, in subsequent testimony, alleged that a policeman shot a black youth for no apparent reason.

Arrests: 6 Injured: 3 Killed: 0 PD: -

Cincinnati (O.) Enquirer 7/29, 8/7

3. July 27-30 - Gary, Ind.

Late Sat. night (7/27) 2 black youths (members of a motorcycle gang) were arrested as suspects in a rape case being investigated by local police. Shortly afterward, fires erupted in nearby stores. Bus service was cancelled through the downtown area of the city at 2:00 A.M. Sun. (7/28) after several white persons were reportedly dragged from buses and beaten by black youths. Crowds gathered in Gary's black commercial area and broke windows and looted stores. Six persons (3 white and 3 black) were wounded by sniper fire. Included in the casualties was a fireman. Police Chief James Hilton was shot at as he toured the troubled areas shortly after the disturbance began. Firebombs were thrown through a dozen store windows, and other fires were set. Police units moved into the area with machine guns and riot equipment and managed to keep looting down by using tear gas. Some 12 businesses in the white area were firebombed and damaged. Black youths were reported to have moved in cars through the white residential section of Merrillville, 5 miles from Gary. On Sun. night, after a curfew was in effect, violence flared again with scattered incidents of firebombing. On Mon. (7/29) police officials reported a few instances of looting and sniper fire at a police car. About 350 National Guard troops were ordered to stand by, but as calm returned on Tues. (7/30), the troops were withdrawn without having been used.

Arrests: 235 Injured: - Killed: 0 PD: \$35,000

Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, 7/29; Gary (Ind.) Crusader, 8/1; Gary Tribune, 8/1; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 7/29; Chicago Daily News, 7/31; NYT, 7/29

4. July 27-30 - Goldsboro, N.C.

On Sat. (7/27) police officers arrested a black leader at the local Playboy Club on a charge of using profane language in public. A crowd gathered and threw stones at the arresting police officers until dispersed by additional units of police. Scattered incidents of minor property damage were reported as black youths roamed the streets over the next two days. Ten homes and stores were firebombed, but no looting was reported. On Mon. (7/29) a black man was wounded by a shotgun blast by unknown assailants. Several stores were looted, and police received reports of gunfire and rock-throwing through Tues. morning (7/30).

Arrests: - Injured: - Killed: 0 PD: -

Goldsboro (N.C.) News-Argus, 7/30; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 7/31; Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, 7/31; WP, 7/31

5. July 29-31 - Seattle, Wash.

Police entered the local Black Panther Party headquarters with a search warrant on Mon. (7/29), arrested 2 men, and impounded 2 typewriters they said had been stolen. The men were held without charge. About 40 persons, mostly white, picketed Public Safety Building that night demanding the release of the 2 men. Roughly 150 persons, mostly black, attended a Black Panther rally at 8 P.M.

Several small fires were later discovered
rock-throwing at police reportedly la-
wounded while guarding a fire truck
disperse gatherings of youths--
patrol car. Rock-throwing b-
against a group of youths--
continued through at Ho-
firebombing at Ho-
violence was c-
Arrests:
PD: -

Several small fires were later discovered near the rally site. Sniper fire and rock-throwing at police reportedly lasted until 3:30 A.M. Two patrolmen were wounded while guarding a fire truck. Police used tear gas at least 3 times to disperse gatherings of youths--in one instance, a firebomb had been thrown at a patrol car. Rock-throwing began again at 8:30 P.M. Tues. (7/30). A market, a fire truck, and a Boy Scout headquarters were firebombed. Police used tear gas against a group of youths throwing missiles. Rock-throwing and firebombing continued through Wed. (7/31); 13 cases of arson were reported, including a firebombing at Horace Mann School. Tear gas was used to disperse a crowd. The violence was confined to Central Area, a predominantly black neighborhood.

Arrests: 101 Injured: at least 13 (10 police) Killed: 0
PD: \$220,000+

Seattle (Wash.) Times, 7/30-31, 8/1-2; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 7/30;
Los Angeles (Cal.) Times, 8/1; Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, 8/1

6. July 30 - Peoria, Ill.

About 2 A.M. policemen arrested a man and a woman for creating a disturbance in the predominantly black Taft Housing Development Area. A group of 50 black youths gathered and, apparently inflamed by the arrests, began shouting and throwing missiles at the police. Shotgun blasts wounded 10 city policemen, 1 sheriff's deputy, and a news reporter. The youths then spread over a 5-block area, stoned cars, broke store windows, and threw firebombs. City police exchanged gunfire with snipers during the 4-hour disturbance until the area was back to normal about 7:00 A.M. A dozen autos were smashed by missiles of torn up concrete, and another auto was burned. Some 13 youths were arrested by a 200-man combination of state, county, and local police units. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed by Mayor Robert Lenhausen.

Arrests: 13 Injured: 12 Killed: 0 PD: -

Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, 7/30; Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 7/30; Ft. Wayne (Ind.) News-Sentinel, 7/30; St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, 7/30; WP, 7/31

7. July 30 - San Francisco, Cal.

A police car which had driven up to a home which had been firebombed was shot at by a sniper. Six shots were reportedly fired before the sniper fled. The incident occurred in the black area of Hunters Point, scene of disorders in 1966. No arrests were made, and no injuries were reported. The two men in the police car were not policemen but were members of a newly-formed crime commission.

Arrests: 0 Injured: 0 Killed: 0 PD: -

Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, 8/1; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 8/1

8. July 31 - Pittsburg, Cal.

A police car was surrounded by 75 persons in the predominantly black Pueblo Housing project area when officers responded to a routine citizen's complaint. The crowd hurled bottles at the police, who then called for more officers. As other cruisers came into the area, snipers hidden behind bushes and beside buildings began to fire on the policemen. Several police cars were riddled with bullets. Arrests were made on charges of disorderly conduct or curfew violation.

Arrests: 26 Injured: 2 Killed: 0 PD: -

Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, 8/1; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 8/1

9. August 2 - New York, N.Y. (Brooklyn)

Two policemen, summoned in response to a false report of a family quarrel in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn Fri. morning at 2:37 A.M., were shot by gunmen hidden in the bushes near the entrance of an apartment building. The assailants escaped but were suspected by a Brooklyn assistant district attorney to be members of the Black Panther Party. No motive for the ambush was known.

Arrests: 0 Injured: 2 Killed: 0 PD: 0

NYT, 8/3-4, 9/4

10. August 4-11 - York, Pa.

Violence in the racially integrated Penn Street area flared for a week beginning early Sunday after a white man fired a shotgun out of his apartment window at some blacks on the street. Police reports indicated that the man in the apartment had noticed a burglary in progress and was seen through his window by eight youths on the street. A brick hurled through the window struck the white man. This was followed by a shotgun blast from the street that also struck him. The observer retaliated by firing back at the youths. Blacks were reported to be angered when they learned that police had not arrested the man. On the first night, 11 persons were felled in a gun battle. Looting, rock- and bottle-throwing, firebombing, and scattered sniper fire directed at the police plagued the city. A 10:30 P.M. to 6 A.M. curfew was instituted by the mayor on Wed. (8/7). Some 25 state troopers were called in to help local police during the disturbances. City Public Safety Director Jacob Hose termed the disorder "a planned operation" by persons between 18 and 25 years old.

Arrests: - Injured: - Killed: 0 PD: \$40,000

York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, 8/6-19; York Dispatch, 8/5-10; Philadelphia (AA.) Inquirer, 8/6; St. Louis (Mo.) Post Dispatch, 8/5; WP, 8/5; NYT, 8/8; Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, 8/6

11. August 4-8 - Inkster, Mich.
Four nights of isolated
city officials asked for
white and one black, were
patrolled a main street
fatally shot a white
occurred wounded
to flee, FBI 8/8

11. August 4-8 - Inkster, Mich.

Four nights of isolated sniper fire and firebombing were reported. On 8/7 city officials asked for state police aid. One day later two patrolmen, one white and one black, were wounded by a shotgun blast from a passing car as they patrolled a main street. Some 4½ hours later police said "hit-and-run" gunmen fatally shot a white state police officer. About a half hour later police officers fatally wounded a black youth with 13 shotgun pellets. Police said the shooting occurred after they attempted to stop 2 youths for questioning and one attempted to flee, ignoring warnings to halt. About 100 officers from other departments and 4 FBI agents were rushed to the city.

Arrests: 2 Injured: 3 (2 police, 1 civ) Killed: 2 (1 blk, 1 wh police)
PD: \$500,000+

Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 8/8-10, 8/12; Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, 8/8; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 8/9; WP, 8/9

12. August 5 - Jackson, Mich.

Two white patrolmen said that 20-40 rounds of ammunition were fired at their police car Mon. morning by a group of black youths. The incident occurred in front of a Catholic-sponsored center aimed at promoting better race relations. The center had been the site of a disorder in late July when a group of black militants attempted to take control of the center.

Arrests: 0 Injured: 0 Killed: 0 PD: 0

Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 8/5-6; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 8/6; NYT, 8/6

13. August 5-6, 9 - Los Angeles, Cal.

Two policemen trailed a car to a service station on Mon. (8/5) after its occupants had allegedly looked apprehensively at the police car. Police reportedly were fired on and wounded as they tried to question four blacks inside the car. Police returned fire, killing 3 of the occupants; the fourth person escaped. Black Panther Party spokesmen said the four blacks were Party officials. The shooting took place in a predominantly black neighborhood 8 miles from Watts. In an apparently unrelated incident early Tues. (8/6) 4 persons in a crowd of more than 500 at the third annual Watts Summer Festival were wounded by men firing from moving cars. Police noted some return fire from the crowd and said both victims and assailants were black. The sheriff's unit on the scene became a target for rocks and bottles. The Festival continued, with the Sons of Watts providing a volunteer security force. On Fri. (8/9) 8 persons believed to be members of the Black Panther Party were arrested following a gun battle with police in a downtown housing project. Police said incident began when blacks shouted obscenities at a passing police car and fired shots.

Arrests: 8 Injured: 6 (2 wh police, 4 blk civs) Killed: 3 (blk civs)
PD:-

Los Angeles (Cal.) Times, 8/6-7, 8/9; Los Angeles Sentinel, 8/8; Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, 8/7, 8/10

Cal.
ed by 75 persons in the predominantly black Pueblo
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Several police cars were riddled with
disorderly conduct or curfew violation.
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14. August 6-7 - Harvey, Ill., and Dixmoor, Ill.

On Tues. (8/6) a coroner's jury ruled as justifiable homicide the fatal shooting of a 15-year-old suspected car thief by a Harvey policeman. It was the second time in 4 months that a black youth had been shot by a Harvey policeman. (Harvey Mayor James Haines said rumors had circulated for weeks that a policeman would be shot in retaliation for the earlier incident. Police Chief Leroy Knapp said a group called the Black Elephants, possibly an affiliate of Chicago's Blackstone Rangers, had been circulating handbills critical of the police.) Tues. night some 50-200 black youths gathered in the McKinley School yard in Dixmoor (near the Harvey border) to sing and play drums. Rock- and bottle-throwing at passing cars began at 9 P.M.; police dispersed the group. At 10:30 P.M. 2 youths from a group of 25-30 began scaling a fence surrounding an appliance store on a street dividing Dixmoor and Harvey. Five policemen arrested the two youths. Then all 5 policemen were wounded by sniper fire. An hour later a gun blast wounded two policemen cruising in the same area. At the same time a Molotov cocktail struck and rolled off another Harvey police car; youths threw bricks and pieces of concrete at the cars. Three citizens were also injured during the night; one black Dixmoor housewife alleged police shot her in her home as they chased a group of black youths. Dixmoor and Harvey police were reinforced by details from neighboring towns, plus county and state police totaling 200 officers. A curfew imposed at 1:30 A.M. Wed. (8/7) over a 100-block area was continued the next night.

Arrests: 33 Injured: 10 (7 police, 3 blk civs) Killed: 0 PD: -

Harvey (Ill.) Tribune, 8/8, 8/11; Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times, 8/7-11; Chicago Daily Defender, 8/8, 8/12; Chicago Tribune, 8/8-10; WP, 8/8

15. August 7-9 - Miami, Fla.

A rally was held on Wed. (8/7) in Liberty City, Miami's largest black neighborhood, 10 miles from site of the Republican National Convention. Rally demands included "black control of black ghetto" and "black policemen and firemen for black communities." The crowd at the meeting was disappointed when the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and basketball star Wilt Chamberlain failed to appear as announced. By 6:30 P.M. 150 teenagers were throwing bottles and bricks; 100 policemen were moved into the area. During the next hour 100 additional police arrived. Blacks set 3 cars afire, stoned white motorists, and entered 32 stores (looting 7) in a 5-block area. Violence ended after Rev. Abernathy and Gov. Claude Kirk walked the streets, urging calm. On Thurs. (8/8) the city manager imposed a curfew over a 450-block area. Some 1000 National Guardsmen as well as sheriff's deputies and state highway patrolmen were ordered in to aid police. Guardsmen used tear gas fired from an armored truck and a tear gas "fogger" to disperse crowds. Sniping reportedly began at 3:30 P.M. Three blacks were killed: police said one was a sniper, and two were caught in gunfire between police and snipers in separate incidents. Police said scores of motorists were dragged from cars and beaten by groups of blacks in Liberty City. Heavy showers fell early Fri. (8/9), followed by scattered shooting from cars into store windows in mid-morning.

Arrests: 222 Injured: 48 Killed: 3 (blk civs) PD: \$250,000

Miami (Fla.) Herald, 8/7-14; Miami News, 8/7-12; Miami Times, 8/16; NYT, 8/9-12; WP, 8/9-10

16. August 7-12 - Little Rock, Ark.
A black youth was beaten later a white trustee (a pr at windows of 16 store night following youths. Partic and National damaged 16 Aug.

16. August 7-12 - Little Rock, Ark.

A black youth was beaten to death at a county penal farm on Aug. 2; five days later a white trusty (a prisoner used as a guard) was charged with manslaughter. On the same day windows were broken at 24 businesses, and pellet guns were fired at windows of 16 stores. Scattered rock-throwing occurred the next day. Shooting and rock-throwing at buildings, police cars, and civilian cars broke out Aug. 9 night following a memorial service for the dead youth. About 400 blacks, mostly youths, participated in a march sponsored by Black United Youth. State police and National Guardsmen cordoned off an 80-block area. Several stores were damaged by arson. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller declared a county-wide curfew on Aug. 10 in response to "serious unconfirmed rumors" which he did not specify; 16 houses and businesses in mostly black areas were firebombed the next night. In addition, a National Guardsman was shot in the foot by a sniper; for 3 hours police ordered all cars carrying blacks stopped and searched for weapons. Police dispersed 150 young blacks at an intersection in black area. Rocks and gunfire were aimed at passing cars. On Aug. 12 scattered gunshots were fired at a police car and through a white-owned house and store windows. A policeman was hit by shotgun pellets.

Arrests: 193 Injured: at least 6 (2 wh police, 2 blk civs, 1 wh Nat. Gdsmn,
1 wh civ) Killed: 0 PD: -

Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette, 8/8-13, 8/20; Little Rock Democrat, 8/8-13; NYT, 8/11-12; WP, 8/11

17. August 10 - East Point, Ga.

A group of blacks appeared, although uninvited, at a party given by other blacks in an apartment complex shortly after 1 A.M. After police came to the scene in answer to a call, about 400-500 black youths from the apartment complex gathered, and about 25 youths began throwing rocks and bottles at police cars and setting small trash fires in the street. Some 80 policemen were at the scene. Snipers fired 50 shots. Calm was restored at 4 A.M.

Arrests: 3 Injured: 1 (wh police) Killed: 0 PD: -

Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 8/11; Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, 8/10; NYT, 8/11; WP, 8/11

18. August 11-13 - Los Angeles, Cal.

A 3-hour disturbance Sun. night and early Mon. began at the Watts Summer Festival. The Festival Committee asserted that the trouble resulted from "poor judgment" by police in arresting a woman for intoxication and charged that "unprovoked beatings of women and children" by police throughout Watts ensued. Another version was that police patrolling the Festival were suddenly fired upon by snipers. Festival spokesmen attributed the trouble in part to police violation of an agreement to refrain from a show of force at the festival scene. Several firebombs were thrown, and 26 buildings damaged, 4 seriously. Three blacks died from gunfire; police said one may have been shot by them. Rifles and pistols were looted from several pawnshops. Over 1800 police and 100 county sheriff's deputies converged on the scene. On Mon. night and early Tues. some 23 fires were reported, several set by Molotov cocktails.

Arrests: 35 Injured: 50 (6 police, 44 civs) Killed: 3 (blk civs)
 PD: \$40,000+

Los Angeles (Cal.) Times, 8/13-14; Los Angeles Sentinel, 8/15; San Francisco (Cal.)
Chronicle, 8/12; WP, 8/13-14; NYT, 8/13

19. August 11-13 - Chicago Heights and East Chicago Heights, Ill.

A warehouse, a drive-in restaurant, and a liquor store were damaged in 3 of 7 fires in East Chicago Heights on Sun. Sniper fire from the roofs of a school and other buildings began when the police arrived. A black policeman was injured by shotgun blasts a short time later as he stood on his front porch.

Four fires began later in the day in neighboring Chicago Heights. Sheriff's police aided local officers in both communities. On Tues. county, and state police aided Chicago Heights police during a day of sporadic rock-throwing, several firebomb attempts, and one incident of sniping at police. Groups of blacks taunted police and in some instances threw rocks at squad cars during a person-by-person search for firebombs. A Chicago Heights black community group later charged that firemen at a stationhouse had been harassing blacks prior to the start of disorders.

Arrests: 13 Injured: 5 Killed: 0 PD: \$500,000

Chicago Heights (Ill.) Star, 8/15, 8/22; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 8/12, 8/14-15;
 Chicago Sun-Times, 8/12, 8/14-15; Chicago News, 8/12-15; WP, 8/12; NYT, 8/13

20. August 16-17 - Cincinnati, O.

A black woman, owner of a bar in the predominantly black Avondale section, was fatally shot by 2 white men Fri. night. The owner had ordered the 2 white men and a group of young blacks, who had been arguing near her bar, to leave the area. The 2 whites later drove by and allegedly shot two bullets into the tavern, killing the owner. Sniping and rock- and bottle-throwing incidents followed, as violence spread to the East and West ends of Cincinnati. That night groups of blacks attacked cars occupied by whites. A black youth throwing a bottle at a police car was shot in the stomach and critically injured. Order was restored early Sat. morning with the aid of the Avondale Security Force, a community youth patrol.

Arrests: 6 Injured: 4 Killed: 0 PD: -

Cincinnati, (O.) Enquirer, 8/17-18; Cincinnati Post & Times-Star, 8/17, 8/19;
 Boston (Mass.) Globe, 8/18; WP, 8/18; NYT, 8/18

21. August 17 - Waterloo, Ia.

During a two-hour disorder on the predominantly black Northeast Side, about 50 black youths moved about the streets, throwing rocks and bottles and shooting as they ran. Police wounded one black. Bullets pierced 6 patrol cars. Police road blocks sealed off a 20-sq.-block area. City police chief said the disorder may have stemmed from the shooting of a black youngster by a policeman when the youngster refused to halt earlier in the day.

Arrests: - Injured: 17 Killed: 0
 Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 8/19; NYT, 8/19; WP, 8/19
 22. August 22-24 - Evansville, Ind.
 Police said the disorder began by blacks. A black leader said whites drove through black area through same area of fire and looting charges of assault by rioting were said. Police fought with a black leader who was shot and killed by a police officer. A black leader said the disorder began by blacks. A black leader said whites drove through black area through same area of fire and looting charges of assault by rioting were said. Police fought with a black leader who was shot and killed by a police officer.

police, 44 civs)
 les Sentinel, 8/15; San Francisco (Cal.)
 Killed: 3 (blk civs)
 Heights, Ill.
 were damaged in 3
 the roofs of a
 black policeman
 his front porch.
 Sheriff's
 state police
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Arrests: - Injured: 1 Killed: 0 PD: -

Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 8/19; NYT, 8/19; WP, 8/19

22. August 22-24 - Evansville, Ind.

Police said the disorder began when officers stopped two stolen autos occupied by blacks. A black leader said disorder was precipitated Thurs. night when whites drove through black area firing arrows from bows (3 whites were later arrested on charges of assault and battery.) and Fri. night when 2 whites drove through same area firing a rifle. Other blacks contended the disorder began when police fought with a black youth running through the area. Scattered rock-throwing and looting were reported Thurs. night. The next night a black woman was struck by ricocheting bullet. At the height of the disorder, a policeman guarding a fire hose was shot by a sniper. Six other shots were reportedly fired. A shotgun blast was also fired at two other officers riding in a patrol car. Both men were hit with buckshot, but neither was wounded.

Arrests: 79 (42 wh, 37 blk) Injured: 4 (1 police, 2 firemen, 1 blk civ)
 Killed: 0 PD: \$275,000

Evansville (Ind.) Courier, 8/25-26; Evansville Press, 8/24-26; Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, 8/25; Chicago (Ill.) Daily Defender, 8/26; WP, 8/27

23. August 22-24 - Wichita, Kan.

On Aug. 22, a white youth shot a black youth on the city's predominantly black northeast side. A total of 13 shooting incidents was also reported, including sniping at firemen and at one patrol car on three separate occasions. Numerous incidents of rock-throwing took place, largely directed at police cars.

Arrests: 63+ Injured: 0 Killed: 0 PD: -

Wichita (Kan.) Eagle & Beacon, 8/22-27, 9/4; Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, 8/23;
 Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 8/22; WP, 8/24-25; NYT, 8/25

24. August 24-25 - Memphis, Tenn.

Violence followed the arrest of a member of a Black Power group Sat. for allegedly pointing a fake rifle at two whites and threatening to kill them. Firebombing as well as sniping directed at the police followed. A policeman in a patrol car was wounded by sniper fire. A second patrol of officers was fired upon, and bullets were directed at city police and Fire Director Frank Holloman as he went into the troubled area.

Arrests: 11 Injured: 1 Killed: 0 PD: -

Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 8/26; Christian Science Monitor, 8/27; WP, 8/27

25. August 30-31 - St. Paul, Minn.

At a young people's dance attended mostly by blacks, 2 off-duty patrolmen were informed that a youth was displaying a pistol in a men's washroom. The officers disarmed the young man and said that several other youths attempted to attack them. Patrolmen said they held the youths off at gunpoint until reinforcements arrived. Around 150 city policemen (all those on duty) and 5 squads from county sheriff's office were rushed to scene. A policeman was shot in a hallway leading to the dancing area. Police used tear gas inside the hall, and 300 teenagers, mostly black, moved out onto the streets of a predominantly black section. Sporadic incidents of rock- and bottle-throwing at officers was reported before the crowd was dispersed. Police said 10 shots were fired at them. A cab driver was forced from his cab and beaten. Later there were scattered reports of break-ins, window breaking, and false fire alarms. Three stores were firebombed. The next night store windows were broken; looting and some sniper fire from atop buildings were reported.

Arrests: 15 Injured: 52 (22 police, 30 civs) Killed: 0 PD: -

Ann Arbor (Mich.) News, 8/31, 9/2; Baltimore (Md.) Sun, 9/1-2; Boston (Mass.) Globe, 8/31; NYT, 9/2

III

Findings

Our assessment of the reported sniping incidents just summarized is based on:

(1) analysis of newspaper clippings, including comparisons of initial vs. subsequent reports and local vs. national press coverage; and (2) telephone interviews with high-ranking police officials.

The Riot Data Clearinghouse could not send researchers to the cities to interview local reporters, black leaders, and city-government officials. Instead, interviewing was confined to high-ranking police officials by telephone. The selection of police officials was deliberate on our part. In the absence of city or state investigations in most of the cities, police departments were found to be the best (and in many cases the only) source of information. Moreover, as the reported targets of sniping, police officials understandably had a direct interest in the subject.

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Admittedly, the selection of this group involved an element of risk. A certain tendency on the part of some police officials to exaggerate and inflate sniping reports was thought to be unavoidable although understandable. Nevertheless, it was felt that every group interviewed would have a certain bias and that in the absence of interviewing every important group in the cities, the views of police officials were potentially the most illuminating and therefore the most useful.

Information was obtained from police officials for all 25 incidents. In 14 cases our sources included the chief law enforcement officer of the city. (A listing of the police officials by city is found at the end of this issue.) Interviews with the police officials centered around the following points: (1) evidence of planning; (2) the number of snipers; (3) the number of shots fired; (4) affiliation of the sniper(s) with an organization; (5) statistical breakdowns of police and civilian casualties by sniping; and (6) press coverage of the incident. The interviews were conducted in December 1968 through January 1969. Police officials did not in every instance provide information on every one of these points. Nevertheless, RDC researchers secured more than enough valuable data.

Based on an evaluation of our data, our findings may be summarized as follows:

1. The overwhelming number of disorders surveyed failed to display conclusive evidence of a new type of racial violence based on conspiracy and guerrilla tactics.
2. Initial vs. later reports of sniping showed many discrepancies concerning the amount of sniping. These discrepancies included a downward revision of early sniping figures, particularly where the following items were concerned: the number of snipers involved, the number of shots fired, and the number of policemen involved as targets.

3. The press--at both the local and national level--was inclined toward imprecise, distorted, inaccurate reporting. In some instances, the press revealed a tendency to needlessly sensationalize the news.

These findings lead to the conclusion that sniping reports have generally been exaggerated and that recent suggestions of a new "trend" of racial violence based upon the events of last summer are highly questionable. (Our findings relate only to the period of July-August 1968. No inferences should be drawn for events occurring after this period.)

It is true that a few of the disorders chronicled in this report appeared to display the features of a different kind of violence. The RDC does not have sufficient data at this time to make specific judgments about these cases. What is clear, however, is that the number of such cases is probably very small and that observers alleging "an ominous trend" or a new pattern of violence have failed to document their case. The following is a more detailed account of our findings.

Planning

A central feature in the scheme of those alleging a new pattern involves the notion of planning. Hypothesizing a local (if not national) conspiracy, observers have pictured black militants luring the police to predetermined spots where the policemen become the defenseless victims of an armed attack. No precipitating incident is involved in these cases except perhaps for a false citizen's call.

Despite this view, our data indicate that at least 17 out of 25 disorders surveyed (about 70%) began with an identifiable precipitating event similar to those uncovered for "traditional" disorders. The figure of 70% is entirely consistent

with the percentage of known precipitating disorders (also about 70%).
In Gary, Ind., the disorders were arrested on charges of rioting.
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Blacks were reported to be in a predicament.
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with the percentage of known precipitating incidents isolated by the RDC for past disorders (also about 70%).

In Gary, Ind., the disorder began shortly after two young members of a gang were arrested on charges of rape. In York, Pa., the violence began after a white man fired a shotgun from his apartment at some blacks on the street. Blacks were reportedly angered upon learning that the police had failed to arrest the gunman. In Peoria, Ill., police arrested a couple for creating a disturbance in a predominantly black housing project area. A group of young people then appeared on the scene and began throwing missiles at the police. In Seattle, Wash., a disturbance erupted shortly after a rally was held to protest the arrest of two men at the local Black Panther headquarters. It is important to note that the disorders occurring in the cities just cited are among the most prominently mentioned as examples of planned disorders.

Many of the precipitating events were tied to the actions of the police. In some instances, the precipitants were related to what the Kerner Commission has referred to as "tension-heightening incidents." In these cases, the precipitating event (or the disorder itself) merely crystallized tensions already existing in the community. Shortly before the Harvey-Dixmoor, Ill., outbreak, a coroner's jury ruled that the fatal shooting by police of a young suspected car thief one month earlier was justifiable homicide. It was the second time in four months that a local policeman had shot a black youth. In Miami, a rally held by blacks shortly before the violence erupted coincided with the Republican National Convention being held about ten miles away. The crowd was reportedly disappointed when the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and basketball star Wilt Chamberlain failed to appear as announced. In addition, tensions had risen in recent months following increased police canine patrols in the area. While no immediate precipitating incident was uncovered for Jackson, Mich., it is noteworthy that the disorder occurred in

front of a Catholic-sponsored center aimed at promoting better race relations. Several weeks earlier, a group of 30 blacks attempted to take over the center in the name of "a black group run by black people."

Let us turn briefly to the 8 disorders which did not appear to have precipitating incidents. Despite the absence of a precipitating incident in the Chicago Heights-East Chicago Heights disorder, Chief of Police Robert A. Stone (East Chicago Heights) and Capt. Jack Ziegler (Chicago Heights) indicated that they had no evidence of planning and that the disorder was in all probability spontaneous. In particular, Chief Stone indicated that the participants were individuals rather than members of an organization. The same holds true for the disorder in Brooklyn, N.Y. While no precipitating event was uncovered, R. Harcourt Dodds, Deputy Commissioner for Legal Matters in the New York City Police Department, indicated there was no evidence of planning. In Jackson, Mich., as previously noted, tensions in the community had increased in recent weeks prior to the August disorder over a controversial center which some members of the community thought they should control. The August disorder occurred in front of the center. Thus the absence of precipitating events in at least 3 cases does not appear to be significant.

An assessment of the other 5 cases is considerably more difficult. In Inkster, Mich., Chief of Police James L. Fyke did not identify any precipitating event with the disorder and indicated that the state planned to make a case for conspiracy at a forthcoming trial. On the grounds that the two disorders in his city were under police investigation, Lt. Norman H. Judd of the Los Angeles Police Department declined comment on possible precipitants. In San Francisco, Chief of Police Thomas J. Cahill said there was evidence of planning. He noted "a firebomb was ignited and the shots were fired as the police vehicle arrived at the scene."

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This brings us to Cleveland, the fifth case in this instance. Because of the dramatic nature of the events in this city and the tremendous amount of attention they received in the national press, any findings concerning Cleveland are of utmost importance. It is significant therefore that more recent reports have revealed that the July disorder was something less than a planned uprising and that the situation at the time was considerably more complicated than indicated initially.

A series of articles appearing in the New York Times is instructive. At the time of the disorder, in an account entitled "'This Was Real Revolution,'" the Times gave strong hints of a plot against the police: "Early indications here were that a small, angry band of Negro men decided to shoot it out with the police...." ⁵ The article dwelt upon past statements of Ahmed Evans predicting armed uprisings across the nation on May 9, 1967 (which in fact had never materialized), rumors of arms caches across the country, and the revolutionary talk of black militants. No mention was made of any precipitating event(s), nor was there any reference to "tension-heightening incidents" in the community at the time.

One month later, in early September, the Times published the results of its investigation of the disorder. The report was prepared by three newsmen, all ⁶ of whom had covered the disorder earlier. Their findings shed new light on the case by suggesting that a series of "tension-heightening incidents" in the community were present at the time of the disorder. For one thing, these later articles indicated that Mayor Stokes attended a meeting with police officials several hours before the first outbreak and felt that the information about a planned uprising was "probably not correct." Ahmed Evans was seen less as the mastermind of a plot than as just another militant:

⁵
 Thomas A. Johnson, "'This Was Real Revolution,'" New York Times, July 28, 1968 (The Week in Review).

⁶
 Anthony Ripley, Thomas A. Johnson, and C. Gerald Fraser, New York Times, September 2-3, 1968.

Evans, a tall, former Army Ranger who had been dishonorably discharged after striking an officer, was not regarded as a leading black nationalist. He was an amateur astrologer, 74 years old, given more to angry speeches than to action.

Numerous grievances in the community--particularly against the police--at the time of the disorder were cited. For example, it was noted that there were only 165 blacks on a police force comprised of more than 2000 officers. The deep resentment⁸ felt by blacks toward their treatment by the police was mentioned. A low professional rating given the police department by an investigative commission in 1966 was also noted.

More specific grievances on the part of Ahmed Evans were cited in Thomas A. Johnson's article.⁹ He noted that Evans had arranged to rent a vacant tavern for the purpose of teaching the manufacture of African-style clothes and carvings to black youths but that the white landlady had changed her mind. He said that Evans had been "further angered" upon receiving an eviction order from his home. The Ripley article noted that, two hours before the shooting began, Evans said he had been asleep until his associates informed him that police surveillance cars had been stationed in the area. (Evans was accustomed to posting lookouts on top of buildings.) According to Evans, it was then that the group made the decision to arm.

Did the presence of the police in the area serve to trigger the gun battle that followed? What was the role of the civilian tow-truck driver wearing a police-like uniform? Did the driver's presence in hitching up an old pink Cadillac heighten tensions to the breaking point? Were intelligence reports of

⁷ Anthony Ripley, "Cleveland Searches for Reasons for 4-Day Race Battles in July," New York Times, September 2, 1968.

⁸ In a survey of attitudes in six northern cities undertaken by the Lemberg Center in October 1966 through April 1967, blacks in Cleveland tallied highest on a question alleging police brutality in the community.

⁹ Thomas A. Johnson, "The Racial Violence in Cleveland," New York Times, September 3, 1968.

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a plot in error? Why were arms so readily available to the group? What was the group's intention upon emerging from the house? These questions cannot be answered with any degree of absolute certainty. Nevertheless, it is significant that the earliest interpretations appearing in the Times had been greatly modified by revealing the complexities of the disorder and suggesting it may have been more spontaneous than planned. As Ripley wrote in his September 2 article:

The Cleveland explosion has been called both an ambush of police and an armed uprising by Negroes. However, the weight of evidence indicates that it was closer to spontaneous combustion.

By undertaking a more thorough investigation and exercising its right--no, responsibility--to clarify views expressed earlier, the New York Times performed an important public service. It is regrettable that so few newspapers have shown the same initiative.

The Times experience, together with the findings stated earlier in this section, strongly suggest that further modifications in the notion of "planned" outbursts are in order. It may be significant that 14 out of 19 police officials expressing a view could find no evidence of planning in the disorders in their respective cities.¹⁰ In another instance, not included, the police official said the disorder was planned but could offer no evidence in support of his statement. If this and the Cleveland case are added, the number of cases which do not appear to have been planned is increased to at least 16 out of 19.

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In the 6 remaining cases, most police officials declined to comment because they had no information or because the disorder was currently under investigation.

Police as the Targets of Snipers

In their assertions that police are now central targets of sniping, some observers give the impression that large numbers of police casualties have been incurred. In most cases the reports have not been explicit in stating figures. However, as mentioned earlier, U.S. News & World Report cited 8 police deaths and 47 wounded policemen this past summer. In order to assess these reports, RDC researchers obtained from police officials a breakdown of police casualties as a result of gunfire. Our findings are contained in Table 1 on the next page.

A look at the number of deaths indicates that a total of 4 policemen were killed and that, not surprisingly, each death came as a result of gunfire.¹¹ What is significant is that other than the case of Cleveland, where 3 such deaths occurred, only 1 policeman was killed (in Inkster, Mich.). To put it another way, in 23 out of 25 cases where sniping was originally reported, no policemen were killed.

Our total agreed with figures initially taken from local press reports. (See the summaries in Section II.) However, the RDC figure on deaths (4) was only half the figure reported in U.S. News & World Report. Further investigation revealed that the story appearing in that magazine originally came from an Associated Press "roundup" which said that 8 policemen had been killed by gunfire since July 1, 1968.¹² Four of the 8 cases cited in the dispatch were in the nature of individual acts of purely criminal--and not racial--violence. On July 2, a Washington, D.C. policeman was killed when he tried to arrest a man on a robbery complaint. A Philadelphia policeman was killed July 15 while investigating

¹¹ The figure of 4 police deaths occurring in 2 localities compares with 16 civilian deaths in 5 localities. All civilian deaths were caused by gunfire.

¹² Associated Press, A221, August 8, 1968

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Table 1
LAW ENFORCEMENT CASUALTIES
IN DISORDERS REPORTED
Date(s) of
Disorder
7/23

City
1. Cleveland, O.
2. Cincinnati, O.
3. Gary, Ind.
4. Goldsboro, N.C.
5. Seattle, Wash.
6. Peoria, Ill.
7. San Francisco
8. Pittsburgh
9. New York
10. ...

Table 1

LAW ENFORCEMENT CASUALTIES
IN DISORDERS REPORTED TO INVOLVE SNIPING

City	Date(s) of Disorder	Killed (Gunfire)	Injured (Gunfire)
1. Cleveland, O.	7/23-26	3 (3)	11 (10)
2. Cincinnati, O.	7/27-28	0	0
3. Gary, Ind.	7/27-30	0	0
4. Goldsboro, N.C.	7/27-30	0	0
5. Seattle, Wash.	7/29-31	0	2 (2)
6. Peoria, Ill.	7/30	0	7 (7)
7. San Francisco, Cal.	7/30	0	0
8. Pittsburg, Cal.	7/31	0	0
9. New York (Brooklyn), N.Y.	8/2	0	2 (2)
10. York, Pa.	8/4-11	0	0
11. Inkster, Mich.	8/4-8	1 (1)	2 (2)
12. Jackson, Mich.	8/5	0	0
13. Harvey-Dixmoor, Ill.	8/6-7	0	7 (7)
14. Los Angeles, Cal.	8/5-6 & 9	0	2 (2)
15. Miami, Fla.	8/7-9	0	27
16. Little Rock, Ark.	8/7-12	0	1 (1)
17. East Point, Ga.	8/10	0	0
18. Los Angeles, Cal.	8/11-13	0	6 (4)
19. Chicago Heights - East Chicago Heights, Ill.	8/11-13	0	1 (1)
20. Cincinnati, O.	8/16-17	0	0
21. Waterloo, I.	8/17	0	0
22. Evansville, Ind.	8/22-23	0	1 (1)
23. Wichita, Kan.	8/22-24	0	0
24. Memphis, Tenn.	8/24-25	0	1 (1)
25. St. Paul, Minn.	8/30-31	0	22 (4)
TOTALS:		4 (4)	92 (44)

a \$59 streetcar robbery. On August 5, in San Antonio, a policeman was killed by a 14-year-old boy he had arrested. The youth was a Mexican-American who had been arrested on a drinking charge. And, in Detroit, a policeman was shot to death on August 5 following a domestic quarrel. As previously mentioned, Police Commissioner Johannes Spreen stressed that the shooting had no racial overtones and said: "There was no sniping; I emphasize, no sniping."¹³ The circumstances concerning these 4 cases in no way display the features of a "new pattern" of violence.

The statistics obtained for the number of policemen injured are more complicated. A total of 92 policemen were injured, accounting for 14 out of 25 cases. Almost half the injuries--44--came from gunfire. (See Table 1.) In some instances, our findings showed a downward revision of our earlier information. In Gary, Police Chief James F. Hilton was reportedly shot at as he cruised the troubled area shortly after the disturbance began. However, when interviewed by the RDC, Chief Hilton vigorously denied the earlier report. In Peoria, 11 police officers were reportedly injured by shotgun blasts. However, Bernard J. Kennedy, Director of Public Safety, indicated that initial reports "were highly exaggerated" and that only 7 officers were actually wounded. In East Point, Ga., a white policeman had reportedly been injured during the disorder. Yet Acting Police Chief Hugh D. Brown indicated to the RDC that there were no injuries to the police. In Little Rock, a policeman swore that he had been shot by a sniper. However, Chief of Police R.E. Brians told the RDC that there was no injury and no broken skin. The Chief added that the policeman was new and not of the highest caliber. He is no longer with the department.

In addition, a closer look at the data reveals that the highest figures for numbers of policemen wounded by gunfire are misleading and need to be placed in

¹³
Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, August 6, 1968.

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perspective. Let us examine the three highest cases
wounded by gunfire; Peoria, with 7 such injuries
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In Peoria, all 7 policemen were
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perspective. Let us examine the three highest cases: Cleveland with 10 policemen wounded by gunfire; Peoria, with 7 such injuries; and Harvey-Dixmoor, Ill., also with 7.

In Peoria, all 7 policemen were wounded by the pellets from a single shotgun blast. In an interview with the RDC, Safety Director Kennedy stressed that "none of the injuries incurred were serious." A similar situation was revealed with regard to Harvey-Dixmoor. In that disorder, 5 out of the 7 injuries sustained by policemen came from a single shotgun blast. Chief of Police Leroy H. Knapp, Jr. informed the RDC that only 2 or 3 shots were fired during the entire disorder. (A similar scattering of pellets occurred in St. Paul, where 3 out of 4 policemen hit by gunfire received their injuries from 1 shotgun blast.)

In Cleveland, as Table 1 indicates, almost every injury to a policeman came as a result of gunfire. However, it is not clear whether all such injuries came from snipers. In the chaos that accompanies many disorders, shots have sometimes been fired accidentally--by both rioters and policemen. Ripley's September 2 article in the New York Times stated the problem very well: "Only by setting the exact position of each man when he was shot, tracing the bullet paths, and locating all other policemen at the scene can a reasonable answer be found." Thus far, no information concerning the circumstances of each casualty in the Cleveland disorder has been disclosed. (This applies to deaths as well as injuries.)

Moreover, what applies to Cleveland applies to the other disorders as well. The Little Rock case illustrates the point. Chief of Police Briens verified the shooting of a National Guardsman. However, he also clarified the circumstances of the shooting. The RDC was informed that during the disorder a group of individuals gathered on a patio above a courtyard near the area where the National Guard was stationed. One individual, under the influence of alcohol, fired indiscriminantly into the crowd, hitting a Guardsman in the foot. Chief Briens added: "He might

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was a Mexican-American who had
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just as easily have hit a [civil rights] protestor as a Guardsman." What is clear is that the circumstances concerning all casualties need to be clarified so that faulty inferences and incorrect judgments can be avoided.

The Amount of Sniping

Our data concerning the amount of sniping showed numerous discrepancies between early and later reports and suggest that many initial reports were exaggerated. The figures contained in Table 2 on the next page were secured from police officials. They show both the number of snipers and the amount of sniper fire (in terms of shots). The figures obtained account for about 70% of our total number of cases (25). Several points should be stressed. The cities are listed chronologically by disorder. A dash (-) indicates that the information was unavailable. Finally, owing to the difficulties of compiling such information, the figures should be regarded as approximate.

As to the number of "snipers," the figures showed a range of 0 to 30 persons. Other than the case of Cleveland where 25-30 snipers were involved, there were relatively few snipers. In 15 out of 17 cases, police officials said there were 3 snipers or less. And in 7 out of 17 cases they reported that no snipers were involved!

Similar findings were uncovered for the number of gunshots fired by snipers. Our data indicated a range of 0 to 30 shots. In 15 out of 18 cases, "snipers" fired fewer than 10 shots. In 12 out of 18 cases, snipers fired fewer than 5.

By themselves, the figures contained in Table 2 mean very little. What is significant is that they: (1) indicate a marked difference between early and later reports; (2) show a downward revision of initial figures cited; and (3) provide a clarification of the general impression created of widespread sniping. It is especially significant that in more than one-quarter of our cases in which sniping was originally reported, later indications were that no sniping had actually occurred. Let us turn to specific examples which illustrate our finding.

City	
1.	Cleveland
2.	Cincinnati (7/27-28)
3.	Gary
4.	Goldsboro
5.	Seattle
6.	Peoria
7.	San Francisco
8.	Pittsburgh
9.	Brooklyn
10.	Yonkers
11.	Albany

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Table
AMOUNT OF
No. Snip
25-

Table 2

AMOUNT OF SNIPING

<u>City</u>	<u>No. Snipers</u>	<u>No. Gunshots</u> (fired by snipers)
1. Cleveland	25-30	-
2. Cincinnati (7/27-28)	-	-
3. Gary	0	0
4. Goldsboro	0	0
5. Seattle	-	-
6. Peoria	0	0
7. San Francisco	1	6
8. Pittsburg (Cal.)	5	15-20
9. Brooklyn (N.Y.)	-	-
10. York	2	2-4
11. Inkster	3	10-27*
12. Jackson	-	25-30
13. Harvey-Dixmoor	-	2-3
14. Los Angeles (8/5-6 & 9)	2	7
15. Miami	-	"not excessive, just sporadic"
16. Little Rock	0	0
17. East Point	0	0
18. Los Angeles	-	-
19. Chicago Heights - East Chicago Heights	3	3
20. Cincinnati	-	-
21. Waterloo	0	0
22. Evansville	1	1
23. Wichita	2	6
24. Memphis	1	3
25. St. Paul	0	0

*Chief of Police James L. Fyke indicated that 10-12 shots were confirmed and another 10-15 shots were not confirmed.

In Evansville, initial reports indicated that a minimum of 8 shots were fired. Yet Asst. Chief of Police Charles M. Gash told the RDC that only one shot was fired.

A more dramatic illustration is found in the case of East Point, Ga. Although 50 shots were reportedly fired at the time, Acting Chief of Police Hugh Brown informed the RDC that no shots were fired.

In York, 11 persons were wounded in a "gun battle" on the first night. However, it turns out that 10 out of the 11 persons were civilians and were injured by shotgun pellets. Only 2 snipers were involved, and only 2 to 4 shots were fired throughout the entire disturbance.

In Waterloo, Ia., Chief of Police Robert S. Wright acknowledged that shots were fired, but he added: "We wouldn't consider it sniper fire." He informed the RDC that there was "no ambush, no concealment [of participants], or anything like that." Moreover, he stated that not more than 3 persons out of a crowd of 50 youths carried weapons and "not a great number of shots were fired." The weapons used were small hand guns.

In St. Paul, where 10 shots were reportedly fired at police and 4 officers were wounded by gunshots, Chief of Police Lester McAuliffe also acknowledged that though there was gunfire, there "wasn't any sniper fire as such."

A similar situation was found in Peoria. Safety Director Kennedy informed the RDC that the 3 shots believed fired did not constitute actual sniping.

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Sniping is distinguished from wide-open gunfire by the elements of concealment, selectivity, and goals. The sniper is usually hidden, operating from rooftops, trees, or from behind some barricade. In situations involving ordinary gunfire, the individual engages the policemen in face-to-face contact, and both are defending themselves. Secondly, the sniper tends to be selective in his targets. The police are almost always the central targets. Finally, the sniper may have more clearly defined objectives. For example, he may wish to divert and confuse the police. As such, the notion of sniping (particularly on a large scale) may carry with it the implication of planning. Because of the hit-and-run aspect, the police find sniping more difficult to contain.

In Little Rock, Chief Briens indicated that many "shots" were fired.
In Gary, early reports upon and 6 persons had been injured.
Boone told the RDC that actual sniping was not prior to the shooting.

In Little Rock, Chief Briens discounted reports of widespread sniping and indicated that many "shots" were really firecrackers.

In Gary, early reports were that Chief of Police James Hilton had been fired upon and 6 persons had been wounded by snipers. Asst. Chief of Police Charles Boone told the RDC that while a few shots might have been "fired in the air," no actual sniping occurred. No one was shot during the disturbance, and no one was injured. Chief Hilton indicated that a fireman had been shot by "a drunk" prior to the disorder.

The Role of the Press

In a few instances, discrepancies between first reports and sober reappraisal can be traced to the policemen themselves. However, most of the discrepancies already cited throughout this report can be attributed to the press--at both the local and national level.¹⁵ In some instances, the early press reports (those appearing at the time of the incident) were so inexplicit as to give the impression of a great deal of sniping. In other instances, the early figures given were simply exaggerated. In still other instances, the early reports failed to distinguish between sniper fire and other forms of gunplay.

Moreover, the press generally gave far too little attention to the immediate cause(s) of the disturbance. Even in the aftermath of the violence, few attempts were made to verify previous statements or to survey the tensions and grievances rooted in the community. Instead, newspapers in many instances placed an unusually heavy (and at times distorted) emphasis on the most dramatic aspects of the violence, particularly where sniping was concerned.

A look at some of the newspaper headlines during the disorders is most revealing, especially where the "pellet cases" are involved. As mentioned earlier, large

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The term "national press" refers to well-known newspapers and magazines with circulations across the country.

numbers of casualties were sustained from the pellets of a single shotgun blast. In Peoria, 7 policemen were wounded precisely that way; in Harvey-Dixmoor, 5 out of 7 policemen were injured with one shotgun discharge; and in York, where at least 11 civilians were injured, all but one were struck by pellets from a lone blast.

Unfortunately, sensational headlines created an impression of widespread sniping, with the police singled out as the central targets. A few individual acts of violence were so enlarged as to convey to the reader a series of "bloodbaths." (It is noteworthy that Peoria, Harvey-Dixmoor, and York are among the most commonly cited examples of a "new pattern" of violence.) In some cases, an explanation of the circumstances surrounding the injuries was buried in the news story. In other cases, no explanation was given.

Distorted headlines were found in the local press:

RACE VIOLENCE ERUPTS;
DOZEN SHOT IN PEORIA

Chicago (Ill.) Tribune,
July 31, 1968

6 COPS ARE SHOT
IN HARVEY STRIFE

Chicago Sun-Times,
August 7, 1968

20 HURT AS NEW VIOLENCE
RAKES WEST END AREA
11 Felled by Gunfire, Four
Firemen Injured Fighting
Five Blazes

York (Pa.) Dispatch,
August 5, 1968

These distortions were transmitted on the wire services as well. For example, in Ann Arbor, Mich., readers were given the following accounts of Peoria and Harvey-Dixmoor in their local newspapers. The first account was based upon a United Press International news dispatch; the second is from an Associated Press dispatch.

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10 POLI
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Ten policemen
during a four-hour

Har
police
Negro
no

10 POLICEMEN SHOT IN PEORIA VIOLENCE

(By United Press International)

Ten policemen were wounded by shotgun blasts today during a four-hour flareup of violence in Peoria, Ill....

Ann Arbor (Mich.) News,
July 30, 1968

EIGHT WOUNDED IN CHICAGO AREA

Harvey, Ill. (AP)--Sporadic gunfire wounded seven policemen and a woman during a disturbance caused by Negro youths, and scores of law enforcement officers moved in early today to secure the troubled area....

Ann Arbor News,
August 7, 1968

Finally, they were repeated in headlines and stories appearing in the national press:

GUN FIRE HITS 11 POLICEMEN IN ILL. VIOLENCE

Washington Post,
July 31, 1968

SHOTGUN ASSAULTS IN PEORIA GHETTO WOUND 9 POLICEMEN

The Law Officer,
Fall, 1968, Vol. I, No. 3 (Fall 1968),
p. 60.¹⁶

Chicago--On August 6, in the suburbs of Harvey and Dixmoor, seven policemen and a woman were shot in Negro disturbances which a Cook County undersheriff said bore signs of having been planned.

U.S. News & World Report,
August 19, 1968

* * *

No attempt has been made on our part to single out certain newspapers for individual criticism. In all probability, few newspapers upon closer scrutiny could withstand this type of criticism. Nevertheless, it does seem that the national press bears a special responsibility in this area. Few of the nationally-known newspapers and magazines attempted to verify sniping reports coming out of

the cities; few were willing to undertake independent investigations of their own; and far too many were overly zealous in their reports of a "trend" based on limited and unconfirmed evidence. Stated very simply: the national press over-reacted.

For some time now, many observers (including members of the academic community) have been predicting a change from spontaneous to premeditated outbreaks resembling guerrilla warfare. Their predictions have largely been based upon limited evidence such as unconfirmed reports of arms caches and the defiant, sometimes revolutionary, rhetoric of militants.

And then came Cleveland. At the time, the July disorder in that city appeared to have all the characteristics of the kind of violence predicted--intelligence reports of planning prior to the disorder, intensive sniping directed at the police, the absence of a precipitating incident, etc. Few people at the time quarreled with the appraisal in the New York Times that Cleveland was "perhaps the first documented case" of a planned uprising against the police. Following the events in Cleveland, disorders in which shots may have been fired were immediately suspected to be part of a "wave."

It is not surprising that suspicions concerning these disorders should have been raised. What is surprising, and reprehensible, is that the press, particularly at the national level, showed so little initiative with regard to checking and investigating such disorders further.

IV

Recommendations

Unwittingly or not, the press has been constructing a scenario on armed uprisings. The "story line" of this scenario is not totally removed from reality. There have been a few shoot-outs with the police, and a handful may have been planned. But no wave of uprisings and no set pattern of murderous conflict have developed--

at least not yet. Has the press pro-
Why hasn't the scenario been act-
are by no means certain. Why
in this area, for any act-
viewer as well as the pr-
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 stated outbreaks resembling
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at least not yet. Has the press provided the script for future conspiracies? Why hasn't the scenario been acted out until now? The answers to these questions are by no means certain. What is clear is that the press has critical responsibilities in this area, for any act of violence easily attracts the attention of the vicarious viewer as well as the participant. Hence the following suggestions are offered concerning the press:

1. More restrained and judicious reporting--Relations between blacks and whites in this country are presently characterized by mutual resentment, distrust, and fear. The danger of over-reaction on both sides is very great. Newspapers and magazines which overdramatize the violence and underplay less dramatic (but equally important) events such as negotiation efforts do little more than escalate existing tensions and fears.
2. More accuracy--Although it is impossible to be correct all the time, complete accuracy remains a worthy goal, particularly when what is being said influences the attitudes and actions of others. The numerous errors and distortions cited in this report serve to underscore the need to "tell it like it is." In particular, the local and national press and the wire services as well should make greater attempts to verify news stories. Moreover, better communications should be established between the press and police departments, especially during times of crisis.
3. More creative journalism--In an era when most Americans are informed by additional news media, particularly radio and television, the press should place far greater emphasis on interpreting, rather than merely reporting, the news. Background pieces on the precipitating events and "tension-heightening incidents," more detailed information on the sniper himself, and investigations concerning police and civilian casualties represent fertile areas for the news analyst.

To give one concrete example: While 4 policemen were killed in disorders reviewed in this report, 16 civilians were also killed. A report on the circumstances of all these deaths might provide some important insights into the disorders.

The series on Cleveland appearing in the New York Times and the investigation of the Detroit riot in 1967 which appeared in the Detroit Free Press stand as models of creative journalism. These reports indicate that the press has an important opportunity and obligation to illuminate as well as inform.

39
V
Acknow
The RDC wishes to acknowledge
Chicago Heights, Ill.
E. Chicago Heights, Ill.
Cincinnati, O.
Cleveland, O.
East Point
Evansville

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Evansville, Ind.	Chief of Police Darwin Covert Asst. Chief of Police Charles M. Gash
Gary, Ind.	Chief of Police James F. Hilton Asst. Chief of Police Charles Boone
Goldsboro, N.C.	Capt. C. M. Gilstrap, Chief of Detectives
Harvey, Ill.	Chief of Police Leroy H. Knapp, Jr.
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Jackson, Mich.	Chief of Police Earl B. Miller
Little Rock, Ark.	Chief of Police R.E. Brians
Los Angeles, Cal.	Lt. Norman H. Judd, Community Relations Div.
Memphis, Tenn.	Asst. Chief of Police W. E. Routt
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St. Paul, Minn.	Chief of Police Lester McAuliffe
San Francisco, Cal.	Chief of Police Thomas J. Cahill
Seattle, Wash.	Asst. Chief of Police George Fuller Douglas R. Howard, Public Information Unit
Waterloo, Ia.	Chief of Police Robert S. Wright
Wichita, Kan.	Maj. E. O. Ford Sgt. Richard L. Cole, Intelligence Unit
York, Pa.	Capt. Charles McCaffery

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a regional index of racial disorders
August 1968. The letter "g" which
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18 definite and 85
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Pennsylvania (continued):

Lancaster 6/2 (E)
Oxford 5/16
Philadelphia 5/13 (E)
Philadelphia 7/13-15 (E)
Pittsburgh 6/5-6
Pittsburgh 6/16 (E)
Pittsburgh 8/9 (E)
Pittsburgh 8/15
Pittsburgh 8/20-23
Wilkinsburg 5/21-28
York 7/11-15
York 8/4-11

Rhode Island:

Providence 8/17-20

II. MIDWEST:

Illinois:

Blue Island 8/22-23
Carbondale 5/7-8
Chicago 5/8-10
Chicago 5/9-10
Chicago 5/15
Chicago 7/2 (E)
Chicago Heights 8/11-13
Evanston 5/3-4
Harvey & Dixmoor 8/6-7
Maywood 7/25-26
Peoria 7/30

Indiana:

Evansville 8/22-24
Fort Wayne 8/7-9
Gary 5/14-16
Gary 7/27-29
Jefferson 7/12-13
Muncie 7/29
South Bend 6/19
South Bend 7/12

Iowa:

Waterloo 8/17

Kansas:

Topeka 6/19
Wichita 8/22-24

Michigan:

Ann Arbor 5/24-28
Ann Arbor 5/31
Battle Creek 5/25
Benton Harbor 7/21-23

Michigan (continued):

Dearborn 5/6-10 (E)
Detroit 5/13
Detroit 7/25-26
Flint 6/5
Grand Rapids 7/26-28
Grand Rapids 8/4 (E)
Inkster 8/4-8
Jackson 7/14-21
Jackson 7/30
Jackson 8/5 (E)
Kalamazoo 7/29-30 (E)
Lansing 5/14
Lansing 8/21-22 (E)
Muskegon 8/25
Plainwell 7/19
Saginaw 8/8
Ypsilanti 8/22-24

Minnesota:

Minneapolis 5/20
Minneapolis 7/3-5
St. Paul 8/30-31

Nebraska:

Omaha 7/5-8

Ohio:

Akron 7/17-23
Akron 8/15 (E)
Cincinnati 7/27-28
Cincinnati 8/16-17
Cleveland 7/23-26
Fostoria 8/10 (E)
Lima 8/29-30
Massillon 6/14 (E)
Springfield 8/31
Wilberforce 6/5-7

Wisconsin:

Madison 5/3 (E)
Madison 5/17-18
Madison 8/3
Milwaukee 5/9-17
Milwaukee 6/3-5
Racine 8/3-5
Whitewater 7/25

III. WEST:California:

Banning 5/26
 Hanford 8/11
 Los Angeles 7/24
 Los Angeles 8/5-6, 9
 Los Angeles 8/11-13
 Pacifica 7/28-29
 Pittsburg 7/31
 Richmond 6/25-27
 Riverside 8/6-8
 San Francisco 7/30 (E)
 Seaside 8/1
 Stockton 7/17

Colorado:

Denver 6/2-3
 Denver 6/22-24

Washington:

Pasco 7/20-29
 Seattle 7/1-2
 Seattle 7/25 (E)
 Seattle 7/29-31

IV. BORDER:Delaware:

Dover 16-20
 Newark 5/16-17
 Newark 8/16
 Wilmington 7/6
 Wilmington 8/12
 Wilmington 8/31-9/3

Kentucky:

Louisville 5/27-30
 Louisville 7/7 (E)
 Louisville 8/14-15
 Owensboro 8/17-19

Maryland:

Baltimore 5/12-13 (E)
 Baltimore 6/19
 Baltimore 6/25
 Baltimore 8/6
 Salisbury 5/18-24
 Salisbury 8/20 (E)

Missouri:

Jefferson City 5/30
 Kansas City 7/10
 Kansas City 8/13-14 (E)
 Kansas City 8/20
 St. Louis 7/24

Washington, D.C.:

Poor Peoples Campaign, May-June
 5/25

West Virginia:

Charleston 8/6-7
 Charleston 8/24
 Weirton 7/31-8/1

V. SOUTH:Alabama:

Mobile 6/6 (E)
 Mobile 7/29-8/4

Arkansas:

Fayetteville 5/14
 Little Rock 8/7-12

Florida:

Altamonte Springs 6/15 (E)
 Coral Gables 5/14
 Dade City 7/30
 Gainesville 7/30-8/1
 Gainesville 8/20-21
 Miami 8/7-9
 St. Petersburg 5/6-August
 Tampa 5/17, 20
 Tampa 8/4

Georgia:

E. Point 8/10
 Zebulon 8/29

Mississippi:

Natchez 6/1-2

North Carolina:
 Charlotte 8/13 (E)
 Durham 6/6, 26
 Goldsboro 7/27-30
 Hillsborough 5/14-20

South Carolina:
 Columbia 5/9
 Gaffney 5/3-6

Tennessee:
 Franklin 6/8
 Memphis 5/17
 Memphis 7/4
 Memphis 8/24

Texas:
 Fort Hood
 Midland 7

Virginia:
 Alexandria
 Alexandria
 Charlottesville

Missouri:
 Jefferson City 5/30
 Kansas City 7/10
 Kansas City 8/13-14 (E)
 Kansas City 8/20
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 Peoples Campaign, May-June
 6-7

North Carolina:

Charlotte 8/13 (E)
 Durham 6/6, 26
 Goldsboro 7/27-30
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Columbia 5/9
 Gaffney 5/3-6

Tennessee:

Franklin 6/8
 Memphis 5/17
 Memphis 7/4 (E)
 Memphis 8/24-25

Texas:

Fort Hood 8/24
 Midland 7/27

Virginia:

Alexandria 5/17
 Alexandria 7/4 (E)
 Charlottesville 5/13-14

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THE DYNAMICS OF BLACK AND WHITE VIOLENCE¹

by James P. Comer, M.D.

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Milit

When black and white violence again struck urban America in the early 1960's, social scientists and government leaders looked around hurriedly for a quick solution. The obvious cause, to many, was the low social and economic conditions of black Americans. In spite of multiple efforts to improve this situation, violence mounted to a frightening peak in 1967. While inter-racial violence decreased sharply in 1968, the polarization of the races pointed up in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is continuing to take place. Thus the possibility of future and even more malignant violence, such as guerilla tactics, remains a possibility, if not a probability.

If the social and economic conditions of a group are the primary determinants of group violence and potential violence, civil disorder on the part of blacks is a paradox. While the relative economic position remains low, social and economic gains directly experienced by black Americans from 1960 through 1968 have been more rapid and substantial than ever before in American history.² The number of non-whites, 92% black, at the poverty level as defined by the Social Security Administration has declined from 10.9 million in 1964

to 8.3 million in 1967. The unemployment rate for blacks has declined from 12.4% of the labor force in 1961 to 6.8% for the first six months of 1968. A 31% drop in under-employment was recorded between 1966 and 1967, compared with a 17% decline for whites.

In 1960 there were only 3 million blacks in the better job categories while 46 million whites held such jobs. Between 1960 and 1967 there was a 47% increase in the number of blacks in white collar jobs, craftsmen and operatives (the better jobs) compared to a 16% increase by whites. There was an 80% increase in the number of black professional and technical workers between 1960 and 1967, compared with a 30% increase among whites. There was a 77% increase in the number of black clerical workers as compared to a 23% increase for whites; a 49% increase in craftsmen and foremen in the non-white category, compared with 13% of whites. There was a corresponding decline in private household workers, 17% for non-whites compared with 23% among whites; a 7% decline was registered among black non-farm laborers, compared with a 2% decline among whites. Because so few blacks held relatively good occupational positions prior to 1960, these changes are not as dramatic as they appear, yet represent substantial improvement.

During the summer of 1967, it became clear that the socio-economic explanation for black and white violence was inadequate.³ Observations made after the disorders following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King⁴ suggest the same. A Wall Street Journal report read:

Arrest records suggest that the adults who looted were for the most part Negroes with comparatively good education who held jobs and had not been arrested before. Few expressed a conscious desire to revenge Dr. King's slaying... In many cities, the violence apparently originated with Negroes in their early teens, or even all the way down to kindergarten age--those who had the least reason to revere, or even know of, Dr. King, and those who scorned the moderate civil rights approach Dr. King espoused.

A black militant in Baltimore responded to the question of what sparked the riots with this comment, "You did, Whitey. You did it by treating us like animals. The black man in Baltimore is tired of his life, tired of his low pay, tired of being kicked about. King was just an excuse." The National Advisory Commission of Civil Disorders, while stating the problem differently, agreed that white racism was the basic cause of black and white violence. Both explanations--racism and poverty--view intergroup violence as a simple reaction to an unhappy set of circumstances.

A third explanation of black and white violence is of even more limited value. Some social scientists have

contended that persons with impulse control difficulties as a consequence of black family disintegration have been heavily involved in precipitating urban violence.⁵ Recent studies have both challenged the notion of black family disintegration and shown that such persons are just as likely to be non-participants as they are to be participants.⁶ The complexity of intergroup violence is further revealed in some of the incongruous events which occurred during several 1967 disturbances. A group of black youngsters in Washington, D. C. escorted their white teacher out of the danger area but hurried back to throw rocks at the passing cars of "white honkies." In Detroit, blacks and whites sat together in a friendly atmosphere and bid on the plunder recovered in disturbances which occurred only a few months before.

Obviously there is no simple explanation. Racism, poverty and personal control problems are not enough to explain the complexities and incongruities of current black-white conflict--although all three factors are involved. A more useful approach is to recognize intergroup violence as primarily a product of specific social system malfunctioning. It is a natural and predictable phenomenon--although largely preventable--related to the

nature of man and his basic human tasks. It occurs and recurs when an individual or group is denied the opportunity to meet their basic and man-made needs.

The human animal is born with drives and needs which conflict with those of other human beings.⁷ Some form of social organization which will regulate the manner in which these drives are expressed and needs are met have always been necessary. In all societies, parents, caretakers and socializers of one kind or another are charged with the responsibility of meeting the child's basic needs and helping the young convert drive energy into "tools" which will help them cope with the demands of an adult society. Libidnal energy becomes⁸ "the stuff" of exploration, learning and work. Without satisfactory transformation, these energies may result in a variety of troublesome forms of personal behavior, including self-destructive action and unwarranted conflict and violence against people and property. When the young and adequately developed and socialized and are able to cope as adults, they enjoy a sense of adequacy and security. Being able to cope and as a result receiving the respect and acceptance of significant peers is the primary way an individual meets basic and man-made needs. When a sufficient number of members of a

society feel relatively adequate and secure, a high level of peace and stability can exist in families and the society without force and repression of individuals or groups.

It is the task of the leaders of a society to establish social policy which facilitates optimal individual development and adequate socialization of the young. Failure to do so constitutes social violence, resulting in damage to individuals, groups and the society which is far more harmful and lasting than overt physical violence. In a representative society where groups must organize and participate in the political and administrative system in order to obtain opportunities which will facilitate the optimal development of their members, the obstructive and unjust exercise of power--physical or social--by another group constitutes a crippling form of violence. The victimized group, when healthy, struggles against the unjust and oppressive situation. This struggle in the face of resistance frequently results in overt physical violence. In addition, when the leaders of a society sanction social exploitation of a group, they concomitantly encourage physical violence toward that group. Thus the historical American situation of slavery or legal social violence

toward blacks; white physical violence and relatively little black retaliation; finally a legal and non-violent struggle now punctuated with black violence is an understandable sequence.^{10, 11}

There is an aspect of the pattern--black restraint--which, on the surface, is difficult to explain. Given the level of social violence toward blacks, the logical question now should not be "Why black violence?" but "Why has black initiated and retaliatory violence been so little and so late?" The record of provocation certainly is extreme.

During slavery, whippings and other abusive acts were frequent. Because of the economic value of the slave, it was usually only after abortive slave revolts or "unpardonable" offences that the killing of slaves took place. Freedmen, North and South, who found themselves in economic competition with whites frequently fared less well. After slavery when the 4 million blacks in the South came into direct economic competition with the 5 1/2 million poor whites and were no longer of value to the white planters, the severity of violence toward blacks increased. Beatings, torture and murder in order to disenfranchise blacks, decrease economic competition and maintain a caste system for economic and psychological

advantage became the pattern of the day. It has been estimated that between 1865 and 1955 over 5,000 blacks¹² were lynched by white mobs. Official United States Census Bureau statistics show that over 3,000 were¹³ lynched between 1882 and 1935. Legal lynchings, "kangaroo court" action and unreported murders are not included in these totals. Black schools and homes were frequently burned in the early post-slavery period. Between 1865 and 1940, over 500 blacks were killed in race riots and massacres. Many more were injured and abused. Relatively few whites were killed in these disturbances. Finally, the burning and bombing of black property and the murder and intimidation of blacks and their white supporters involved in civil rights activities since the early 1950's is well-known.

Despite this abusive and oppressive pattern, black reaction was generally not violence but non-violence. Aptheker and other historians have pointed out that there were slave uprisings and rumors of uprisings but they certainly did not approximate the frequency or severity of black slave uprisings in South America. Even after slavery there was generally an under response to the level of oppression. Historians and revolutionaries have often puzzled over and despaired about this

situation.

Certainly the overwhelming power of the dominant group is a factor. But it is not enough to explain the phenomenon. Often slaves and freedmen greatly outnumbered their masters and sometimes did attack and kill them, but not very often. Subsequent events have demonstrated that inherent docility and passivity and the other explanations for extreme black restraint were inaccurate. This is evidenced by the remarkable change in black reaction to white control efforts in a short period of time. Only fifteen years ago a black family stood fearful and powerless as whites, without legal authority, dragged their black youngster from his home and murdered him. Today the arrest of a black man by a white policeman in a black neighborhood carries with it the risk of touching off a violent disturbance. Obviously there are important psycho-social forces at play in black and white violence which go beyond simple unhappiness and reaction to racism or poverty. These forces can best be delineated through a review of the critical aspects of black and white reaction over time.

Slavery, the initial contact of most blacks and whites in America, set the stage for continuing conflict.

Many students of slavery have been preoccupied with the question of whether it was largely a harsh and cruel or pleasant and humane system. This is an interesting but relatively unrewarding focus. The most important consideration here is the effect of the system on the social and psychological development of individual blacks and whites and on the functioning of the respective groups in the society at large. The effects of the system were enormous indeed and still "haunt" us over 100 years since the demise of the "peculiar institution."

The issue of who was to blame, the black chiefs or middle men in Africa or slavers, is likewise not important here. The point which is critical to this discussion is that established social systems were interrupted and new and traumatic ones were imposed on the victims. Socialization, which was meaningful and enabled individuals to meet basic needs and prepare to cope as adults in the African society, was no longer useful nor possible. The socialization which was necessary to cope as a slave was traumatic and harmful to the psychological and social development of blacks--an extreme form of social violence.

In West Africa, blacks were socialized in a way to

meet the needs of individuals and the respective¹⁴ societies. Children were provided with nurturance and physical care in a family or kinship system which oriented them to their immediate world of kin, the community, society and to their own feelings. Cultural and sub-cultural goals and values were transmitted to the children and inter-personal skills, modes of feeling, thinking and working were developed. Contact with parents, elders, chiefs, warriors, medicine men, traders, etc.--one of which they were destined to become--gave the children a sense of direction, purpose and meaning.

Ritual and ceremony deepened the meaning of individual existence and gave testimony to the importance of societal functions. The circumcision and naming ceremonies of the Dogon tribe were very important exercises with life long significance to the individual. Indeed it is only through the naming ceremony that a member of that tribe became a part of the society. In the Ibo, Zulu, Dogon and other tribes of West Africa, children were brought into the adult cultural milieu through age group organizations. Every function in the society brought these groups together and a sense of belonging and participation resulted. The transference

from age group to age group was marked by meaningful ceremony.

Specific expectations and responsibilities were laid down and had to be met before a young person could receive additional responsibilities and privileges. The individual received approval and acceptance from important people in his society through the accomplishment of societal tasks and developed a sense of adequacy and self-respect for his achievement. The universal outcome of adequate socialization which permits one to cope as an adult is a sense of security. This is not to say that there were no injustices, insecurity or uncertainty within the African system. But in general the operation of the tribes and tribal nations fostered the development of a sense of security and a positive self and group concept. Slavery changed this situation.

The objective of socialization in slavery was not to develop the individual to a point that he or she might perform as a fully adequate, competent, full participant in adult society. The socialization and management of slaves was designed to maintain the master's power and control over them and to increase his benefits. Even humane treatment had its "master's twist." An ex-slave from Louisiana said, "Marse always say being mean to the

young-uns make them mean when they grows up and nobody
gwine to buy a mean nigger."¹⁵

The slaves were powerless for two major reasons. Their legal status was that of chattel without rights in court and without the protection of any institution. The master was all-powerful and had the right to control every aspect of slave life from birth to death, from sex to settling disputes. His power was enhanced by additional factors. Black slaves in a predominantly white controlled land were readily identifiable. The slaves were not of a single tribal origin with a long group history and a resultant cohesive bond. They were far from home and generally unwanted except for economic exploitation. They were not able to maintain the organizational elements of their respective previous cultures--kinship ties, family organization, religion,¹⁶ government, courts, etc. Thus they were not able to run away en masse; to turn in on their own culture for psychological support or to effectively organize to attack their oppressors.

Economic and social policies were not determined by the slaves. The provision of food, clothing and shelter for a family was not the task of the black male. Often a

family structure or kinship structure did not exist at all. Protecting the family and tribe from assault was not the role of a black warrior, groomed from childhood for the task and honored by his feats by ritual and ceremony. The naming ceremony meant nothing any more. Males were often referred to by the master they worked for and the woman they had a sexual liaison with...Mr. Barber's boy or Sophie's man. The master provided for basic human needs and regulated basic human functions. For everything the slaves were forced to look to the master.

Obviously the slave master functioned as "father", ruler and God. Indeed slaves were often taught to "obey thy master as thy God." Even when the slave resisted, he was relating to a master for it was not resistance in the name of a people or a tribe or a tribal nation. It was one to one, slave to master. The condition of total power and complete powerlessness, with the master providing and regulating basic needs--thus providing all the security a black slave could know--resulted in an intense emotional bond or tie between the black slave and the white master. Because slave holdings in this country averaged five to fifteen persons, this

bond was much more intense than in South American countries where the slave holdings were much larger and a greater degree of black self-identity and culture were maintained.

After the first generation, children were born into the system and prepared from birth for a life of subservience. Nurture and physical care came from an adult but not in the interest of a family, kinship group or tribe but in the interest of a master. (This is probably the reason that so many adults cared so little for children--a point which confounded slave owners and observers.) Children were not destined to become elders, chiefs, warriors, traders, etc. Their future was that of a despised slave. Ritual and ceremony did not give testimony to the importance of their own lives and that of their people. The master, or parents doing his bidding, set expectations. Approval and acceptance from fellow slaves was based on the degree to which the child achieved goals acceptable to the master.

Children were taught what they could and could not do in relation to whites. They were taught to obey and respect whites. The Bible and the whip reinforced their parent's teaching. Frequent references in the literature

of slavery indicate that black children were taught to knuckle under to the little white tyrant of the same age, one in training to become the master and the other to become the slave. There could be no black group goals for children to inculcate. Blacks did not exist as a group with goals of their own. They were given organization, goals and direction by the master. They existed for his benefit and by his permission.

Some ran away to the Indians, to Canada and to freedom¹⁷ in the North. But most could not. Most had to adjust to the circumstances, for man does not exist in groups without some form of social organization. Some led a passive-aggressive existence in relationship to whites--working as little as they could without being punished, sabotaging property and generally provoking the master. Some used religion to establish a relationship and existence in which they had an importance and purpose beyond the master and their lowly slave position. Some established a life style which was a carbon copy of the master. Some adjustments were extremely harmful to individual development and others were less so. All, however, had to identify and relate to the master or the white power group. This led to an identification with the aggressor or oppressor--an adaptive mechanism of generally adverse consequences

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to blacks.

It is understandable under the condition of powerlessness, dependency and rejection inherent in the nature of American slavery that wisdom and adequacy became associated with the master. Eventually these attributes were extended to all white persons. All whites had the right to abuse and exploit blacks without fear of serious censure or consequences. Blackness was associated with inadequacy and subservience and the notion was transmitted to black and white children during their earliest developmental years. The message was driven home well. Benjamin Botkin's collection of slave narratives shows many instances of slave guilt for not working hard or disobeying the master. This suggests that the values of the master were internalized by the slaves. Slave narratives also indicate very clearly that they were rendered dependent on the powerful master and many developed feelings and attitudes toward him parallel to the parent-child relationship. The large number of slaves who could not or would not leave the plantation after slavery indicates the degree of psychological dependency which was developed.

Identification with the master was of serious psychological consequence to the slaves. Attitudes about blacks held by whites became the feelings or attitudes

blacks held for themselves and each other as a group. Hatred of self; anger toward the self; presumption of black incompetence; etc. are a legacy of slavery reinforced by residual and later social practices--segregation and exclusion. Independent black achievement was almost non-existent during slavery. Success was being like whites, being with whites, or being white. Often the black ideal or goal was to be white or to become white. Students of behavior have repeatedly documented the adverse psychological effect of these "impossible. 19, 20, 21 strivings."

Given the circumstances, dependency and identification with the master is an understandable outcome. But such a relationship is always an ambivalent one. Man in such situations enjoys the security of dependency but rebels against the price, external control. He despises the person of power but attempts to be a part of him. The goals and ideals of the powerful can easily become those of the powerless. In such a relationship, anger or action against the powerful and protective person or group is a blow against part of the self of the dependent and powerless person or group. It is not surprising then that many blacks would have some difficulty expressing anger toward whites during slavery and for a long period

thereafter. The psychological tie of powerless blacks to powerful whites was as important a deterrent of black retaliation as the probable physical consequences.

Had blacks become an acceptable part of the total society after slavery, the significance of racial differences would have been greatly changed. Race would not have remained as a symbol or a sign of goodness and badness, success or failure. Blacks would not have been denied employment, education, ownership and entrepreneurial opportunities. The masses could have received a basic sense of adequacy by simply providing for their families and receiving recognition as desirable parents and citizens. The talented could have moved to positions of leadership and registered high level achievement. Without the atmosphere of white rejection of blacks at every level, the latter could have identified with achievers, leaders, goals and values which were American rather than black or white. Black children would have aspired to a wide range of goals rather than those open to blacks. But blacks were not accepted into the total society and the consequential psychological outcome was different.

After slavery, blacks were immediately closed out of the economic, political, educational mainstream of American

²²
life. The program of Federal Reconstruction failed to provide blacks with a solid economic base and was, as a consequence, gradually eroded as an adjustment tool. None of the organizational aspects of the African culture remained to provide a basis for group stability and direction. Only remnants of previous African life styles and behavioral residuals remained, greatly modified by the American experience and of little value in promoting adjustment in the post-slavery period. As a result of these factors, blacks remained economically, socially and psychologically dependent on whites who retained almost complete economic and social control. Over 50% of the black population remained in a condition of serfdom until the early part of the 20th Century. While some were able to directly express anger and advocate rejection of and attacks on the perceived oppressor--as some did in slavery--most were not able to do so. Not only had their training been effective but to express hostility toward whites on which many were dependent was to risk the loss of a major source of a sense of security.

The circumstances reflected an unhealthy state of affairs. As a group, blacks were unable to obtain opportunities which would facilitate the optimal development of large numbers of their members. Public education was long delayed and often inadequate. They were employed at the

lowest level of the job market. They were rapidly closed out of business and government. Yet because many had been trained to accept white control, their lack of education and skills, the level of antagonism toward blacks and their dependency tie to whites with power, many blacks--although woefully oppressed--were unable to struggle against the unjust exercise of power they experienced. This combination of circumstances did not exist for any other excluded group in America.

Although powerless after slavery with still little sense of community other than being a despised, rejected part of a larger community, blacks were forced to turn in on themselves anyway. Segregation, which rapidly developed as a social policy after slavery, made this necessary. With the end of the control and exploitation of blacks by their masters, legislation, judicial and extra-legal control (intimidation, violence, economic reprisals) was established. Control and authority had now been extended to all whites, most more economically vulnerable and in need of psychological scapegoat than the more wealthy slave-owning class. Whites outside the planter class were more likely to act in an unjust and violent fashion toward blacks. Black parents had to prepare their children to live in such a setting. Aggressive styles had to be

crushed least they lead to conflicts with whites. Such socialization led to the destruction and/or diminution of the capacity for exploration, learning, and work in many blacks.

A strict social etiquette developed which symbolized white privilege and black subservience.²⁴ Children learned the rules of the game through subtle and overt ways. In the 1930's when a black youngster in Texas was beaten by white adult males for entering a bus before a white woman, his father did not protect or console him but angrily counseled, "You ought to know better than to get on the bus before the white folks."

The implication of segregation, as it was practiced, was clear: blacks are inferior and incapable of participation in the total society. This rejection occurred to a people generally trying desperately to belong. Denied the tools and opportunity for personal achievement and the resultant sense of adequacy and security achievement brings, belonging to a group which met these needs was most important. Blacks made various adaptations to meet adequacy and security needs in a society in which they were now "free" but still rejected and abused.

Blacks who had used religion as an adaptive mechanism during slavery now embraced it more firmly. The church became a substitute society.²⁵ "Walking and talking with Jesus" was more than a metaphor. It was an important method of being a valued person. In many black communities, a sense of relatedness born of the need for mutual support necessary to survive in a threatening society began to develop. Sharing and mutual aid became a style of life for many. Many informal and formal Afro-American mutual support organizations developed after slavery, reflecting the great need. Other blacks became paid employees of their former masters and maintained a carbon copy style of life and identified strongly with whites. Some wandered disorganized and hopeless for several years after slavery. Some were without social organization, goals and direction and were largely pleasure oriented, responding to their inadequately controlled sexual and aggressive drives in a way which led them into conflict with the larger society. Such behavior was not viewed as a failure of the society to establish social policy which promoted adequate social and psychological development but was seen as "the way the niggers are." Similar behavior among whites was not viewed as "white behavior."

Because blacks did not respond to oppression with violent retaliation did not mean that they did not experience anger. It was generally turned against the self or others like the self. ²⁶ Passive, self-destructive modes of behavior are, in part, a product of the reaction to self-hate and low self-esteem. The excessive use of drugs and alcohol are but a few examples. Violent behavior against other blacks--often a displacement of anger towards whites--is a familiar pattern. The assault on "a friend" over a dime or a bottle of wine is an indication of the low self-esteem. The disproportionately high violent crime rate of blacks is, in part, a manifestation of displaced anger. A black student at an Ivy League school angrily contested a black professor after it was obvious that the student was in error. He readily accepts similar comments from whites. Low aspiration level and high family conflict rates among some blacks is often a by-product (or partially so) of anger against the self. Because many blacks have very little power to effect change, overwhelming obstacles and hopeless surrender produce high social and psychological depression rates. Only occasionally and only recently has rage and anger been turned against whites.

The circumstances of black and white interaction has²⁷ also had an impact on the white psyche. Until recent years, many whites have felt justified in their abuse and exploitation of blacks. Leaders of the society--a United States Congressman as late as the early 1900's-- threatened greater violence toward blacks if favorable legislation for them was passed. During Reconstruction many white leaders urged the white masses to attack blacks and often joined in the fun. It is small wonder that a cavalier attitude (indeed a collective super-ego defect) developed with regard to white abuse of black. It was wrong to murder unless it was a nigger out of his place--his place being determined by whites.

Inherent superiority was taught and is still taught to white youngsters through denial and by ignoring the accomplishments of blacks in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Institutional denial--exclusion of blacks from textbooks, communications media, and white institutions--facilitated individual denial. White youngsters were taught white superiority and black inferiority through direct and inadvertent means. A white youngster of marginal intelligence had learned from his father that he should be nice to blacks otherwise they would not want to work for him when he grew up--an assumption of a

superior status in spite of the fact that the youngster was less prepared to be a high level achiever than many blacks. A golf caddy who wanted to work for two black physicians without taking his turn asked them to tell the pro in charge that they worked for his father. A white suburban child looked at a black youngster in town and said, "Look Mommy, a baby maid!" White people act consciously and unconsciously on these feelings in relationship to blacks. These attitudes and conditions are clearly changing under the pressure of new social forces but many undesirable conditions still exist. Such attitudes and reactions are, in part, a basis for continued black and white conflict.

In spite of the many psychological and social forces which inhibited normal black reaction to oppression, the basis for such a reaction has been gradually developing for a long time. It began when slavery was ended and the policy of racial segregation forced white leaders to prepare or permit some blacks to prepare themselves to take care of their own. This "crack" in the pattern of forced dependency was the beginning of the development of a positive black group identity and eventually a normal reaction to oppression. Many blacks, as preachers, teachers, physicians and other professional service people,

began to develop skills which gave them a sense of adequacy and the capacity to cope. In the South in particular, successful business communities developed. Black youngsters were able to identify with people like themselves in positions of leadership and respect. Obviously the level of respect was limited by the implications of a segregated system but nonetheless it was of value in enhancing black self-esteem. More among the black masses were better able to earn enough money to take care of their families and as a result were able to develop a sense of personal adequacy. Involvement in two world wars and achievement in entertainment, athletics and other areas and the exposure facilitated by mass migration began to change the black American's feelings toward the self. A positive sense of self²⁸ began to replace the previous negative self concept.

Today's young adult blacks and teen-agers grew up observing the heroics of Jackie Robinson and Jimmie Brown. They watch Sidney Poitier and listen to Aretha Franklin. They observe better trained blacks achieve and move to positions of high responsibility. They test themselves against white youngsters on the gridiron, in the military service and occasionally in the classroom and often find

they can perform just as well. When this is not the case, it is often clear that limited opportunity and not a lack of ability is the probable cause. The black nurse's aide and practical nurse often realize that with the same educational development and training, they could hold the nurse's job, more often held by whites.

For good reasons, blacks began to raise critical questions. Why is the white American entitled to special opportunity and privilege? Why have we been denied political, economic and educational opportunity? Why should we despise blackness, indeed, hate aspects of ourselves? Having rejected notions of inferiority, there is no good answer. In spite of this, blacks continue to experience excessive white resistance to pressure for justice and opportunity.

Many of the young black leaders of today were part of the sit-in movement of a decade ago. Many attended racially integrated schools while being harrassed, intimidated and attacked by white hoodlums while "responsible authorities" turned their heads. Many watched Bull Connor bring out the dogs to interfere with the peaceful protest of unjust laws and practices. Many looked in vain for action by the legislative, judiciary

and executive branches of government to remove obstacles to first class citizenship. Most troublesome, they watched white public officials, clearly violating the law, be elected to offices of high trust and responsibility because they stood for the unjust exercise of power against blacks.

The reaction to resistance could now be different. Blacks are no longer largely employed in Southern agriculture and consequently vulnerable to economic reprisal for any self-interest activities--political, economic or social. Black adequacy and competence is now built on more than white approval and assurance of acceptance as a child of God with a reward in heaven. A significant number of black parents no longer teach their children to accept white authority, right or wrong. Many whites, now economically more secure and better educated, no longer need or approve of the scapegoating of blacks. The tie that bound--black social, economic and psychological dependence on an almost totally rejecting white community--has now been broken.

With the breaking of the dependency bond came expected responses. A greater number of blacks could experience anger and rage in response to denial and injustice. In addition blacks could now seek an identity

free of the implications of the aggressor and/or oppressor (the white power structure which denied opportunity to blacks on the basis of a rationalization--inferiority). An intense search for a positive black identity followed.

The breaking of the dependency bond, acceptance of blackness and a sense of outrage is an energizing and potentially explosive set of psychological developments. The potency is increased by the fact of a continued high level of resistance. The black American experiences intense and ambivalent feelings as a result and is confronted with numerous questions and conflicts. Should he attempt to become a part of the mainstream of his society--now changing but once so abusive and rejecting--or is he obliged to retaliate and/or reject it? Indeed, does manhood require retaliation and rejection? Can he trust a white America which has never before demonstrated itself trustworthy with regard to recognizing and protecting the human rights of black Americans? These developments and circumstances have created the tension and potential for black violence, retaliatory and black initiated.

The ambivalence and uncertainty is reflected in the wide range of black community responses. The shooting of

a black man in connection with a jay-walking traffic violation in Washington, D. C. recently prompted a violent, retaliatory black community mood, necessitating a massive police confrontation. In St. Louis, black churchmen made angry demands for an apology when a white cashier referred to the group of men as "boys." Any expression of white superiority or excessive control evokes a strong reaction from many blacks. Obviously new ground rules for black and white interaction are being established and blacks are sensitive to violations.

A black student was ordered off the lawn at his predominantly white college campus by a white policeman. To be a man--a black man--he had to hit the policeman, a symbol of oppression. But it was a "minor incident" and to avoid difficulty he had to hold back. In fury, rage and confusion he smashed his arm through a plate glass window a few minutes later. Such feeling occasionally results in a loss of control after "trigger incidents" (reflecting white superiority and black helplessness) with attendant burning of property. With a breakdown in personal control, blacks, employed and unemployed, loot and plunder the "symbolic enemy." Such reactions on the part of oppressed groups have been reported throughout human history.

In the one to one black and white relationship where mutual respect exists, interaction is less difficult, perhaps better than ever before. It is the battle against the symbolic enemy which permits black youngsters to escort their white teacher to safety and stone the cars of passing white strangers a few minutes later.

Black reactions are manifest in other ways. A distinguished banker in New York has said that "I am a black man first and an American second." The new black bank president in Chicago identified himself in reverse order. Both accept the values and styles of the total society but want to change the society to meet the needs of more among the black masses. On the other extreme are blacks so angry and alienated that they advocate the establishment of a separate state. One group has already emigrated to Africa. Two black Olympic athletes raised their fists in a symbolic black power salute and another waved an American flag. Black militants and intellectuals ponder the question of whether entrance into the American mainstream is possible or desirable, whether constructive modification of the American system is a realistic aim or whether revolution is necessary, possible or suicidal.

Some black college students are so "hung-up" on these issues that they are unable to concentrate on course work which is irrelevant by comparison. The feelings have filtered down to youngsters, as young as three or four years of age. Just as young members of the Klan are taught that it is permissible to abuse blacks, some young blacks are being taught that it is permissible to abuse whites. The level of awakening and concern is now so pervasive and reaches such a young age group that one can only anticipate growing pressure for justice--the fair exercise of power. This level of uncertainty, ambivalence, anger and confusion and resistance cannot persist for long without a drift toward a more malignant reaction--guerilla warfare and vigilante type responses.

There is no easy answer to the problem of black and white conflict and violence. The energy released by black awakening and the development of a positive group concept is profound. If channeled, it can be a powerful force for black community development, pride and forceful but non-violent (or minimally violent) pressure for constructive change within the present social system. But before it can be channeled, it must be clear to blacks that support of the present system and participation

in it is in the interest of justice for the black masses. To support a social system which continues to formulate social policy which does not permit adequate development of individual blacks as well as the community and permits blatant disregard for the rights of blacks is to support the conditions which promote intolerable rage and anger.

The nation is in a race against time. Constructive attitude and economic changes have been made. In many places, members of the white power structure have shown an unprecedented interest in facilitating black entrance into the mainstream of American life. The interaction is establishing new and more healthy ground rules for black and white relations. But often the complex factors related to emergence from a dependent, despised position to full participation in the society are not well understood--nor are the many subtle forms of resistance and racism.

Only when blacks are competent performers in much more significant numbers with access to every area and level of human endeavor within the society will the impression of white power, superiority and independence and black powerlessness, inferiority and dependence be destroyed. One alternative now is to attempt to achieve

these ends within the society, as a part of the society and through methods deemed acceptable by the society. Another, most likely to develop if white resistance to full black participation persists, is to move against the society...violently. Logic or concern for the consequences cannot stay passion generated by the desire to satisfy basic human needs. Government, industry, educators and every group responsible for establishing social policy must make it clear through rapid and enlightened action that manhood, respect, adequacy and security are possible within this society or black and white conflict and violence will become more malignant.

FOOTNOTES

1. In an analysis of the feelings, attitudes and behavioral interaction between black and white Americans, a basic methodological problem exists. Primary documents relating conditions and reactions from the loss of the organizational elements of the original black culture through subjugation are generally available from the slaver and master and not the slaves. save a limited number of narratives. Yet behavior under certain conditions is somewhat predictable and understandable even in retrospect. Combining historical, sociological and psychological data can give us a greater depth and breadth of understanding of current behavior than documentable historical evidence alone. After all, to say that what cannot be completely documented did not happen is to limit progress in understanding critical problems.
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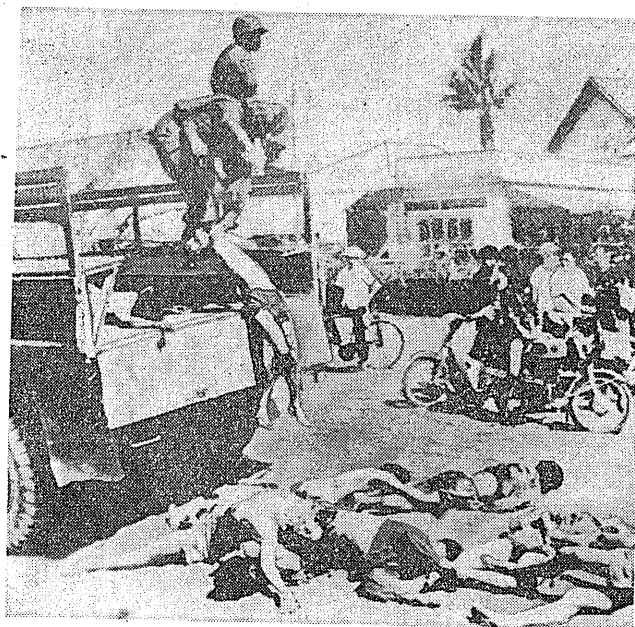
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The Washington Post

OUTLOOK

Editorials / Columns

SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 1969



Associated Press

Bicycling residents of Cuchi watch American soldiers unload the bodies of Vietcong killed Tuesday night in the attack on U.S. 25th Division headquarters in the village 20 miles from Saigon.

VC Drive Could Succeed—in U.S.

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Foreign Service

SAIGON—"I'd like to see them continue their offensive," said President Nguyen Van Thieu last week. Then he grinned and added affably, "It gives us the opportunity to kill more of them."

South Vietnamese generals, politicians, journalists, even businessmen seem to share their President's optimism. A consensus appears to be building that no matter what strategy the Communists pursue in their new offensive, it can only fail—on the battlefield. Conversely, it can succeed only in America.

Behind the shellings, the infantry

servers, this suggested that the Communists had their own set of ground rules to keep a lid on the level of fighting. Yes and no, say U.S. diplomats and intelligence officers.

If indeed the Communists are restraining themselves, it is not to avoid rampant escalation but to avoid U.S. retaliation or the scuttling of the Paris talks. An alternative reason suggested here is that the enemy is conserving his strength for a large scale, last-gasp ground offensive a la Tet 1968.

Bushels of captured documents warn that an assault on Saigon has been planned meticulously. But none hint when it might begin and all are suspect because of the morale prob-

By Ross K. Baker

Assistant professor of political science, Rutgers University

THE BOMB came through the open door of the store front at 321 Hawthorne Avenue at 4 in the morning Nov. 21. Carl Nichols, captain of the Newark Black Panther Party, was standing in front of one of the battered wooden desks that served as the main piece of office equipment in the headquarters. The impact from the bomb threw Nichols over the desk, showering him with phosphorus and breaking his right arm. The panel truck from which the bomb was thrown sped away down the street in Newark's black Central Ward. In the view of the Panthers, another skirmish in their war with the police had taken place.

Nichols received emergency hospital treatment and should have been admitted, but he and his colleagues feared another attempt on his life. Since then, Carl Nichols has moved from apartment to apartment in order to prevent his enemies from finishing the job.

The alleged assailants in the bomb incident, as far as the Panthers are concerned, are two Jersey City policemen who, in their off-duty hours, contrive ways to harass and intimidate the Black Panthers. The police have the license numbers of cars owned by the Panther Party members and tow them away for parking offenses for which other vehicles merely receive tickets. The headquarters are closely watched, and when groups of Panthers leave the headquarters (they believe in the safety of numbers and travel in groups) they are usually followed. With New Jersey's new wiretap law, the restrictions on bugging their phones have also been removed, and the Panthers expect to be tapped.

Bombing the Police

ON DEC. 11, 1967, a group of Panthers was traveling south on the Garden State Parkway toward New Brunswick, where they were to appear before a class at Rutgers. One car blew a tire and as the other two stopped to help, the members found themselves surrounded by half a dozen state police cruisers. The mishap provided the police with an opportunity to interrogate the Panthers and the three white stu-

diligently carried on by the police.

The Panthers are by no means exclusively on the receiving end. A bomb struck a Jersey City station house early in January and the police concluded that it was in retaliation for the attack on Nichols. Several members of the Panthers were arrested. The Panthers denied that they were involved in the Jersey City bombing. If such a reprisal were, in fact, perpetrated by the Panthers, it would have been at variance with their frequently repeated statements of violence only in self-defense.

Self-defense as a belief, a working principle and an operational code has been stressed by Jerry James, a captain from the Orange branch of the party, who has taken charge of the Newark chapter during Carl Nichols' convalescence.

The Pig Image

MOST OF THE incidents that the Panthers have found themselves in, here and on the West Coast, have been in response to police attempts at search, seizure or arrest. These police initiatives are considered by the Panthers to be provocation requiring acts of self-defense. The slaying of a police officer in Oakland, Calif., and the wounding of Huey Newton, the Panther leader, occurred in the context of a police search of Newton's car. Given the Panther definition of self-defense, the killing of a policeman is usually regarded as a case of justifiable homicide.

The wings of Panther self-defense, however, extend beyond the Panthers themselves to cover the entire black community. The Panthers claim that police activities within the ghetto are usually repressive and aimed at persecution rather than protection. The black man, according to James, is the target of law enforcement rather than its beneficiary.

James asserts that among the police, indeed, within the entire white community, there is a pervasive presumption of wrongdoing in regard to black men. The assumption is that a black man is never really up to any good. When a black man walks along the street with a coat on a hanger, a radio in his hands or a parcel under his arm, he immediately becomes subject to suspicion. That a black person has pur-

the most blatant white the quintessence of compared to the suspicious brutal treatment accorded man. The police presumption of criminality has its parallel presumption of police sav-

The image of the police permeates Panther and is everywhere in Panther and dialogue. The mention of "police," indeed, is avoided by the Panthers. James refers to the "Newark pigs," "New Jersey State pigs," and hatred of the police by extends to the self-proclaimed of the police in New Anthony Imperiale's North zens Council.

There is a highly touted effective hot line that runs headquarters of Imperiale's tant organization to the ho Jones, the black nationalis-



SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 1969

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A New Breed of Panther

By Ross K. Baker

Assistant professor of political science,
Rutgers University

THE BOMB came through the open door of the store front at 321 Hawthorne Avenue at 4 in the morning Nov. 21. Carl Nichols, captain of the Newark Black Panther Party, was standing in front of one of the battered wooden desks that served as the main piece of office equipment in the headquarters. The impact from the bomb threw Nichols over the desk, showering him with phosphorus and breaking his right arm. The panel truck from which the bomb was thrown sped away down the street in Newark's black Central Ward. In the view of the Panthers, another skirmish in their war with the police had taken place.

Nichols received emergency hospital treatment and should have been admitted, but he and his colleagues feared another attempt on his life. Since then, Carl Nichols has moved from apartment to apartment in order to prevent his enemies from finishing the job.

The alleged assailants in the bomb incident, as far as the Panthers are concerned, are two Jersey City policemen who, in their off-duty hours, contrive ways to harass and intimidate the Black Panthers. The police have the license numbers of cars owned by the Panther Party members and tow them away for parking offenses for which other vehicles merely receive tickets. The headquarters are closely watched, and when groups of Panthers leave the headquarters (they believe in the safety of numbers and travel in groups) they are usually followed. With New Jersey's new wiretap law, the restrictions on bugging their phones have also been removed, and the Panthers expect to be tapped.

Bombing the Police

ON DEC. 11, 1967, a group of Panthers was traveling south on the Garden State Parkway toward New Brunswick, where they were to appear before a class at Rutgers. One car blew a tire and as the other two stopped to help, the members found themselves surrounded by half a dozen state police cruisers. The mishap provided the police with an opportunity to interrogate the Panthers and the three white stu-

diligently carried on by the police.

The Panthers are by no means exclusively on the receiving end. A bomb struck a Jersey City station house early in January and the police concluded that it was in retaliation for the attack on Nichols. Several members of the Panthers were arrested. The Panthers denied that they were involved in the Jersey City bombing. If such a reprisal were, in fact, perpetrated by the Panthers, it would have been at variance with their frequently repeated statements of violence only in self-defense.

Self-defense as a belief, a working principle and an operational code has been stressed by Jerry James, a captain from the Orange branch of the party, who has taken charge of the Newark chapter during Carl Nichols' convalescence.

The Pig Image

MOST OF THE incidents that the Panthers have found themselves in, here and on the West Coast, have been in response to police attempts at search, seizure or arrest. These police initiatives are considered by the Panthers to be provocation requiring acts of self-defense. The slaying of a police officer in Oakland, Calif., and the wounding of Huey Newton, the Panther leader, occurred in the context of a police search of Newton's car. Given the Panther definition of self-defense, the killing of a policeman is usually regarded as a case of justifiable homicide.

The wings of Panther self-defense, however, extend beyond the Panthers themselves to cover the entire black community. The Panthers claim that police activities within the ghetto are usually repressive and aimed at persecution rather than protection. The black man, according to James, is the target of law enforcement rather than its beneficiary.

James asserts that among the police, indeed, within the entire white community, there is a pervasive presumption of wrongdoing in regard to black men. The assumption is that a black man is never really up to any good. When a black man walks along the street with a coat on a hanger, a radio in his hands or a parcel under his arm, he immediately becomes subject to suspicion. That a black person has pur-

the most blatant white malefactor is the quintessence of cordiality when compared to the suspicious, hostile and brutal treatment accorded to the black man. The police presumption of black criminality has its parallel in the black presumption of police savagery.

The image of the policeman as a pig permeates Panther demonology and is everywhere in Panther writings and dialogue. The mention of the word "police," indeed, is avoided assiduously by the Panthers. James referred variously to the "Newark pigs" and the "New Jersey State pigs." The disdain and hatred of the police by the Panthers extends to the self-proclaimed auxiliaries of the police in Newark, such as Anthony Imperiale's North Ward Citizens Council.

There is a highly touted but dubiously effective hot line that runs from the headquarters of Imperiale's white militant organization to the home of Leroy Jones, the black nationalist poet. The

efficacy of this cold war link must be judged by the degree of control that Jones has in restraining black passions and Imperiale in controlling white reaction.

Although Jones is well known to Newark blacks and is on the periphery of the Panther Party, he is often gone from Newark on lecture tours, and local black organizations tend to resent the presence of black celebrities, especially during periods of tension and confrontation.

The appearance of Stokely Carmichael at Columbia University during the student riots was regarded by some black student leaders on the Morning-side Heights campus as a publicity stunt. The idea of the hot line, generally regarded as the brainchild of Newark's Police Commissioner Dominic Spina, was actually the idea of a professional "crisis manager" brought in as a consultant on ways to reduce tensions. See PANTHERS, Page B2, Column 1



Associated Press

soldiers unload the bodies
back on U.S. 25th Division
Saigon.

Could n U.S.

this suggested that the Com-
had their own set of ground
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Yes and no, say U.S. diplo-
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might begin and all are
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...and then, suddenly, said President Nguyen Van Thieu last week. Then he grinned and added affably, "It gives us the opportunity to kill more of them."

South Vietnamese generals, politicians, journalists, even businessmen seem to share their President's optimism. A consensus appears to be building that no matter what strategy the Communists pursue in their new offensive, it can only fail—on the battlefield. Conversely, it can succeed only in America.

Behind the shellings, the infantry probes, the acts of sabotage and the terrorism that rocked Vietnam last week, Saigonese see a single Communist purpose: to convince Americans that the war is hopeless. Americans presumably would then pressure their President to recall a half million GIs from Southeast Asia—with concessions at the Paris peace talks paving their road home.

That sort of pressure did build rapidly in America after the 1968 Tet offensive, after the spring offensive and after the August-September offensive last year. But those offensives and this one—judged by its first week—are worlds apart militarily. If so, diplomats keep asking here, why should a similar response be likely?

Inexpensive Propaganda

IF HANOI applied the bludgeon last Tet, it now wields a scalpel. For the current offensive has been designed with almost surgical precision to produce maximum propaganda fallout and husband remaining Communist strength in South Vietnam.

Whereas during Tet 1968 the so-called kill ratio ran ten to one against the Communists, the current ratio is five to one. To U.S. intelligence officers, this suggests one of two possibilities: Total manpower losses are important to Hanoi, or Hanoi is conserving its down-south strength to spend on a subsequent ground assault.

In the predawn hours of Feb. 23, enemy gunners dropped about 1000 rounds of mortar and rocket fire on some 115 Allied military installations and South Vietnamese population centers. U.S. analysts say the Communists thus sought to demonstrate an omnipresence, for the targets were in every tactical corps area and in almost every province of South Vietnam.

Also on Sunday, the Communists sprayed Saigon with ten Soviet-built 122-mm. rockets. Damage and civilian casualties were minimal and there was almost no panic. But the enemy proved that even a heavily armed capital ringed by sophisticated listening devices and counterrocket radar still was vulnerable to the poor man's artillery.

The Communists also assigned an elite unit—a regiment of the Fifth VC Division—to test the defenses of Longbinh, another symbolic target. Longbinh is purely American, the headquarters of the U.S. Army in South Vietnam. By penetrating its bunkered, barbed wire perimeter, the Communists may have hoped to demonstrate U.S. vulnerability. They didn't make it.

After the first night of the offensive, the enemy cut his list of targets by 50 per cent and fired more frequently at those remaining. Most of those were American military outposts. The tactic suggests a cheap way to increase U.S. casualties.

As the week ended, the ratio of military targets to civilian targets changed dramatically. Communist gunners virtually ignored towns and cities, concentrating their fire on U.S. helicopter landing zones, fire support bases and base camps. Such attacks have a well-defined military purpose: the dilution of U.S. firepower, both from the air and from the ground. To some ob-

...mats expect to be tapped. If indeed the Communists are restraining themselves, it is not to avoid rampant escalation but to avoid U.S. retaliation or the scuttling of the Paris talks. An alternative reason suggested here is that the enemy is conserving his strength for a large scale, last-gasp ground offensive a la Tet 1968.

Bushels of captured documents warn that an assault on Saigon has been planned meticulously. But none hint when it might begin and all are suspect because of the morale problem understood to exist in the Communist army.

See VC, Page B3, Column 4

...the Panthers expect to be tapped.

Bombing the Police

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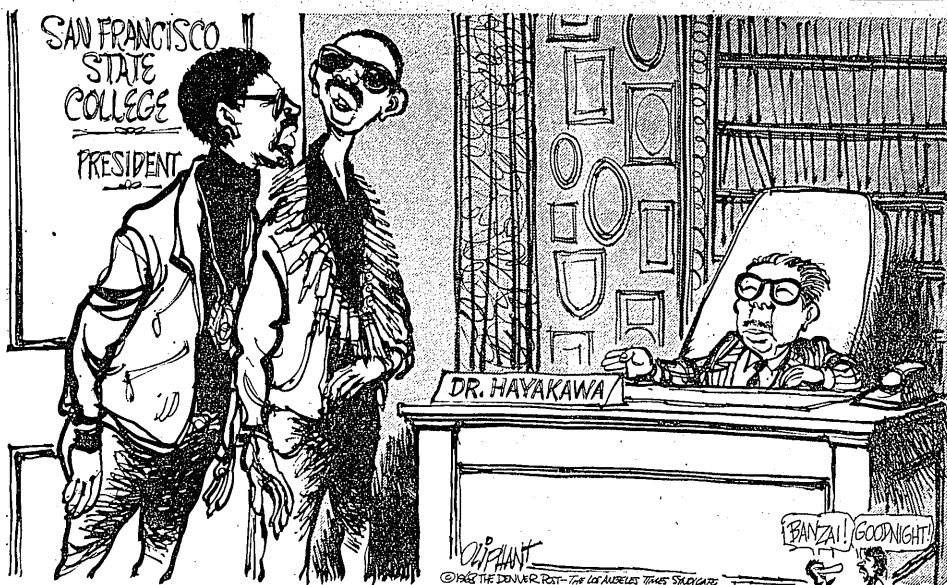
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The normal courtesy rendered by the most hardboiled police officer to

Four Black Panther
From left: 2d Lt.
and 1st Lt. Robert



"How does one handle nonmilitant minorities?"

A Semanticist Turns General

By Herbert H. Denton

Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO—Samuel Ichlye Hayakawa interrupted the interview to send an aide to fetch a cigarette lighter he had received from admiring members of a tank battalion in Vietnam. The lighter bore an inscription to the effect that when you have men by a vulnerable part of the anatomy, "their hearts and minds will follow."

The internationally known semanticist said he found the lighter amusing, adding that it was not a statement of his own philosophy as president of San Francisco State College. But the fact remains that he took control of the college last fall not as chief administrator but as a general.

S. I. Hayakawa called in San Francisco's tough Tactical Squad of specially trained policemen to handle the disorders: to put an end to the burning of offices, throwing of stink bombs into class buildings and deliberate disruption of instruction that had brought guerrilla warfare to the college campus.

His account to an interviewer sounded like a battle description. First, the police worked to move the demonstrators out of the class buildings and onto the campus, then they moved them onto the sidewalks. The implicit strategy was to isolate the firebrands, to arrest them and lock them up.

By late January, the number of violent incidents had sharply declined. More than 80 uniformed policemen were deployed through the grounds, along with undisclosed numbers of plainclothesmen. The only visible sign of protest was a relatively calm line of pickets ringing the campus.

Harvey Yorke, the college's chief of public relations, stays with Hayakawa and doubles as his intelligence officer in the counter guerrilla drive.

In order to follow the frequent shifts of leadership among the dissidents, Yorke said, he keeps tabs on who represents them at news conferences and speaking engagements at other colleges. He also keeps an eye on the pickets.

"The picket line isn't growing," he said last month. "Same 200 all the time."

Yorke, who has boned up on the subject of revolutionary warfare, claimed that the students will lose in the end because they violate the rules of "revolutionary fracas." Their leaders have made the mistake of plunging into the melees involving police and demonstrators and have been arrested, Yorke pointed out. Many await trial on felony charges.

Public relations fills more than an intelligence function for Hayakawa, however; it is an important weapon in itself.

By one account, Hayakawa spent 11 hours in a single recent day granting television interviews. He holds news conferences several afternoons each week. A picture that sticks in the mind after a visit to the campus is that of Hayakawa walking into a news conference, combing his hair.

Until he took over the presidency last fall, Hayakawa taught only one class at the college, a night seminar on advanced problems of communication that attracted—by his own account—mainly "professional people and school teachers." Although the college has numerous faculty committees to plan curricula, discuss allocation of funds and work for changes in admissions policy, Hayakawa served on only one of them: the presidential appointment committee. It was bypassed when he was named president.

Hayakawa had spent most of the rest of his time writing, editing and lecturing. "Lecturing pays a hell of a lot better than being a college professor," he said.

Hayakawa candidly admitted to knowing, nothing, when he became president, about the college's big problem of finances. After a couple of months in office, he was still unable to match faces and jobs among some of the college's key administrators.

See STATE, Page B5, Column 1

The 'C Pries

By Colman Mc

McCarthy is a Washington postgraduate work in

LAST SUNDAY, at 10 o'clock, the sacrament of Our Lady Help Church at Bolling Base. Twenty-six, tall, hairy white vestments and modest train of altar about to celebrate his first

The day before, Father Carroll ordained a priest in New York with nine other young men who completed six years of the Washington seminary order. About 200 people Bolling church—Father Carroll parish—including his parish brothers.

After offering prayers from the Scriptures, he mounted the pulpit for a sermon. A poet, playwright, worker during his seminary spoke with grace and ease priesthood meant to him:

"The privileged moment of life are those that burst with a kind of energy and that allow him to see a clear way who he is . . . I am one of those to whom God has been entrusted. I speak Christ—with my breath, my whole life, interior dimensions of existence."

The people who had called Father Carroll's first Mass both thrilled and provoked, they agreed with the chaplain who had spoken Mass: "In a day when our disoriented, it is a great that Father Carroll is on our

The Other '55,000

THE SENTIMENT is expressed. Almost daily, papers, magazines and television stories of former priest marrying, of battles between priests, of laymen seeing "in the Underground" countless of America's 46 million Catholics, it has become a boresome.

It is a bore because clichés drone on endlessly than a litany to St. Philomena at least ends: terms like "relevance," "involvement"

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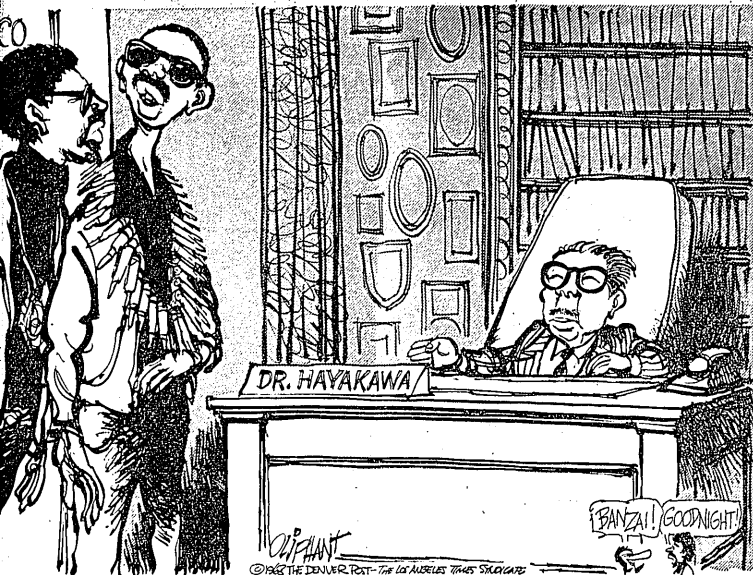
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The normal courtesy rendered by the most hardboiled police officer to



Four Black Panther leaders "salute" on a street in New Brunswick, N.J. From left: 2d Lt. James Pelser, Capt. Jerry James, 1st Lt. Greg Criner and 1st Lt. Robert Reynolds.



"How does one handle nonmilitant minorities?"

Semanticist Turns General

Denton

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See STATE, Page B5, Column 1

The 'Other' 55,000 Priests Feel Tide

By Colman McCarthy

McCarthy is a Washington writer who did postgraduate work in theology.

LAST SUNDAY, at a few moments past noon, Jim Carroll left the sacristy of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church at Bolling Air Force Base. Twenty-six, tall, handsome, wearing white vestments and preceded by a modest train of altar boys, he was about to celebrate his first Mass.

The day before, Father Carroll was ordained a priest in New York, along with nine other young men who had completed six years of training in the Washington seminary of the Paulist order. About 200 people were in the Bolling church—Father Carroll's home parish—including his parents and four brothers.

After offering prayers and reading from the Scriptures, the new priest mounted the pulpit for his first sermon. A poet, playwright and ghetto worker during his seminary days, he spoke with grace and ease on what the priesthood meant to him:

"The privileged moments in a man's life are those that burst upon him with a kind of energy and significance that allow him to see in a new and clear way who he is . . . As a priest, I am one of those to whom the word of God has been entrusted. I am called to speak Christ—with my mouth, my breath, my whole life, into all the mysterious dimensions of human existence."

The people who had come to share Father Carroll's first Mass seemed both thrilled and proud. Without doubt, they agreed with the Air Force chaplain who had spoken before the Mass: "In a day when our society is so disjointed, it is a great joy to know that Father Carroll is on our side."

The Other 55,000

THE SENTIMENT is easily understood. Almost daily, the newspapers, magazines and television carry stories of former priests and nuns marrying, of battles between bishops and priests, of laymen seeking "meaning" in the Underground Church. For countless of America's 46 million Catholics, it has become a bore and a deception.

It is a bore because the renewal clichés drone on endlessly—worse than a litany to St. Philomena, which at least ends: terms like "dialogue," "relevance," "involvement," "together-

ness," "fulfillment," "identity," "meaningful prayers," "finding out who I am." It is a deception because millions of Catholics never see first-hand what the media are talking about.

On the contrary, Father Reilly down at St. Bridget's has been happily celibate for 30 years and wouldn't marry even if the rule were changed. Nor is there a battle in the diocese between the bishop and the priests. If anything, they agree too much. As for the touted Underground Church, well, the Above-ground Church is still on the scene and much in control.

For millions of Catholics like these, the big news is not that 1000 priests have left the Church since Vatican II but that some 55,000 have remained loyal. "Whoever hears about these men?" asked a Washington Catholic recently. "They haven't bugged out. Instead, they're right out there doing their jobs—with no headlines, no noise. And in a lot of small ways, they're making real progress."

The point about progress is debatable, but there is no arguing that 55,000 Catholic priests are very much "out there": as trained personnel in 154 dioceses, 23,184 churches, 567 seminaries, 305 colleges and universities, 2275 high schools, 10,757 elementary schools.

See PRIESTS, Page B4, Column 1



Father James Carroll . . . "I am called to speak Christ . . ."

A Different Breed of Panthers

PANTHERS, From Page B1

Such grandstand plays by well-intentioned or publicity-conscious outsiders rarely produce any lasting benefits.

Naivete Among Whites

THE RESENTMENT toward outside luminaries, experts and mediators who attempt to resolve local conflicts of which they are only vaguely aware, demonstrates the fallacy of a monolithic, nationwide "black community." It also indicates a high degree of naivete among white leaders who feel that any well-known black leader can simply drop in on any black ghetto and can, by dint of his reputation, force of personality or color, effectively ply his good offices.

This simplistic view of black social organization is the supreme act of condescension.

For the nub of community control is that local people conversant with local issues that precipitate local grievances are the only individuals equipped to produce local settlements or agreements.

Despite the appearance of Nationwide organization, and its attendant roster of celebrities, the Black Panther Party is in reality a loosely connected structure of local chapters concerned primarily with local issues. This is one of the greatest strengths of the party.

There is an unspoken but devoutly pursued code that each local chapter is the best judge of how to cope with conditions in its own city. Despite their national reputations, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver of the Oakland chapter have strenuously avoided imposing themselves on other chapters.

The Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) produced a large number of peregrinating prima donnas who, armed with the lustre and renown of national recognition, traveled the length and breadth of America as bearers of Olympian advice from their national headquarters. This facile notion of interchangeable leadership has contributed to the decline of these groups and has raised the Panthers to their currently exalted status within many black communities.

Land for Black Man

THERE IS, TO BE SURE, a national platform consisting of ten points, among which are: land for black men, exemption for black men from military service, black control of black communities and freedom for all blacks currently held in state, local and Federal jails.

This last plank, Jerry James explained, was not for the purpose of turning loose convicted felons but rather is related to another plank which states that black men accused of crimes have the right to be judged by their black peers.

Last Dec. 19, James and a group of Panthers from Newark and Orange went to Washington to protest the routing of Interstate Highway 75 through a black area of Newark. What a curious thing for revolutionaries to do, to protest against a proposed highway! Here were men whose public utterances call for a totally restructured society, a socialist economy and the abolition of capitalism. It is difficult to visualize Lenin visiting the Imperial Ministry of Highways in St. Petersburg to protest against a proposed highway through the proletarian quarters of Moscow.

James would explain this by saying, "We pursue our revolution with a book in one hand and a rifle in the other," and that the Panthers serve an educative as well as an agitative function. There is more to it, however.

Under a rather flamboyant doctrinal overlay, there is a profoundly reformist nature in the Panthers of Newark. It is precisely their fearsome revolutionary image, however, that provides the Panthers with the scare power to exert leverage upon the white establishment.

The Clenched Fist

SO FAR, AT LEAST, the Newark Panthers have leaned more heavily on the book than on the rifle. They have been less aggressor than the objects of aggression.

Self-protection is necessarily a passive role. If Mao and Castro were only interested in protecting the Chinese and Cuban peasants, they would still be in the caves of Yenan and the hills of Sierra Maestra. The doctrine, symbolism and style of the Panthers are strongly revolutionary. The black beret, the leather jacket and the clenched fist salute all point to a cohesive, dedicated band of black insurgents bent on the destruction of the system. The actual record of the Panthers indicates otherwise. There has not been a single violent incident involving outsiders and Panthers that has stemmed exclusively from Panther initiative.

The random acts of terror directed against New York policemen last summer were not traced to the Panthers. The deaths of two members of the Los Angeles Panthers at UCLA on Jan. 17 were part of an internal power struggle over leadership of the vocal and articulate black student groups at the university. The tragic events of Cleveland last summer when black snipers led by Fred Ahmed Evans fired on police were likewise not precipitated by the Panthers.

The decentralized structure of the Panthers makes it very difficult to generalize about them as a national party, and the Jersey chapters appear to differ in some aspects, both in style and in objectives.

functional ethnic or economic group can wield decisive power and, indeed, veto political actions by virtue of its political "clout" within the system. Blacks have yet to appreciate their own power and have been excluded from this corporate interlocking directorate of American pressure and veto groups.

One of the standard denunciations of the Panthers is that they are racist. Panther Capt. James, however, went out of his way to deny that the Panthers were racist; that they advocated black supremacy or in any way regarded black men as morally or biologically superior to whites.

"A great many people," James said, "think that the Panthers are racist. We find this belief so absurd, Eldridge Cleaver said, we do not even want to respond to such a charge. We consistently maintain that any Panther who is a racist or is thought to be one is immediately expelled from the party. We are an army of liberation for blacks, but in the process we intend to liberate the poor whites as well."

White Students as Allies

AS FOR THE WHITE student radicals, the Panthers see them as important tactical allies. A cynical reading of this view is that the Panthers regard white student radicals as tools, rather than equal collaborators. James does say that "whites can go places that blacks cannot. If they (the white student radicals) can do this and teach the people or at least begin the process of making them aware of their plight, we can finish the job."

The partnership aspects of a black militant-white militant combination, however, are even more strongly stressed by James.

"All through history, black men in America have assumed that all whites are enemies. Now, however, we find that white college radicals are our allies with whom we can fight the revolution together. We will get black power for our people; they will get white power for their people."

As an example of a black racist organization, James points to the Black Muslims. The Newark Panthers are proud of the defections from the Muslims to the Panthers. One of James's aides is Lt. Shabazz, a former Muslim.

The Panthers espouse none of the religious doctrines which characterize the Muslims. Both groups do put a premium on self-defense: the Muslims on judo and karate and the Panthers on marksmanship. James would probably say that karate is not much use against a man with a machine gun.

The two groups have in common a highly moralistic, almost puritanical code of behavior. Some of the ten rules of conduct for Panthers are:

• No party member can have narcotics or "weed" in his possession while doing party work.

The Central Committee of the Black Panther Party includes only one woman, Kathleen Cleaver, the wife of the novelist and Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

The attractive young black women in the Newark-Orange group were clearly not as serious or as dedicated as the men. James was careful to post a man with the women when they were talking to outsiders lest the women fail to describe properly the goals and nature of the party.

Despite its display of party paraphernalia and invocation of Panther symbols, the "ladies' auxiliary" is clearly not central to the operation of the group. It is a man's movement and one of its unspoken but salient features is the establishment of the primacy of the black male in the context of a revolutionary movement.

First, and most important, the Panthers are a growing movement. They are receiving considerable attention and support from the young black men and women of the ghettos. They have prospered and expanded at the expense of SNCC, CORE and the Black Muslims. The former group has in fact been merged with the Panthers at the invitation of Stokely Carmichael, who is himself a Panther now.

Second, and this may be applicable only to the North Jersey groups, they are neither as menacing, revolutionary nor aggressive as most whites think. They are victims, to a certain extent, of the very success of the image they hoped to create.

What's in a Name?

IT IS DIFFICULT for any group calling itself the Black Panthers to be regarded by the public as anything but dogmatically racist, singularly revolutionary and uncompromisingly violent. This impression has created the desired amount of fear but it has also caused them to be set upon more unjustly and gratuitously than if they had called themselves, say, the "Black Lemmings" or the "Black Chipmunks." But what they lose in public relations with a largely hostile or fearful white community, they gain in the kind of "scare value" that can wrest concessions from the hated establishment.

An equally important gain is in the respect and admiration they garner among blacks. That a black man can be a panther—a fearless, stalking hunter of lesser animals—is similar in many ways to the image of the Israeli as a soldier or an Irishman as a cop.

It is a case of the last becoming first. For the black man, it is the transition from supplicant to stalwart; from peon to paladin. How sweet it is, after centuries of being ridiculed and scorned as a bumbling, feckless object of pity, to be the object of fear and dread.

It might be inferred that this public image of the Panthers as unalloyed



Jerry James... "a book in

which again may be peculiar to the Newark-Orange group, and that is the strongly reformist, system-oriented posture which characterizes the Panthers as an operational rather than ideological group.

The Panthers do not seem to spend a great deal of time planning the precise configurations of a postrevolutionary society. In the Newark-Orange group, at any rate, there was disagreement over precisely what revolutionary model the Panthers followed. James said the Chinese, Capt. Loy who had spent several years in North Africa, said the Algerian, and Lt. Shabazz said the Cuban.

Both the revolutionary paradigm and the tactical requirements leading up to it seem to have been left deliberately vague. Revolutionary planning, apparently less important than the projection of a revolutionary image and style.

If the Panthers are not presently dedicated to the total overthrow of the system, why do they employ revolutionary symbols?

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functional ethnic or economic group can wield decisive power and, indeed, veto political actions by virtue of its political "clout" within the system. Blacks have yet to appreciate their own power and have been excluded from this corporate interlocking directorate of American pressure and veto groups.

One of the standard denunciations of the Panthers is that they are racist. Panther Capt. James, however, went out of his way to deny that the Panthers were racist; that they advocated black supremacy or in any way regarded black men as morally or biologically superior to whites.

"A great many people," James said, "think that the Panthers are racist. We find this belief so absurd, Eldridge Cleaver said, we do not even want to respond to such a charge. We consistently maintain that any Panther who is a racist or is thought to be one is immediately expelled from the party. We are an army of liberation for blacks, but in the process we intend to liberate the poor whites as well."

White Students as Allies

AS FOR THE WHITE student radicals, the Panthers see them as important tactical allies. A cynical reading of this view is that the Panthers regard white student radicals as tools, rather than equal collaborators. James does say that "whites can go places that blacks cannot. If they (the white student radicals) can do this and teach the people or at least begin the process of making them aware of their plight, we can finish the job."

The partnership aspects of a black militant-white militant combination, however, are even more strongly stressed by James.

"All through history, black men in America have assumed that all whites are enemies. Now, however, we find that white college radicals are our allies with whom we can fight the revolution together. We will get black power for our people; they will get white power for their people."

As an example of a black racist organization, James points to the Black Muslims. The Newark Panthers are proud of the defections from the Muslims to the Panthers. One of James's aides is Lt. Shabazz, a former Muslim.

The Panthers espouse none of the religious doctrines which characterize the Muslims. Both groups do put a premium on self-defense: the Muslims on judo and karate and the Panthers on marksmanship. James would probably say that karate is not much use against a man with a machine gun.

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- Any party member found shooting

The Central Committee of the Black Panther Party includes only one woman, Kathleen Cleaver, the wife of the novelist and Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

The attractive young black women in the Newark-Orange group were clearly not as serious or as dedicated as the men. James was careful to post a man with the women when they were talking to outsiders lest the women fail to describe properly the goals and nature of the party.

Despite its display of party paraphernalia and invocation of Panther symbols, the "ladies' auxiliary" is clearly not central to the operation of the group. It is a man's movement and one of its unspoken but salient features is the establishment of the primacy of the black male in the context of a revolutionary movement.

First, and most important, the Panthers are a growing movement. They are receiving considerable attention and support from the young black men and women of the ghettos. They have prospered and expanded at the expense of SNCC, CORE and the Black Muslims. The former group has in fact been merged with the Panthers at the invitation of Stokely Carmichael, who is himself a Panther now.

Second, and this may be applicable only to the North Jersey groups, they are neither as menacing, revolutionary nor aggressive as most whites think. They are victims, to a certain extent, of the very success of the image they hoped to create.

What's in a Name?

IT IS DIFFICULT for any group calling itself the Black Panthers to be regarded by the public as anything but dogmatically racist, singularly revolutionary and uncompromisingly violent. This impression has created the desired amount of fear but it has also caused them to be set upon more unjustly and gratuitously than if they had called themselves, say, the "Black Lemmings" or the "Black Chipmunks." But what they lose in public relations with a largely hostile or fearful white community, they gain in the kind of "scare value" that can wrest concessions from the hated establishment.

An equally important gain is in the respect and admiration they garner among blacks. That a black man can be a panther—a fearless, stalking hunter of lesser animals—is similar in many ways to the image of the Israeli as a soldier or an Irishman as a cop.

It is a case of the last becoming first. For the black man, it is the transition from supplicant to stalwart; from peon to paladin. How sweet it is, after centuries of being ridiculed and scorned as a bumbling, feckless object of pity, to be the object of fear and dread.

It might be inferred that this public image of the Panthers as unloyal



Jerry James . . . "a book in one hand and a rifle in the other."

which again may be peculiar to the Newark-Orange group, and that is the strongly reformist, system-oriented posture which characterizes the Panthers as an operational rather than ideological group.

The Panthers do not seem to spend a great deal of time planning the precise configurations of a postrevolutionary society. In the Newark-Orange group, at any rate, there was disagreement over precisely what revolutionary model the Panthers followed. James said the Chinese. Capt. Lou, who had spent several years in North Africa, said the Algerian, and Lt. Shabazz said the Cuban.

Both the revolutionary paradigm and the tactical requirements leading up to it seem to have been left deliberately vague. Revolutionary planning is apparently less important than the projection of a revolutionary image and style.

If the Panthers are not presently dedicated to the total overthrow of the system, why do they employ revolutionary symbols?

The answer probably lies in the fact that low-keyed, deferential appeals by old-style, middle-class black groups are seen as failing to win the substantial, tangible benefits produced by violence. Fearful of black riots, the white community has proven considerably more tractable than it was when petitions, boycotts and sit-ins were used to articulate black interests.

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James when he exhorted the students not to change; to maintain their radical views and carry them on after college and pass them on to future university students. The white militant students are the Panthers' only link to white society. As long as these student groups exist, the Panthers will probably trust them and cooperate with them. The most successful Panther chapters are those with easy access to large universities with substantial numbers of white student radicals.

If Despair Sets In

THE LAST QUESTION is what the Panthers will do if they give up on the system as unresponsive, unsympathetic and obdurate.

There are several models for the Panthers to follow if despair sets in. They can go the way of the Evans group in Cleveland, engaging in hopeless random acts of violence and terror with predictably tragic consequences, given the asymmetry of strength between them and the forces of law and order. They can indulge in revolutionary cabals and conspiracies like RAM (the Revolutionary Action Movement), which allegedly seeks to assassinate systematically moderate black leaders, or they can opt out altogether like Robert Williams and his Republic of New Africa.

One fact does emerge from this assessment of the Black Panther Party: they are neither the most extreme, the most potentially destructive nor the most negative force to emerge from the hopelessness and squalor of America's black ghettos.

If white Americans dig in their heels and attempt to turn back the clock, black organizations will arise that will make white people long for the day when the angry, articulate Black Panthers acted as spokesmen for black

one of these groups and has raised the Panthers to their currently exalted status within many black communities.

Land for Black Man

THERE IS, TO BE SURE, a national platform consisting of ten points, among which are: land for black men, exemption for black men from military service, black control of black communities and freedom for all blacks currently held in state, local and Federal jails.

This last plank, Jerry James explained, was not for the purpose of turning loose convicted felons but rather is related to another plank which states that black men accused of crimes have the right to be judged by their black peers. The underlying theory here is that only a ghetto resident is competent to judge the circumstances which would prompt a black man to commit a crime. According to Panther analysis, all black men currently serving time are illegally incarcerated.

The issue of land for black men is one which the Newark Panthers, at least, speak about most passionately. Urban renewal is characterized by the Newark Panthers as "black removal." The interstate highway and the construction of new office buildings in former areas of high density housing are tangible enemies of the ghetto resident.

As James put it, "When a black man is thrown out of his house, he never puts his roots down again." Urban renewal is perceived as the work of unresponsive and arrogant bureaucrats who cater to the needs of large corporations, affluent suburban motorists and disciples of beautification. For Jerry James, the new high-rise public housing units in Newark are "vertical concentration camps."

The random acts of terror directed against New York policemen last summer were not traced to the Panthers. The deaths of two members of the Los Angeles Panthers at UCLA on Jan. 17 were part of an internal power struggle over leadership of the vocal and articulate black student groups at the university. The tragic events of Cleveland last summer when black snipers led by Fred Ahmed Evans fired on police were likewise not precipitated by the Panthers.

The decentralized structure of the Panthers makes it very difficult to generalize about them as a national party, and the Jersey chapters appear to differ in some aspects, both in style and behavior, from the West Coast groups.

Doctrinal leadership and propaganda emanate from the charter chapters on the West Coast, especially Oakland. The weekly newspaper, the Black Panther, comes from the Ministry of Information in San Francisco. The Newark chapter receives its copies of the paper by air from California and distributes them locally. The newspaper comes on as a strident, inflammatory, scatological, revolutionary tabloid which is quite at variance with the relatively subdued, polite, almost cordial manner that the Newark and Orange chapter members convey in person. In relations with white people, this is the marked difference between the publication and the Panthers in person. This may, however, depend on who the whites are.

Who Is a Racist?

IN THEIR DENUNCIATION of the existing power structure, the Panthers have put their finger on one of the most crucial components of politics in America: the corporate nature of political power, which decrees that a

Muslims. The Newark Panthers are proud of the defections from the Muslims to the Panthers. One of James' aides is Lt. Shabazz, a former Muslim.

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- No member can be drunk while doing party work.
- There are also prohibitions against theft and against pointing weapons at anyone but the enemy.

One thing that is very striking about the Panther group in Newark and Orange is that women play a clearly marginal role. The "sisters," as they are called, do have the simulated military rank carried by the men, but they are manifestly the support unit in this black army.

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It might be inferred that this public image of the Panthers as "unloyal militants" interferes, to a degree, with their efforts aimed at changes within the system; that it would be difficult for them to present themselves as "responsible spokesmen" of the black community. But this is precisely the image the Panthers hope to achieve, for they see their role as "irresponsible spokesmen" as an infinitely more productive approach. That the Panthers prefer to use threats and menacing gestures is less a commentary on black extremism than it is on the unresponsiveness of whites.

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The Case for Drug Maintenance

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THE PROBLEMS of "hard" and "soft" drug abuse, although often discussed together, seem significantly dissimilar to me in both source and solution. College students and suburbanites may experiment with marijuana or possibly hallucinogenics from boredom or anomie. But these people are not wholly irrational where drugs are involved.

They have no plans to move on to hard drugs, nor will they except in rare cases. And if they are told, for example, that "speed kills" or that LSD results in chromosome damage, these soft-drug experimenters hastily withdraw—again with a few exceptions.

I do not mean to downgrade to oblivion the problem of soft drug abuse. But it does not seem to me either so serious or so intractable as hard drug abuse. While some doctors take morphine on the sly, and some middle-class people become addicts, hard drug abuse is in essence a ghetto phenomenon. In this sense it is entwined with the entire problem of urban misery, and perhaps is best addressed as such.

Self-Defeating Laws

IN OUR PAST dealing with hard drugs, our concern with the crimes committed by addicts has interfered with our concern for the addict himself. Addicts do commit crimes, with disturbing frequency. But they commit crimes not because they are addicts but because they need money for the drugs which we have made legally unavailable.

Our narcotics laws have created a web in which the addict's need for money leads to crimes which reinforce the punitive enforcement of the narcotics law, thus driving the addict deeper and deeper into secretiveness and fear and thereby hamstringing the effectiveness of even the best conceived treatment programs.

I have always thought that the best beginning toward the elimination of addiction might be to remove the chief cause of the crimes and secretiveness associated with addiction—the legal unavailability of drugs. Dosage maintenance programs have been proposed before. What leads me to suggest that this approach be examined again is the demonstrated ineffectiveness of our present approach.

I do not pretend to be an expert on maintenance programs. I know that the English have reportedly run into difficulties, but I am not certain whether these difficulties were inherent in the maintenance program or simply the result of poor administration.

In any event, the problems the English have encountered seem to relate chiefly to their failure to eliminate addiction itself. Apparently they have succeeded in largely avoiding the economic crimes associated with addiction in this country. That itself is an achievement of signal importance.

Other programs than mere drug maintenance may well be necessary to lessen addiction. Indeed, the availability of drugs may aggravate the problem of addiction itself. But a drug maintenance program may be valuable not as an ultimate solution but as a first step to allow us to study and combat addiction without the complications introduced when addiction is cloaked in secrecy and compounded by other crimes.

The Why of Addiction

THE INABILITY of harsh punitive measures to solve the problems of hard drug abuse already has spurred many states, cities and private organizations to fresh approaches to the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts. Such programs rest, inevitably, upon certain assumptions as to why people become addicts, the nature of addiction and the best method of curing or preventing addiction.

These assumptions are not in all cases untested; much fruitful work

has been done in all these areas much remains to be done. At the basic level, much remains to be learned of the nature of addiction.

Scientists have studied the cal effects of various drugs have pursued pharmacological search to discover what drug combat addiction. But biologists have still to learn why a person comes addicted.

Planaria are apparently unby morphine. Monkeys become ed. In the most simple terms, why is it that the brain is the area of crucial effect, addiction rewarding? Experience wartime burn patients, only a whom became addicted to morphine despite extended dosages, that the process may depend or more upon the psychological of the individual as upon biological effects common to all men.

The Many Treatments

BASIC RESEARCH alone find the best solutions to drug abuse. Evaluation of the present of treatment approaches is also ed. The various new treatment must collect and report data in which will facilitate comparison other centers. In some cases, even be desirable to sponsor designed to test various treatment approaches.

Large treatment centers pro say, methadone maintenance, a complete solution, at least for addicts. On the other hand, they argue that mass treatment clinics not achieve lasting rehabilitation prove right. Some or all addicts need continuing support with small group of fellow addicts abandon and stay away from

If so, such knowledge will have important implications for the resources that should be devoted to drug abuse may yield more to the cooperative efforts of addicts, appropriately supported by the state or private organizations.

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This was stated most eloquently by
James as he sat in his apartment on
the day he was released from Hudson
County Jail. Across his lap was a 16-
shot, pump action Remington rifle.
"There are madmen in the ghetto," he
said, "men who will kill any white on
any pretext, and they're waiting for
me to fail. They may even hurry the
process by killing me. You can't deal
with these people. Next to them, the
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If so, such knowledge will have im-
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resources that should be developed.
Drug abuse may yield more readily
to the cooperative efforts of former
addicts, appropriately supported by
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of drugs.

Whatever the approach, new pro-
grams will require less obvious forms
of support than direct funding. Ad-
dicts, long threatened by the law, will
be wary of treatment facilities even if
the law is changed. The ghetto popu-
lation, where addiction is most concen-
trated and intractable, will predict-
ably distrust promises of nonpunitive,
voluntary treatment.

In the long run, the task is to in-
sure that such distrust is not well-
founded. More immediately, efforts
should be made to allay this distrust.
Attempts to publicize the availability
and authenticity of treatment pro-
grams may, however, encounter the
same distrust and hostility as the pro-
grams themselves.

To avoid this, educative campaigns
should be planned and executed by
those able to reach addicts and po-
tential addicts in the ghettos. Here
again, ex-addicts have an obvious role.
The soul radio stations, advertising
agencies, magazines and newspapers
which are oriented toward blacks and
other minorities may bring profession-
al expertise to the task.

The publicity efforts should not be
aimed solely at the confirmed addict.
It would be wise to pitch some pub-
licity to what might be called the pre-
addict—the person who is experimen-
ting with hard drugs but who is not
yet physically or psychologically ad-
dicted. This group may hold the most
promising candidates for treatment
but they will not respond to appeals
to the confirmed addict which promise
extended and demanding treatment.

Finally, I should acknowledge the
overarching importance of educating
the pre-pre-addict, the person, espe-
cially the young person, who has never
seen a nickel bag. Particularly in
those neighborhoods where despair
drives many to addiction, and where
none need look hard for that first
fix, the best cure for drug abuse is
prevention.