

COMMISSION MEETING Sept. 21, 1967

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

AGENDA
MEETINGS OF SEPTEMBER 20, 21 and 22, 1967

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1967 -- Room 459, Executive Office
Building

9:30 a.m. HEARING ON CONTROL OF CIVIL DISORDERS.

Howard R. Leary, Police Commissioner, New York
City.

E. Wilson Purdy, Director of Public Safety, Dade
County (Miami), Florida; formerly, Commissioner,
Pennsylvania State Police; formerly, Chief of
Police, St. Petersburg, Florida; and former
agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

William M. Lombard, Chief of Police, Rochester,
New York; formerly, Supervising Officer,
New York State Police.

Byron Engle, Director, Office of Public Safety,
Agency for International Development, Department
of State; former Captain and Director of
Personnel and Training, Kansas City Police
Department; former Chief Administrator, United
Nations Command, Tokyo, Japan.

LUNCH

2:00 p.m. ROLE OF NATIONAL GUARD AND UNITED STATES ARMY IN
CONTROLLING CIVIL DISORDERS.

Brigadier General Roderic L. Hill, Director of
Operations, Office of the Deputy Chief of
Staff for Military Operations, Department
of the Army, Washington, D.C.

Major General George Gelston, Adjutant General,
Maryland National Guard; formerly, Acting
Commissioner of Police, Baltimore, Maryland.

Brigadier General Harris Hollis, Assistant Deputy
Chief of Staff for Operations, United States
Army, Washington, D.C.

6:30 p.m. DINNER MEETING. Pan-American Room, 2nd Floor,
Statler Hilton Hotel.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1967 -- Room 459, Executive Office
Building

9:30 a.m. GHETTO LEADERS' VIEWS ON TENSIONS AND GRIEVANCES
THAT RESULT IN DISORDERS.

S. Joseph Sanders, Director of Summer Projects,
Westminister Neighborhood Association in
Watts, Los Angeles; student, Yale Law School.

Father John Groppi, leader of current open housing
demonstrations in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; adult
advisor, NAACP Youth Council; Assistant Pastor,
St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church.

Ernie Chambers, militant civil rights leader and
demonstrator, Omaha, Nebraska.

Piri Thomas, Puerto Rican-American; native and resident
of Spanish Harlem, New York City; author,
"Down This Mean Street," an autobiography.

LUNCH

2:00 p.m. THE ROLE OF POLICE IN REDUCING COMMUNITY TENSIONS
AND GRIEVANCES -- PART I.

Dante Andreotti, Community Relations Service,
Department of Justice; formerly, Chief,
Police-Community Relations Division, Police
Department, San Francisco, California.

David Hardy, reporter, New York Daily News; born
and raised in the west end ghetto of Plainfield,
New Jersey with many of those who rioted in
Plainfield; formerly, reporter, Plainfield
(New Jersey) Courier.

Professor Albert Reiss, Professor, Department of
Sociology, University of Michigan; consultant,
President's Commission on Law Enforcement and
Administration of Justice.

William H. T. Smith, Director, Inspection Division,
Department of Housing Urban Development;
formerly, Chief of Police, Syracuse, New York;
former official, New York City Police Department.

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1967 -- Room 459, Executive Office
Building

9:30 a.m. THE ROLE OF POLICE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS IN REDUCING
COMMUNITY TENSIONS AND GRIEVANCES -- PART II.

Honorable John Conyers, Jr., United States
Representative, First District, Michigan;
Representative Conyers' district includes the
12th Street riot area in Detroit.

Mrs. Charlotte Meecham, National Representative
for the Police-Community-Corrections Program
of the American Friends Services Committee.

Patrick V. Murphy, Assistant Director for Law
Enforcement, Office of Law Enforcement
Assistance, United States Department of Justice;
former Chief of Police, Syracuse, New York;
former Deputy Chief Inspector, New York City
Police Department.

Honorable John Doar, Assistant Attorney General,
Civil Rights Division, United States Department
of Justice (tentatively scheduled).

LUNCH

2:00 p.m. PROPOSALS FOR INCREASING POLICE-COMMUNITY
EFFECTIVENESS IN PREVENTING AND CONTROLLING
CIVIL DISORDERS.

Quinn Tamm, Executive Director, International
Association of Chiefs of Police; formerly,
Assistant Director, Federal Bureau of
Investigation.

Dr. Kenneth McFarland, formerly, Superintendent
of Schools, Topeka, Kansas; author, "Topeka's
Plan for Law Enforcement" (tentatively
scheduled).

Honorable Roger Wilkins, Director of Community
Relations Service, United States Department
of Justice.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

September 19, 1967

Memorandum To: Security Office, EOB

From: Col. Norman J. McKenzie, Executive Officer
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

Subject: Meeting of the National Advisory Commission on
Civil Disorders, September 20, 21, and 22.

Request the persons on the attached list be
cleared for entry into the Executive Office
Building on September 20, 21 and 22, 1967.
They will be attending meetings of the National
Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Norman J. McKenzie
Executive Officer

THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMBERS OF SPECIAL ADVISORY
COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

MEMBERS

① Otto Kerner, Chairman	Governor of Illinois
John Lindsay, Vice Chairman	Mayor of New York City
Senator Fred R. Harris	Senator from Oklahoma
Senator Edward W. Brooke	Senator from Massachusetts
James C. Corman	U. S. Representative from California, Twenty-Second District (Los Angeles)
William M. McCulloch	U. S. Representative from the State of Ohio, 4th District
I. W. Abel	President, United Steel Workers
Charles B. Thornton	President, Director and Chairman of the Board, Litton Industries, Inc.
Roy Wilkins	Executive Director of the NAACP
Katherine Graham Peden	Commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky
Herbert Jenkins	Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia

#

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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GUESTS

Mr. Dante Andreotti
Mr. Ernie W. Chambers ✓
Mr. Byron Engle
Major Gen. George Gelston
Father ~~John~~ Groppi ✓
Brig. Gen. Roderic L. Hill
Brig. Gen. Harris Hollis
Mr. Howard Leary
Mrs. Charlotte Meachum
Mr. Patrick Murphy
Prof. Albert Reiss
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. ^(Pier) Perry Thomas ✓
Prof. James Vorenberg
Mr. Roger Wilkins
Congressman John Conyers
Two persons accompanying
Father Groppi:
Mr. James Pierce ✓
Mr. David Rogers

Wm. Lombard

J. STANLEY Sanders ✓

Hon. John Doar

Nevard

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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STAFF

David Ginsburg, Executive Director

Victor Palmieri, Deputy Executive Director

Gerald Astor, Look Magazine

Fred Bohlen

Charles E. Brookhart

James E. Booker

John F. McLawhorn

David Chambers

Richard M. Scammon

John Christman

Dr. Robert Shellow

David A. DeLo

Richard Spencer

Roger Fredericks

Alvin A. Spivak

Barbara Jo Grace

Henry B. Taliaferro, Jr.

Claudette M. Johnson

Donald Webb

Nathaniel R. Jones

Steve Weiner

John Koskinen

Stephen Ailes

Jay Kriegel

Arnold Sagalyn

Stephen Kurzman

David E. Birenbaum

Roye L. Lowry

Roger L. Waldman

James Luikart

Paul Bower

Merle McCurdy

Richard Baun

Kyran McGrath

Wm Hayden

Norman J. McKenzie

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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Ward and Paul Reporters and Messengers

Miss Ruth Taylor

Mr. Alvin Mills

Mr. Frank Shelburne

Mr. Ben Firshein

Miss Frances Garow

Mr. Robert Cantor

Mr. Eugene Joseph

Mr. Jessie L. Ward III

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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Additional Guests for the Meeting of the
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
on September 20, 21, and 22, 1967

Mr. E. Wilson Purdy

Mr. William H. T. Smith

Mr. David Hardy

Col. John J. Hennessey

Additional Staff

Howard Margolis

Added on
9/20

✓ STEPHEN KURZMAN

✓ ROBERT SHELLON

JACK LEFKOWITZ

✓ ROYE LOWRY

ART YOUNG

~~ERIC BLANCHARD~~

ERIC BLANCHARD

Wm Monroe

Russel T. Moore

Brandon M. Pettway

Charles Moore

ORIGINAL

~~EXECUTIVE CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

BEFORE THE

**National Advisory Commission
on Civil Disorders**

~~EXECUTIVE CONFIDENTIAL~~

Place Washington, D. C.

Date September 21, 1967

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1510

EXECUTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

- - -

Room 459,
Executive Office Building,
17th & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Thursday, September 21, 1967.

The Commission met, pursuant to recess, at 9:40 a.m.,
The Honorable Otto Kerner (Governor of Illinois), Chairman,
presiding.

PRESENT:

The Honorable Otto Kerner (Chairman)

Senator Fred R. Harris

Senator Edward W. Brooke

Representative William McCulloch

Representative James Corman

Mr. Herbert Jenkins

Mrs. Katherine Graham Peden

Mr. Charles Thornton

David Ginsburg, Executive Director

- - -

1 CHAIRMAN KERNER: If Mr. Sanders and Father Groppi
2 and Mr. Chambers and Mr. Thomas will take their seats at the
3 table here, the photographers have asked to come in and just
4 take a picture, which they will do. We will sort of visit
5 until the time they arrive.

6 We will start off with a happy appearance, though it
7 is crying outside.

8 The probability is Mayor Lindsay will not be with us
9 again today since he just completed some problems of union
10 negotiations that ended late last night I think after many hours
11 of sitting in negotiation.

12 This morning we will continue our hearings on maintain-
13 ing law and order. Yesterday we explored the problems of con-
14 trolling civil disorders once they have begun. This morning's
15 hearings will be directed specifically towards identifying the
16 grievances and tensions that lead to civil disorders and towards
17 the control of riots from the point of view of those living in
18 the area in which they have occurred.

19 As yesterday, we will be receiving testimony from two
20 panels, one this morning, the other this afternoon. Each panel
21 will have four members, and each panel member will make an
22 opening statement for about ten to twenty minutes. The balance
23 of each session will be devoted to questions and answers.

24 I would like to welcome the first panel, whose members
25 are, from left to right, Mr. J. Stanley Sanders of Los Angeles,

1 Father James Groppi of Milwaukee, Mr. Ernie W. Chambers of Omaha,
2 and Mr. Piri Thomas of New York City.

3 We will first hear from Mr. Sanders. Mr. Sanders is a
4 graduate of Whittier College, a Rhodes scholar at Oxford,
5 attending Modlin College. He is presently a third-year law
6 student at Yale University.

7 He is a native of Watts and worked there this summer
8 with the Westminster Association under the poverty program,
9 directing a job training program for the young people.

10 Mr. Sanders.

11 STATEMENT OF J. STANLEY SANDERS,

12 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

13 MR. SANDERS: Gentlemen, and ladies, I suppose I want
14 to dwell mainly on three areas. One is the simple assertion
15 and what follows from that, that urban ghettos are the site of
16 urban disturbances, civil disorders, and have been and continue
17 to grapple under the same conditions that prevailed ten and
18 possibly 100 years ago.

19 And the problem isn't too much that the ghetto com-
20 munity is getting any worse. It is just that it is not getting
21 any better and the conditions that people live under in 1967
22 simply aren't adequate for life, American life in 1967, and
23 relative to 1940, they may have been adequate but certainly in
24 1967 they are deplorable.

25 The second thing is the perverse impact that the

1 Federal Government has on Negro life in America. I can't think
2 of any single, one single factor in life in Watts that runs
3 at Watt the community's aspiration, than the Federal Government
4 and all of its agencies, particularly the welfare system which
5 tends to aggravate family instability rather than contribute to
6 stability.

7 The poverty program which seems to encourage a catch-
8 and-run attitude among workers in the community, the employment
9 practices of the Federal Government, and last but not least, the
10 overwhelming bureaucracy and lack of experimentation and imagi-
11 nation of programs administered by the Federal Government in
12 communities like Watts.

13 This has all kinds of repercussions. It sort of
14 saddles everybody who works in the community with an emergency
15 relief mentality in that it seems to be the national attitude
16 that we are going to wait until something happens before we step
17 in to take corrective measures.

18 Well, by then it is simply too late. We get into the
19 difficulty of deciding, of trying to distinguish causes of
20 riots from what to do about riots after they begin, and it seems
21 like it is part of the national confusion now in talking about
22 riots and civil disorders to confuse the causes of riots with
23 the remedies of stopping them after they get started.

24 The latter -- the latter part which you probably
25 addressed yourself to yesterday is of no concern to me. I

1 happen to feel that because it is just a simple matter of apply-
2 ing force and it is a matter of how sophisticated you want to be
3 when you apply the force, whether you want to be brute or whether
4 you want to be a civilized force, and you can always put down a
5 riot after it begins and then measure the cost and calculate the
6 cost afterwards, but the real problem, it seems to me, is the
7 causes that underlie riots, and in this Commission's report I
8 think it would be ridiculous to dwell on the methods of putting
9 down riots. That can be left to various national militia, state
10 militia, across the state, that this should really deal with the
11 impact of the government and coordinate efforts that government
12 makes with the private sector to deal with the real problems of
13 Watts.

14 Because I believe the family instability contributes
15 to hard core unemployment, contributed to the life style of the
16 Negro, I think that efforts should be made to stabilize the
17 family, namely, by making the impact that the Federal Government
18 has on the ghetto.

19 For example, in the summer work program that I ad-
20 ministered this summer, it never occurred to me but that we
21 simply haven't addressed ourselves to the problem of hard core
22 employment. We have summer crash programs, which is money thrown
23 into the ghettos on a very temporary, uncertain basis, which
24 again encourages this kind of summer employment of get what you
25 can during the summer and get out, and it is not so much --

1 that is not a racial characteristic among Negroes, but that is a
2 characteristic, it seems to me, of anybody who has really any
3 sense and any kind of awareness and ability to operate within
4 the American system, that if you know a program is going to
5 phase out September 8th, then it seems that everybody tries to
6 get what they are going to get before September 8th, and after
7 September 8th the program is going to be done because the kids
8 will be back in school and everything will be cool.

9 I think that is simply the wrong attitude. It not
10 only disrupts the program that the Federal Government has in the
11 cities and encourages this kind of irresponsibility, but it also
12 neglects the permanent, nonseasonal character of the problems
13 in the ghetto. Riots may be only a threat in the summer, and
14 that seems to me to be a press invention. Riots isn't a
15 seasonal phenomenon either. I think very shortly we are going
16 to see the emergence of what the press will probably call cool-
17 hot winters, or hot-cool winters. This business of -- in fact,
18 I would hope just to break this pattern, this mental pattern
19 that we establish, that riots only occur between the months of
20 June and September, so that we tend to look at it as a year-
21 round problem and not a problem that just happens in the summer-
22 time.

23 This I think is -- for one reason I think that the
24 reason that, for example, a community like Watts and the typical
25 response from a Yale law student or someone in the white

1 community from this past summer in Watts was that nothing happened.
2 Watts had a cool summer, and we measure the success of all
3 government programs against the standard of whether or not there
4 were fire bombs thrown or whether windows were broken, and if
5 all was quiet, then we had a successful summer, and this simply
6 isn't true.

7 In fact, I would prefer, I frankly would have pre-
8 ferred disruption to no energy at all, and this was I think one
9 of the tragic reasons that Watts had no, what you would call,
10 disturbances, simply because there is no energy to do anything.
11 There is no energy in either direction, in a destructive or in
12 a constructive direction, and I would much rather play the game
13 of brinkmanship, of taking the community to the very edge of
14 the border between disruption and order, between order and dis-
15 order, than to continue on in this sort of lethargic, dormant
16 condition that we find Negro communities in now.

17 One of the great characteristics of the average youth
18 hired in our program this summer was this tremendous vulner-
19 ability to criminal laws. There wasn't a single day passed that
20 a young man didn't come to me with some court order or some
21 citation or some minor traffic violation, having to take off,
22 having to go downtown "to see the Mayor", and this continual
23 idleness, I suppose, of a guy standing on the corner doing his
24 nails with nothing to do, and we address ourselves to it three
25 months out of the year and then after that we quit.

1 I would much rather have him identifying with the com-
2 munity in motion and whether it is disruptive or orderly seems to
3 me to be a bit irrelevant until we address ourselves to those
4 underlying causes, and I think that those causes aren't -- those
5 causes aren't -- they don't lack obviousness. It seems to me
6 that it would occur -- it is almost self-evident. At least it
7 would occur to the average reasonable man, a Governor Romney,
8 for example, walks the streets, that no American who has any
9 self-pride would want to live under these conditions, and it is
10 going to take money. I think it is going to take money that
11 focuses on family stability, and the closest thing I can think
12 of in current social theory that approaches anything that con-
13 tributes to this family stability is a guaranteed family income.
14 And until we make this national commitment and as firm a national
15 commitment that we make to the policies that are even as un-
16 certain as the military policy in Vietnam, then I think we are
17 going to continue to have disruptions in the ghetto, and I, for
18 one, would certainly encourage that disruption because I think
19 the old business about giving something to the Negro and no man
20 wanting anything given to him is sort of a middle-class morale,
21 sort of a middle-class way of looking at people who don't have
22 money, and the problem with an enactment of guaranteed income,
23 it seems to me that it would depress the morale of the middle
24 class, but I think now we are reaching the point where the social
25 cost of riots is much too high, and when it gets that high it is

1 much cheaper, it is much cheaper to allocate ten or eleven,
2 whatever, how many billions of dollars it costs to begin, and
3 unless we begin we are going to have Wattses and we are going to
4 have Newarks and we are going to have Detroitis, and from the
5 point of view of public authority we are simply going to have to
6 take the approach of yesterday's meeting of putting them down.

7 But we have to address ourselves to these causes, and
8 I think the remedies are the ones I have outlined, namely, the
9 guaranteed annual income.

10 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Is that all of your statement, Mr.
11 Sanders?

12 MR. SANDERS: Yes.

13 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Father Groppi?

14 STATEMENT OF FATHER JAMES GROPPPI, MILWAUKEE,
15 WISCONSIN, ACCOMPANIED BY FATHER PATRICK FLOOD;
16 DWIGHT BENNING, MAJOR, COMMANDOS; AND JAMES
17 PIERCE, LIEUTENANT, COMMANDOS.

18 FATHER GROPPPI: Well, gentlemen, let me begin by
19 saying that I am a little cautious of this Committee here be-
20 cause in my experiences in the civil rights struggle, we are
21 accustomed to getting a number of things from the power structure
22 when we begin our demonstrations or bring about a kind of
23 creative tension.

24 One of the things we get is usually a study or a
25 committee and I don't mind saying that I don't like appear before

1 committees unless they are willing to do something, unless there
2 is some action that is going to come forth.

3 So I am hoping that here today I did not come all the
4 way from Milwaukee merely to tell you again what the problem is,
5 but that we are looking for some action.

6 Secondly, I am also cautious of this, that there is a
7 great deal of social tension existing within the ghettos of our
8 large urban areas, but sometimes I wonder if we are not studying
9 the wrong people in the wrong place. Gunnar Myrdahl made the
10 statement, you know, after he produced his two-volume work on
11 racial relations in the United States, that he was studying the
12 wrong people, that perhaps what you should have here are
13 representatives from the white community to study their problems,
14 because in the black community, I am convinced of this, that we
15 deal with nothing more than the effects of the white man's
16 problem. We deal with the effects of discrimination, of segre-
17 gation, and the relegation of the black man to the secondary
18 status in the American system. And it is this frustration and
19 hopelessness that causes a great deal of the tension in our
20 urban areas.

21 Now, I happen to be a white man and I know what it is
22 to be accepted in society by the very fact that you are white
23 and also by the very fact that I -- by the fact that I happen to
24 be a priest, and that gives a person a certain amount of social
25 status in society.

1 In coming to work in the black community a man in my
2 position tries to identify with the black man and his problems,
3 and one must become, and I mean this, hated in many areas of
4 life in order to be accepted. Such accusations, for example, of
5 the black poor concerning the conduct of the police department
6 is something a person almost has to experience in order to
7 believe.

8 Now, yesterday you heard from the Police Department,
9 and today, you know, you are hearing from me, a man who has sub-
10 mitted himself to arrest about six times in civil rights demon-
11 strations, and so forth. And when I say the attitude and the
12 conduct of the Police Department in the ghetto area is not
13 correct, I say this because I have experienced this.

14 For example, just last week when I was arrested for
15 violation of the Mayor's proclamation, when I was put in a paddy
16 wagon, I was called literally a fuckin' white nigger, and one
17 of our Youth Council members was put in the wagon with me, his
18 head was bleeding, he had been hit by a billy club and the blood
19 was down the side of his face and on his shirt, and sitting
20 across from me, and as the wagon pulled off, a rock hit the side
21 of the truck and the police officer shouted to the man in the
22 front, kill the dirty black bastards. Shoot the black bastards.
23 Kill them. You see.

24 This was the conduct of one police officer and it is
25 common in the Police Department to have this type of attitude

1 towards the black community.

2 I have listened to policemen on the witness stand and
3 I have heard them lie, and I mean this quite literally. For
4 example, when I was arrested, oh, back in May or April because
5 I protested the arrest of a Youth Council member, I got to the
6 Police Department, the officers claimed that I cursed at them,
7 called them mother fuckers and shouted from the end of the wagon,
8 now is the time, start the riot.

9 Now, this was a lie. And the police officer under --
10 after taking an oath, asking God to witness the truth of what
11 they say, literally told a lie.

12 In another arrest situation last week, again in viola-
13 tion of the Mayor's proclamation, as I was being carried to the
14 wagon, the police officer intentionally dug his fingers into my
15 foot, and this caused a reaction; I kicked away. I asked, when
16 I was placed in the wagon, what is that policeman's badge
17 number, but, you see, the policemen in Milwaukee do not wear
18 their badges. They have not worn them and they will not wear
19 them on a demonstration site.

20 The police officer who was sitting at the end of the
21 wagon refused to tell me what his name was and what his badge
22 number was. When they got downtown, the police officer went to
23 Mt. Sinai Hospital, got an X-ray of his chest, claimed that I
24 kicked him very viciously in the chest, and he was trying to
25 swear out a warrant on battery against myself.

1 I say these are some of the things. Now, there are
2 other things that have happened in Milwaukee, and I am speaking
3 of personal experience.

4 For example, I was followed every night for a period of
5 three months. The Police Department began and every evening at
6 four o'clock followed me everywhere I went, and the Youth
7 Council members; they picked up Youth Council members, they
8 followed me to their homes, took down their addresses, go home
9 to my mother's house on the south side, they followed me there;
10 go out to eat with the pastor and the housekeeper, the Police
11 Department followed me into the restaurant, watched me while I
12 ate. They parked in front of the Freedom House every night,
13 stood on the corner with binoculars watching people come in and
14 out, drove very slowly past the Freedom House, stuck a camera
15 out the window, took pictures of individuals coming in and out.
16 We even had one lady come to the Freedom House with food for the
17 poor which the Youth Council members would take this food and
18 distribute it to the community. The Police Department stopped,
19 got out of the car and took a picture of her license plate.

20 Or they would come past the Freedom House and stick
21 out a movie camera. They would take pictures of individuals
22 coming out of the Freedom House. They have done this in front
23 of the church.

24 Now, after three months of this type of intense
25 harassment, the Youth Council had an explosion out in front of

1 the Freedom House and one of the officers arrested a Youth
2 Council member. I protested this. There was a disruption on the
3 corner. I went to the corner, took the member, was about to
4 place him in my car, that police officer ran a quarter of a
5 block shouting, "Tolliver, Tolliver, you're under arrest."
6 I said, "What for?" The man said, "He used profanity." I
7 said, "Look, he didn't do anything. Let me get him in a car,
8 I am going to clear the area." I have had experience in tense
9 situations such as this and it is very foolish for a police
10 officer to run into a crowd that is extremely tense and to
11 arrest a person for a little thing like profanity. It can cause
12 an explosion.

13 At any rate, we were arrested in that instance.

14 Now, you have asked for the cause of the social ten-
15 sions existing in our community, and I think all of us here
16 will agree it is the intolerable conditions in which the black
17 man is submitted to living in the community, in the inner core
18 communities. It is just unbelievable, the living conditions,
19 the housing conditions, the third-rate education, improper medi-
20 cal attention, the third-rate school system to which a child
21 must go.

22 We talk about H. Rap Brown, we talk about Stokeley
23 Carmichael, and their advocating violence, and so forth, but I
24 can understand Stokeley Carmichael and I can understand H. Rap
25 Brown because, you see, H. Rap Brown and Stokeley Carmichael

1 were part of a non-violent movement for over five years, and
2 they are angry and they are frustrated simply because we have
3 not gotten any results.

4 Now, you take the School Board in the City of Mil-
5 waukee, for example. We have had at least six detailed studies
6 on the problems of the de facto segregated school. We have had
7 demonstrations. We have had freedom schools. We have had boy-
8 cotts. We have had everything imaginable in order to get that
9 School Board to do something about the intolerable situation in
10 our education system.

11 Now, just let me tell you what they are still doing in
12 Milwaukee. They are taking black children from overcrowded
13 inner core schools, putting them on buses and sending them to
14 all-white schools at which they are received and segregated.
15 They are segregated completely during classroom time. They are
16 segregated during recreation hours. And when they go to lunch,
17 again they are segregated.

18 At one time the Milwaukee School Board was even doing
19 this. They would bus black children from an overcrowded inner
20 core school to a receiving school and then not only segregate
21 them during classrooms and recreation, but when lunch hour came,
22 those children were placed on those buses and bused back to the
23 sending school for lunch hour. After lunch they were placed
24 upon those buses again and sent back to that receiving school.

25 This is what Dr. Kenneth Clark called psychological

(3)

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1 brutality.

2 Despite all the constructive ways in which we have
3 protested, we have gotten no results, and I want to say this,
4 that when we demonstrate, we picket. This is an honorable Ameri-
5 can way of protesting social evils. But the School Board in the
6 City of Milwaukee doesn't realize this nor does the Police
7 Department. The Police Department identifies a demonstration
8 and a picket line as being synonymous with a riot.

9 Now, in Milwaukee we have been working for fair housing
10 legislation. I just want to point out some of these areas and
11 the attitude of the structure towards what is going on in the
12 black community because I think this is the cause of the social
13 tension, and when a man uses all the ordinary procedures for the
14 attainment of one's rights and still must live under an oppressive
15 government, morally I have no problem whatsoever in that
16 oppressed group in resorting to violence. Morally and objec-
17 tively I have no problem whatsoever.

18 I might argue with Stokeley Carmichael and H. Rap
19 Brown as far as strategy and tactics are concerned in the use of
20 violence, but morally and objectively I have no problem here
21 whatsoever because all of us have studied the history and all
22 of us have studied the oppressed peoples, and all of us have
23 thrilled when people who were oppressed have gathered together
24 around a leader and somehow or other worked for the overthrow of
25 that oppressive government.

1 We do it in the American Revolution. And when Rap
2 Brown says that violence in the American system is as common as
3 cherry pie, I don't know who in the world can give him an argu-
4 ment because it is true.

5 Now I just want to show you some of the things we have
6 done in Milwaukee and have gotten no results. Take, for example,
7 the Common Council. We have one black alderman in the City of
8 Milwaukee. Four times she submitted a fair housing bill. Four
9 times it has been defeated -- 18 to 1, 19 to 1, 18 to 1, and 18
10 to 1.

11 The first time she introduced that bill we brought to
12 that hearing the Episcopal Bishop, we brought priests and
13 ministers, black and white, university professors, black and
14 white, rich and poor, black and white. We filled that Common
15 Council in talking about the necessity of fair housing legis-
16 lation and the moral implications involved.

17 That bill was defeated 19 to 1. It has been defeated
18 three times afterwards, 18 to 1, 18 to 1, and 18 to 1. Now in
19 the City of Milwaukee we have begun our demonstrations. We
20 have picketed the homes of some of the aldermen and we began our
21 demonstrations on the south side, and let me show you what
22 happened.

23 The Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council, and in particular
24 the Commandos, to which the two young men with me here belong,
25 it is a direct action committee -- the Milwaukee NAACP Youth

1 Council began our demonstrations --

2 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Would you identify the people who
3 are with you.

4 FATHER GROPPPI: This is Dwight Benning who is the
5 Major of the Commandos. He leads the Commandos. Mr. James
6 Pierce, who is one of the lieutenants in the Commando outfit.

7 We began our demonstrations on the south side. We
8 have what we call a viaduct in Milwaukee. It crosses what we
9 call the Mason-Dixon line. No black people live south of that
10 area.

11 The first night we marched in the south side we met
12 with a terrific amount of abuse -- eggs, rocks, bottles, and
13 every time of imaginable name was given to us. Our lives were
14 endangered. We marched deep into the south side, into
15 Kosciusko Park, stayed there awhile and then marched back.

16 The danger was so great that night that I called up
17 the Governor and I called up the Mayor of the City of Milwaukee
18 and said, Look, we need more protection. The Milwaukee Police
19 Department did a good job but there were not enough of them.
20 The Mayor's office said to me, well, we just can't call out the
21 National Guard for anything whatsoever.

22 So the Youth Council marched again that night, and let
23 me tell you, the bigotry and the hatred on the south side of
24 Milwaukee was so great that we were nearly slaughtered down
25 there, and I mean that literally. We were nearly slaughtered.

1 So what I am talking about to you when I say, you know, perhaps
2 the study ought to be in the white community, this is what I am
3 talking about. The people over there have a problem and they
4 call us niggers and black bastards, and go back to Africa, and
5 throw rocks with the intention of killing people, well, there is
6 something the matter there.

7 At any rate, we marched the second night. We were
8 nearly killed. We came back to Milwaukee and the next day the
9 Mayor came out with a proclamation, and this proclamation read,
10 no more demonstrations.

11 My criticism of that is this. When we had a disturbance
12 in the black community, the Mayor did this. He called in the
13 National Guard and slammed a curfew on the entire city, very
14 rigid militaristic control of the black community. By that I
15 mean National Guardsmen walking around with machine guns, people
16 placed at the top of all the buildings, and whenever a group of
17 black people gathered together, the Guardsmen stood down there
18 pointing their guns at people, and again the wrong attitude on
19 the part of the policemen.

20 For example, we had a black man who belongs to the
21 Sheriff's Department coming home one night, you know, and he was
22 stopped by the police after the curfew hour, ordered to get out
23 of the car, stand up against the car, and be searched. Hey,
24 this nigger has got a gun on him. He belongs to the Milwaukee
25 Sheriff's Department.

1 But, at any rate, this is what the Mayor did when that
2 disturbance occurred on Third Street and Vliet Street in Mil-
3 waukee. Some of the Youth Council members -- the Mayor called
4 it a riot, called everyone who was involved a hoodlum. I have
5 said they were merely freedom fighters using this tactic. The
6 Youth Council called it a social revolution.

7 At any rate, he put a very rigid control upon the black
8 community, and yet when we exercised our Constitutional right to
9 demonstrate, our Constitutional right of freedom of speech, in
10 demonstrating for our God-given right of freedom of movement
11 within the confines of our own country, what happened? We were
12 penalized. A proclamation was brought forth, no more demonstra-
13 tions.

14 Instead of protecting our right to demonstrate, he
15 took it away from us.

16 All right. The Youth Council took the proclamation
17 and our decision was this, that we will give it to our lawyers
18 and see if it is Constitutional. We will not demonstrate to-
19 night. Instead we will have a meeting at the Freedom House, a
20 rally on the front porch, and that is where we will discuss the
21 grievances of our black community and what we are -- where we
22 are going from here.

23 By the time I got to that Freedom House, which had
24 been burned, incidentally, the night before by the tear gas that
25 the Police Department had thrown in, the Police Department was

1 already arresting people. They were throwing our women in wagons.

2 I walked to the Freedom House and right next to me was
3 Mr. Sam Dennis from the Justice Department. The Police Depart-
4 ment was behind us. All right, hurry along, hurry along, you
5 are going to be arrested. This is an unlawful assembly. This
6 is an unlawful assembly.

7 I thought, now, isn't this interesting. They are going
8 to arrest me this time with a member from the Justice Department.
9 He happened to be a black man.

10 Anyway, we had this rally on the Freedom House steps.
11 And every time one member that was at that rally, and the people
12 were on our porch and on the porch next door and on the porch
13 across the street, every time one member at that rally stepped
14 off our property and onto the street, the sergeant pointed him
15 out and the Police Department ran in, grabbed him, and arrested
16 him.

17 Fifty-eight people were arrested that night. Finally
18 they called it an unlawful assembly, ran in and arrested every-
19 body they could grab, ran into the Freedom House and into the
20 lady's house next door, by the way, arresting people.

21 My complaint is this, you know, that I think in a way
22 in Milwaukee we have the last test demonstrations of a non-
23 violent tactic. H. Rap Brown I see in East St. Louis told people
24 to stop singing and stop marching, stop demonstrating, and go
25 home and get a gun, and his reason for saying this is simply that

1 he has lost faith in marching and in demonstrating.

2 This is a constructive way of social protest. The
3 grievances and the anger of the black community are not only
4 justified, but this anger is good. It is a sign of life. It
5 has to be channeled into a constructive pattern of social action.
6 I agree with Mr. Sanders here when he says he would sooner go to
7 that brink, you know, of violence or -- in the sense of bringing
8 life into the black community because unless a man rebels against
9 the secondary status in society, that man is dead. As Malcolm
10 X says, he needs a psychiatrist. Any man that isn't angry in
11 the ghetto.

12 At any rate, this is our complaint. Right now we are
13 fighting in Milwaukee for a fair housing bill. We are demon-
14 strating and there is no doubt in my mind whatsoever that next
15 week, when Mrs. Val Phillips presents here bill again, despite
16 the fact that we have marched and this is a form of lobbying, it
17 is the only form of lobbying the black man can afford, we don't
18 have any money, they are again going to vote against a fair
19 housing bill.

20 They are displacing a thousand black families in the
21 ghetto through an urban development project. There is no place
22 for the black families to go. The discrimination even on the
23 fringe areas is that great. We need territorial expansion, and
24 what it is going to do in reality is increase the tension be-
25 cause it is going to increase population density.

1 I just want to say one thing more, and that is with
2 regard to employment. Do you know there is a plant in Milwaukee
3 that receives Federal funds, Federal contracts. It is smack in
4 the middle of the black community, and every day it is rather
5 interesting to watch this army of white people come into the
6 black community, work in this plant all day, and every night this
7 army of white people leave this plant in the black community.
8 It receives Federal contracts.

9 You know what that plant did when that neighborhood
10 had a change from white to black? It took its employment office,
11 which was right smack in the middle of the black community at
12 this time, and moved it five miles away, from Teutonia Center,
13 it moved it all the way up to 124th and Burli.

14 CHAIRMAN KERNER: What is the name of this company?

15 FATHER GROPP: This company is Briggs & Stratton,
16 and I think one of the things this Committee is stop Federal
17 funds, educationwise, urban-developmentwise, Federal-contractwise,
18 with those companies and those cities that are promoting segre-
19 gation.

20 This is all I have to say, gentlemen.

21 CHAIRMAN KERNER: The next speaker will be Mr. Chambers.
22
23
24
25

1 REMARKS OF ERNIE W. CHAMBERS, OMAHA,
2 NEBRASKA

3 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Chambers, were you born and
4 raised in Omaha?

5 MR. CHAMBERS: Yes, I was.

6 CHAIRMAN KERNER: I wasn't quite certain of it. I
7 just wanted to cover it properly here. And Mr. Chambers has
8 been in the forefront of the militant civil rights demonstrations
9 in Omaha.

10 Mr. Chambers.

11 MR. CHAMBERS: Thank you. As Father Groppi and
12 Brother Sanders have pointed out, we have marched, we have cried,
13 we have prayed, we have voted, we have petitioned, we have been
14 good little boys and girls. We have gone out to Vietnam as
15 doves and come back hawks. We have done every possible thing
16 to make this white man recognize us as human beings, and he re-
17 fuses.

18 He teaches us in school, as Father Groppi mentioned,
19 about the American Revolution. Do you know that those people
20 you teach me in school are patriots around Rhode Island burned a
21 British frigate because it was too active in cutting off what
22 they felt were their legitimate smuggling activities? 1771.
23 The Gaspe was the name of the British ship.

24 And do you know that those people who you teach me in
25 Virginis were patriots did not condemn it? They praised this

1 patriotic action, this blow struck for freedom?

2 George III was the king. The 13 American Colonies were
3 British territories. They were extensions of the mother country,
4 and therefore the purpose of Britain. A colony provides raw
5 materials and then markets for the mother country.

6 You all know what colonialism is, and we know what it
7 is in fact in America as black people.

8 You teach us that these colonies were not wrong when
9 they spoke against George III and when Patrick Henry came out
10 specifically against him and compared him to Caesar with his
11 Brutus and somebody said "Treason" and he said, "If this is
12 treason, make the most of it." Then I look at what you are
13 trying to do to Rap Brown and Stokeley Carmichael, calling it
14 sedition and treason and saying if there isn't a law against
15 them, there should be, and then you want to turn around and tell
16 the world that these men couldn't speak like this if they had
17 freedom of speech. If they lived in Russia, in fact, what would
18 happen to them. Yet what you are saying when you are saying a
19 law should be passed against these men, is that Russia in fact
20 has the right idea, and you better catch up with Russia and
21 pass a law against these men so they cannot tell the truth.

22 Then there is a Freedom School in Tennessee which you
23 want to say is teaching hatred because it tells black people
24 that your ancestors brought us over on the good ship Jesus. You
25 raped our women, you mutilated our men. You took away our

1 dignity and our manhood. Any vestige of a culture, religion,
2 or language you took away from us.

3 You can understand why jews who were burned by the
4 Nazis hate Germans, but you can't understand why black people
5 who have been systematically murdered by the government and its
6 agents, by private citizens, by the police department, you can't
7 understand why they hate white people.

8 And you know what you want to do? And again we are
9 learning all this in school about how you reacted to the way
10 people have done you, because in your background and history you
11 have a revolution of which you are very proud. July 4th you
12 celebrate as Independence Day because you stood up against the
13 British Empire and told them to go to hell. Your ancestors
14 committed treason and you celebrate it now, and you were not
15 treated nearly as badly as black people in this country.

16 As Malcolm X said, we are catching more hell than
17 Patrick Henry ever saw or thought of. He wouldn't have been able
18 to take it. You can understand Patrick Henry and make a hero
19 out of him to me in school, but then you are going to turn
20 around and condemn us when we use peaceable methods like Father
21 Groppi and other individuals to get the rights that your Consti-
22 tution promised us.

23 I didn't say being born or naturalized in this country
24 was enough to make me a citizen. You said it. The Bill of
25 Rights is yours. The civil rights bills are your bills of

1 rights. When the government itself violates the law, it brings
2 the whole law into contempt.

3 A policeman is an object of contempt. A policeman is
4 a paid and hired murderer and you never find the policeman
5 guilty of a crime no matter what violence he commits against a
6 black person.

7 In Detroit you were shooting snipers, so you mounted
8 a 50 caliber machine gun on a tank and shot into an apartment
9 and killed a four-year-old sniper.

10 FATHER GROPPi: That is right.

11 MR. CHAMBERS: Yet you have the Mafia setting up head-
12 quarters outside of Cicero, Illinois, where the black people are
13 not good enough to live, and taking out a charter of incorpora-
14 tion in Delaware, and you don't bring tanks and machine guns
15 against the Mafia.

16 The Justice Department leases some of its offices from
17 the Mafia. And you want to talk about respectable law.

18 In history they teach me how great Teddy Roosevelt was,
19 yet when he wanted a certain canal built, and he didn't have the
20 authority based on the way the laws are constructed in this
21 country, you know what Teddy Roosevelt said? Damn the law.
22 Build the canal.

23 They taught me that in a white school. And they taught
24 me that Thomas Jefferson was a hero and a patriot because he
25 wrote, all men are created equal. And Thomas Jefferson was a

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1 slaveholder. And you want to teach my child that this man who
2 would have enslaved him had he been alive then is a hero for him?

3 Patrick Henry, who talked about freedom being so great
4 that he would rather take death than enslavement was a slave-
5 holder himself.

6 Then George Washington, the President, first one of
7 this country, first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts
8 of his countrymen, was a slaveholder. And you want to teach
9 my child that these are great men.

10 And then Abraham Lincoln, one of the most pious hypo-
11 crites of all time, and you can read from his own words where
12 he said he had doubts about whether black men were as well
13 endowed as the white people. Here is the only thing he would
14 grant the black men, the right to eat the food that his hands
15 produced. He was against slavery morally, but he said since he
16 was the President officially there is nothing he can do except
17 what will benefit the Union. And his wanting to do what bene-
18 fited the Union prevented him from carrying out what he stated
19 many times he felt was his moral responsibility, and then you
20 want to tell me about morality operating in this country, the
21 last stronghold of freedom. The free world, the Statue of
22 Liberty, give me your tired, your poor, your hungry, those
23 yearning to be free, and a black man born in this country who
24 fought in every conflict that this country ever had, that this
25 country ever had, the first blood spilled from the body of

1 Crispus Atticus during the American Revolution.

2 Now, I want to draw a parallel between what happened
3 at the so-called Boston Massacre on Boston Common and what we
4 do now. Here was Captain Preston with a detachment of British
5 soldiers, and they had a right to be there because this was a
6 colony, but the colonists felt oppressed, because Boston was
7 being occupied by a foreign force. So some of the citizens got
8 together. They didn't just sing We Shall Overcome. They didn't
9 ask the soldier, can we sit down here and pray to our God? They
10 got slabs of stone and snowballs and clubs and attacked the
11 soldiers, and when the soldiers fired into the crowd and killed
12 seven people, the Americans called it a massacre, and they say
13 that was a great patriotic action by those people. Yet black
14 people doing ordinary, reasonable, peaceful things in this
15 country are attacked by the police and the police are praised for
16 it. And you talk about giving the police more money and more
17 power. You have got them walking arsenals now -- pistols, guns,
18 pistols, clubs, saps, some of them carry knives, cattle prods,
19 the new tear gas canister, high-powered rifles. They will be
20 giving them hand grenades. They can call in tanks with 50
21 caliber machine guns. In the United States of America in 1967,
22 when you are raising hell in Vietnam killing people, and then you
23 can't straighten out what is happening in this country and you
24 wonder why I would tell a black boy, Don't go fight for this
25 racist country, and it is a racist country. They use the term

1 "nigger" on the floor of Congress, and look at Senator Dodd,
2 good old Christian Senator Dodd, and then old black Adam Clayton
3 Powell. Dodd had more charges against him than you can shake a
4 stick at, and in black and white from his own documents what he
5 had done, and you people sat around debating whether we are going
6 to censure him or whether we are to reprimand him. You didn't
7 talk about taking away his seniority. You didn't talk about
8 unseating him. None of these things.

9 Then here is Adam Clayton Powell where the charges are
10 very nebulous and uncertain, but the real problem is that he was
11 a black man with too much power, and he was uppity and he acted
12 just like you have always acted. He arrogantly smoked his cigar
13 which you couldn't stand. He said, Yeah, I live high on the
14 hog, just like you, and you couldn't stand that. He took junkets
15 just like you and you couldn't stand that. So you kick him out
16 and say he is a bad man for us.

17 Then we look at Senator Dodd. And you know what Dodd
18 said? I'm sorry I'm the first one, but the reason I am is they
19 haven't checked all of your files.

20 The Long in the Senate stood and said, He is here and
21 we're not because they exposed what is in his files. Implying
22 that every Senator is a thief. Every Senator misuses public
23 funds, and then the same scoundrels are going to get up and talk
24 to me about lawlessness in the streets and far more lawlessness
25 is perpetrated in the halls of Congress than anywhere else.

1 And do you know why I think they voted against that
2 rat control bill? It fits right in with what Senator Long said.
3 The first victims may have been sitting in the Senate chambers.
4 That is where the rats are.

5 But then let's make it literal rats. They fear black
6 people more than they do the Bubonic plague and other diseases
7 that rats carry, because you wouldn't appropriate \$40 million
8 to control rats, but you will appropriate all kinds of money to
9 give the National Guard increased training in how to wipe us
10 out, and it is a funny thing that in all these so-called riots
11 the police and the National Guard kill far more people than the
12 so-called rioters.

13 And as for the sniping, don't you believe that. If
14 all of you were sitting in this room I could just shoot at
15 random and I would hit somebody. Why are no cops killed? They
16 ought to be killed. I think the cops should be killed. I
17 believe the National Guard should be fought like they are telling
18 us we should fight in Vietnam.

19 When a man comes into my community and he is going to
20 endanger the life of my wife and my children, he should die, and
21 if it is within my power, I will kill him. We are tired of
22 sitting around with white people and saying we have to die for
23 what we believe. We have been dying ever since we have been
24 in this country for what you believe and what you have taught
25 us.

1 You know what you are going to tell your kid? George
2 Washington, Patrick Henry, the great patriots, Benjamin Franklin
3 discovered that lightning and electricity are synonymous. Every-
4 body who ever did anything is white.

5 Here is what you are going to give my little kid. I
6 am going to send him to school and teach him to respect authority.
7 So here is a cracker teacher standing in front of my child making
8 him listen to Little Black Sambo. See, that is the image that
9 the school gives him when he is young to teach him his place.
10 A caricature, wearing outlandish clothing that even the animals
11 in the forest don't want to wear. His name is Sambo. His
12 mother's name is Mumbo. And his father's name is Jumbo.

13 What are you telling him about family ties in America?
14 That child does not have the same last name as either one of his
15 parents. Since his parents have different last names, they are
16 not even married.

17 All right. So he goes through the caricature like I
18 did when I was a small child in grade school, and I don't forget
19 these things. I wasn't born from the womb with the attitudes I
20 have now. They were put in me by crackers.

21 I sat through Little Black Sambo, and since I was the
22 only black face in the room, I became Little Black Sambo. And
23 if my parents had taught me bad names to call the little cracker
24 kids, and I use that term on purpose to try to get the message
25 across to you, you don't like it. Well, how do you think we

1 feel when an adult is going to take our child whom -- we teach
2 our child to respect that adult and give these little white kids
3 bad names to call him? Why don't you have Little Cracker
4 Bohunk, Little Cracker Dago, Little Cracker Kike? You can't
5 stand that. But yet you are going to take our little black
6 children and expose them to this kind of ridicule, then don't
7 understand why we don't like it.

8 All right. He gets a little older, so he can't be
9 Little Black Sambo because he is too old for that. So you turn
10 to good old Mark Twain, one of your great writers, and he grows
11 from Little Black Sambo into Nigger Jim, and these white kids
12 read this stuff and they laugh at him and he has got to sit
13 there and take it. He is required to attend these schools by
14 law, and this is what he gets.

15 All right. After he is Nigger Jim, he goes to high
16 school and reads Emperor Jones, written by Eugene O'Neill, who
17 they are taught is a great playwright. And not only do they
18 have to read it, quietly, and master it, they have got to come
19 to school and discuss orally about the bush niggers. But still
20 nothing about kikes. And nothing about dagos and spiks, and
21 wetbacks and bohunks and wops.

22 And then after he has passed through this degrading,
23 these degrading ages of the black man, and they have whipped
24 the spirit out of him, they have made him feel he is not fit to
25 walk the earth and he always has to apologize to you for being

1 here, then they crown. They say, I am going to tell you what
2 your grand-daddy had been, what your daddy had been, what you
3 are going to be, and that is Old Black Joe. And you know how
4 Old Black Joe comes? With his head hanging low.

5 You tell us what you want to do to us, and this is the
6 educational process which our children go through, and you wonder
7 why they don't want to sit up in a school. And there is bru-
8 tality in Omaha schools. A junior high school teacher named
9 Dallas Hemingway had beaten, kicked, and cut little black
10 children. We took these children with their parents to the
11 Mayor's office. He would take no action.

(6)

12 So in conjunction with his Human Relations Board
13 Director, a man named Homer Floyd, I think one of the sharpest
14 human relations men in the country, he is now in Topeka, I
15 believe, head of the Kansas Human Relations Commission, went to
16 the office of the City Prosecutor with these parents who wanted
17 to bring an action on behalf of their children and show the
18 injuries, and there was a doctor named Johnson who photographed
19 the injury and was willing to testify in court as to the extent
20 of it and the treatment he gave, and you know the City Prose-
21 cutor refused to accept it and would not let them file the
22 charge?

23 We got two lawyers, one's name was John Miller, the
24 other Leo Eisenstadt -- I mention the names because they are
25 influential in Omaha -- they contacted various members of the

1 Omaha Board of Education, and we sent copies of the complaint to
2 each individual member of the Board, to each individual member
3 of the City Council, the Mayor, the Safety Director, the Chief
4 of Police, and all of the so-called cracker agencies that are
5 interested in teaching us about law and order and decency and
6 democracy and respect, and not a bit of action was taken. This
7 man was promoted from junior high to high school and he now
8 teaches in South High School.

9 What do you think of that? A teacher named
10 Borschinger wrote "fuck" on a piece of paper and showed it to
11 my little sister who was in the fifth grade. When she told me
12 I went straight over there and I stood in his room and I told
13 him if he looks wrong I'd beat his brains out, and I meant it.

14 So I went to the principal and told him the same
15 thing, that if he didn't do something about moving that man, I
16 was going to move him out of that classroom physically myself.

17 The man is gone, but do you know what the principal
18 wanted to do first? Put my little sister in a different fifth
19 grade. I said, how about those other children, man? You miss
20 the point. This monkey shouldn't be in the schools at all.
21 So he said, then, we will put him over in a different fifth
22 grade. I said, better get him out of the school. So he's gone.

23 At Horace Mann, not two months ago, my nephew -- the
24 teacher didn't know he was my nephew. They don't bother with
25 my nephew or the little children who are friends of mine. She

1 didn't know because my sister's last name is different from mine,
2 naturally, because she is married. His name is Russ. She hit
3 him on the side of the head with a paddle and broke the skin.
4 I went up there and I said, you're going to get rid of her or
5 I'm going to do the same thing she did to my nephew. And they
6 tried to defend her again. But she's gone.

7 Why do we have to take each individual case of bru-
8 tality and handle it personally like this? The school system is
9 terrible. It is rotten. They have incompetent teachers. There
10 is discrimination in the placement of teachers and the placement
11 of pupils. They spent \$5 million to just complete a white high
12 school and arguing about whether they should have a planetarium
13 in it, yet in Technical High, where most of the Negroes go,
14 they can't even get blackboards, and again I had to go per-
15 sonally to the Board of Education and tell them they had better
16 put some blackboards in there or some of these other schools
17 that have got them are not going to have them, but Tech is going
18 to have everything they need.

19 Then the blackboards found their way over there.

20 Some books that my little boy didn't have in his
21 classroom this semester came there only after I made a personal
22 visit to the school, and here was water leaking through the
23 roof, buckets all over, and I have pictures of it with me,
24 running through the light fixtures, dripping in the cafeteria
25 onto the table where sandwiches were being made. Then when I

1 went over there the principal, instead of wanting to correct
2 this, wanted to know why in the hell they didn't come to get him
3 and let him know I was in there. So I tell them, you ask him
4 why in the hell he doesn't come see me. He knows where I am.

5 And, by the way, I don't pick on people smaller than
6 me. He is about 6'4" and weighs 260 pounds. And I call him the
7 Jolly White Giant, and I told him and the Superintendent of
8 Schools he had better muzzle this white ox before I slaughter
9 him.

10 And you know why I don't mind telling you this stuff?
11 Because you put us in jail for nothing. This man told you what
12 causes you have for putting black people in jail. If I go to
13 jail it is going to be something, not like the last time about a
14 year ago when I was standing on the barber shop step where I
15 work, and I looked at a cracker cop and went to jail for inter-
16 fering with an officer and disturbing the peace, and I have a
17 transcript of the trial with me, because you don't like to be-
18 lieve what we tell you. And then you want us to respect the
19 police, help your police fight crime. To do that we have to
20 fight the police because they, with Congress, are the greatest
21 perpetrators of crime in this country.

22 You know what they are mad about in Supreme Court
23 decisions now? They are mad because it says you have to respect
24 the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution and other amendments
25 that guarantee the freedoms of people in a so-called democratic

1 society.

2 We have to get together and fight the police, and you
3 know when I believe that saying We Shall Overcome is an effective
4 way to fight the police? When I see you send your Marines and
5 your Airmen and your Infantrymen into Vietnam led by the Mormon
6 Tabernacle Choir and then make a landing on the beach singing
7 We Shall Overcome, and fighting them with prayer books.

8 You know that is not going to work there. It hasn't
9 worked anywhere. And we are going to fight you people like you
10 fight us.

11 And don't say that I am revealing too much, because
12 if something happens to me there are other people who will come
13 up. They killed Malcom and produced a Stokeley and a Rap. You
14 kill Rap, he will multiply. You kill Stokeley, he will multiply.

15 Now, you don't know me, so maybe you don't want to
16 kill me. You might just want me in jail. But you get me off
17 the same and I'll multiply, because each time you handle one of
18 us in this way you show what you are and you show the way you
19 have to be dealt with.

20 There are a couple of specific things I want to men-
21 tion, and then I am going to stop because I don't want to take
22 up the time. But there is discrimination in housing in Omaha.
23 The Mayor likes to say a Negro can purchase property wherever
24 he can afford to, anywhere he wants to. Bob Boozer plays
25 professional football -- I don't know if any of you know him. I

1 think he plays with the Chicago Bulls now -- and he wanted to buy
2 a house and they refused to sell him a lot on which he can build
3 himself a house, and he made more money than any cracker in
4 that neighborhood. So the Mayor was caught here in a vice,
5 because here he is talking about buying -- a Negro being able
6 to buy a house anywhere he wants to in the city, then he goes
7 to the Nebraska Legislature to support an open housing law.
8 Why? If we can buy wherever we want to.

9 By the way, before the Legislature killed open hous-
10 ing, they passed -- they authorized the Governor to use \$500,000
11 to put down riots as they call them in our area. We can't buy
12 a house. They refused to pass the legislation necessary to
13 help relieve these tensions, but they will pass, they will
14 authorize this man \$500,000, and he made some threats about his
15 little 1800-man National Guard is going to come into our com-
16 munity and do something to us.

17 When they come, something is going to be waiting for
18 them. And it is not singing We Shall Overcome. And it is not
19 playing these little footsy games we have been playing all these
20 years.

21 And let me tell you one other thing about the Omaha
22 police setup, and it comes right from this open housing thing
23 I mentioned in the Legislature. The paid representative of the
24 Police Union is also in the Legislature, and he voted against
25 open housing. And yet he is still paid by the Omaha Police

1 Union. His name is Bill Bloom.

2 When he did this and the officials refused to take
3 action, then the 17 Negro officers withdrew from the Police
4 Union, and they brought forth other complaints which we had
5 brought against the Police Department two years ago, when I was
6 co-chairman of the Police-Community Relations Council.

7 We have exhausted every means of getting redress and
8 it has not come. They murdered a black boy a year ago named
9 Eugene Nesbitt. He was against a fence. The cop was supposed
10 to be chasing him. His car -- the tires had been shot off.
11 His car hit the fence and a cop named Metula came about nine
12 feet behind him with a shotgun and shot him in his back. And
13 before the boy's body was cold, the Safety Director came out
14 and said the shooting is regrettable, but it is justified, and
15 there was no inquest. There was no autopsy. The cop was not
16 suspended pending an investigation. Nothing.

17 In March of this year a 5'2" Negro youth was detained
(7) 18 in the county jail. Five-feet-two.

19 The following morning -- there was a door frame six
20 and a half feet high from which he was found hanging with his
21 belt, supposedly. There was nothing for him to stand on. Yet
22 a five-foot-two-inch youth committed suicide. And again there
23 was no investigation but a whitewash.

24 We are getting tired of having our people killed. You
25 have a national Teacher Corps in Omaha, and some interns were

1 dropped from it because they claimed not to have the money. You
2 know which interns were dropped? Two Negroes. And the program
3 is supposed to function in the Negro neighborhood.

4 If those Negroes don't get back into the Teacher Corps,
5 you are not going to have a Teacher Corps operational in Omaha.
6 And I'm telling you that, too. And I'm going to do everything
7 in my power to keep that Teacher Corps out of our area. And if
8 they send them in anyway, they send these young whites in at
9 their own peril.

10 I have taken a long time, and I guess that is just
11 about everything I'll say for now.

12 One other thing. We have a mayor who is being con-
13 sulted by Mr. Weaver on a lot of things because this mayor
14 talked in behalf of some legislation Mr. Weaver wanted in
15 Housing and Urban Development.

16 Now, this mayor is on the Board of Directors of what
17 is known as Good Neighbor Homes. There is a Negro church with
18 an Uncle Tom chicken eatin' preacher for the pastor who is
19 fronting for the mayor's corporation, and they are the sponsor-
20 ing agency. Yet the mayor is on the Board of Directors. The
21 mayor's personal lawyer, Shafton, represents this group and he
22 is making that Federal money that is put up for lawyers' fees.
23 It is 221(d)(3) housing. And this project was built in an area
24 that is already overcrowded. The schools are overcrowded. And
25 it is supposed to be for low-income people, yet the rent starts

1 at \$115 a month. That is one of the mayor's interests.

2 He is in charge of what is known as the Omaha Re-
3 development Corporation, and I have these things here if you want
4 to see them afterwards. They have about 45 houses in the ghetto
5 which they have been buying up, his corporation. Now they have
6 got some money under a Federal program which is designed to
7 help code enforcement, bring these houses up to standard.

8 Now, at first they are tricky. They went into South
9 Omaha and used some of this Federal money, then they went into
10 the fringe of the Negro area to use some of this money, and then
11 the third time, it is called Project Pride, they went right
12 into the area where between 30 and 33 of the mayor's corporation
13 houses are located and \$40,000 in Federal funds is being used
14 there.

15 He asked me to review his Model Cities proposal be-
16 cause he needed what he called a grass roots analysis, but what
17 he really needed was somebody who could make a hodge-podge look
18 legitimate. But I am going to give him just what that thing
19 deserves. It is a justification for violent revolution in Omaha
20 by black people.

21 We are late. If you read the admissions of the City
22 of Omaha's applications, you wonder why we Uncle Tom, handker-
23 chief-head Negroes in Omaha haven't burned that city to the
24 ground. This includes city hall and everything else.

25 They admit that they don't give us the social services.

1 We don't get the welfare attention. The buses don't give ade-
2 quate service. The city itself doesn't clean the streets.
3 There is inadequate garbage disposal. The police are poorly
4 trained. They have bad anti-Negro attitudes. All of this is
5 presented. And you know why he did it? Because of the promise
6 of the possibilities of getting some Federal dollars made him
7 admit crimes and flaws and shortcomings in the city which our
8 considerations of morality never could.

9 These things we have been trying to bring to their
10 attention for years and they won't acknowledge it.

11 The Federal Government said, if you can show you have
12 the imagination and you understand the causes of the problems
13 of the core cities, you can get some money. He laid it all out,
14 and there it is. And this is what I come from in Omaha, Nebraska.

15 You had better be glad -- you see, some people there
16 call me militant. How can you call me militant when in view of
17 all of these things I have mentioned to you I haven't started a
18 riot. I haven't burned a building. I haven't killed a cop.

19 You are looking at somebody who is more rational than
20 any of you, or some of you, because some of you support the war
21 in Vietnam but you wouldn't support us if we burned down Omaha.

22 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Mr. Chambers.

23 The next witness is Mr. Piri Thomas of New York City.

24 Mr. Thomas has gained considerable attention for his writings
25 and lectures on life in Spanish Harlem. He has published an

1 autobiography of his early life in Harlem entitled "Down These
2 Mean Streets", is presently working on a second book.

3 He has also written a fine recent article in the
4 New York Times Magazine on the summer riots in Spanish Harlem.

5 Mr. Thomas.

6 STATEMENT OF PIRI THOMAS, NEW YORK CITY

7 MR. THOMAS: You know, Brothers, I have listened,
8 listened real, real nitty-gritty, and as I listened, I asked
9 myself a question, a question that I have asked many times.

10 Is this America? The land of democracy? Freedom?

11 I wrote a book called "Down These Mean Streets", and
12 one excerpt in it, I say, "White man, what is your value on
13 skin? A pair of blue eyes and a pink ass hole? Don't you know
14 dark skin is a pride, too?"

15 I am from a place called a barrio in Spanish Harlem
16 where we are for real. Central Harlem. These so-called dis-
17 orders that erupted, you know, in my Spanish Harlem, the barrio,
18 were not just a sort of spontaneous event that came up out of
19 nowhere, just a happening. It was an ugly head of despair,
20 frustration, exploitation, hot and cold running cockroaches
21 and king-sized rats, and crummy tenements and slum houses. It
22 was an explosion from a long-burning fuse to a bundle of dyna-
23 mite that had been slowly burning since I was a kid in East
24 Harlem in the early thirties.

25 My father is a black man. My mother is a Puerto Rican

1 woman. And between the two of them, they developed seven sons
2 and one daughter. There are only two sons besides myself -- I
3 am the oldest -- and my two brothers, Ray and Frankie, are
4 soldiers for this great America of ours. They hadn't seen each
5 other in a long time, and about a year ago, after a bloody battle
6 in Vietnam, they ran into each other. I wonder what their feel-
7 ings are.

8 Puerto Ricans, you know -- we are supposed to be the
9 "johnny-come-latelies." We are supposed to be the gentle, un-
10 offensive, happy, intelligent, hard-working Puerto Ricans from
11 a little island, smaller than our own Long Island here in New
12 York, and you know, the majority of us suffer from a complex of
13 "me no speaka English" and let me tell you, baby, it was tough
14 because we were surrounded on all sides by different ethnic
15 groups. In most instances we were not welcome because there was
16 so much poverty in Spanish Harlem, who needed more poor people?

17 All right. So our fathers and mothers came to a
18 barrio -- a barrio is a place -- determined to survive by rolling
19 up their sleeves and working when there were jobs available, and
20 then to create a better life for their children.

21 You know, to give a feeling of this, I would like to
22 read from a play I have written, "Ladies and Mistery, What is a
23 Man?"

24 "Ladies and Mistery, Puerto Ricans poured into Nova,
25 New York, their eyes are clogged up with better living days. You

1 understand, of course, that mostly poor Puerto Ricans leave the
2 island, dem dat's got bread come for a tour, take a fast look
3 and make a fast split for the rolling hills of the green islands.
4 But the poor Puerto Ricans, man, they hit the scene like all
5 that jazz or a million plates of rice and beans, green bananas
6 and codfish, is a thing of the past. We are working for so
7 little a day in a factory or sugar cane field ain't no more."

8 I am not going to read from this. I am going to read
9 from this.

10 I got a brother that some day I hope to find. In
11 this book his name is Bru.. Until the day that I find him again,
12 I'm not going to even tell his real name, but we went down
13 South. I wanted to see what was happening. Oh, yeah, man,
14 forget it.

15 But Bru told me one time, you know, we got real angry
16 at each other, you know, and he said, you know, we had a big
17 argument, you know. I tried to dig myself -- I figured I should
18 try to get it back on a joke level. What the hell was I trying
19 to put down? Was I trying to tell Bru I was better than he
20 is because he is only black and I am a Puerto Rican dark skin?
21 Like those people cut trees at a white man's whim? And whoever
22 heard of a Puerto Rican getting hung? So he jumped. And Bru
23 said, everybody got some kind of pain going on inside him. I
24 know you're a little fucked up with some kind of hate called
25 white, that special kind with the no Mister in front of it.

1 Dig it man, say it like it is out loud, like you hate all
2 paddies. Just that fuckin' color, Bru, I said, bitterly, just
3 their color. They're damn clean to blast out "My Country 'Tis
4 of Thee, Sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing."

5 And now when I hear it played, I can't help feeling
6 that it is only meant for paddies, whities. It is their
7 national anthem, their sweet land of liberty. Yeah, I know,
8 Bruce said, like it says, that all men are created equal with
9 certain deniable rights, if they are not paddies, you know,
10 whites.

11 We want to thank you, Mr. Lincoln, sir. Us blood
12 folks got through that whole Civil War without fear, but we all
13 had one old hell of a time still trying to get through that damn
14 reconstruction.

15 You know the old saying, if you're white, that's all
16 right, and if you're black, that's dead.

17 I appeared on the Bilingual Educational Act. Senator
18 Kennedy invited me. And I read from "Sounds From a Street Kid"
19 of a feeling of what it is to live in a ghetto.

20 If there is a definite way for a youngster to express
21 himself to an adult -- and I am talking about adults, I mean
22 power structure, you people who are here to represnt us, I
23 don't think he has yet entirely found it. Even if his speech
24 is articulate, his wants are not. He can only make the basic
25 overtures of asking to be understood.

1 My own background as a street kid -- incidentally, I
2 am an ex-convict, served six years in Comstock between Sing Sing
3 Prison and Comstock. Im an ex-drug addict. I am an ex-stickup
4 man. Shot a cop. And got shot. And in prison I spent the first
5 two years fighting my heart out to keep from being swallowed up
6 by that society. And I wrote when I was in prison, I even got
7 my high school diploma and I was very pleased that it didn't
8 say prison diploma. It said New York University.

9 I spent six years and got out of prison and was re-
10 arrested right at the front gate. But I learned to use my
11 mind and I said, when I had gotten shot, I said, "If I do not
12 die, my life will be enchantment," because I come out of a
13 cesspool and I am going to go back there and I'm going to put
14 my arm down there and bring my people up, black, brown, blue,
15 green, multi-colored men.

16 One thing I ain't got is political affiliations. My
17 only political party is humanity, dignity. And I wrote and I
18 said, I came into this prison a second-class citizen. Now that
19 I'm here I'm supposed to be a third-class citizen. And when
20 they release me someday, I'm going to be a fourth-class citizen.

21 Later for that, Baby. When I get out I'm going to be
22 a first-class citizen because that's my right.

23 Well, anyway, this a mochacho street kid. This is
24 his own language, like he says, nitty-gritty. Man, like I'm
25 standing here and there ain't nothin happening. Dig it, man,

1 what's in this here world for me, except I gotta give, give,
2 give. I'm tired of being a half-assed nothin'. I've come
3 into this stone world of streets, with all its living, laughing,
4 crying and dying. A world full of back yards, roof tops and
5 street sets, all kinds of races of people and acts, of hustlers
6 and rackets, drugs and eyedroppers. A world of those who is
7 and those who ain't.

8 I'm looking at me and no matter how I set my face,
9 hard rock or soft sullen, I still feel the me inside rumbling
10 low and crazy like, like I'm mad at something and don't know
11 what it is. Damn it, it's the craps of living every day afraid
12 and not digging what's in tomorrow.

13 What's the good of living in a present that got no
14 future, no nothin', unless I make something. I fell into this
15 life without no say and I'll be a mother-jumper if I live it
16 without having nothin' to say.

17 I'm tired of feeling like the invisible cat in the
18 flick, walking all over the place and the only time anybody
19 looks at me is to say, "Get out of the way, kid." I know this
20 world is on a hustle stick and everybody's out to make a buck.
21 This I can dig cause it's the same here on the street. I gotta
22 hustle too, and the only way to make it is on a hard kick. I
23 dig that copping (getting) is the main bit and having is the
24 main rep. You see, I'm really trying to understand and see
25 where the Olders are at.

1 Right now, I'm standing on my street corner, looking
2 out at your blippy world full of Pros, you know, professionals.
3 At all you people what made it a success and be great, a real
4 bunch of killer-dillers. I know about you. I've gone to the
5 big school too. I've dug how to live too. Tell me, do you
6 dig my "royal ass kick"? Are you willing to learn about me
7 and what makes me click? Well, let me run it to you nice and
8 easy.

9 Could you sense a coming danger, as on a bop you go?
10 Can you feel the bond of belonging when with your boys you go
11 down fighting? A rumbling of bravery, of pure corazon (pure
12 heart), and guts to the nth degree? Have you ever punched a
13 guy in the mouth with garbage can handle? Have you ever spit
14 blood from jammed-up lips? Have you ever felt the pain from
15 a kick in the balls? Have you ever chased in victory in a gang
16 fight supreme or run to tasteless defeat with all the heart you
17 can muster?

18 Tell me, just tell me, Man, did you ever make out in
19 darkened hallways with wet kisses and fumbling hands? Did you
20 ever smother a frightened girl's rejections and force a love
21 from her? Did you ever fill your dreams with magic at what you
22 wanted to be and cursed the bitching mornings for dragging you
23 back on the scene? Did you ever smoke the blast of reefers and
24 lose your freaking mind? Did you ever worry about anything at
25 all, like a feeling of no belonging? Did you ever lover-dubber

1 past this way?

2 Did you ever stand on street corners and look the
3 other way, at the world of muchos ricos (the many rich) and
4 think, I ain't got a damn. Did you ever count the garbage that
5 flowed down dirty streets, or dug the back yards who in their
6 glory were a garbage dumps dream? Did you ever stand on roof-
7 tops and watch night time cover the bad below? Did you ever
8 put your hand around your throat and feel your pulse beat say,
9 "I do belong and there's not gonna be nobody can tell me I'm
10 wrong."

11 Say, did you ever mess with the hard stuff, cocain,
12 heroin? Did you ever blow pot? Have you ever filled your nose
13 with the wild kick it brought or pushed a hypo, a needle full
14 of the poison, and felt the sharp dull burning as it ate away
15 your brain? Did you ever feel the down gone high as the drug
16 did take effect? And you felt all your hearnings become sleepy
17 memories and reality become illusion, and you were what you
18 wanted to be?

19 Did you ever stand small and a little quiet-like and
20 dug your moms and pops fight for lack of money to push off the
21 lack of wants? Did you ever stand with outstretched hands and
22 cop a plea from life and watch your mom's pride on bended knees,
23 ask a Welfare Investigator for the needy welfare check, while you
24 stood there getting from nothing and resenting it just the same?
25 Did you ever feel the thunder of being thrown out for lack of

1 money to pay the rent, or walk in scared darkness, the light bill
2 still unpaid, or cook on canned heat for a bunch of hungry kids,
3 no hiss, no gas -- unpaid?

4 Did you ever sneak into the movies and dig a crazy
5 set where everybody's made it on that wide-wild screen? They
6 ride in long down shorts, T-Birds, Continentals, Caddies, and
7 such "viva smoothies", the vines, the clothes like you never ever
8 saw. And "oh man", did you ever then go out of that world and
9 sit on hard stoops and feel such cool hate and ask yourself,
10 "Why man?" Why this gotta be for me? The hell with school.
11 I'm going to make that money fast.

12 I was a kid in Harlem and I had feelings that I wanted
13 to be an architect, and I had a Jewish teacher, and it was in
14 Harlem High, and I found a book on colleges, and I said, this
15 is where I want to go, you know, and so I showed him the college
16 and it was in a place called Georgia. And so the Jewish teacher
17 looked at me, you know, and he was trying to break it to me real
18 nice and easy, you know, like, well, you know, Petey, there are,
19 you know, some places I can't go and some places that you can't
20 go, you know.

21 You tell this to a young kid. What do you mean? I
22 want to study, I want to be somebody. I said, what do you mean
23 I can't go? He said, well, there is a prejudice, you know.
24 I said, what is that? You know, I mean, what is that?

25 The first time a man called me a nigger I ran and got

1 me a dictionary and found out what nigger meant. Niggardly,
2 singy. I found out the right term for it and ran right back to
3 him and said, Hey, you are a nigger. You are stingy. You
4 are niggardly.

5 I got real angry one time. It was down South and
6 Bru saved my life. We were walking through a white part of
7 town, and a deputy sheriff came out of an alley. And he said,
8 where're you goin', and I turned around, you know, I said, I'm
9 going back to my ship, and Bru opened up his mouth and Bru spoke
10 because Bru is from Mobile, Alabama, and he said, oh, you're
11 one of our niggers, but you're one of them northern niggers,
12 you know. And Bru said, I ain't nobody's nigger. And I said,
13 me too. And proceeded to beat the living shit out of him. I
14 mean it. Because he was going to beat the living shit out of
15 us.

16 You can't put a man up against a wall and expect him
17 to react as a human being. You can't expect people to live in
18 conditions that are abnormal, in ghettos where out in the streets
19 in the summer it is 90 degrees out there and when you crawl back
20 into that hole that you call a home, it is 120 degrees. You
21 can't expect people to live with their hands stretched out. We
22 don't want charity. We want the god damn chance that belongs to
23 all of us. This is our right as human beings.

24 Every one of you people here have children or grand-
25 children, and when you go home, they smile and say, daddy, or

1 grandpa, or mommy, or grandma. Well, we got them too.

2 MR. CHAMBERS: Tell 'em. That's right.

3 MR. THOMAS: We've got them, too, and when they come
4 up, open up that door, poppy, man, a big smile on my little girl
5 Swndy's face and my son Ricardo. Well, man, look, we're not
6 asking to take over this country. We're just asking to share
7 it. You give us the name Americans. You preach throughout the
8 whole world democracy. You say this is the land of freedom.
9 "Oh, say can you see."

10 Yes. My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty."
11 For whom? For a few? There are Indians starving over there,
12 Navajos, Mexicans that are being treated like dirt, black men,
13 brown men, Puerto Ricans, white men.

14 What is this, the old adage of divide and conquer?
15 Sure. We cut loose from here and some of us, we go back to
16 our ghettos and some of us go back to these beautiful apart-
17 ments. Look, one of these days all of us are going to make a
18 transition. We are all going to die. From time immemorial we
19 have tried war, and war has not brought anything except the
20 total destruction of mankind, and this is not going to be any
21 more wars now. This is going to be a total destruction, a total
22 hatred.

23 You think the Civil War was bad? Oh, Baby, this is
24 going to be real bad unless white man, brown man, black man,
25 yellow man, get together and really wheel and deal.

1 I'm going to end up with one thing. I wrote this, and
2 I would like to say it. I call this "Fruits of Dignity."
3 "What is the value of a man's essence of beliving -
4 What is the true reality of the cry, Freedom! Liberty!
5 How do I think of these things?
6 Because within myself, awake or perhaps half asleep
7 As I probe inside of myself, very, very deep.
8 "Freedom! The cry heard since the beginning of mankind
9 Written on the faces of men's monumental works that
10 were created out of faces carved on mountainsides -
11 Of Pharaoh's (sic) tombs with diamond and gold-crusted mummies
12 laid inside -
13 The forgotten immortality of sacrifice slaves of milleniums ago,
14 Who up to this present day we can hear the wailing agonies
15 Of millions upon millions who left their essence -
16 Their song of hope and cry of agony and those along the way,
17 unto this day.
18 "I am a poet, I am an ex-con-
19 I am a painter, I am an ex-drug addict.
20 I am an ex-gang leader, I am a writer--
21 I am a human being.
22 Ask me for my positive belief and I will tell you-humanity.
23 Ask me for my ambition and I will tell you beauty and
24 creativeness.
25 Ask me what is my golden fleece and I will tell you-harmony

1 and the brotherhood of man.
2 Ask me what is to be my reward and I will tell you-one world.
3 "It is not so simple in a world torn apart by fear
4 To stand anonymously by the sideline and have your cheap
5 sense of victory,
6 Of either making an unheard of cheer or not an unseen sneer.
7 "I am against the assinine (sic) intellectual bore as much
8 as I am against the useless, uncreative, destructive war.
9 I have cried and I have tried.
10 But think not for one moment that I have not been afraid,
11 Not for the physical fear that death will put his gentle
12 hand upon me,
13 But afraid that I cannot live long enough to see the total
14 world forever more free.
15 Love and understanding, brotherhood and harmony-
16 Brown man, white man, black man, red man, yellow man, multi-
17 colored man.
18 Humanity enjoying the fruits of dignity.
19 "Try well world to make this dream a reality.
20 Try well, try damn well or we all soon shall be
21 From the present to generations to come-in the
22 biblical proverbial hell.
23 "Come on, learn, don't burn.
24 Reap, don't sleep.
25 Give- and live.

1 Share-and care.
2 To die is very easy.
3 But it will come at its own time.
4 Let it be natural-
5 Not so damn greasy.
6 "When I was a child, I remember -
7 When I was a young boy, I remember -
8 When I was a young man, I remember.
9 Now that I am a man and someday an old man, I will still
10 remember -
11 That there is no conception or interpretation so important
12 To all mankind than that of -
13 Gear not-Share-This land belongs to all of us-
14 One world or chaos-Race not to utter destruction,
15 But rather fly to peace, posterity and the fruitfulness
16 That is the heart's dream of every human being-
17 No matter where he comes from.
18 Whether he says "Shalom Aleichem", "Auf Weiderzahn", "Adios",
19 "Bonsoir",
20 Whatever the greetings are.
21 "Remember-the smiles on our children's faces are the
22 happiness in our hearts-
23 Their needless deaths in wars uncalled for are the
24 anguished tears untold, unheard, in our souls.
25 "We have tried all this hatred, all these fears, all

1 these uncertainties,
2 All these anxieties, all these misunderstandings, all
3 these hatreds-genocide.
4 For all men are brothers.
5 Tear down the cannons-
6 Melt down the swords-
7 Turn the bullets into butterflies
8 The bombs into honeybees-
9 The planes into graceful birds-
10 The anger into joy-
11 The hate into love-
12 The fear into understanding.
13 "And then perhaps one more thing-
14 We will not be a nova-like explosion of our earth
15 Disappearing from the face of our unlimited universe.
16 Come on world, is it so hard to shake a hand in friendship.
17 Come on world, undouble your fist and make it a caressing
18 touch of brotherhood instead of Cain killing his brother.
19 "For we all know deep within ourselves
20 That we would rather live than die
21 That we would rather smile than cry
22 That we would rather share than not care.
23 "But if you leave us no choice other than to use our voice
24 Then we shall become truly a Mars, the God of War,
25 Rather than Venus, the Goddess of Love.

1 "Every man dies, Every man cries.
2 So therefore why can't every human being take his choice,
3 For ever after of one world, For ever after.
4 Harmony, dignity, brotherhood, love-
5 And a swinging sense of happy laughter."

6 I would like to end this in one thought. You people,
7 and I am very glad you invited me, I am very glad to sit here
8 with my brothers, are the people that have the power. Power is
9 good if you use it for a positive force. You cannot expect our
10 youngsters, our young people, to accept what our fathers and
11 forefathers have accepted before.

12 I would wish, it if were possible, that for three
13 months in the winter and three months in the summer you would
14 trade places with us. OK?

15 So think about that and then come back and see what
16 you do, because I felt very hurt, many of us, when they made
17 big jokes about the rat bill. Real, real angry. And my sister-
18 in-law, who is a very wonderful, gentle woman, said, I am a good
19 woman in my heart but I wish that rats could bite their children
20 so they would know how it feels.

21 Thank you very much.

22 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Mr. Thomas.

23 Are there questions from the members of the Commission?

24 Father Groppi, I have been wondering, I don't know
25 whether there is a Human Relations Commission in Milwaukee. Is

1 there any means of dialogue there between the community and the
2 city fathers?

3 By the way, I want to say I have known Val Phillips
4 for years and have great admiration for this councilman there in
5 Milwaukee. I also have a great deal of admiration for the way
6 she handled herself and the way she has stood up for what she
7 thinks is right.

8 But I wonder if there are any Human Relations Com-
9 missions, any means of dialogue between the community and City
10 Hall?

11 FATHER GROPPi: No. Val Phillips, whom you quoted,
12 put it very wisely. The Mayor does not listen. You listen when
13 he speaks.

14 For example, after the disturbance in the City of
15 Milwaukee, he did not call in leaders of the black community to
16 decide what should be done. He decided by himself and then
17 called in people whom he wanted to meet with from the black
18 community, not people who really represented the black community.

19 There is no meaningful communication, and this I might
20 say is not only true of the Mayor's office, but it is also true
21 of the Chief of Police.

22 We have had a very difficult time communicating with
23 him. Even the Governor's Commission on Human Rights and the
24 Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council and myself, who complain about
25 police harassment said this, well, the Chief of Police won't

1 meet with us, which is the Governor's Commission on Human Rights,
2 and, no, there isn't any meaningful communication.

3 We have confronted him a number of times as far as the
4 policemen following us. We said what he was doing was constantly
5 sticking a needle into the black community, and in particular
6 the Youth Council, that some day there was going to be an
7 explosion. Well, there was an explosion. But it is unbelievable
8 the Chief of Police, for example, in the City of Milwaukee,
9 talking about getting some type of a program to educate police-
10 men in intergroup relations, and citing the Chief of Police in
11 Wauwatosa, Chief Johnson, who gives policemen more pay if they
12 will go on to school, and when they get their educational degree
13 in police tactics and behavior, they get more pay.

14 Well, the answer of our Chief of Police, we are not
15 in the educational business. We are in the police business.

16 There is no meaningful communication with the power
17 structure in Milwaukee.

18 Just to give you one example of this, I mentioned
19 earlier, talk about communication, my God, when we had a hearing
20 on the fair housing bill in Milwaukee, what more could you do
21 than bring the Episcopal Bishop, priests, clergymen, those who
22 are supposed to know something about morality, indigenous black
23 poor, white poor, rich white, black man who is middle class,
24 educational professors, and tell of our problem and the need for
25 fair housing legislation still is voted down 19 to 1.

1 Communication is nothing. I think what you have got to talk to
2 in terms of, here, Governor Kerner, is in terms of power.

3 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Isn't there a State fair housing
4 law, open occupancy law?

5 FATHER GROPPi: There is a fair housing law, but what
6 is it?

7 CHAIRMAN KERNER: I am not familiar with it, but I am
8 under the impression there is a State law.

9 FATHER GROPPi: It has exempted itself to death, let's
10 put it that way.

11 CHAIRMAN KERNER: I see. 65 percent to 70 percent of
12 the housing --

13 FATHER GROPPi: Is not covered.

14 CHAIRMAN KERNER: What is it, one of these four-
15 apartment type down to individual residency and ownership?

(10) 16 FATHER FLOOD: Any homeowner does not have to sell
17 to black people any apartment under four, and we do not have
18 apartment houses. We have flats in Milwaukee.

19 CHAIRMAN KERNER: You have pretty much of a home type
20 community rather than an apartment community.

21 FATHER GROPPi: 75 percent of the black people in the
22 City of Milwaukee are renters and poor. Unless we have a bill
23 that covers --

24 CHAIRMAN KERNER: What is your density of population
25 in the Negro community, let us say per room?

1 FATHER GROPPPI: Per acre -- the 1960 Census, this is
2 an old census, and even the man who made the census, Dr.
3 O'Reilly, at that time he was connected with the University of
4 Wisconsin, Milwaukee, said it was 82 people per acre, but even
5 he admits that this is not the true picture, whereas in other
6 areas of the city, it is 30 people per acre, but that is not
7 counting the suburbs. We are having a population explosion
8 in the City of Milwaukee. Over 50 percent of the black people
9 in the City of Milwaukee are under the age of 21. Over 40
10 percent of the black people in the City of Milwaukee are under
11 the age of 15. And only two percent are over the age of 65.
12 So we're having a population explosion.

13 CHAIRMAN KERNER: What is your comparative unemploy-
14 ment the white, not black, but I say ghetto residents?

15 FATHER GROPPPI: Yes. The statistic is about two and
16 one-half times greater amongst black people, but you see, I
17 question these statistics, and this article in Newsweek that
18 came forth a number of months ago, they claim that what was it,
19 something like 200,000 black men have dropped out of the
20 statistic bracket completely. They have ceased to become even
21 statistics, that the unemployment rate in reality is up as high
22 as 15 to 20 percent amongst the black people. That is the
23 depression rate. And so when you talk about statistics in
24 employment, you know, I'm not too concerned about them. I work
25

1 in the black community and I see the number of black people un-
2 employed. I know the kinds of jobs they are getting. They are
3 getting jobs that many black men who have pride will not take,
4 and I mean many members of the Commandos, for example, the
5 Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council, they refuse to take these jobs
6 simply because they are labeled nigger work and only black people
7 get jobs such as this, and they won't take them.

8 CHAIRMAN KERNER: May I ask a question of all of you.
9 Are the people in the ghetto, because I agree with you, it is
10 not just black, it is a mixture -- there is a poverty culture
11 and this crosses all color lines. Are they seeking really to
12 see, to live among the whites, or are they seeking a better
13 place to live necessarily?

14 MR. CHAMBERS: Do you want to take turns?

15 FATHER GROPPPI: Let me just say one thing with
16 regard --

17 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Let me confirm -- something was
18 said earlier. I quite agree, the white community has got to be
19 educated.

20 FATHER GROPPPI: All right. Let me answer this in a
21 couple of things. You see, the Mayor of the City of Milwaukee
22 was against the city fair housing ordinance because, he said,
23 all the whites were going to flee to the suburbs, and the city
24 was going to become black.

25 Our answer to this was, let the whites go to hell for

1 all we care.

2 MR. CHAMBERS: Amen.

3 FATHER GROPPi: Let them go. We don't give a damn
4 if they go to the suburbs. We don't care if the entire city
5 becomes black. But when they go to the suburbs, let them take
6 their white gyp merchants with them and their liquor stores
7 that are present in the black community, and we will build a
8 fine community of our own. But what we need is territorial
9 expansion. See, what we are looking for is the right of a man
10 to move wherever he wants.

11 Now, a black man can move in the middle of white
12 society. I prefer to live in a black community, and I can't
13 understand why this man wants to move in white society. But if
14 he does, I feel this is his right, and even though I may dis-
15 agree, you know, and not want to move there myself, I per-
16 sonally would die for that man's right to live wherever he
17 wants. Maybe he likes to live with white people, I don't know.
18 This is his right.

19 But what he really wants, I think, is a decent home
20 in a neighborhood where he can send his kids to a school where
21 he is going to get a decent education, although I don't know
22 where that is, because I think white people are being culturally
23 deprived in white society because they are learning nothing
24 about black people and black culture. For example, you know
25 one of the aldermen recently came up against fair housing

1 legislation. You know what that man said? He said the white
2 man has gained his status in the American society through
3 blood, sweat and tears, and the Negro only attained his rights
4 in society through blood, sweat and tears. Well, that man was
5 culturally deprived. He knew nothing about the black man's
6 contribution to America. For heaven's sake, this country was
7 built on black blood, sweat, and tears.

8 What I am saying is, if this man wants to move out
9 into white society because he wants a decent home in a neighbor-
10 hood where perhaps he has got a little room to breathe and
11 there are no rats around and it is close to his place of employ-
12 ment, fine, that is his business. I'll die for him to have
13 that right to move there. But the black man is not necessarily
14 looking to live with the white man. I don't think -- you know,
15 Dr. Kenneth Clark comes forth and says, we will never know
16 where the black man chooses to live until the intransigent and
17 the bigoted attitude of the white community changes. Then we
18 will be able to make a judgment, not until.

19 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Chambers, I think you wanted
20 to make some comment.

21 MR. CHAMBERS: Here is what I say, and I hope by now
22 you recognize the fact that I didn't come here to play footsies
23 with you, but tell you what is on my mind, because --

24 CHAIRMAN KERNER: That is why you are here.

25 MR. CHAMBERS: OK. Fine. And I feel I will never

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1 have another opportunity because I look at the kind of people
2 who are appointed to these commissions and let me know they are
3 not interested in black people who are black and know they are
4 black, whose mothers are black, whose fathers are black, and
5 who have no doubts about what they are mixed with. Me, I'm
6 mixed, with black and more black.

7 I read in the paper where a white man will get mad
8 because he got a reduction in salary and come home and kill his
9 wife and all of his children, and then go out and kill as many
10 of the neighbors as he can. I don't want to live around white
11 people. Here is the kind of Negroes they want, and to show you
12 I'm not that kind, since this is the only kind they accept,
13 I will never live around them.

14 If my wife has a master's and is working towards a
15 doctorate, I have a doctorate, I might be a senator, I dress
16 like him, walk, talk, act like him, I go to Vietnam a dove and
17 come back, all of a sudden I see the President's point of view,
18 my wife will take in a little washing and ironing for the
19 neighbors and not charge them anything, we stay at home, we go
20 to bed by nine o'clock, we don't have any parties, we keep our
21 kids in the yard -- in the summertime I'll cut his grass and
22 in the winter I'll shovel his snow, I'm a nice colored boy.

23 That is the kind of black men they want, the old
24 house Negro, the updated sophisticated Uncle Tom.

25 Well, those of us whom the white people fear are going

1 to move into their communities don't want to be around them.

2 It's like Groppi here said -- Father --

3 FATHER GROPPI: Call me Jim, Man. They call me
4 Grope.

5 MR. CHAMBERS: OK. It's a decent house that is
6 weather-tight in the wintertime, one that you can cool in the
7 summer and keep warm in the winter. If there are vermin, you
8 can keep more of them outside than inside. It just happens
9 that the property, the choice is given to white people. When
10 property was up for grabs in the beginning of this country,
11 all the white man had to do was squat on it and drive a stake
12 and it was his. When a black man would try to do this, he was
13 being owned as property and laws prevented him from having it,
14 so white people didn't get it through blood, sweat and tears.
15 They got it through lying, cheating, stealing, and treachery.

16 And by the way, taking scalps, which they blame on
17 the Indians, was done by white people. When they came here
18 they were paid a bounty for bringing in Indian scalps. And
19 the Indians did what the white people showed them, so anyway
20 they tricked the Indians, they enslaved us. So now the only
21 way we can get property is when white people get tired of it,
22 and I think realtors call it the trickle-down process. These
23 old rambling large houses are not what is wanted now. So if a
24 white man is not going to be a slum lord, keep it, he has used
25 it as much as he can there, then they will sell it to one of

1 us, and we are poor, and we cannot maintain it. So other people
2 move in to help pay for this big old shabby house which should
3 have been torn down in the first place.

4 So it trickles down to us, and when we get it, we get
5 a bunch of nothing.

6 It is amusing to me how these committees are gotten
7 together. The very man who we black people fear, you see, we
8 don't feel Lyndon Johnson is our President. We feel that he
9 was a racist in Texas and he is a racist in the White House.

10 Because I read when he was in Congress and the Civil
11 Rights Act came up, he said this pernicious legislation I
12 won't vote for and I hope it not ever comes before this Congress
13 again.

14 Then his old pal, Bobby Baker, and it is a funny
15 thing, he is out on \$5,000 for fraud, income tax evasion and
16 probably perjury, and the bond is only \$5,000, yet some Muslims
17 who were attacked in Omaha on the streets for selling their
18 papers and defended themselves, and the cops tried to shoot
19 them, are out on \$37,000 bond.

20 Then there is Mr. Walter Jenkins. But, see, these
21 people are close to the President. He went to the hospital
22 and got sick after he was sent there on a morals charge.
23 Whenever one of these scoundrels gets caught, then het gets
24 sick, see.

25 So J. Edgar Hoover sent him a bouquet of roses.

1 And speaking of J. Edgar Hoover, I have read that
2 he would have to approve of the wife that one of his agents is
3 going to marry, of the woman he is going to take for his wife.
4 Then he is going to put out these phony statistics to frighten
5 all of you timid white people anyway and tell you that \$27
6 billion is being spent on crime annually, but you know what he
7 includes among that \$27 billion? The salaries that are paid
8 to police officers, because he is saying their job is to fight
9 crime, so since we have to pay them this salary, then that is
10 a part of the crime budget.

11 Yet maybe ten to fifteen percent of his time is
12 spent fighting crime. And then if he would really fight it,
13 he would have to put his brothers in jail.

14 Prostitution can't exist in the neighborhood unless
15 the cop knows about it. Gambling, narcotics. The police know
16 these things. They know who is doing it. They know where it
17 comes. In Omaha there is a drug, it is a cough syrup called
18 Robitussin, and the kids drink it, and it is tearing them up,
19 and the police know it and they know who is distributing it,
20 but they won't touch him. They won't touch him.

21 But what I want to do, and I'm not vicious, I'm
22 not going to sell any to any kids, but I want to see Robitussin
23 get into the white high schools and into the white neighbor-
24 hoods, and then they will become concerned.

25 And this is what some Negroes think of when they

1 move around white people. They're just like kidnapers or bank
2 robber will take a hostage for their own protection. Having
3 white people around might protect your kid. If he goes to
4 school where white people go, they repair those leaks and they
5 see that the furnace doesn't fail, and they'll see that it is
6 ventilated, they will see that he has books and crayolas and
7 pencils and paper. They will see that the teacher is not
8 brutal and sexually maladjusted.

9 But when they find these kind of people in the white
10 schools, they send them into ours.

11 Maybe this is the reason some black people move
12 around whites, for the convenience and utilitarian purpose,
13 but if there is a black man who moves around white people be-
14 cause he doesn't like his own, he wants to be white, we tell
15 him, like Groppi tells his own who want to move out, he can
16 go straight to hell, and if there is a God in heaven and he is
17 just, that is where he is going to go. But since God is
18 white, too, we know he is going to get the best of this world
19 and the best of the next one also, because if he is not white,
20 he is an Uncle Tom.

21 MR. SANDERS: I would respond to that question simply
22 by saying that the mood has changed. I think any time before
23 1954 and possibly up until 1963 we endorsed as a national policy
24 integration. I simply think that was a white definition of
25 Negro aspirations in America. Since 1963 and the Groppian

1 redefinition we are undergoing now of what is required, what it
2 means to be a man, and I think which Ernie Chambers has elabor-
3 ated very articulately, this irreversible trend, the Negro is
4 now a man now, and that this can't be turned around and it is
5 in no sense -- in no sense can we pretend that our, or go back
6 to the pre-riot mentality and say that he is not a man. And
7 now integration is superfluous, and what we are trying to do
8 is maximize choices, maximize options, so that if anybody wants
9 to go to Wall Street, they can go. If they are Negro, let him
10 go. That is the point. If he wants to stay in the community,
11 if he opts for the Negro community on a value judgment, he is
12 making a preference that he would rather play his radio at
13 ten decibels rather than five, that he would rather gig on
14 Friday night and Saturday night than go to Hello Dolly, then
15 he should go, and he should live in the community that he wants
16 to.

17 Personally, and because I am -- I suppose I am a
18 child of a gray world, in between black and white, that I
19 can't condemn either choice, whether a man goes to the white
20 world, to the one America, or if he goes to the other. I
21 personally would rather choose, because I think, you know, the
22 real battle at least in this last one-third of the 20th Century
23 is in the black community, and that is my personal choice, but
24 I wouldn't impose that on anybody else.

25 Secondly, this switch from integration to what you

1 call it any number of different things, quality segregation, or
2 black community, or black community development, is the fact
3 that it is not only a question of the Negro not wanting to
4 live in middle-class white America. I think you will find it
5 in your own hippie movements, and it is a disenchantment --

6 CHAIRMAN KERNER: As I say, this is not necessarily
7 a color line at all.

8 MR. SANDERS: It is a disenchantment with the
9 banalities of middle-class America and everything that Richard
10 Stroud in that Christian Science article, "Mood of America",
11 series, where he went and wrote 30 articles in the course of
12 summer around the United States, and in it was a very dismal
13 conclusion. Yesterday it was something like, you know, there
14 is something, these are disjointed times, there is something
15 wrong with America, and you can feel it in every little rural
16 town. You can feel it in every big city. And this is, you
17 know, what I think Ernie and Father were talking about earlier,
18 that this is essentially a white man's problem, and as far as
19 housing and the flow of Negro residents between white and black
20 communities, a lot of those factors, the disenchantment with
21 white America, all of these things that Stroud talked about,
22 seems to me to encourage and to speed up this flow back into
23 the Negro community of Negroes who would otherwise go into the
24 white community, and this redefinition that I mentioned
25 earlier of integration and putting it in Negro terms, community

1 development, this sort of thing.

2 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Thomas, maybe you would like to
3 make some comments now that you speak so literally, so force-
4 fully, and so well.

5 MR. THOMAS: Well, I was thinking about my brother
6 here when he was talking about the Indians. And I had written
7 down in the book, "Down These Mean Streets", the Indian fought
8 the white man and died, and the black man yells about, smiled
9 and multiplied. And I'm sort of glad he did, to come to a
10 power now, to come to a majority.

11 My sister is married to a white man and they sold me
12 a house in a place called Wyandanch, Long Island. And it was
13 pretty run down, two houses, pretty run down. There were no
14 violations on it at all. Pretty run down. And in prison I
15 had learned brick masonry and the whole bit, so I started to
16 work, and my wife was pregnant with my son, and mixed cement,
17 and we built a chimney in the hope that I -- I was working in
18 Harlem with kids and felt that I could not keep commuting back
19 and forth, so I decided to sell the house.

20 Now, nobody wanted to buy that house. You know, none
21 of the white community. This was a white community in which I
22 was living. I was accepted because I was supposed to be a
23 Puerto Rican, which is supposed to be one little step above the
24 Negro, and this is what they do to us. They divide and con-
25 quer us. They say, well, you are not a black man, you are a

1 Puerto Rican. Oh, boy. Anyway, I put my house up for sale.
2 It was in damn better shape than it was when I got it. I
3 couldn't get nobody to buy it. So I went up -- you know, I
4 went up to the -- Wyandanch is divided by a railroad track,
5 you know. On the other side of the track my black brothers
6 live. And so I went there and I said, I am going to sell the
7 house. They said, fine. We are going to buy it. You know.
8 Because they wanted to get into that neighborhood.

9 And I went to my sister and her husband, I said, I
10 found a buyer for the house. Real great, you know. They said,
11 oh, that is good, very good. Who is going to buy it? I said,
12 Mr. So-and-So, who lives on So-and-So -- he says, you mean
13 Negroes? I said, no. Human beings.

14 I didn't know until later that my own sister and her
15 husband belonged to a committee called Committee for Improve-
16 ment in Civic -- jazz, jazz, jazz, jazz, you know. And all of
17 a sudden I found about 40 million, billion, trillion violations
18 on my house. And they took me down to the city hall and
19 violation this, violation that, violation this, violation
20 that, you've got to fix this up before you can sell it, and so
21 like a nice young trusting American, I tried my best to get it
22 fixed up.

23 I got it fixed up, went to sell it again. Then there
24 were threats to my black brother, that if he bought this house,
25 this was going to happen to him, and so forth.

1 So I left the house to take care of business in Harlem,
2 Spanish Harlem, and took my family back, and then came back to
3 see if I couldn't arrange to sell the house. They had gotten
4 into my house -- this was winter -- they had smashed in the
5 windows, left all their dogs walking in there. There was --
6 just for lack of a better word -- what do you say, excrement,
7 shit, you know, all over the floor. My water pipes busted.
8 You know, busted the whole house up, you know.

9 And when I went and found out, you know, that my
10 sister belonged to this committee, I was really a hurting cat.
11 She chose to pick her world. I feel this about a human being.
12 I speak this with a blood that is in my veins, that we don't
13 want necessarily to live with the white man. We just want to
14 live like him.

15 I got pretty sick and tired in Harlem where Uncle
16 Toms and sellouts, they would come in and they would throw a
17 sirloin steak to Central Harlem and throw a bone to Spanish
18 Harlem, and get them to fighting against each other. Then go
19 and throw a bone to Central Harlem, throw a sirloin steak to
20 Spanish Harlem, and get them to fight against each other. You
21 dig it?

22 And as long as they are fighting against each other,
23 the power structure is cooling its its role. You know, Man,
24 they are so busy now they ain't gonna take care of business.

25 My son is nine years old and he came up to me and he

1 said, Daddy, how come Sandy is so light and I am kind of dark
2 and you are black? I said, Son, what do you say this for?
3 He says, because kids on the block, a white kid on the block is
4 telling me that I've got a nigger for a daddy. And I say, hey,
5 you go back and you tell that kid that you've got the best
6 damn nigger daddy in the world, because your daddy ain't no
7 nigger. Dig it?

8 And you say, only we adults will teach our children --
9 children don't have prejudice, you know that. We teach them
10 that jazz. We teach them hate. We teach them separation.
11 We teach them to distrust each other.

12 I am going to end it up with all this. I came down
13 in a taxicab from the airport. There was a white taxi driver
14 and he got into a conversation. He didn't know who I was, but
15 we started to discuss things, and finally we got down to nitty-
16 gritty, and he was a white -- is a white man from a very
17 liberal, undiscriminating place called Mississippi, and he was
18 telling me jokes about our government. And he said, did you
19 hear the latest joke? And this is the way he said it.

20 You all hear the latest joke about that hurricane in
21 Texas? I said, no, I didn't. He says, well, a cat came up and
22 says, did you hear about that big wind in Texas? The guy
23 says, yes, he is in the White House.

24 You dig it? There ain't no respect for our govern-
25 ment. There ain't no respect for Senators. There ain't no

1 respect any more -- any more our young kids are just growing
2 up with one damn thing. Man, we are going to have to fight for
3 what we are going to get. You know? We are going to have to
4 fight, Man.

5 We're just tired. We can't go out there all the time
6 and cool it and say, OK, because we are going to get down there
7 to the nitty-gritty and we are going to discuss with the people
8 that are in power, and we are going to have -- we can't, be-
9 cause every time, promises, promises, broken promises, promises,
10 promises, broken promises.

11 We got a thing that came out in El Diario, a Puerto
12 Rican paper in Spanish Harlem, and it says this is to all the
13 politicians, please, when election time rolls around again,
14 don't show up around 158th Street in the Bronx. You under-
15 stand?

16 Years ago our people, our fathers, our mothers, black,
17 Puerto Rican, whatever it was, they accepted politicians'
18 promises. I promise you that if you elect me into office, I
19 will give you better housing, better education, better jobs,
20 better opportunities, and your children will not regret it one
21 bit. Put me into office and I will repair your streets, I will
22 give you better, better, better.

23 OK. So every year it was the same jazz, and so our
24 fathers and mothers who were resigned to this jazz, they
25 accepted it as saying, well, that's the way it is. You know,

1 politicians.

2 And then the politicians would come in and some angry
3 guy would jump up and say something and he would be smothered
4 because the politician would throw a nice block party and put
5 out some fried chicken or some rice and beans, whatever it was,
6 and a nice band playing, and get the people to dancing and for-
7 getting all their troubles of hot and cold running cockroaches
8 and king-sized rats and crummy tenement housing, lack of
9 education, lack of opportunities, but it ain't no more this
10 way now. No, no. We have got one thing beat. We have learned
11 to use our minds and our young bloods have learned to use their
12 minds.

13 We don't want a war, but you leave us no alternative.
14 We would rather live than die. We would rather share and care.
15 We would rather reap than burn. We would rather learn.

16 But if you give us no opportunities, how can I go
17 back, how can he go back, how can all our young people go
18 back, those of us who have children, and look them straight in
19 the face and say, Daddy, why can't we have this, and Daddy,
20 how come this?

21 You know, my little daughter is looking for the day
22 that I can buy a house. You know. She wants a house that has
23 upstairs and downstairs. I didn't get to see a car myself
24 until I was 16 years old, and the only way I got to see a car,
25 I joined the Boy Scouts of the Young Men's Hebrew Association,

1 Troop 633, the Wolf Patrol. And they took me to New Jersey and
2 I saw beautiful grass and I used to see it all the time, but it
3 was in Central Park. That was my country, Central Park. And
4 I went through this big field and here I had -- papa had really
5 wailed and saved and I got my Boy Scout uniform and I saw
6 these beautiful big mud pies and I with fiendish glee said,
7 Gee, some cats, some kid, they really built up those mud pies,
8 and I am going to smash them all. And so deliberately I went
9 through the field stepping into big mud pies, and I had mud
10 pies up to my knees until a kid pulled my coat and told me,
11 hey, you're stepping into cow shit.

12 I didn't know. Well, my son tells me, Papa, when
13 are we going to have a house? I say, Sure, son, we are going
14 to have a house. I am going to die someday, people, but I
15 sure would like to leave it a better world for all our children.

16 MR. CHAMBERS: Amen.

17 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Senator Brooke.

18 SENATOR BROOKE: Mr. Chairman, in listening to Mr.
19 Chambers, I know that Mr. Chambers is a very angry man, a very
20 bitter man. And I can understand his anger and I can under-
21 stand his bitterness. Mr. Chambers made some statements that
22 I would like to explore him.

23 He condemned every member of this Commission. He
24 condemned the President. He condemned God. In a sense he
25 even condemned Mr. Anderson, for Mr. Anderson goes to a white

1 university, a very great university. He condemns in a sense
2 Father Groppi because Father Groppi is a white man, even though
3 he certainly thinks like a black man, and all others. And
4 there are many others like Father Groppi who are ashamed of
5 what has happened in this country and want to right the wrongs
6 that have happened in this country.

7 And in a sense he differs with Mr. Thomas, who I think
8 still has indicated some hope. Mr. Thomas ends in his poetry
9 by sharing, by living, and not dying.

10 Now, I am certainly not taking issue with you, Mr.
11 Chambers, because I understand your bitterness and your angri-
12 ness. But I know that you also reflect the thinking of a good
13 many black people in this country who are angry and bitter, and
14 in many instances more angry and more bitter than you.

15 I went into Spanish Harlem, I went into Central Harlem,
16 and I talked to some Mau Maus, so-called, there at the coffee
17 shop -- I don't know if you know about it -- and I heard, as I
18 listened, intently, as I listened to you, bitterness and anger
19 which had been built up in them over years and years.

20 Now, this Commission has the responsibility for making
21 recommendations to improve conditions in this country. I don't
22 think there is a man on this Commission or a woman who didn't
23 really know something about what the causes were that started
24 the riots, and we have had others that have appeared before us
25 who documented those causes, and you have very eloquently told

1 us and given us chapter and verse, and you are filling the
2 record with what caused the riots.

3 But I don't think that you want to leave us, nor would
4 we have you leave us, nor will we benefit unless we get down
5 to practical things as to what can be done in this country now.

6 This is what we want to do. I know you are bitter
7 about the past. I am bitter about the past. There are a lot
8 of people who are bitter about the past, angry about the past.

9 You can say, well, you are a Senator, a United States
10 Senator, you are part of the white power structure. You can
11 criticize me and everything you want, and you know, I don't
12 scare very easily and I don't worry about criticism. I
13 couldn't do what I did if I did.

14 And I have been bitter, and I am bitter about the
15 past. I want to see equality in this country, as you. I
16 don't think anyone has monopoly on it, even black men. I think
17 Father Groppi is a good example that some white people, hope-
18 fully a great deal, a number of white people are angry and
19 bitter about what has happened. But let's be practical. Let's
20 examine what can we do about the future.

21 You named your child, your children. You have them.
22 You mentioned Sandy and your son -- I don't know whether Mr.
23 Sanders has children, but if he doesn't, he probably will.

24 And I think to a man you want to improve conditions
25 for them.

1 This is the way human beings have happened since the
2 beginning of man. What can we do about it?

3 Now, you said you can burn down Milwaukee and we can
4 shoot policemen, we can shoot the National Guard, shoot the
5 Federal troops. Revolution is a way of changing governments.
6 It has been tried, and I think you most eloquently, and with
7 your brilliant knowledge of history, you gave us examples of
8 it. My State of Massachusetts and the Boston Tea Party and all
9 the other things.

10 Revolution has always been and is going on today all
11 over the world. We know that. Now, on a practical point of
12 view, are you advocating or do you believe, and I am not trying
13 to get you on the record for anybody to come and arrest you,
14 and if they do, I would like to know about it. I think anybody
15 who speaks before this Commission, Mr. Chairman, certainly has
16 immunity for that purpose. I think you care about it enough to
17 not even care about being arrested, because I think you took
18 that chance when you came. I am not saying that you are trying
19 to advocate revolution in this country, but I am asking you
20 now whether you really believe that the way to achieve this
21 goal is through revolution.

22 Then I give you another practical question. Do you
23 have sufficient numbers, and I mean when I am talking about
24 revolution, talking about do you have manpower, and the fire-
25 power and the material power and all those things to bring about

1 a successful revolution? That is number one.

2 MR. CHAMBERS: OK.

3 SENATOR BROOKE: Number two, do you believe that you
4 can make conditions so unbearable in the country through riots
5 and through burnings and, say -- let's say guerrilla warfare
6 -- that you can bring out the desired results, of which I
7 don't think too many people are in disagreement with you.

8 Let me say that.

9 I don't speak for any member of the Commission. I
10 speak for myself.

11 Or do you feel, or do you see any possibility of
12 something less than either of these alternatives? Do you see
13 certain things that can be done by this Commission, by the
14 Congress, by the President, by the Mayor of Milwaukee, things
15 that can be done to practically bring about the results that
16 you desire?

17 Now, you understand the nature of my question.

18 MR. CHAMBERS: Sure, I understand.

19 Senator, I am glad you asked me those questions, and
20 the reason I am glad is because, as you said, you understand
21 the problems that we have and you phrased them to give me a
22 lot of ammunition to deal with.

23 SENATOR BROOKE: Purposely, I want you to know that.

24 MR. CHAMBERS: That is why I said I appreciated it,
25 because I knew what you were doing.

1 Now, the first thing I would say about the revolution,
2 as has been said here repeatedly, no man wants to die. This
3 is why I said we will kill now, so that we can live and raise
4 our children.

5 But if there is to be a revolution, it wouldn't be
6 called that until after the fact. We have succeeded in over-
7 throwing by violence this particular form of government.

8 Well, now, if America existed in a vacuum with just
9 white and black and, say, they outnumber us ten to one, which
10 I don't believe, I think they are closer to 40 to 50 million
11 black people in this country, there might be six million in
12 New York alone, there might be five million on the south side
13 of Chicago, there might be a million and a half in St. Louis
14 and East St. Louis, and then in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama,
15 Louisiana, where a census taker wouldn't go, there might be a
16 hundred million, but anyway, numbers don't bother me too much
17 because America does not exist in a vacuum. She exists in a
18 world, an international setting, where there are countries
19 stronger than this country who are plotting the over -- not the
20 overthrow, the destruction of this nation.

21 America has admitted in a recent report that they
22 have a shortage of pilots. They have lost so many planes now
23 that it will be difficult for them to maintain the present
24 level of activities in Vietnam, and if they would have a real
25 war, say, with Russia or China, then it is doubtful that they

1 could maintain their position.

2 All that needs doing in this country is to have -- if
3 this is to be done and if this is left as the only alternative
4 -- is a disruption within the operation of this country so
5 that it is weak enough and distracted enough for somebody from
6 the outside to come in.

7 They have already admitted that they couldn't afford
8 five Detroits at once, not four, three, or maybe even two, if
9 it is going to take Federal personnel and material to put it
10 down. This country is being nibbled at and weakened from a
11 lot of sources, and again it is like Ho Chi Minh said, against
12 the French, the tiger and the elephant, the tiger will not be
13 stupid to run at the elephant head to head because he is
14 smaller, but his very smallness gives him more quickness and
15 more mobility. He can conceal himself in more places and strike
16 at the elephant here, and inflict maybe just a harassing wound.
17 Maybe he will get up in a tree and take a chunk out of his
18 back, but eventually the elephant will become so harassed that
19 he might leave himself vulnerable, or maybe one of those
20 gouges will open a vein and he will bleed to death.

21 Whatever it takes will be done, and when you push
22 men into a corner and they are desperate, they don't look at
23 the odds. As Malcolm X said, don't talk to me about the odds
24 because if you take these young black men and send them into
25 Vietnam and Southeast Asia where they fight against 800 million

1 Chinese, these odds in this country are not that bad.

2 So as far as the revolution, I don't think anybody
3 says that we are going to organize a force here and attack the
4 United States Government. It will be hitting here wherever
5 there is a problem like in Milwaukee.

6 This man and his group will be peaceful as long as
7 they are allowed to be. When they are attacked, they will
8 retaliate.

9 I wouldn't come into this room and say I will whip
10 every man in here, but if every man in this room jumped on me
11 and I am already in here, I am not going to go down without a
12 fight, and I am sure that I am going to take at least one,
13 and looking at the ages and the various physical conditions,
14 far more than that with me.

15 So this is the way we look at it.

16 We have to show that every other means that we have
17 tried to employ has been taken away from us and it won't work,
18 so the only thing left is violence because that is the only
19 thing this government understands, and it is the only thing it
20 responds.

21 And as far as conditions, you know, creating condi-
22 tions through this activity, so intolerable as to bring about
23 the desired results, I think this can be done because this
24 government operates out of fear and out of a desire to save
25 face. They talk about the orientals worshipping their

1 ancestors and wanting to save face. America is more guilty of
2 that than anybody else because they dig up all the heroes
3 from the past because they have no heroes for now. And when I
4 condemn Mr. Johnson, I condemn him -- I am going to do like
5 the white people now, and weigh this thing with the delicacy
6 of a jeweler's scale and say I am not condemning him as a
7 person because I don't even know him as a person, but I condemn
8 him for failing to act in the areas where he has the power to
9 act and the responsibility to act, and he has taken an oath of
10 office to so act.

11 Look at the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. Title VI I
12 believe it is which is supposed to come into operation, and it
13 says simply that wherever Federal money goes, and there can be
14 some Federal strings. Then I think they tried to eliminate de
15 facto school segregation and some areas of housing. Why are
16 they going to pass a bill and tell us it is designed to deal
17 with out problems, but where the problem is most severe, they
18 say the bill doesn't touch?

19 I need an operation in my stomach and they say we
20 can cut on any place except the stomach. Why is he going to
21 cut on my foot when my foot is not what I say is hurting me?
22 And this is the way all of the things the Government has done.
23 They are hypocritical.

24 Why will Humphrey swing down the lane arm in arm
25 with Lester Maddox --

1 FATHER GROPPPI: Oh, God.

2 MR. CHAMBERS: -- and Lester Maddox got to be governor
3 by using ax handles and pistols in open violation of Federal
4 law, and resistance and defiance of the Federal Government.

5 Then Wallace is allowed that shameful, disgusting
6 charade in the doorway of the university where the Attorney
7 General and the President got together to let him save face
8 when he brought troops out to resist the Federal Government.
9 Why won't they call it treason when he brings out armed might
10 to resist this government? He becomes an enemy of the Govern-
11 ment. That should make him -- that should put him in the pro-
12 cess of committing treason or trying an insurrection.

13 FATHER GROPPPI; He's white, Baby, that's why.

14 MR. CHAMBERS: He is still honored. He is brought
15 into conferences, and still the de facto Governor of Alabama.
16 And as you said, everybody in this room understands these
17 problems and the causes of them, and we know the solutions, too,
18 but they are not going to be implemented.

19 We can say that Congress could make sure, say, the
20 Model Cities program -- because that is what is on the minds
21 of people in Omaha, New York, Chicago, and other larger cities
22 -- we could tell them, make sure that the city is going to do
23 this thing properly before you give funds, and they say, OK,
24 just like they did with the Urban Renewal. In the whole history
25 of Urban Renewal, they have removed commercial areas while

1 kicking black people out. And then if they do build some kind
2 of living or residential area, it is high-rise apartments or
3 townhouses or country houses which the people living there can
4 no longer afford to purchase.

5 In Omaha, the population of black people, according
6 to their census, in about the last ten years, has increased by
7 67 percent. The residential area for black people by 24
8 percent. We could mention that the government, when we send
9 complaints of police brutality and misdeeds and document it
10 with witnesses and doctors and everybody else to the Justice
11 Department, let them have an investigation, we don't recommend
12 that because we have done it and it won't work. We can recom-
13 mend talking to Secretary Weaver, and we call him -- I condemn
14 him, we call him Uncle Weaver -- have Uncle Weaver hold up on
15 some of these funds to various housing programs that they have
16 in the cities when they are discriminatory on their face.

(14) 17 No Negroes are in policy-making positions. There are
18 no programs for relocation. None of the -- there is no code
19 enforcement. None of the things that are written into the bill.
20 Yet this money is granted to perpetuate segregation which the
21 application for money shows is going to be done.

22 There is Federal money in the Secondary and Elementary
23 Education Act which continually pour into Omaha, and it is one
24 of the worst segregated school systems in the country, but the
25 Government does nothing about that, and the reason I keep

1 mentioning funds, this is about the best and strongest way they
2 can influence the state or locality. They are not going to
3 do this, Senator Brooke, and I think you are aware of this from
4 some of the things that people say, your colleagues. I am glad
5 they are not mine. On the floor of the Senate. They ridicule
6 us, they degrade us. They make terrible statements about us
7 on the floor.

8 SENATOR BROOKE: Well, it has not been done in the
9 time I have been in the Senate, not that I have -- I have
10 never heard it since I have been in the Senate.

11 MR. CHAMBERS: Just give them a little time and then
12 you know what they are going to do, and this is why we respect
13 the Government when the words that they actually said come out
14 in the Congressional Record, and this scoundrel has been allowed
15 by their own rules to go there and change what he said so it
16 says what he wishes he had said.

17 Then when they were voting to give these members of
18 the House additional vacations, about eight more a year, then
19 the guy from Louisiana stands up and says, I rise in opposition
20 to this motion but I certainly hope it passes, and they all
21 laughed.

22 This is Federal money. Then a rat control bill comes
23 up and they make jokes about it. And we live -- I am very
24 humble. We are unsophisticated. When I say humble, I mean
25 from the standpoint of having this world's goods. In attitude

1 I am not humble at all. I am put in jail for my attitude.
2 But we live among the people who are hurting, and we see that
3 they are desperate people, and talk about odds and manpower,
4 that means nothing at all. Tanks, bombs, napalm. We saw some
5 little rice eaters took all of that action that the French had,
6 and as Malcolm X said, remember Dien Bien Phu and some other
7 ones in Korea, ran them all the way across the Yalu. And he
8 said, here's what you do. He said, the white man is brave
9 when he has planes, he is brave when he has got bombs, he
10 is brave when he has got tanks, and he is brave when he has
11 got a lot of company along with him, but you take that little
12 brother in Africa and Asia and turn him loose in the woods
13 with a blade, and when the sun goes down and it is dark, then
14 it is even-Steven. And that is the way we feel.

15 It is too bad Malcolm was killed. We need him now.

16 SENATOR BROOKE: May I ask you this question. Do
17 you reject help from any white men?

18 MR. CHAMBERS: No. We would take help from -- we
19 have tried through what you call extra-legal channels to get
20 the Viet Cong to airlift some guerrillas into this country, but
21 they don't have the means. What I am trying to say by that,
22 wherever the help would come from, if there is a Satan in
23 hell, if he would send help, it would be accepted from him.
24 If there is a God in heaven asleep -- He has been asleep as
25 long as He has -- if He decides to wake up and help, it will

1 be accepted from Him. And you mentioned Brother Groppi here.
2 Men like him understand the statements that I made. And I have
3 often made the statement that there are going to be white people
4 fighting on our side when this thing happens because they are
5 sick of what this country has, too. They have lied to the kids
6 about religion. They have lied about government. They have
7 lied about foreign policy. McNamara lies every day, we don't
8 need any bombs, and then he has got to go to his friend in
9 West Germany and ask them for bombs this government gave to
10 West Germany, to the good guys in West Germany, to the white
11 Christians who love America in West Germany, and that man
12 said, I know you have a problem with your balance of gold, but
13 you are going to pay a premium for these bombs, and you are
14 going to pay in gold.

15 That is what your friend told you.

16 Then your white friend, Charles DeGaulle in France
17 said, get your planes and your troops and get the hell on out
18 of France. That is what your friends tell you.

19 Well, imagine what your enemies think about you.

20 And we have been made into enemies.

21 Suppose I want to be a nice guy and liked by everybody,
22 so I come to you with my hands out, hat tipping, doing a dance
23 like Stepin Fetchit, and you're going to wipe me out anyway.
24 Being a Tom doesn't even protect you now, so why be one? At
25 least you can have your manhood. And tell your kid, be like me.

1 Don't say, be like Lyndon Johnson. My kids better not be like
2 Lyndon Johnson. If I go to jail my children think either Lyndon
3 Johnson or Mayor Sorenson -- that is the Omaha Mayor -- put me
4 in jail. I teach them that because I tell them on the national
5 level Lyndon Johnson is responsible for what happens, on the
6 local level, Mayor Sorenson is responsible for what happens.
7 So one of his underlings comes and does something to me, it is
8 like a centipede moving one of his legs. The leg is not
9 responsive.

10 The puppet is not responsible. Go after the brain
11 of the centipede or go after the puppeteer, and that is what
12 Lyndon Johnson and Mayor Sorenson, and I am not saying that
13 anything should be done to them which would be a crime if I
14 advocated that that be done.

15 MR. SANDERS: Can I add to your question, Senator?

16 SENATOR BROOKE: Yes, I wish you would.

17 MR. SANDERS: It seems to me that is a bit beside the
18 point because, as I conceptualize a riot, or something that has
19 to do with the so-called Negro revolution, maybe that is a
20 misnomer, but it is not, it is not -- when we talk about riots
21 and revolutions, it is not in the sense of a take-over, of a
22 violent change of government in the traditional sense. It is
23 in terms of disruption. It is basically a crying out, almost
24 a self-destructive act, because the only way you can deal --
25 when you look at it on its face, it is Negroes burning out

1 their own businesses, the businesses that they patronize, in
2 Detroit burning out their very homes and all of their property,
3 having military forces called into their neighborhoods who
4 kill Negroes in their community to the ratio of 95 to 5. I
5 think it is just like I think it was Father Groppi, or Chambers,
6 or Thomas, one of the three, pointed out that white men aren't
7 killed in these riots. Negroes are killed in these riots.
8 And we know there are these consequences, that Negro homes are
9 burned, Negro businesses are burned out, Negro men are killed.

10 That is in no sense a take-over of numbers that we
11 envision when we talk about revolutions in the classical sense.
12 So it is not -- basically it is a desperate cry. I don't care.
13 I refuse to live on under this system.

14 Now, the revolution, so-called, will come, Mr.
15 Thornton, when we fire bombs on Wilshire Boulevard in Los
16 Angeles or when Madison Avenue is fire-bombed in Manhattan.
17 That hasn't come yet, and I don't think, you know, I don't
18 think that we are at that particular point. When there is
19 really a confrontation between black and white, when we go to
20 the whites and bomb out the white neighborhood and the so-called
21 white power structure in this country. I hear that conceptu-
22 alization of riots and revolution all the time, and it is
23 completely beside the point, but there is something to be said
24 about ten percent of the population, 11 percent of the
25 population, disrupting and gumming up the works, just bringing

1 the system to a halt, and if the Negro can do that and it is
2 worth the sacrifice, and --

3 SENATOR BROOKE: You are saying --

4 MR. SANDERS: And Negroes aren't the only ones.

5 SENATOR BROOKE: Do I understand you are saying, then,
6 that the riots and violence are being used just as a means of
7 protest at this point?

8 MR. SANDERS: See, when we say "protest", we put in
9 a civil rights context, and I think that is not appropriate.

10 SENATOR BROOKE: Give us another word for it.

11 FATHER GROPPi: Self-assertion.

12 MR. SANDERS: Self-assertion. He is trying to say
13 something. You know, the guy who has no bargaining power in
14 a sense, what he does is a repudiation of the political system.
15 Everybody in this room has had to negotiate with so-called
16 black militants, and they aren't amenable to political process.
17 When you think of a Sam Yorty, for example, in Los Angeles,
18 whose mail ran something like 75,000, for every 75,000 letters
19 he received 337 against his stand supporting the late Chief
20 Parker during the Los Angeles riots when his tactics and the
21 things he said were just uncivilized. But that, you know, that
22 is the kind of political response that he gets. He has to
23 respond to. Because his first obligation, I suppose like anybody
24 else who is elected to office, is to get himself reelected and
25 within a political context I can understand that. There is

1 enough of a political animal in me to understand you have an
2 obligation to be reelected, but the point is that the Negro
3 has no bargaining power. He doesn't -- Yorty could very well
4 do without the Negro vote in Los Angeles and win. So he is not
5 responsive to Negro demands in the political system, so that the
6 Negro, the only way he can have himself felt and heard, the
7 Negro in the ghetto, is to call attention to his plight by a
8 fire-bombing, and it is not that he is trying to take over.
9 He is trying to say that he is desperate, that it is not worth
10 living on in this America.

(15)

WARD & PAUL

11 SENATOR BROOKE: Take it the next step.

12 This is self-assertion and is calling attention and
13 is focusing attention upon the wrongs that have been heaped
14 upon him and still are there.

15 Now, what result does he expect to achieve by this?
16 Carry us to the next step.

17 MR. SANDERS: That is the result. It would be totality
18 for me.

19 SENATOR BROOKE: He wants more than just the atten-
20 tion focused upon the wrongs. He wants something to happen.
21 He wants to wrong the right. He wants to improve the situa-
22 tion.

23 Now, you said that Yorty, to go back to your specific
24 example, may not be responsive because he doesn't need the Negro
25 vote in Los Angeles. Where does this responsiveness come from?

1 Would you, Father?

2 FATHER GROPPi: I mentioned self-assertion here. You
3 see, the end, I believe, in the activity of many of the people
4 that participated in the violence in the white community, is
5 simply this. It is manhood. It is manhood. We look at the
6 system as existed in the City of Milwaukee, everything that
7 has been tried, and I believe the black man in America as far
8 as attempting to get his rights through orderly procedures, so-
9 called, has tried everything possible. Then he becomes a
10 man. He becomes a man. But I want to say something on this
11 whole question. This question of violence.

12 SENATOR BROOKE: Don't leave that there. He wants
13 more than just to assert himself. Certainly he wants to assert
14 himself as a man. He is tired. He has tried every other
15 avenue and he wants to assert himself as a man. But he still
16 wants results for himself, and he wants results for his children.

17 Now, what is the next step? That is what I am trying
18 to say.

19 MR. THOMAS: Live up to the Constitution of the
20 United States. Live up to your laws, your promises. That is
21 it.

22 MR. SANDERS: I think you are posing in a sense --

23 FATHER GROPPi: Freedom.

24 MR. SANDERS: It simply doesn't follow from what I
25 have just said --

1 MR. CHAMBERS: Can I go after him on what we want in
2 Omaha?

3 MR. SANDERS: He is for results, and I am giving him
4 the results.

5 CHAIRMAN KERNER: One of the things Mr. Chambers
6 wanted to assert is that our record is complete, and I am sure
7 the reporter will not be able to get all of your remarks at
8 one time.

9 MR. CHAMBERS: Well taken.

10 SENATOR BROOKE: I know what you want. I am trying
11 to say after Father Groppi said he wanted to assert himself as
12 a man, now he wants -- certainly he wants to assert himself as a
13 man, but he wants results.

14 MR. SANDERS: But look -- OK. If this is the result,
15 then, you know, it has been accomplished in a sense, hasn't it?

16 SENATOR BROOKE: Is that the only result that he
17 wants? That is not the only result he wants to accomplish.

18 MR. SANDERS: No, because theoretically we treat all
19 men the same, and then it follows that, you know, Negro
20 communities, the ghetto communities automatically receive what
21 white suburban communities receive.

22 SENATOR BROOKE: He wants a response from the white
23 power structure, doesn't he?

24 MR. CHAMBERS: Right. He wants response from whoever
25 is in a position and controls the means of rectifying the

1 problems that we present. And like every time there is a
2 demonstration, it is aimed at a specific objective like in
3 Milwaukee, in open housing ordinance, and that won't be enough.
4 Enforcement of it, first, a meaningful one, then one that will
5 be enforced to accomplish the purpose of open housing so a man
6 can get decent shelter for his family. Now, I am using Mil-
7 waukee as an example. I'm telling what we want in Omaha be-
8 cause you asked what can be done. Since you ask it, if the
9 answer is given, I expect this Commission to do what it can to
10 do these things.

11 SENATOR BROOKE: That is why we are here.

12 MR. CHAMBERS: All right. And I mentioned already,
13 withhold funds from a segregated, discriminatory, inferior
14 school system like in Omaha. Withhold money from all these
15 MDTA and other -- all these employment programs which are not
16 functioning. Withhold money from the Poverty Program when the
17 high practices and the attitudes of some of the people there
18 are not what they should be, conducive to accomplishing the
19 ends of the Poverty Program.

20 Don't give any money to the state welfare department
21 when they have men -- and this happened just before I left
22 Omaha -- who would tell a woman, if you sleep with me, then I
23 will see that you get some welfare assistance, and the indi-
24 vidual is known and a complaint is being filed supposedly. If
25 it is not by them, I am going to push it. Money is what the

1 Federal Government has to operate with.

2 Now, they have other things they can do behind the
3 scenes, but I'm telling you the legitimate things that they
4 can do openly.

5 As I said in front, I don't believe they are going to
6 do it. When I leave here the Omaha Housing Authority is going
7 to get some money to build five high-rise apartments which
8 are to be built in white neighborhoods and kept segregated,
9 which is what the City Council says it insists on.

10 If these apartments are not opened to the people who
11 live in the community and other people from outside can come in
12 and live in them, we rescind our authorization. Yet Uncle
13 Weaver over there is not about to withhold any money. He is
14 not going to withhold any money on the Model Cities program or
15 anything else. We got Toms in government and we got bigots in
16 Government, and we won't recognize it.

17 These things are known, they are documented. I read
18 testimony on the Model Cities program and things are known,
19 they are documented. I read testimony on the Model Cities
20 program, and they have all of the information they need. All
21 they need to do now is take the forces that they have, the
22 Federal Government, marshal these forces and channel them
23 against the problems that have been brought to their attention
24 repeatedly and solve these problems. And here is how far they
25 can go.

1 If the locality does not meet Federal standards, the
2 money is not forthcoming, nor is technical assistance or advice
3 or cooperation or anything else. But the government is not
4 going to do this

5 SENATOR BROOKE: Father Groppi, might I just ask
6 you this question.

7 FATHER GROPPi: May I comment on this previous ques-
8 tion first, though, because I mentioned, you know, the end was
9 manhood. Pope John came forth with a magnificent statement
10 once, you know. He said when people are being deprived of the
11 rights of society, that man has a moral obligation as a sign
12 of his dignity to stand up and struggle. And I believe this is
13 an end, you see. Granted, you know, I want everything Ernie
14 talked about and you asked what the government can do, and I
15 agree and concur with everything he has said. But if I find my
16 dignity and manhood in fighting back and necessarily dying, you
17 see, I have already achieved a certain end. I have found my-
18 self, you see.

19 One of the Youth Council members put it real well.
20 For me it is total liberation or it is death, you know. And
21 there is no in between any more, you see.

22 But I concur with Ernie here, in this, that we have
23 got the Vietnam situation. I don't agree with what is going
24 on there. We've got a black man who came back from the war,
25 three and a half years in the Marine Corps, looking for housing.

1 One block beyond the black community. He went to the women's
2 home, Christian, goes to church every Sunday, and I suppose on
3 Christmas Day, you know, she heard the story of Mary and Joseph
4 looking for a home, you know, no room for them in the inn,
5 and she probably wept tears, and all this sort of thing. But
6 she would not rent to them because they were black, you see.

7 Well, he came to me and said, doesn't the law cover
8 this, and I said, no.

9 Well, what the Youth Council did, we used what tools
10 we could, we went out and sang Christmas carols to her a few
11 nights and focused attention on the issue. But this was all
12 that we could do, you see.

13 Now, we protested and fought for fair housing legis-
14 lation, and I mentioned before that we went before this Common
15 Council with the Episcopal Bishop, ministers, priests, everybody
16 imaginable. You know what we got out of that? Our pictures
17 were taken by the Milwaukee Police Department as being suspect,
18 being suspect of being involved in subversive activity, you see.

19 Now, this is what Ernie is talking about when he is
20 talking about the police department, talking about brutality
21 and all these other sorts of things.

22 What I want to know is, what is the Federal Govern-
23 ment doing sending funds into a city like Milwaukee, because
24 what Milwaukee is saying to us is, here, take this, but you
25 are going to have to give up something if you take this urban

1 development, and that something you are going to have to give
2 up is a God-given right of freedom of movement within the con-
3 fines of your own country. And what I am saying to the power
4 structure in Washington, the Federal Government, is keep your
5 damn money until you're willing to give me everything and you're
6 willing to give me that God-given right of freedom of movement
7 within the confines of my own country, I don't want a damn
8 thing. And until the Federal Government uses that kind of
9 pressure upon these municipalities we aren't going to get any-
10 where, because there is only one thing the structure listens
11 to, and that is the dollar bill. They are not concerned what-
12 soever about moral persuasion.

13 SENATOR BROOKE: Let me ask you this question and I
14 will be through, Mr. Chairman.

15 Mr. Sanders has told us what the Federal Government
16 can do, and you have just now given your opinion as to what the
17 Federal Government can do in Milwaukee.

18 Let's assume that the Federal Government does exactly
19 what both of you have suggested insofar as Federal funds are
20 concerned.

21 Now, you have told us that you have marched, sung,
22 and you have done everything else and have tried to use moral
23 persuasion and it hasn't worked. The vote has been 18 to 1,
24 18 to 1, 18 to 1, and it is coming up again, and you predict
25 it will probably be 18 to 1 again.

1 Do you intend to continue at the Milwaukee situation
2 at that level, and if so, how do you expect to change it unless
3 you change the 18 people on it, or unless you change the number
4 of people in Milwaukee who will have influence upon those 18
5 people?

6 Now, let me carry this -- say this to you. I have
7 always believed that people were ahead of politicians. I
8 think a lot of politicians make great mistakes in not leading
9 the people in many instances. A lot of them think their con-
10 stituents would vote them out of office unless they respond to
11 what their constituents believe, even to segregation and dis-
12 crimination.

13 If these 18 people who are voting, and I don't know
14 anything about them, on this Common Council, if they believe
15 they are representing the views of the constituents there, and
16 I don't even know your breakdown racially, but I am sure the
17 Negro population is obviously not strong enough to have a
18 strong political influence with the exception of Val, how do
19 you propose to, within the foreseeable future, in your lifetime
20 now, correct this condition in the Milwaukee Common Council?

21 FATHER GROPPi: Senator Brooke, I think you ought to
22 answer that question.

23 SENATOR BROOKE: I am not in Milwaukee and I don't
24 know at this point. That is why I asked.

25 FATHER GROPPi: I think the situation is pretty much

1 the same in every city. The black community represents a number
2 of wards. We have elected one black alderman. There are a
3 number of other wards. One ward which is almost 40 percent
4 black. That is Alderman Schreiber. He is the Chairman of the
5 Common Council. He also votes against fair housing legislation.

6 There are other black alderman -- other aldermen,
7 not black aldermen, who represent a certain part of the black
8 community. They also vote against fair housing legislation.

9 But, you see, the bigotry in the City of Milwaukee is
10 that great where unless there is a majority of black people
11 within those wards, we will not be able to elect any more
12 constituents to that, any more elected officials to that Common
13 Council.

14 When Ernie talks about violent revolution, this is
15 perhaps our frustration. We have no political power and I
16 don't know how in the world we are going to get it.

17 Now, you talk about bringing other pressure upon a
18 Common Council. We have brought other pressure upon the Common
19 Council. We brought the pressure even of the church upon it.
20 But still it hasn't changed. Not the full pressure of the
21 church, because I don't believe the church has even begun to do
22 its job in this question of intergroup relations and justice.
23 I learned that when we marched on the south side and nearly got
24 killed. When we talk about preaching nonviolence, I think we
25 ought to do it in the white community first. When we teach

1 him nonviolence, then I think we ought to talk about nonviolence
2 in the black community. If he is not going to be nonviolent,
3 I don't think the black man should be told to be nonviolent.

4 MR. CHAMBERS: Right.

5 FATHER GROPPPI: But the point here is we have no
6 political power. What are we going to do in the future, I
7 don't know. That is one of the reasons why we are here, because
8 I think the kind of pressure that they are going to listen to
9 is economic pressure.

10 SENATOR BROOKE: You think economic pressure is the
11 answer.

12 FATHER GROPPPI: On the Common Council?

13 SENATOR BROOKE: The Common Council.

14 FATHER GROPPPI: To change their vote? I think it will
15 carry a great influence.

16 SENATOR BROOKE: What do you think can be done to
17 alleviate the hatred and the bitterness and the bigotry in
18 the Milwaukee community and across the country?

19 FATHER GROPPPI: This is my conception, you see, of
20 black power. Governor Kerner over there mentioned the com-
21 munication cable. I don't believe in the communication table
22 when one man sitting on that side has all the cards in his
23 hand and all the power in his hands, and this man sitting over
24 here without any power. We can talk, you see, but we are not
25 going to get anything until we sit here as an equal basis. My

1 conception of black power is this, that it is in reality a
2 redemptive force in the white community, because until that
3 image of the black man is changed in that white community, until
4 he can look at him as equal in power, he is not going to respect
5 the black man. Respect always precedes true brotherhood.

6 SENATOR BROOKE: Do you think violence will bring
7 this about? Do you think it will create more respect in the
8 white community for the black man?

9 FATHER GROPPi: I think so.

10 MR. CHAMBERS: I do, too.

11 FATHER GROPPi: Any form of a man standing up, re-
12 fusing to take secondary status in society, and fighting in
13 whatever manner you want to call it, is going to make that
14 man respect you. Respect always precedes a true meaning of
15 brotherhood. The kind of brotherhood we get taught in the
16 City of Milwaukee and in the church is in reality a form of
17 racism. It smacks of condescension and paternalism, and there
18 is no difference between that racism in the North and the
19 overt kind of racism in the South. In fact, I prefer the overt
20 racism in the South, and I prefer the overt racism we meet on
21 the south side of Milwaukee to the condescension and paternal-
22 istic attitude of the Mayor of Milwaukee and the Common Council.

23 MR. CHAMBERS: Could I say something? Senator Brooke,
24 the reason I believe the Federal Government can bring such
25 power from the standpoint of withholding money, say that they

1 would say if a bank is not going to loan or accept mortgage,
2 you know, mortgage lending to black people on the same basis as
3 whites, there will be no Federal insuring of deposits. The
4 same thing with all of the mortgage lending agencies. FHA and
5 VA will not deal with any of these agencies in the area, and
6 maybe they could figure a way for the Federal Government, without
7 going through any of these agencies, and letting them pick up
8 any kind of money in the transaction, and make it possible for
9 black people to acquire a home. They could set up a fund of
10 money and when this kind of money pressure is on the banks
11 and the mortgage lending institutions, the school board and
12 these other people, then they will put the proper pressure on
13 these puppets on the Common Council, because that is what they
14 will become.

15 In Algeria they like to talk about the revolutionaries
16 and how well they fought, which they did, but eventually the
17 economic interests of the country started being hindered so
18 much by the civil war, the revolutionary activity, that these
19 monied interests who had no sympathy with the rebels finally
20 brought pressure to bear on the French Government also to
21 lighten up and help straighten this thing out. And with the
22 many federal programs and the demonstration cities showing
23 that there are federal programs that people in the Federal
24 Government didn't know existed, so much Federal money comes
25 into these various localities, if they would threaten to

1 withhold it, the city couldn't operate.

2 They are telling you right now on the city program,
3 if you don't bail us out, we're through. Well, he has laid
4 his head on the chopping block. He has whetted the ax for
5 you and put it in your hands and told you you can chop his head
6 off if you want to.

7 I think the Federal Government knows a thousand ways
8 to correct this, just like they know how, through the CIA, to
9 subvert entire governments overseas.

10 MR. SANDERS: I think we have here a classical case,
11 at least in Milwaukee, of how riots begin. The political
12 system fails. In other words, Negroes have no possibility of
13 electing a sympathetic Common Council because they are in a
14 minority within the city confines.

15 Secondly, there is no possibility that a fair housing
16 ordinance will be enacted, and at that point, at that point you
17 leave the political process because you can't accomplish what
18 you want within it. And so you repudiate it. You tear it
19 down. And, you know, that is the logic. And it is ineluctable
20 when you look at the history of this country, and that is the
21 way things are done.

22 You either have to have what you are bargaining to
23 get or the bargaining process, and it seems like this particular
24 problem with the bargaining process, that it is structural,
25 it is built so that the Negroes can never get a sympathetic

1 Common Council, that the Negroes can never get a fair housing
2 act legislated, so that you go out, and if after that vote,
3 after that 18 to 1, 19 to 1, 18 to 1, and then another 18 to
4 1, if Negroes riot in Milwaukee, you understand why. Here we
5 have it. And yet I would go so far as to say that if Washington
6 hasn't taken the steps that Ernie urges, to withhold funds, to
7 exercise muscle in another way, they haven't got the telephone
8 call from the White House, there is no buttonholing going on
9 from the 18 members of the Common Council, and these are the
10 kinds that you keep it within the political process, you can
11 avoid this overflow into violent revolution or to revolt. But
12 the minute it spills over, then we wonder why. And here is a
13 perfect picture of an incipient riot, I think, because when it
14 breaks down we're going to use extra-political means, and the
15 extra-political means that is most appropriate for American
16 society is violence, fire, looting, sniping.

17 GOVERNOR KERNER: Mr. Thornton.

18 MR. THORNTON: One question, picking up the thought
19 I think that Senator Brooke was pursuing. If we have revolu-
20 tion in this country, following revolution, regardless of who
21 wins, is chaos, disease, economic collapse. There is no other
22 country that is going to come to the aid of a prostrate America
23 as we have to other countries. There will be foreign power
24 domination, a police kind of state where real freedom for the
25 individual is obscured.

1 There must be some more constructive way -- to be
2 sure, your frustration is understandable, that you want to
3 speak up. You want to be heard. But the thing I think that
4 the Senator, or at least I am fishing for, is something better
5 than revolution. There is something constructive that can be
6 done.

7 I understand what you say, the government attitude
8 has to change. You mean the white community, their attitude
9 has to change, as we have heard before, the attitudinal problem
10 is probably the biggest problem. And the government can't force
11 that to change. The attitude of the whites.

12 Something constructive, something that all of us
13 want to do, that is the reason we have this Commission. We
14 are not here wasting our time, and you are not here wasting
15 time hopelessly, that we are just going to come up and there
16 is no solution but the chaos or riots or revolution, that
17 everybody loses from.

18 MR. CHAMBERS: You know what you just said demonstrates
19 that not only is that the only thing people respond to when it
20 is translated into action, but that is the only kind of con-
21 versation you hear also. Just the talk of violence and dis-
22 order, because we have mentioned what we feel can be done by
23 this Commission. It is a Federal Commission. It has to
24 operate on the Federal level within the framework of what the
25 Federal Government has the power and authority to do.

1 Now, when you talk about the disorder and the estab-
2 lishment of a police state and disease and rats running around
3 and not an adequate shelter, you are talking about what we
4 are living in right now at the hands of the government, and
5 you are concerned because you might be plunged into that, and
6 Patrick Henry said, Liberty or Death, Malcolm said, Freedom
7 for everybody or freedom for nobody, and I say that since you
8 won't allow us to all be raised to a level of equality, we
9 shall be reduced to a level of equality.

10 Take it any way you want to. It doesn't matter
11 whether we get a chance to talk to you again or whether you
12 think we are all right, because when our fathers were Tommin'
13 and you were saying they're all right, that got us in the mess
14 we are in now. It is time for us to quit Tommin'. It is time
15 for us to quit singing and start swinging.

16 We have to get rid of the old sitdown philosophy
17 where like now we just sit. And you know what Malcolm said?
18 Anything can sit. An old man can sit. An old woman can sit.
19 A junk can sit. And it is time for us to begin standing and
20 doing some fighting to back it up, not just at the verbal
21 stage now, because when we go back to our various cities, you
22 think everybody is going to be impressed by what we said here?
23 You know what they're going to say? Just what they said before
24 we came, a whole lot of talk to a whole lot of people, fat
25 people sitting around determining how you're going to live and

1 where you can live, and not a bit more concerned about it than
2 the man in the moon. They are there because the President told
3 them to be there.

4 And you know what I'll say? I don't gamble, and I
5 feel that when you bet a sure thing it is not gambling. When
6 I go back to Omaha I am going to make book on the fact that
7 this Committee is not going to do anything, not even make any
8 strong recommendations. You ain't gonna talk about putting
9 more stringent controls on a police department before you grant
10 them money for training in human relations councils. You are
11 not going to do it, and we know it.

12 But one thing, you're keeping a record here, and
13 these things will be in the record, and if you read over what
14 has been said already, questions about what can be done to stave
15 off a revolution, you would read, because a lot of these
16 things were incorporated into the first statements that were
17 made, but you couldn't hear that because you're not accustomed
18 to responding to a reasoned argument because you haven't had to
19 deal reasonably with us, and when we speak reasonably and
20 rationally, this doesn't register because you don't expect a
21 typewriter to operate like a car. So when we speak rationally,
22 that doesn't register with you because you are not programmed
23 to pick it up, but when we talk about violence and disorder and
24 chaos which you are creating all over the world, you understand
25 that.

1 Since you have got 500,000 troops walking on foreign
2 soil and no other government has that many people there, you
3 understand that. You talk about rampant communism, militaristic
4 communism, aggressive communism, yet Russia doesn't have 500,000
5 men in Vietnam. China doesn't have 500,000 troops in Vietnam.
6 But here is good old Christian America, the country of Jesus
7 which writes, "In God We Trust", on the money, with 500,000
8 men in Vietnam, B-52 bombers, preaching the gospel of Christ
9 and democracy through the agency of B-52 bombers, 50 caliber
10 machine guns, helicopters, and napalm. Then you wonder why
11 people believe you don't mean anything you say.

12 You know while you are sitting there, Mr. Thornton,
13 that what you are asking is for us to repeat what you already
14 know, and then in your heart of hearts you know that it is not
15 going to do a bit of good. But as I say, a record is being
16 made.

17 FATHER GROPPi: May I comment on that? Just a couple
18 of statements.

19 First of all, you know, Ernie mentioned the name of
20 Jesus Christ here. I want to say that I am a follower of Jesus
21 Christ, but that I concur with him that the church has been not
22 only negligent but involved in non-involvement, and thunderous
23 in its silence, but that in reality the teachings of Christ
24 have never been a reality. I don't believe the word has ever
25 been Christian, you see.

1 Just a couple of things here. Jerome Bent made an
2 interesting statement in his book "The Negro Mood" where he
3 talks about this whole interracial conflict being compared to
4 a bar fight where one man is using every dirty type of tech-
5 nique, gouging, using the knee, and so forth, and a third party
6 looks at the other individual who is being beaten up, and he
7 says, well, now, you use Robert's Rules of Order. And this
8 amounts to the black-white struggle in the conflict here.

9 In reality there is something positive in teaching a
10 man how to struggle. Well, Ernie talks about violence. Perhaps
11 there are other techniques. There are. We have been trying
12 them in Milwaukee in the NAACP Youth Council. We haven't been
13 getting any results. But you see, if your child were going out
14 to school or to the store every day and was being beaten by the
15 neighborhood kids, one of the first things you would do would
16 be to teach that child how to defend himself, build him up
17 physically, so that when he goes out in the street he knows
18 what he is doing.

19 And this I think would make the neighborhood kids
20 respect him. They might even get to be friends, you see.

21 And this is similar to what is happening in the black
22 community. That there are positive aspects of violence as far
23 as the black man is concerned.

24 You talk about chaos. My God, any time you've got a
25 community that has to live in the intolerable situations in which

1 the black man has to live, the core areas of our cities, there
2 is already chaos there.

3 GOVERNOR KERNER: Any further questions? If not,
4 I want to thank you very much for the time you have spent here.

5 FATHER GROPPPI: Governor Kerner, could I just make
6 one statement and perhaps ask a question, because -- maybe ask
7 two questions. I have got many things here.

8 With regard to the Milwaukee Police Department and
9 the question of harassment, we even had a John Birch member,
10 by the way, who is a district captain of a police station
11 within the black community, but does this -- what does this
12 Committee think about a police department that would take
13 pictures of individuals who go to a Common Council meeting to,
14 say, fight for fair housing legislation?

15 GOVERNOR KERNER: Are you asking me that as --

16 FATHER GROPPPI: Yes, I would ask that.

17 GOVERNOR KERNER: As a member of the panel here, or
18 as a specialist?

19 FATHER GROPPPI: As a person here, or member of the
20 panel, or however you would want to answer it. I would
21 sincerely like to know because I am concerned about this. I am
22 a product of the white community, a white cultural ghetto.
23 I might add as a white man I had to grow in this movement.
24 I think black people grow also. I think we consistently grow
25 in this movement.

1 But the image of the policeman in the white community
2 is that of the big brother who helps the old lady across the
3 street. That is not the image in the black community. The
4 image of going to jail in the white community is that of a
5 stigma. To the black community is a badge of honor.

6 But I would like to know personally --

7 GOVERNOR KERNER: Father Groppi, let me say this.
8 I was a judge before I was a governor, and many times after
9 hearing the plaintiff's case I wondered why the defendant ever
(18) 10 filed an answer. And in many instances after I heard the
11 defendant's defense, I wondered why the plaintiff ever filed
12 a lawsuit.

13 To answer your question directly, I would have to
14 hear the other side, naturally. I think in order to make a
15 proper judgment. Obviously by your statement you feel, I
16 think, that your personal liberties have been involved, the
17 movement of people, isn't that basically --

18 FATHER GROPPi: No question about it.

19 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, as I say, I don't know the
20 other side. I would not be in a position to make any judgment
21 until I heard both sides, and I think in all fairness you would
22 agree with that statement.

23 FATHER GROPPi: I would agree with that.

24 GOVERNOR KERNER: I think you feel aggrieved, and
25 there is no question in my mind that perhaps you feel justified

1 in feeling that.

2 FATHER GROPPPI: Except for this, Governor Kerner.
3 I fail to see how the other side could present any type of
4 picture outside the fact that pictures were taken of every
5 individual there. I fail to see --

6 GOVERNOR KERNER: Let me say, if you feel aggrieved,
7 certainly legal action could be taken. What the results of it
8 will be, of course, would be determined on the evidence pre-
9 sented in court. And so that if you feel as though your privacy
10 is being invaded, that a surveillance is, in a sense --

11 FATHER GROPPPI: Harassment.

12 GOVERNOR KERNER: -- harassment --

13 FATHER GROPPPI: Intimidation.

14 GOVERNOR KERNER: -- action can be taken. And if you
15 feel strongly enough about this, I would suggest that.

16 FATHER GROPPPI: I don't know how you could take
17 action on this.

18 GOVERNOR KERNER: There have been similar type
19 actions taken in other parts of the United States. If not in
20 local courts, in Federal courts. So if you feel you wouldn't
21 get proper action locally, the Federal District Court could
22 hear your matter. If you feel your Constitutional rights are
23 being violated, you have that right. As a lawyer, as a judge,
24 as a believer in civil rights, certainly we believe there is an
25 action for every wrong, and I sincerely believe it.

1 Sometimes it is difficult to find, I must admit, but
2 I believe, too, that we are the constant revolutionaries in
3 this United States, even more so than the communist world.
4 Things have changed considerably and they are going to continue
5 to change. I think peaceably. I hope cooperatively. And
6 this is really basically why we are meeting. And I do hope
7 that, as you leave here, you won't leave with a cynical feeling.

8 I can assure you that every member of this Committee
9 is deeply involved and deeply concerned, and as Mr. Chambers
10 stated, certainly I think many of us have, are aware of some
11 of the factual background. We want more of it to sustain
12 positions that we will undertake. And I assure you --

13 FATHER GROPPi: Governor, I came here with hope.
14 Otherwise I wouldn't have left Milwaukee. I am needed there.

15 GOVERNOR KERNER: I appreciate that. And may I say
16 Kenneth Clark came I think with the same attitude. He didn't
17 want to come, but he did leave with a statement, in his closing
18 statement, that he sees hope. I hope he will retain that.
19 We have it.

20 If there are no further questions, you said you had
21 another question?

22 FATHER GROPPi: Well, the only thing I wanted to
23 state is that, what I stated previously, and I think Ernie,
24 what Ernie is bringing forth here is that we participate in
25 many intergroup discussions, relations, and so forth, and

1 committees are consistently being studied, being brought up
2 and studies are consistently being made. This sort of thing.
3 And it is all well and good. But I think that we are almost
4 a little beyond this in the sense that we need action, and
5 that unless power is somehow or other brought to the black
6 community, we are not going to get the God-given rights in our
7 communities, and the black man's frustration is going to con-
8 tinue to grow.

9 The only thing I would have to say in closing is
10 that I would suggest very highly that you take the statements
11 that Mr. Chambers suggested, and also with myself, that some
12 type of Federal pressure be exerted upon local municipalities
13 to see to it that certain demands, justified demands, of people
14 who are ostracized and suffering are met. This question of a
15 fair housing bill, freedom of movement, I think is a God-given
16 right, and I think that is the purpose of government, to see
17 to it that a man receives his full dignity in society in
18 whatever manner he can. Because unless a man receives his full
19 dignity in society, you are always going to have the type of
20 chaos that Mr. Thornton is concerned about.

21 So if that type of pressure, I mean more than just
22 moral persuasion, can be exerted upon a local municipality,
23 the City of Milwaukee, to bring forth a fair housing ordinance,
24 we will have hope.

25 We are using an age-old and what Dr. Kenneth Clark

1 called again a very honorable means of protest . We have used
2 demonstrations. We have used picket lines. We have used dis-
3 cussions, an attempt at persuasion. And if the black people
4 in the City of Milwaukee, after all this marching -- we have
5 marched for almost 25 days, and I mean miles, we don't take
6 short marches, and we are going to continue to march, but if
7 we don't get a victory, if the people do not see a fair housing
8 bill come in the City of Milwaukee, they are going to give up
9 on nonviolence, and you are going to bring forth more Rap
10 Browns and more Stokeley Carmichaels that are asking for
11 violence. And who can argue with them when all other procedures
12 and methods do not bring about an effect?

13 So I am coming here in a way pleading with you to
14 exert the power of the Federal Government to --

15 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Let me say this for the record.
16 The President, as long as he has been President, in discussions
17 with the Governors, both publicly and privately, I think is
18 the most concerned man I know of in the United States about
19 this problem in which we are involved. There have been indi-
20 cations that other people don't believe him, and that is their
21 right. But the President, in his discussions with us as
22 Governors, with our problems at the local level and state
23 level, is intensely and seriously concerned.

24 FATHER GROPPi: Well, Governor Kerner --

25 CHAIRMAN KERNER: I did want that to be said.

1 FATHER GROPPi: Good.

2 GOVERNOR KERNER: Let me say as Governor of my
3 State, I have certain philosophies and certain things I have
4 been fighting for for almost seven years, full seven years,
5 and I don't have the cooperation of my legislature. But that
6 doesn't deter me from trying to obtain what I think is right
7 and correct.

8 FATHER GROPPi: Governor, I just want to add this
9 one point. That is fine. I am not here to talk about Presi-
10 dent Johnson.

11 CHAIRMAN KERNER: No, I know that, but a statement
12 was made in the record and I thought --

13 FATHER GROPPi: What I am saying is this, if this
14 Commission is to be effective and meaningful and not to take
15 the appearance in the black community as merely another means
16 of placating the black community, you know, we are doing some-
17 thing, we have formed another commission, or we have formed
18 another study, we have to talk about more than statements. We
19 have to talk about more than promises. We have to talk about
20 more than commissions. We have to talk about exerting power to
21 change the system, you see, and this is what I think this
22 Commission should do.

23 CHAIRMAN KERNER: This is why we invited you to help
24 us in our decision.

25 FATHER GROPPi: That is what I am saying. If you can

1 look at a city like Milwaukee and say, look, you are depriving
2 this man of a God-given American right, and until you guarantee
3 this man his God-given American right, you will not get this
4 kind of funds, then the man is going to listen because state-
5 ments don't bother him.

6 FATHER FLOOD: Mr. Chairman --

7 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Will you identify yourself for the
8 record.

9 FATHER FLOOD: Father Flood, and I am with Father
10 Groppi in the whole situation.

11 We are talking about black power and equal, you know,
12 situations. I think if you are looking for recommendations,
13 if you are looking for agency sponsorship, what has to be done
14 is that the black community wants black self-determination
15 and that they are going to have to go to the black communities
16 to run their own program and participation on that, not just --

17 CHAIRMAN KERNER: I think that basically is why
18 Senator Brooke asked the question of, I think, Mr. Chambers
19 earlier.

20 FATHER FLOOD: Right. Well, this is -- and it means
21 that you are going to take black power advocates, what white
22 middle-class society terms rebels, you know, whatever is their
23 hang-up so far as their cultural values or whatever it is, you
24 are going to have to take people within the black community
25 who know the sensitivity of the black community, who are united

1 in a common concern, fund this and run their rehabilitation
2 program, run their rent supplement program, you know, and also
3 another thing is within Milwaukee, I don't know what the Federal
4 Government can do with the private domain, but it is not only --
5 the city has lost over a million dollars in police, building is
6 down 34 percent, hotel trade is down, corporation policy to
7 find housing for black people who work in their area in a job
8 training program, you know, participation. Now, these types
9 of things. And based on black power, based on black partici-
10 pation and determination of policy. I think that is very
11 important.

12 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Father.

13 Before we close, I was going to ask the entire panel
14 whether you had any exhibits you wanted to leave with us.

15 MR. CHAMBERS. I have got a few things I will leave.

16 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Fine. I would like to know what
17 they are so you can identify them, and we will give them an
18 exhibit number, Mr. Chambers.

19 MR. CHAMBERS: Let me see what I have got that I am
20 going to give you.

21 CHAIRMAN KERNER: 65 will be the next exhibit number.

22 MR. CHAMBERS: While I am looking for that, I just
23 want you to -- you probably can't all see the writing on this,
24 but I draw pictures also, and my picture is designed to reflect
25 the attitude of the community in which I live. I know you

1 don't like that, except the Republicans, because I was told
2 there are some Republicans in here, and the record -- all it
3 has to say is that something was shown at this point, and it
4 won't get you guys in trouble for it.

5 CHAIRMAN KERNER: We are looking for trouble so we
6 can overcome it, Mr. Chambers.

7 MR. CHAMBERS: All right. Can you see this? This
8 is always prominently displayed in the barber shop. Copies of
9 it have been made and distributed in Omaha, and it gets Amens
10 wherever it is shown, wherever decent people congregate. And
11 the reason I show you that, so you know that it is the kind
12 of things where we always up against it. See, they say some-
13 times a picture is worth more than 10,000 words. There might
14 be some glare there. But you see an individual represented in
15 the upper right-hand corner, and below him is white section,
16 and those two words symbolize not just the white section of an
17 eating establishment, but everything that is considered good
18 in this country is considered white. This man presides over
19 it, and standing between this little black boy and anything
20 good in this society is a National Guardsman.

21 So you can see from this that the National Guardsman
22 is not considered a friend of us but rather like an occupation
23 storm trooper, and these things that I would call exhibits are
24 newspaper articles and clippings like that which pertain to
25 specific problems.

1 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Are you planning on leaving them as
2 exhibits here for the record, Mr. Chambers?

3 MR. CHAMBERS: Yes, I could leave them so you
4 wouldn't have to take them now. I could give them to her and
5 then it might be more convenient for her.

6 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Approximately how many exhibits do
7 you have? We want to formalize the record so we are able to
8 identify each exhibit.

9 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, here are three items, four.
10 I will be glad to -- these three that involve a police situa-
11 tion in Omaha.

12 MR. McCURDY: I will mark these -- let me ask you,
13 Mr. Chambers, do you want us to make copies of these and send
14 them back to you?

15 MR. CHAMBERS: Could you do that?

16 MR. McCURDY: Yes.

17 MR. CHAMBERS: OK.

18 MR. McCURDY: All right.

19 MR. CHAMBERS: This is where the housing authority
20 went into a woman's house saying they were searching for
21 gangsters and robbers.

22 CHAIRMAN KERNER: While they are identifying those
23 exhibits, for the members of the Commission, we were going to
24 see a film in the Indian Treaty Room. Because of the acoustics,
25 I would like to announce the film will be shown in here in this

1 present room. So there will be no change of room.

2 Mr. McCurdy will take care of the identification of
3 the exhibits with the reporter. We will take a ten-minute
4 recess.

5 (Exhibits 56, 57, 58 and 59,
6 news clips were received.)

7 (Exhibits 60 and 61, letters,
8 were received.)

9 (Exhibit 62, a dialogue, was
10 received.)

11 (Exhibit 63, a news clip, was
12 received.)

13 (Exhibit 64, a letter, was
14 received.)

15 (Exhibit 65, study of "Smith
16 Report", was received.)

17 (A ten-minute recess was taken.)
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End b. 19
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(NBC film shown.)

CHAIRMAN KERNER: The record will show we have seen this film and a copy of the film will be filed with the record.

MR. GINSBERG: At the moment I think we can only assure the Commission we will obtain a copy of the script. We will do the best we can to obtain the film.

CHAIRMAN KERNER: We will amend that to read script and an attempt will be made to obtain a copy of the film for the purpose of the record. An identification number, I think, ought to be put on the script, however, Mr. McCurdy.

MR. MC CURDY: It will be 66.

(The script was marked Exhibit No. 66 for identification, and received in evidence.)

CHAIRMAN KERNER: Our hearing this afternoon will address itself to the role of the police and the community in reducing community tensions and grievances.

Again, we plan to have each panel member make an oral presentation of about 15 to 20 minutes. The balance of each session will be devoted to questions and answers.

The members of this afternoon's panel are from left to right, the Honorable Roger W. Wilkins, Director, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice; Mr. David Hardy of the New York Daily News; Professor Albert Reiss, Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan; and Mr. William H.T. Smith,

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1 Director, Inspection Division, Department of Housing and Urban
2 Development.

3 The first speaker this afternoon whom I would like to
4 welcome is Mr. Roger Wilkins. Mr. Wilkins has served since
5 February 1964 as Director of the Community Relations Services of
6 the Department of Justice. Prior to that time, he had served
7 as Special Assistant to the Administrator of the Agency for
8 International Development, and in 1965 as Staff Director of
9 the Task Force on Urban Problems of the President's Council on
10 Equal Opportunity.

11 Mr. Wilkins, we are pleased to have you here this
12 afternoon, if you will make your presentation.

13 STATEMENT OF

14 HONORABLE ROGER W. WILKINS, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY
15 RELATIONS SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

16 MR. WILKINS: Thank you very much, Governor, members
17 of the Commission.

18 I think that my contribution to this Commission's
19 deliberations would probably be more valuable if my comments
20 were a little broader than simply the police role in keeping
21 communities stable and quiet. Rather, I would like to just
22 make some general observations based upon the work of the
23 Community Relations Service in over 200 cities around America
24 for the last three years.

25 I think the basic observation that I would

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1 make is our conclusion at least at this stage of our work
2 concerning what these summer riots are about.

3 I would say that we would conclude very simply and
4 very directly that they are about the failure of the system
5 which we Americans have developed and which we sustain to
6 serve us and to keep our Nation going, the failure of that system
7 to serve the needs of poor black people.

8 Now, we think that the riots are not about outside
9 agitators. We think that they are really not centrally about
10 conspiracies. We think that they are not about interstate
11 travel or even about a couple of obstreperous fellows in their
12 mid-20's.

13 Now, when we -- when I conclude that the system has
14 failed to serve poor black people and their needs, what I mean
15 by the system is that interlocking set of institutions and
16 organizations, both public and private, both formal and informal,
17 by which we run our society and make our decisions, institutions
18 locked together by mental attitudes and sets of assumptions
19 about the nature of American society and what is good for
20 America.

21 To say that the system fails to serve poor black
22 people, I guess is really a gross understatement because by and
23 large, when the institutions of the system touch such people,
24 they touch them harshly and injuriously.

25 It is very difficult for me to even describe what I

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1 mean but examples I would use would be school systems which
2 instead of preparing poor black children for life in America,
3 to be strong, able, contributing citizens, very often, some-
4 times more often than not, it teaches them that they are failures,
5 that they have lost in the race for good decent constructive
6 lives even before they have had an opportunity to start, school
7 systems which according to the Coleman report leave those Negro
8 children who finish high school more than three years behind
9 their white contemporaries, with the gap widening the longer the
10 Negro kid stays in school. The trade union system designed to
11 protect and strengthen the American worker in American society
12 which in some measure in some places acts to exclude black
13 Americans from certain kinds of employment. There is the wonder-
14 ful story of a business agent for a craft union who, when
15 asked by the United States Commission on Civil Rights what he
16 would do if a contractor came to him and said that we need
17 more Negro workers to get this Government contract, what would
18 you do, Mr. Union Business Agent, and the business agent said,
19 well, we would go to our lawyers to protect our workers, protect
20 our workers from Negroes who want jobs.

21 Other institutions -- the police whose job, I guess,
22 is capsulized best in the motto of the Los Angeles Police
23 Department, "To Protect and Serve". Yet, Negroes in the ghettos
24 across this country believe, in many instances with great
25 reason, that the police at least as related to them view their

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1 jobs as containment, view their job as preventing Negroes from
2 encroaching on the lives and liberties of white Americans.
3 And you can -- we know, I know, that the police job in America
4 is an extremely complex and extremely difficult one. I have
5 learned a lot from Chief Jenkins and from Chief Leary, who I
6 understood you heard yesterday. But, despite those complexities,
7 the poor black man in the ghetto, the headlines in almost any
8 day's paper, this morning's paper with the incident in Dayton
9 where a vice squad officer with a red fez shot and killed
10 a Negro who had done nothing more apparently than carry a
11 pipe in his belt, serve to make the Negroes in the ghettos
12 believe that the police are at least not there to protect
13 and to serve them.

14 My own experience as a welfare worker in Cleveland,
15 Ohio, several years ago leads me to believe that our welfare
16 institutions clearly do not serve well the poor black Americans
17 they touch. They serve rather in too many instances to drive
18 husbands out of the home, to deprive children of their self-
19 esteem, and to consign mothers to lives of drudgery and poverty.

20 Now, the workings of these institutions reflected in
21 priority decision -- decision making priorities on the local
22 level which send clear messages to the people in the ghettos --
23 in this city, for instance, we have seen many, many maps of a
24 projected subway designed to speed travel within the city, ease
25 urban life for the citizens in this city. Well, the first spurs

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1 of that subway line have been projected from the northwest
2 side of the city in which almost no Negroes live, and those
3 who live there are very solidly and clearly in the middle class,
4 down to downtown Washington, with no spurs out to Anacostia
5 where the poor Negroes live or out to far east Washington where
6 the poor Negroes live.

7 Or again, the message which the parents in a school
8 which has been called by everybody from Senators to school
9 marms "Shameful Shaw Junior High School" in the city which
10 indeed is a shame and a disgrace to our Nation, these parents
11 get a clear message from the fact that new generation of
12 children entering Shaw, no site selection has been made for
13 replacement of the school, and yet work is progressing rapidly
14 on development of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

15 Now, it is clear that America is going to communicate
16 something to the Russians and Englishmen and Frenchmen by
17 having a new shining center, showcase for talents of performers,
18 on the banks of the Potomac. That is a good message about
19 America. But the poor Negroes in the ghetto get some kind of
20 a message about Washington's priorities, Washington's judgment
21 about their importance to the society, when the Center and other
22 activities can go on rapidly and Shameful Shaw still stands
23 to ill serve their children.

24 Now, the impact, the judgement I would make about the
25 view of systematic exclusion of the poor black Americans from

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1 the consciousness of most institutional decision makers is
2 simply this. It used to be that Negroes could personalize
3 prejudice in America, but a lot of the old bigots have died
4 off. In the early 1960's we as a society, defeated Bull Connor,
5 Jim Clark and the rest, and we got the rules straight with Civil
6 Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, the Voting Rights Bill of
7 1965, with the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the rest.
8 Still nothing has changed and all of a sudden a system which
9 used to be a very personal system which people were able to joke
10 about and find humor in, which people were able to say, well,
11 if the bad fellow dies off or if we beat that bad fellow,
12 things will be better, that hope and that leeway for belief in
13 America is gone now by and large.

14 People see something much more significant. They
15 see that they are hemmed in by faceless impersonal, impracticable
16 institutions designed, for middle class Americans, primarily
17 white middle class Americans, institutions which at this stage
18 of our national development practically are incapable of well
19 serving the interests of poor black Americans, and they see it
20 and they feel it. It is not an abstraction to them. It is
21 just a grim, cold, ugly reality of their daily lives.

22 They are becoming, I think, more hopeless, more
23 frustrated. Some of them are clearly as you can see, losing
24 faith in America and faith in the American system, losing a
25 belief that the system is capable of reforming itself, and

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1 that life in that reality and they know it. At the same time,
2 a great danger to America is posed by the fact that white
3 Americans who don't live in that reality, for whom the system
4 has worked relatively well, who see America's strength, who
5 see America's opportunities, cannot believe that the system
6 which serves them so well, and their fellow Americans so well,
7 is as cruel and ruthless and brutal as the Negroes in the ghettos
8 know it to be.

9 So there is a great gulf between the vision of
10 America that these two groups of Americans hold. And as the
11 notion that it is the system rather than personal foes who
12 can be defeated spreads through the black ghettoes of America,
13 as the hopelessness and despair increase in those ghettoes,
14 more and more strident voices arise to attack and challenge the
15 system and as they arise they frighten white Americans who just
16 can't understand what all the shouting is about, because those
17 white Americans see Thurgood Marshall, they see Roy Wilkins,
18 they see Senator Brooke, they see Leontyne Price and Bill Cosby
19 and the rest, and they say, well, we have opened up. Oppor-
20 tunity is here. They are able to serve the Government, they are
21 able to enter the middle class.

22 Clearly there have been advances. Clearly this
23 President is working hard in opening up channels. But the truth
24 is that for the poor black American it is just like winds
25 off the trees. They don't see any changes.

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1 White Americans by and large, don't see this. Every-
2 where I go I find that they just don't understand what is going
3 on in thoseghettoes. By and large, they don't talk to the
4 people. They don't know anybody who lives in those ghettoes.
5 I kind of think if thosepeople would just pull their socks up,
6 if they would be, as many people have said to me, like you,
7 Roger, things would be OK.

8 Well, they won't be OK. They won't be OK because,
9 I think that it is fiarly clear that there are people in those
10 ghettoes who are saying to us who manipulate the system that
11 you had better reform that system, you had better make it work
12 or we are going to find ways to just kick it in the head or
13 we are going to try to tear it down.

14 I think that we are distracted in this country by
15 searching for easy solutions to the problem. Some people want
16 to put Mr. Brown and Mr. Carmichael in jail. Well, if they
17 commit crimes and are tried and put in jail, that is the law's
18 business, but it won't solve this problem. Some people say if
19 you could only interdict these interstate travellers, that would
20 do it. Well, that won't do it. Some people say, well, it is
21 Communists, and maybe it is, but basically, basically it is the
22 system. It is the school system, it is the trade union system,
23 it is the police, the political system, and it is that whole
24 matrix of assumptions, white American assumptions, that poor
25 black Americans are not important.

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1 That is what they are about. That is what the riots
2 are about. And that is the great problem that I think faces
3 this country, is to close the gap of perception, to close the
4 gap of understanding.

5 The white Americans who make up the general concensus
6 of where America is going to go have to understand the poor
7 black Americans are now important to the future of this
8 country. They have to understand that how their lives go is
9 going to determine in large measure the quality of American life
10 and the quality of the American dream in the future.

11 My judgment is that the great work of my own service
12 and the great work of this Commission and others who are
13 concerned about these problems, is to convince the great mass
14 of Americans who make decisions about how American life is
15 going to develop, about how we are going to spend our money,
16 about how we are going to order our priorities, both nationally
17 and locally, this great group of white Americans, middle class
18 Negro Americans, has to learn that the deprivations and the
19 injustices that poor black Americans suffer are real, are unjust,
20 unfair, and should be number 1 on our American priority list.

21 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Mr. Wilkins.

22 Our next witness is Mr. David Hardy. Mr. Hardy was
23 born and raised in Plainfield, New Jersey, and observed very
24 closely, as a reporter for the Plainfield Courier News, the
25 events leading up to the recent riots in Plainfield and the

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1 events of the riot itself. He has recently left Plainfield
2 to join the staff of the New York Daily News.

3 We are happy you could be with us today, Mr. Hardy.

4 STATEMENT OF

5 MR. DAVID HARDY FROM THE STAFF OF THE NEW YORK

6 DAILY NEWS

7 MR. HARDY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the
8 Commission. I could spend a week relating to you all the
9 horrifying events that led up to the riots in Plainfield and
10 this is inclusive before and after the civil outbreak. However,
11 experience tells me you still would not get the picture because,
12 well, what happened there kind of defies description really.

13 I have heard the series of outbreaks that have
14 plagued the Nation this summer called by many names, lawless-
15 ness, riots, insurrection and revolt. From what I have heard
16 and reported, dating back to June 1965, lawlessness comes back
17 to describe not what happened but what caused the disorders in
18 Plainfield and probably other cities. However, it was not
19 lawlessness on the part of civilian populace but lawlessness on
20 the part of the municipal police departments.

21 When I say lawlessness, I am referring to the lack
22 of effective law enforcement among Negroes, the violent and
23 angry reaction by the masses, the direct results of this law-
24 lessness which, of course, was intensified by the sort of
25 conditions prevalent in our ghettos.

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1 It is no fun being poor and it is hell living in a
2 ghetto. I know first hand.

3 To put it simply, for decades little if any law
4 enforcement has prevailed among Negroes in America, particularly
5 those in the ghettos. If a black man kills another black man,
6 the law is generally enforced at its minimum. Violence of
7 every type runs rampant in a ghetto. In fact, the Negro child
8 born in a ghetto almost from the date he opens his eyes, able
9 to comprehend his environment, he sees nothing but violence really.
10 In fact, you might say he is almost weaned on it. Common
11 sense says it is only a matter of time until this festering
12 violence ruptures and as we have seen, the black masses vent their
13 anger and despair at the white power structure which they feel
14 nurtured these conditions.

15 In essence Negroes have gotten tired of killing each
16 other, looting each other. And sort of like a Frankenstein
17 monster they are turning on society. As the ghetto dweller
18 phrases it, he knows where it is at now. He knows where the
19 source of the problem is, who is responsible, how these things
20 have come about. To an oppressed person it is -- any means
21 he uses to overthrow his oppressor, they are just, and in his
22 book he doesn't care what they are. Any means he uses, it is
23 all right. What little law enforcement there is in most ghetto
24 areas manifests itself in what is termed police brutality and
25 it is brutal, very brutal. For the ghetto Negro brute force is

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1 about the only law he knows down there and this is survival for
2 him. It doesn't take a Stokely Carmichael or H. Rap Brown or
3 any sort of agitator to point out what is wrong and who is
4 responsible. Although education is nowhere near what it should
5 be among the Negro population, and I am speaking of my
6 generation and this is the group that has participated by and
7 large, in the civil disorders, this generation, are more aware
8 of what is wrong and pretty determined to do something about it.

9 Inequality in the eyes of the law as well as indifference
10 is the fundamental cause for the rash of disturbances in places
11 like Newark, Detroit and Plainfield. From my observations they
12 were essentially revolts against municipal law enforcement.
13 There were meetings I attended -- I shouldn't say meetings but
14 gatherings -- where people I knew intimately spoke their minds
15 and their biggest complaint, well, it was police brutality.
16 There was an issue of when the guns were stolen, they were
17 defending themselves against the police. They didn't steal
18 those guns to just shoot at the cops so to speak. When John
19 Gleason was killed in Plainfield, they knew they were in for
20 it.

21 Now -- well, quite naturally they just went to steal
22 weapons and they were out to defend themselves, not to burn
23 down the downtown district at that time. They were just waiting
24 for the Plainfield cops to come in after them. When the Guard
25 arrived, the National Guard, and the state troopers, things

1 quieted down considerably because they felt we have nothing
2 against them but we want those Plainfield cops.

3 Now, in Plainfield, they have what they call a "Ten
4 Most Wanted" list. This list is comprised of Plainfield police
5 officers who are hated by the ghetto dwellers there and there
6 are similar lists in other towns. They are just called
7 different names but they will say, you know, so and so is one
8 to stay away from, you know, watch him. "He is a nigger hater".

9 And, well, in Plainfield, Gleason was not considered
10 a Negro hater but he was a policeman and at that instant, when
11 he shot the Negro youth there, they just swarmed all over him.
12 They didn't see color or anything. If he had been a Negro
13 copy they would have killed him, too.

14 I have here some quotes from a rally of sorts. Now,
15 the Friday before the violence actually broke out in Plainfield,
16 there was a rally in the west end of Plainfield in the -- I
17 don't call it a ghetto because the housing there is, well, I
18 would say it was adequate but the thing is all -- it is all
19 Negro, by and large. You have got maybe one or two white families
20 living there but the Negroes are confined there more or less.
21 And the -- again, the chief issue was police brutality, the
22 treatment of Negro citizens by the police department.

23 To quote some of the spokesmen there, I asked them
24 why did they want to hurt somebody and, well, they were speaking
25 in general terms but one youngster who is a ringleader, he said,

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1 you talk about not hurting somebody. It is happening all over
2 the world. Now, he is referring to Vietnam, the Middle East
3 crisis, the idea that violence seems to be the only way to get
4 anywhere or to be listened to, at least. And he said, well,
5 you have got to suffer to get somewhere. You have got to take
6 a fall before you can expect to go up.

7 In other words, they didn't mind dying. They didn't
8 care how many of them got hurt but the thing was the white power
9 structure would have to listen to their grievances then, because
10 literally they were holding a gun at its head.

11 Another youngster got up and spoke about Casius
12 Clay. Most people regard him in contempt but he said, I know
13 for a fact that one of the reasons you are having all these
14 riots is because of what is happening to Casius Clay. Now,
15 this was a youngster about 21 or 22 years old. I call him a
16 youngster because he is younger than I am. I remember him when
17 he was 14 or 15. But, he said this is supposed to be a country
18 of freedom, freedom of religion, speech, et cetera, but look
19 at what they have done to Casius Clay. They have denounced
20 him.

21 Now, you have got to picture to this sort of a
22 ghetto boy athletics are sacred. For generations this has been
23 the only way the average ghetto youngster, and I am speaking
24 of the boys in particular, this is their only hope out of the
25 ghetto, the idea that some day, well, if I am a good enough

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1 football player maybe I can go to college. They will try prize-
2 fighting, these sorts of things. But athletics to them, is
3 sacred and, well, they felt one of the few things that they
4 have, which is sacred, had been violated.

5 The idea that here was a man who spoke his mind, who
6 has not actually committed a criminal act and yet the justice
7 hat was served upon him did not serve or was not called for by
8 the things he said, and oddly enough, people like Casius
9 Clay are ideals to the Negro youths in a ghetto because, well,
10 nine out of ten of them don't have a father in the home anyway,
11 and the only ones they can identify with are people like
12 Casius Clay. They don't necessarily identify with Bill Cosby
13 or Roy Wilkins, because they are smart enough to know these are
14 the exceptions. They don't identify with them. They don't fathom
15 the idea that anyone like Cosby or Wilkins grew up in a ghetto
16 and stole or smoked pot or drank wine or, you know, has been
17 beaten by a police club or something like that. But Casius,
18 someone like him, I should say, comes near, they can come near
19 identifying with him. He talks their language.

20 Now, going back I would like to emphasize that there
21 are warning signs as to when an outbreak is imminent. In
22 Plainfield I knew at least a month before the trouble actually
23 erupted that there was going to be a riot. They told when
24 there was going to be a riot. The only thing is there we had,
25 well, I feel the municipal government was very apathetic in

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1 handling the situation. They really didn't care because they
2 felt, I think, like a lot of members of the middle class
3 white society, that, well, they are down there in the west end.
4 As long as they stay down there, they won't get us or we won't
5 be affected by them. This is not true because when they stole
6 the arms, and so forth. They had enough arms in there, well,
7 they had a small army and they weren't afraid. This, I think,
8 was the most frightening thing. there were kids that I have
9 known the better part of my life, that they had their carbines
10 in their hands. They didn't care if they were shot down because
11 actually the way they view it, the Negro is shot down, well,
12 there is another dead nigger. If a Negro child is shot down,
13 well, he is dead, but so what; he didn't have any future anyway.
14 But if they kill a white man, they feel we are doing something,
15 we are doing damage. They feel that is a way of alleviating
16 their frustrations because here is somebody who has something
17 to lose. We have nothing to lose. We may die like dogs, but
18 so what? But Whitey there has a home, is making \$12,000 a
19 year, two cars in his garage, if we get him we are really doing
20 something, getting back at him for what has been done to us.
21 And basically, these things are touched off by an instance of,
22 well, a clash between the Police Department and a ghetto
23 resident -- in Plainfield this was the case -- and from reports
24 I have read, this was the case in Newark, in Watts a few
25 years ago, in Harlem.

1 In Plainfield, there was an instance where a Negro
2 woman was pushed down a flight of stairs in a housing project
3 by a Plainfield policeman and there were dozens of eye witnesses
4 to this. Now, the general feeling among the guys, I will say,
5 is, well, if Joe Brown gets his head cracked by a cop, you know,
6 so what? He probably knocked off a man anyway. But when this
7 woman was pushed down the stairs, this is something else, because
8 this struck much closer to home.

9 CHAIRMAN KERNER: I normally wouldn't be asking you
10 any questions, but we have heard some testimony from Plainfield.
11 Was this the occasion or the incident around the Fourth of
12 July weekend?

13 MR. HARDY: Yes, sir, it was. Right. You had a lapse
14 there because in the newspaper it was not printed as to what
15 happened. It was just a matter of Mrs. Brown was arrested for
16 disorderly conduct, but this policeman, I might add, who
17 allegedly pushed her down the stairs is number 2 on the Ten
18 Most Wanted list they have down there, and it took a few days,
19 but when word got around as to what happened, you know, the
20 community as a whole, the black community, was incensed over
21 it. They went down to sign a complaint against the policeman,
22 but they were told by the city clerk there that he would not
23 accept the complaint -- they were directed to City Hall, they
24 were told by the clerk there he would not accept the complaint
25 against the plaintiff policeman, so you can kind of imagine how

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1 they felt. There was no place else to go.

2 Now, this woman that was pushed, unfortunately, she
3 had about a dozen nephews ranging from 16 to about 22 years
4 of age. These kids went right out and these were among the,
5 well, if you want to call them agitators, these were the ones
6 that talked up a riot. They were good and sick and tired
7 of the way they were being treated. Of course, it spread out
8 through the power structure as a whole, as it has been called,
9 the system as a whole.

10 Now, as I said before, there are warnings and I feel
11 that these disorders can be stopped before and even when they
12 erupt. You can stop it on the spot, even in the instances
13 where you have an inept and apathetic municipal government,
14 which as I said was the case in Plainfield.

15 However, this doesn't mean you ease your law enforce-
16 ment, of course. I am all for vigorous law enforcement and
17 you will find that most Negroes are -- I can safely say that
18 say that the vast majority of Negroes do not hate the white man.
19 They don't hate. They want equal opportunity, and so forth,
20 but they don't really hate. They may hate the system, the way
21 they have to live and this sort of thing, but it is not a
22 personal hate, the idea of a personal vendetta. They don't
23 relish burning down and destroying their own neighborhoods, et
24 cetera, but they have to take it out on something.

25 It is just like, well, in a ghetto it is nothing. A

1 guy will come home and he is hot and angry and maybe he is
2 pushed around on the factory job where he makes about \$60 a
3 week and he will jump on his wife and beat the hell out of her.
4 All right, he is easing his frustration, or will go out on
5 the street to a bar and start drinking and maybe cut somebody
6 with his razor, really over something very minor. But he
7 has gotten out of that now, particularly the younger generation.

8 We are just not going to live the way our parents
9 lived. At 15 I was just as bitter as any young kid you could
10 find in the street today. I didn't like the system, the way
11 were living. I didn't like the idea that my father was a
12 drunkard, but the thing is I knew why he was. I knew why he
13 was. And I couldn't exactly blame him because I knew he just
14 didn't have the chance, and the feeling is among people my
15 age, a lot of them who are approaching being responsible
16 citizens as far as age goes, they feel, man, I would rather
17 die than live like that. I would rather die than go through
18 that again or see my kids come up that way. And oddly enough,
19 you get down to, well, basic prejudices again, because the
20 white community -- I have talked with members of the middle
21 class white community, professional men, who tend to feel that,
22 well, they complain but really they don't really care. They
23 like it down there. They like the drinking, and so forth.

24 This isn't true. I laugh because it is so damn
25 frustrating in trying to explain to people how they feel.

1 They just don't comprehend it.

2 Well, you know, it takes time. But I think it has
3 been a couple of hundred years now. That is a long time and it
4 doesn't take somebody like Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael
5 to point out to a young Negro that, you know, now. We are
6 tired of waiting.

7 As I said, a vast portion of those Negroes, caught
8 up in these uprisings, are not living in a virtual fear. I
9 have been back to Plainfield since the trouble there and, well,
10 there is a danger presented by these radical groups. They are
11 in a definite minority. It is bordering on what I would call,
12 well, gangsterism. It is very much like the, well, the Mafia,
13 or Cosa Nostra, whatever you want to call it. Now it is, and
14 it is going to get worse because the feeling is there now those
15 law abiding Negroes who would speak out against something this,
16 who would do what they could do to keep down trouble and to,
17 say, talk this thing out, approach it from a non-violent stand-
18 point, they are being talked down. In a lot of things they are
19 being threatened.

20 Plainfield today is virtually an armed camp. I mean
21 the cops can't find those guns. They will never find them
22 down there, but they are still there, and the thing is the
23 people there are living right now in the grip of fear. There
24 are Negroes there that are afraid to say anything. The idea
25 that your hard core group, maybe just a dozen of them, but they

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1 can scare the daylights out of a lot of people down there and,
2 of course, they would rope in the young, I would say naive
3 teenagers, and these kids get out there with a carbine. They
4 don't really know why they are out there but they will get out
5 there and shoot at anything that moves. They won't really try
6 to kill anybody but the idea of having a carbine in your hand
7 or a machine gun in your hands, this is a thrill.

8 But it is going to get worse. It is going to get a
9 lot worse. I dread to think about next summer, but, as I
10 said, it can be stopped and I think -- well, I feel the Govern-
11 ment is in this position now. You have got to fight more or
12 less a rear guard action. There is no way in the world you can
13 get effective long-range legislation enacted to ease the
14 situation between now and next summer.

15 Well, excuse the expression, but by the time they get
16 through fooling around in Congress, and so forth, and get these
17 things passed, it will be spring and they will be ready to tear
18 up the streets again because they will figure nothing has
19 happened and we will really show them something this time.

20 But, I think there are things that can be done
21 but basically, it has to come from the municipal level. This
22 is the center of it.

23 Well, I feel in essence the local police departments
24 need upgrading very badly. In Plainfield -- I still feel
25 today that I can't depend on an ordinary policeman to protect

1 my rights, and oddly enough, one of the incidents that touched
2 off the disorders. Plainfield was the idea that that one
3 Negro was beaten by another and ordinarily this doesn't touch
4 off a riot or start people thinking but a Plainfield policeman
5 was there and he told one of the Negroes, the boy who was
6 pretty badly beaten, you know, get up and go wash off. This
7 kid was pretty well messed up, but he just said, you know, go
8 home and wash up. If it had been a white teenager I imagine
9 they would have rushed him to a hospital.

10 The idea is the kids there got incensed. They
11 figured the Negro who administered the beating should have
12 been arrested. It is the idea that we don't get our rights
13 protected any more than the others but the idea is their laws,
14 their rights aren't protected. It has been brother against
15 brother so long it is just over now. Now, they are going to,
16 how would you say, become aware of what the system is doing to
17 them and, well, they are striking back.

18 That is it in a nutshell, more or less.

19 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Mr. Hardy.

20 Our third witness this afternoon is Professor
21 Albert J. Reiss, Professor of Sociology at the University
22 of Michigan and Director of the Center for Research on Social
23 Organizations.

24 Professor Reiss served as a consultant to two important
25 task forces of the President's Crime Commission, including the

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1 Commission's task force on the police. He has written a number
2 of significant articles and books in the field of sociology.

3 Professor Reiss, we are particularly pleased to have
4 you here this afternoon.

5 STATEMENT OF

6 PROFESSOR ALBERT REISS, PROFESSOR OF

7 SOCIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

8 PROFESSOR REISS: Thank you. Honorable Chairman and
9 distinguished members of the National Commission, I welcome this
10 opportunity to meet with you and members of this panel to address
11 ourselves to the question of law enforcement and civil disorders.

12 Given the vast scope of such a topic and my almost
13 natural desire to address myself to all aspects of it, I have
14 in advance decided to limit myself to the role of the police
15 that they may have in generating and precipitating civil
16 disorders. Often this topic is treated as a matter of police
17 and community relations. If by that term is meant nothing
18 more than the relationship that the police have with citizens
19 in providing services and maintaining law and order, then
20 that is what I mean.

21 If, however, one broadens the term to suggest that
22 police are somehow responsible for relations with the community
23 in a broad sense, that is not what I mean. For all relationships
24 are necessarily reciprocal, and no local organization, not
25 even our schools, can bear such a responsibility in any meaning-

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1 ful way in a democratic society.

2 In short, I do not lodge the responsibility on the
3 police for relationships with the community in any broad sense.
4 The police have a defined role in a democratic society and it
5 is to that defined role that I address myself.

6 I should like to begin by providing some answer to the
7 question of what do we know about the relationships that police
8 officers have with citizens in their day to day encounters with
9 them? Much of what I have to say is based on my own research
10 for the National Science Foundation and the President's
11 Commission for Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice
12 under grants from the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance,
13 U.S. Department of Justice, and much of that is available now
14 in published reports.

15 I have one or two other things which I will turn
16 over to this Committee.

17 I should like to state what I know in a rather
18 elementary way, recognizing that there is considerable variation
19 among and within police departments. I address myself to the
20 question with some reluctance since I risk being misunderstood.
21 I also feel that the many people within police departments
22 whom I respect and who undoubtedly will address themselves and
23 have addressed themselves to the same matters before this
24 Commission may misunderstand what I have to say.

25 I fully appreciate their role. I fully appreciate the

1 problems of police organizations. I, however, cannot be entirely
2 sympathetic any longer with some of the positions taken with
3 respect to the matter of the responsibility of police depart-
4 ments for relations with the citizenry.

5 Nontheless, in the hope that I will not be misunder-
6 stood, I want to state a number of facts and draw some implica-
7 tions from them.

8 Our studies -- I should say, by the way, that my
9 studies have been in any number of departments but they have
10 been mainly concentrated in the last years in Boston, Chicago,
11 Washington, D.C., and Detroit. Three of these cities have been
12 the scene of rather substantial civil disorders. I observe,
13 and we had observers in Chicago during the Puerto Rican and the
14 Fillmore civil disorder, we saw Roxbury, both before and after,
15 and we saw Detroit before and after. I shall not guess with
16 respect to this city.

17 We observed in the three cities of Boston, Chicago
18 and Washington, D. C., a total of 5,360 encounters between
19 citizens and police officers. In three-fourths of these en-
20 counters, the officers behaved in what we described as a civil
21 way towards the citizens. Nonetheless, in 11 per cent of all
22 encounters, the officers behaved in a hostile or brusque manner
23 toward the citizen or ridiculed the citizen's behavior. They
24 did so, and I want to emphasize this again and again in my
25 remarks, without regard to the race or social class of citizens.

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1 That is to say, many of my remarks will point out
2 that the white citizen is as often subject proportionately in
3 the same way as the Negro citizen.

4 Nonetheless, the police were quite consistently
5 more positive in their relations with white than with Negro
6 citizens. The difference is made up by the fact that Negroes
7 will be treated civilly but no more. A white citizen, at least
8 a minority of white citizens, can be expected -- can expect
9 somewhat more than civility from police officers, that is, to
10 be treated in a more personalized and sometimes a more pro-
11 fessionalized way.

12 We could conclude that even though the police behaved
13 civilly towards citizens much of the time over even the
14 short run a substantial number of citizens in high crime rate
15 areas of our cities will have at least one encounter with the
16 police that they experience as uncivil. Furthermore, Negroes
17 are less likely to experience an encounter where their experience
18 is offset by a positive experience with a police officer. The
19 end result is that even in the short run, a substantial pro-
20 portion -- by the way, this was six weeks, in six weeks' time
21 -- in these encounters, 11 per cent of the people experienced
22 a negative relationship. We also encountered something here
23 as I pointed out that occurs again and again in our study.
24 White citizens on the average, are treated unprofessionally by
25 the police officers as frequently as Negro citizens.

1 Secondly, I want to point out that in our -- that
2 Negroes in high crime rate areas are deeply ambivalent toward
3 the police. The ambivalence is understandable. These are
4 high crime rate areas. The perpetrators are largely Negroes.
5 But, it is also true that the victims are largely Negroes. So
6 that what one gets is Negro perpetrators against Negro victims.

7 They quite naturally have come to expect that the
8 police will respond. I say quite naturally because that hasn't
9 been historically true. The southern justice was a quite
10 different matter. One didn't ordinarily call the police. But
11 in northern cities they have come to expect that when they call
12 the police, the police will respond.

13 I might say parenthetically I strongly suspect that
14 much of the reported higher crime rate among Negroes in larger
15 cities is largely a consequence of the fact that we have in
16 a sense, convinced Negroes to call the police, that is to say,
17 they now call the police and report their crimes, and, therefore,
18 their crime rate rises substantially. It doesn't mean that there
19 has been any change in Negro criminality. So we have in a sense,
20 a very artificial increase. It is the success we have had in
21 convincing Negroes they should ask for the service.

22 Now, being a victim and not getting the kind of service
23 you expect, the ambivalence first of all, stems from the victim
24 role of the Negro.

25 Secondly, the ambivalence stems from the fact that we

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1 found they have a very interesting ambivalence towards the
2 whole civil rights question and the protection of the Negro
3 citizen. They on the one hand, say we need to give the police
4 more power, they need to search more people, and so on and so
5 on. On the other hand, they want -- in a sense they affirm
6 all of the basic notions about court decisions, et cetera. It
7 is understandable when you are highly victimized you don't
8 see much way out of it except police protection. On the other
9 hand, you don't see that the police you have are providing
10 you with that kind of protection and that kind of service, but
11 you retreat into what we traditionally retreat into, namely,
12 a kind of punitive relationship, then, that is to say, we want
13 stronger, more punitive relationships -- a very complicated set
14 of attitudes that we find among Negroes in these areas.

15 Thirdly, I want to say that not surprisingly police
16 officers are a good deal more likely to be hostile and brusque
17 or to ridicule citizens when the citizen is antagonistic
18 toward the officer than when the citizen shows respect. As I
19 said, relationships are always reciprocal with the police officer,
20 and how the citizen behaves has some consequence on how the
21 officer behaves. In fact, we can account for much of the
22 unprofessional or negative police conduct toward citizens in
23 terms of how the citizen behaves towards the officer.

24 But I want to call attention here to something
25 I expand on in a paper I will leave with you, namely, that one

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1 of the reasons why we professionalize is precisely to disengage
2 the person from the behavior of the client. That is to say,
3 we want people to behave in a proper way in a sense, despite
4 how the client behaves. Unfortunately, the police officer has
5 the toughest role in our society because when the rest of us
6 fail in our professional behavior, we call the police. So, it
7 is the toughest role in that sense.

8 I use that by the way, as an argument for the
9 professionalization of the police, because it is such an extremely
10 difficult role. When everyone else fails, we still expect the
11 police to deal with that behavior.

12 There is a problem for police officers. They find
13 it difficult to deal with citizens who do not show them
14 deference. I made the point in the report to the Commission
15 that we have a kind of paradox here. We think of a democratic
16 society as a civil society and it is interesting that in
17 England, civility is enough. The London police officer behaves
18 with utter civility and the English citizen behaves toward the
19 police officer with utter civility, and that is enough. But
20 it is not enough in American society. The police officer in
21 American society wants the citizen to show deference toward
22 him, and I think I know why that is so, because we don't give
23 the police status honor in our society. In all other societies
24 the police are accorded status honor. We are an anti-police
25 society. Failing to accord the police status honor, they enter

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1 the deference market and they at least want deference from the
2 clients, so that for the citizen to behave with civility toward
3 the officer is not enough. He wants deference.

4 On the other hand, interestingly enough the paradox
5 is that neither is the citizen satisfied with civility. He
6 wants to be treated personal. He wants to be treated as more
7 than a case, more than a number, more than someone who is
8 being processed in this system. That is true of our whole
9 society, not solely of the position. So we are here a democratic
10 society where in a sense, civility might be enough, but civility
11 is not enough.

12 So part of the problem is created, then, by the way
13 the citizen behaves toward the officer and the way the officer
14 behaves in return. Both are dissatisfied. I think that is
15 important to remember.

16 Each is dissatisfied with the conduct of the other,
17 and so it leads to a very difficult and tense relationship
18 between them.

19 Fourth, I want to say that in conference with citizens
20 obvious prejudice was displayed, that is, obvious prejudice
21 toward the person, and I include whites as well as Negroes,
22 was displayed in only a minority of two per cent of all encounters
23 and some kinds of prejudice were displayed in an additional
24 six per cent, or in other words, in eight per cent of the
25 encounters, the officer displayed some prejudice towards the

1 citizen. I say white as well as Negroes. We have, of course,
2 white minorities. We have Puerto Rican minorities, in fact,
3 it doesn't have to go that far. Some officers hate Italians.
4 And if it is in an Italian section, they behave with obvious
5 prejudice towards the Italian nationals in that area.

6 So again, I want to emphasize that there is prejudice
7 displayed in a minority of eight per cent, but remember, I am
8 going to draw this inference more than once, if eight per cent
9 of the people in a given period of time experience prejudice,
10 it isn't always the same eight per cent, and it begins to build
11 up in a population. That is to say, there are enormous conse-
12 quences for error or bad behavior in a police system that don't
13 happen in a lot of other organizations. That is to say, it has
14 a cumulative effect in the system. And I think part of what
15 we get is precisely a result of this accumulation.

16 Now, the cost of such prejudiced behavior I then
17 suggest is much higher than my statistics suggest because over
18 a period of time, a substantial proportion of citizens, particular-
19 ly in high crime rate areas, may experience at least one
20 encounter with a police officer where prejudice is shown.

21 Fifth, the large majority of white officers in high
22 crime rate areas express prejudiced sentiments towards Negroes
23 to the observers. In predominantly Negro precincts, over
24 three-fourths of the white policemen expressed prejudice or
25 highly prejudice towards Negroes. Only one per cent of the

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1 officers expressed attitudes which could be described as
2 sympathetic towards Negroes, indeed, and I must say I was shocked
3 myself by this statistic, close to one-half of all the police
4 officers in predominantly Negro high crime rate areas showed
5 extreme prejudice against Negroes. What do I mean by extreme
6 racial prejudice? I mean that they described Negroes in terms
7 that are not people terms. They describe them in terms of the
8 animal kingdom. Or they describe them in a most extreme fashion
9 such as the thing you ought to do with all Negroes in Washington
10 is put them into the D.C. Stadium and lock them up there for
11 about three days and at the end of three days, there won't be
12 any left.

13 This kind of voluntary verbalization -- I want to
14 assure you that most of this was never even solicited by the
15 observer -- comes out in the course of just working eight
16 hours a day, six days a week, for six weeks with officers.

17 Now, I want to emphasize that I don't necessarily
18 think this is true across police departments as a whole. I
19 think we confront in modern urban police departments in large
20 cities particularly, something that we encounter in our schools,
21 and I put this in a way that I say the slum police precinct
22 is like the slum school. It gets, with few exceptions, the worst
23 in the system. It tends to get the castoffs. In fact, at one
24 police precinct we studied where there was subsequently a riot,
25 the officers themselves were totally aware of it. They said

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1 they can't do anything to us. There is nowhere we can go. We
2 are at the bottom. And that influenced very much their behavior.
3 Transfer time in many police departments is the time when I
4 trade my castoffs for someone else's castoffs. No one wants
5 to transfer a good man. It is one of the practices in police
6 departments that I think ought to go, the kind where a precinct
7 commander has an option in the transfer system.

8 It is much of the old traditional personalized
9 command you get in police departments.

10 In short, slum dwellers get short-changed not only
11 in their schools, they get short-changed in their police.

12 There is another implication that should not be lost
13 sight of when we consider the policing of populations and
14 civil disorder. We know from experimental and observational
15 studies that prejudiced persons will generally refrain from
16 acting in a discriminatory way when the system of which they
17 are a part enforces conformity to the norms of commerce. But
18 we also know that when anything disturbs that normal controlled
19 situation and it breaks down for some reason, the prejudice will
20 generally eventuate in discriminatory behavior. There is every
21 reason to expect that given the highly prejudiced sentiment
22 white officers in Negro areas hold towards Negroes of those
23 areas that under conditions of riot or civil disorders, such
24 prejudice will eventuate more frequently in hostile behavior
25 towards the citizen. We have some evidence of that, not only

1 in voluntary comments, but in observation.

2 I recall one officer saying in one of the -- during
3 one of the riots, as a matter of fact, describing his behavior
4 the evening before, I just went animal. I thought that was
5 very interesting since it was one of the descriptive phrases
6 that are sometimes applied towards the Negro citizen.

7 Sixth, hostile and prejudiced behavior towards
8 citizens is more likely to occur when there is no supervisor
9 present or when no witnesses are present. This poses the most
10 serious problem for police commanders, and by the way, I must
11 say that I have every respect for the police commanders in the
12 cities we studied. I don't think that any one of them in any
13 sense wishes to countenance any of this behavior but he has a
14 problem. His problem is that he has a dispersed command. In
15 short, if one thinks of it, one has a general problem in all
16 contemporary police systems that make it difficult to develop
17 a supervisory system that enforces the orders of the command.
18 All too often the supervisors in police departments are like
19 foremen in factories. They are more sensitive to the demands of
20 men under them than they are to the expectations and orders of
21 their superiors.

22 In short, they are controlled by the men in the line
23 and not by the man on the staff.

24 Furthermore, from what we know of occupations that
25 service clients, we know that it is difficult to control men in

1 a dispersed command situation unless you build the control into
2 that man. That is, in short, when a man is out there in a car by
3 himself or with just one other police officer, there is no
4 supervisor present, and you have got a problem. I grant you,
5 I know many ways you could have better supervision in police
6 departments but even when you have all of them you are still
7 faced with the problem that a great deal of the time he is
8 out there in a dispersed command situation. That is unlike
9 the military most of the time. It is unlike most employment
10 situations.

11 From what we know there is only one way to build that
12 into people reasonably well and with reasonable assurance, and
13 even that fails sometimes, and that is what we call professional-
14 ization.

15 I argue that given the problem that one has in a dis-
16 persed command situation, the only guarantee is high professional-
17 ization, not the kind of professionalization most people are talking
18 about but high professionalization of the police.

19 I think that most Americans don't want to afford that
20 kind of police service because I am talking about probably
21 paying them more than, certainly more than social workers.

22 Seventh, observations of undue use of force against
23 citizens suggests that white citizens are more likely to be
24 victims of undue use of force than are Negro citizens, that
25 defiants are more likely to experience undue use of force than

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1 other citizens, and that Negro as well as white officers use force
2 unduly. Clearly, too, the citizen is most likely to be victimized
3 by undue use of force when no witnesses are present. Indeed,
4 there is some evidence that the station house may be a more
5 common situation for force to be exercised unduly, a situation
6 where paradoxically supervision is more readily available.

7 It was evident again to us that the undue use of force
8 is not directed towards Negroes alone. Indeed, as I say, we
9 have some problems in whether we have got the proper sample,
10 so I approach these data -- the first time I have put them out
11 -- I approach them with great trepidation because how does
12 one know one has a good sample of cases in which there is undue
13 use of force exercised. We haveno doubt that they are all
14 cases in which force was used unduly and I might say the total
15 number exceeds the number of cases for each case, exceeds the
16 bonafide cases of that kind in any of the cities in a year's
17 time if we picked up that number in six weeks' time.

18 In fact, the shocking thing is that in the 5,630
19 encounters which includes everything, including the citizen who
20 calls simply to have the officer take a burglary report, that
21 the probability is that one in less than 200, some of less than
22 200 citizens will have force used against him unduly. I mean
23 physical force, violence directed against him. That bothers
24 me.

25 Now, as I said, white citizens are as liable and

1 perhaps even more liable to have such pressures directed
 2 against them. Clearly, the improper use of force is not one that
 3 is readily handled by present methods of supervision, but I
 4 want to say that almost all proposals for dealing with the
 5 undue use of force are probably unrealistic in the sense that
 6 most of them occur where no witnesses are present. It is an
 7 extremely difficult matter to get evidence. Again, I suggest
 8 that the most reasonable way to deal with this problem is
 9 professionalization of the police where it is unprofessional
 10 conduct and where each officer is bound to a sense of the
 11 unprofessional nature of using force unduly.

12 8. When Negroes who reside, who current reside in
 13 the riot area of Detroit were questioned about their experience
 14 with the police prior to the riot, about two-thirds said they
 15 had been observed the police in what they have defined as
 16 improper behavior towards people. That is to say, they
 17 experienced insulting remarks, they saw them searching with
 18 what they considered unreasonable grounds, they saw force
 19 used unnecessarily in making arrests and that they saw
 20 violence towards citizens. 31 per cent of the people in the
 21 riot area said that they themselves, had experienced one or
 22 more of these forms of mistreatment.

23 I cite these figures to say that they are again, an
 24 indication of the cumulative effect of this. I cite it also
 25 to point out that I think we can place some reliance in what

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1 people report because our observations of what actually happened
2 would predict at least this level of reporting. So, I don't
3 think we are in a position to discount the claims of Negro
4 citizens.

5 The interesting thing is that we don't get, and
6 should get, and could get, the same accounts from white citizens.
7 That is to say, I want to emphasize it is not simply the Negro
8 citizen who is victimized in a sense, by the police, and indeed,
9 we have had some Puerto Ricans, and so forth, in riots.

10 Now, if one sets aside, then, the bonafide nature of
11 such claims and I think a great many of them are bonafide if
12 we rely upon our observer data, it is clear that in areas
13 where civil disorders occur, that a substantially higher pro-
14 portion of people in these areas than in the city generally
15 have been mistreated by the police. Again, I call attention
16 to the fact that the slum precinct is probably like the slum
17 school. Not only do the citizens present more problems in
18 which the police may have to use force but so do the police
19 present more problems. It is not only the problem citizen,
20 it is the problem police officer.

21 9. Another fact that raises some serious question
22 about police behavior and its role in creating civil disorder,
23 that is, there is good reason to believe that riots have occurred
24 as frequently where we have good as where we have poor police
25 departments. So that quite clearly police behavior is an

1 insufficient condition. It may at these times be one of the
2 necessary precipitating conditions but it is in and of itself,
3 an insufficient condition.

4 10. A further matter bears close examination. Ever
5 since the development of the modern bureaucratic police depart-
6 ment in the 19th Century, the police have been the object of
7 hostility and civil disorder. This arises in part, because in
8 the nature of the case the police are cast in the role of main-
9 taining order. Some of you, and I, may remember the hostility
10 towards the police in the development of unions in the twenties
11 and thirties, in fact, it stretches back to the late 19th
12 Century, and the police were very often, I mean, old line trade
13 union leaders still don't like policemen because they
14 experienced policing on the picket lines. So that we cast the
15 police in that role. Indeed, there is a very interesting
16 research by Allen Silver of Columbia University on how the modern
17 police department gets founded as a solution to this very
18 problem. The elites in England hit upon, in a sense, the very
19 unique solution that they could no longer rely upon the
20 military to police the masses because too much of the military
21 was drawn from the same level as the masses, and the Army and
22 militia began to break down as a system of policing the masses.
23 But a bureaucratically organized police department responsive
24 to the political system is a solution for policing the masses.
25 You can assure their allegiance.

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1 Now, then, you have under your command someone
2 who can police anything you want them to police, and among other
3 things, they must police unpopular causes. My sympathies to
4 the police officer who is always cast in the role historically
5 of policing unpopular causes.

6 The history of urban riot and civil disorder in the
7 modern world is the history of the police being one of the major
8 objects of hostility, whether it is the draft riots in New
9 York or the -- you know, they were policing -- if you look at
10 it, it is a very instructive case. There one had the immigrants,
11 the Negro in the same position today, who were being drafted
12 into the system when the native Americans, of long time,
13 could buy their way out of the system, and they rebelled. But
14 the police had to police them in their civil disorder and they
15 became the object of hostility.

16 In short, I am saying we need to always keep before
17 us the fact that we ask the police to assume this role and
18 as we move along on this problem, the more we ask the police
19 to assume a role of repression in civil disorder, the more we
20 will generate hostility toward the police.

21 That is one of the consequences we will buy in moving
22 towards repressive measures.

23 Now, just one other matter I want to draw to your
24 attention. And that is that there will be a great tendency
25 in trying to solve some of these problems, difficult as they

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1 are. I have suggested better supervision and high professional-
2 zation of the police as two. There will be a tendency to
3 substitute technology for investment in men. I sense that now
4 in the bills before the Congress, to support great technology
5 for police departments rather than to support the kind of men we
6 need, to invest in riot training rather than in behavior.

7 In short, the great tendency and the great temptation
8 will be to seek solutions in what I call the professionalization
9 of the department and not of the men. The department will look
10 good. They will have a modern communications system. They
11 will have research and planning departments. They are going to
12 look like General Motors, but they are going to have the same
13 men. And if that is what we buy for our money, then I think
14 we will have short-changed ourselves.

15 I want to conclude by saying that to assume that the
16 best of police conduct is an answer to many of the problems
17 underlying the current wave of civil disorders, however, would
18 be pursuing a misguided solution. To assume on the other hand
19 that civil disorder is the major basis for reorganizing current
20 police practice is also misguided. Police discrimination,
21 police hostility towards citizens, police undue use of force
22 towards citizens, both Negro and white, have no place in a
23 democratic society. So apart from the question of civil
24 disorder, this is something we cannot and should not tolerate.

25 There is no doubt but that the white as well as the

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1 Negro citizen is short-changed by many current police practices.

2 Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Professor.

4 Our next and final witness today is Mr. William H. T.

5 Smith, Director of the Inspection Division of the Department

6 of Housing and Urban Development. He is highly regarded for

7 his work in his former position as Chief of Police in Syracuse,

8 New York. Before that he was a Captain in the New York City

9 Police Department.

10 He has published numerous articles on police administra-
11 tion.

12 Mr. Smith, we are delighted to have you here this
13 afternoon.

14 STATEMENT OF
15 MR. WILLIAM H. T. SMITH, DIRECTOR OF THE
16 INSPECTION DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
17 AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

18 MR. SMITH: Thank you, Governor. I am delighted to
19 be here. I am glad to hear what has gone before here with these
20 three gentlemen, and I don't think that I could agree with
21 anybody more on what I have heard here.

22 I think I ought to tell you why I feel that I should
23 have come to HUD as I did, because in Syracuse, I went down
24 into the ghetto in Syracuse and I talked to people in the ghetto
25 and I sat in their houses and I drank with them and I ate with

1 them and everything else. And I know how they felt about police,
2 and I know that this is the kind of thing that develops, it
3 seems to me, from the conditions that they experience in the
4 city magnified by the type of police protection, and I use the
5 word in quotes, that Negroes generally have gotten in the past
6 25 years that I have been with the police department.

7 The problems that we are trying to deal with are
8 generally city problems as I see them, and they are minority
9 group problems particularly. Before we can talk about the role
10 of the police in reducing community tensions and grievances,
11 we have to think about making our central cities so much more
12 liveable, so much better than they are, better environment,
13 more opportunity for jobs, for everybody, more and better
14 educational opportunities, better housing, equal opportunity
15 for everybody.

16 Now, it almost seems a waste of time to sit and talk
17 about what people should be doing when you can address the
18 people themselves. For the four of us to sit here, and this
19 distinguished group to sit out there and say what the police
20 should be doing, is almost a waste of time, because somebody
21 has to tell the police and has to tell the community what should
22 be done.

23 With respect to community tensions and grievances, it
24 has already been said these tensions and these grievances are
25 the result of despair and frustration as I see it, and not only

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1 that but most of the causes are beyond the police as far as
2 rectifying them are concerned. I think that to a great extent
3 our police with respect to discrimination and prejudice, are
4 only reflecting what they get from the community.1 So, we have
5 to get after the community as well as the police.

6 Now, the police can do some things. There is no ques-
7 tion about that in my mind. But they are not going to solve the
8 problems and I think today these things that I am going to
9 mention are probably too late. Maybe if they were done years
10 ago, it might have helped. I think that the police have to change
11 their attitude by reorienting their approach to one of service
12 rather than control. I think they have to develop a concern
13 with instructing the citizenry in terms of their rights and
14 privileges as well as their duties and obligations in reference
15 to the law. And I think that the police in order to operate,
16 they need the support of the community in every segment of the
17 community in order to operate. They to develop effective
18 communication with all segments of the community.

19 There are several ways that this can be done. I think
20 Chief Jenkins over there has done some of this by assigning
21 particular men with special training into areas to find out what
22 the problems are and it seems to me, I read this in Time or
23 Newsweek or one of those magazines, but he can probably fill
24 you in on it and already has, no doubt.

25 We tried a system of community relations aids in

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1 Syracuse, young men who were recruited from a group of kids
2 who were talked to by some of our community relations people,
3 and these community relations aids were instructed along
4 these lines, that they were to go out -- they are youngsters.
5 One kid working for us was a dropout with 32 arrests. Another
6 one was just another dropout but with not such a nice arrest
7 record. Another one was just graduating from high school and
8 another one was about to enter Howard University. So we had
9 four kids who were kind of across-the-board.

10 But they were instructed to go out there and talk
11 to the kids, their friends, and find out what was bugging them,
12 and if it was something that we could do to help this, we
13 would try to do it. If it meant that some particular police
14 officer in that area was being particularly obnoxious, we would
15 remove him.

16 Now, I know that some people are going to say, I am
17 not going to have kids running my police department and telling
18 me where to assign people, but I think that this is taking a
19 realistic attitude. And this has been done in other places.

20 An amazing thing happened. These kids started to
21 develop rules and regulations for themselves. They insisted
22 that they turn in written reports every Friday, typewritten.
23 Terrible looking things but they were their reports. They asked
24 us if they could bring their friends into the police station,
25 began to come into the police station on their own. Some of

1 these kids had never been in a police station under conditions
2 where they weren't either scared to death so that they couldn't
3 see anything or where they were under arrest and didn't see
4 anything else.

5 These kids suggested that they bring their friends
6 into court sessions and possibly have the judge tell them
7 how the trials operate, and so forth.

8 Well, this was just before I left. We did have some
9 disorder in Syracuse about a month after I left, so this is not
10 the answer to preventing disorder.

11 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Off the record.

12 (Discussion off the record.)

13 MR. SMITH: Well, at any rate, to get back to trying
14 to get effective communication, we had citizen-police meetings
15 where we went down into the areas where the people were and met
16 with them. They didn't come to the police station. They
17 seemed to be rather successful in that they made many proposals
18 which we were able to go along with. As a matter of fact, we
19 changed our whole policy on handling juvenile delinquents as a
20 result of these meetings.

21 I don't know what other things I can say about
22 communication except that in order to communicate, you have to
23 listen. You can't just talk. So, I think that to go down and
24 listen to what people have to say is the big item in communica-
25 tion.

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1 I think further, and this -- I may be going a little
2 farther out than police administration might seem to encompass,
3 but participation by police in community problems I see as
4 something necessary. I think the police leadership should be
5 concerned with slum housing, chronic unemployment, relocation
6 of urban renewal displaced families, should be concerned with
7 school integration. They are not police problems, I realize,
8 but anything police administrators or officials as concerned
9 members of the community can do to help solve some of these
10 problems, I think will go far towards reducing tensions and
11 grievances.

12 And I can give a few examples which don't seem to be
13 anything great but it did make a lot of people happy. For
14 instance, a highway program which comes through the city and
15 bysects a neighborhood. This is brought to our attention. We
16 find out that part of the neighborhood on the other side of the
17 highway has to go across a service road, very dangerous, and
18 nobody had thought of putting a traffic signal there that
19 the kids would be able to operate. So, we went to work on this
20 and a lot of people said, well, you can't do this and you can't
21 do that, and they finally did it. So all those people were
22 relieved that their kid could get across on a green light.

23 The same thing, concern for children, through trucking,
24 going through the streets on neighborhood streets, trucking
25 concerned with building projects. I know it costs a little

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1 more money to send trucks around and out of the neighborhood
2 where you have kids out in the street all the time around
3 school, but we had the street signs so that through trucking
4 wasn't permitted and this seemed to help.

5 I think we have to look at the effect or at least
6 project what the effect will be on projects that are proposed
7 from police administration standpoint as it affects the
8 children, and the people in the community.

9 An example of this in Syracuse, a proposed Greyhound
10 bus terminal, a temporary one, was going to be located right
11 next to a housing project. Now, this caused a great deal of
12 agitation, marching, picketing, and so forth and so on. Fortunately,
13 the civil rights groups involved were strong enough,
14 agitated enough, to get City Hall to change its mind and the bus
15 terminal was not put there. But if the idea of putting that
16 bus terminal there had been discussed with the police department
17 ahead of time, and the police department was aware of what kind
18 of consequences could result, this whole bit could have been
19 alleviated.

20 Well, I think the next thing we get to is the
21 Professor's professionalization, and I have always been in favor
22 of professionalization and I thought it was a wonderful thing
23 until I went to Mr. Wilkin's meeting over at the Department of
24 Commerce and I forget who it was that said that professionaliza-
25 tion acts in reverse with respect to handling minority groups,

1 but at that time their thinking about professionalization was
2 from the standpoint that you brought up much better communica-
3 tion systems, more cars, and so forth, and so on. And tear
4 gas, and so forth and so on.

5 It requires training. It requires training and it
6 requires education and I don't know how we are going to get it,
7 because nobody wants to pay for it. Nobody wants to pay for it.

8 As a consultant to the law enforcement people in the
9 Department of Justice, I visited several police departments
10 around the country to evaluate their police-community relations
11 training and I can say without exception that the majority of
12 the policemen are, to say the least, not receptive to community
13 relations training. As a matter of fact, if I could say anything,
14 I would say they were apathetic.

15 So, how we get this sincere, realistic approach and
16 attitude on the part of the police, I don't know. We need
17 to get an understanding of the many types of people that we have
18 to deal with and this possibly can reduce the development of
19 tensions and it will certainly help ameliorate grievances if
20 they are concerned with law enforcement.

21 But all these efforts, as I see it, will be useless
22 if the basic causes of tensions and grievances, poverty, slums,
23 discrimination, and injustice, are not eliminated. These are
24 the causes of the despair and frustration of minority groups
25 that often result in the kind of unrest and destruction we have

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1 seen day after day in city after city. The police must be
2 concerned and must do all they can to alleviate the causes but
3 they can't do it alone.

4 Thank you.

5 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

6 Are there questions?

7 MR. JENKINS: Mr. Chairman --

8 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Chief Jenkins.

9 MR. JENKINS. First, I would like to thank this panel
10 for bringing us a very fine report here this afternoon. It has
11 been fine.

12 I would like to repeat a statement and then ask Mr.
13 Hardy and any of the others if they will comment on it, if they
14 agree or if they don't.

15 Recently Dr. Kenneth Clark stated before this
16 Commission that police brutality was not a serious problem. He
17 didn't consider it a problem at all. He said the real problem
18 was police inefficiency and police corruption.

19 Do you agree with that? Can you comment on it?

20 MR. HARDY: To a degree. Right away they lose a lot
21 of respect for the police department because of the corruption.
22 In Plainfield I dare say, there is police corruption. Of
23 course, it is a smaller town and it is on a smaller scale but
24 this has a factor in it, but I tend to think that the open
25 acts of police brutality are the things that cause the disorders.

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1 Well, they did in Plainfield, anyway, and in Newark, I would tend
2 to think this was the cause. The idea of a police arresting a
3 cab driver, and evidently having to subdue him, this incensed
4 a lot of bystanders and in Plainfield it incensed the
5 young people when they saw the woman pushed downstairs. There
6 were acts that preceded that and acts that followed in the
7 next four or five days that touched off the rioting in the town.

8 I don't know. I tend to think that police brutality
9 is the initial spark, when you -- when people see that clash
10 between police and the member of the ghetto, because they turn
11 their backs on a lot of other things and all of a sudden they
12 want to get rough with somebody when they have to take him in.

13 I was on the streets of Harlem recently and there
14 are crap games going on in the streets and I saw as much as a
15 \$1,000 among the five or six men playing. About a 100 feet
16 away were two police cars parked on the street and there
17 was a patrolman on the corner. When I walked up to the group
18 the guy looked over his shoulder and said, if you are a cop,
19 tell me now. I said no, I am not a cop. I didn't tell him
20 I was a reporter either. I didn't say anything, you know.
21 And he said, he kept playing and then I looked -- I said what
22 about those cops down there? He said, oh, man, don't worry
23 about them. We take care of them. And in this sense, well, the
24 problem they have in Europe with prostitution, et cetera, when
25 they do make an arrest it is because somebody refuses to make a

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1 payoff to a policeman. This is when the girls are arrested
2 in New York City.

3 Outside of that, if they make their payoff, nobody
4 will bother them. And you do get an arrest, somebody all of
5 a sudden gets tired of it and kicks up, then, of course, you
6 are going to get your police brutality, too, because here is
7 someone who says you are as bad as I am or worse. Right away
8 the policeman is going to let him have it to shut him off.

9 MR. SMITH: In a speech in Madison, Wisconsin, and
10 that is a page on police community relations and I think if
11 I can find this, it refers just to this. I said I think in
12 effect, if there is police corruption in a city, forget about
13 police community relations. So police corruption, I would say,
14 would be an indication of a lack of professionalization on the
15 part of police and brutality as well would be a manifestation
16 of lack of professionalization.

17 I think both of these things are not things that we
18 deal with as a prime cause. I think the whole thing is the man
19 that you deal with. As the Professor says, he is working on
20 his own. We have to imbue him with a sense of knowing what
21 is right and doing what is right on his own through self-
22 discipline and not through the type of supervision that you need
23 for other things.

24 MR. JENKINS: That came as somewhat of a surprise to
25 me, the last part of it. Now, the first part I agree, we need

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1 training and more training. The last part came as somewhat of
2 a surprise to me, coming from Dr. Clark.

3 MR. SMITH: I would say being in New York for a while
4 and being in Syracuse, I would say it is different, I think.
5 I think the problem is different, depending on where you are.
6 I know that in New York City there was corruption all over the
7 place. And I don't think there was in Syracuse. I had no
8 indication of any, but you don't have to take my word on New
9 York City. Just look at the record and see the year after year
10 investigation after investigation. How it is in the past
11 five years I don't know because I wasn't there, but prior to
12 that, I was in the position to see it.

13 PROFESSOR REISS: Chief, I wonder if -- it is a com-
14 plicated question. I think you have to break it down. On the
15 face of it, it says too much and puts too much burden on the
16 police.

17 First of all, let's throw it out and say in those kind
18 of communities there sometimes is a different standard with
19 respect to behavior and we ask the police to enforce that. And
20 knowing that the rest of the system isn't even going to back
21 it up, prostitution is a case in point. Much of the gambling,
22 numbers rackets, et cetera. So, it is part of this game we
23 play in which, you know, we can be moral.

24 I had an old professor that used to talk about what
25 he called in every occupation there have to be the dirty work

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1 people, the doctors who do the abortions so that the rest of the
2 doctors can look good, and in a sense the rest of us can look
3 awfully good about "vice". We have to make up our minds in this
4 society how many of these things we are going to enforce.

5 Now, I think the chapter that Frank Remington and
6 Herman Goldstein wrote for the Crime Commission is the best in
7 the police volume and what they said was the thing we need in
8 police departments and beyond is a reassessment of what the goals
9 of policing are, in a sense the question raised here, too, and
10 do we want to police all these things, and if we are not even in
11 a sense, despite the law we say to the community or the community
12 says we are not going to enforce this, so I think we contribute
13 in part to the problem because we haven't made up our minds on
14 what we really want.

15 Now, apart from that, I must say that I am disturbed
16 by what I found to be, and I say again I have never released these
17 data and I have some qualms about them, but a surprising amount
18 of misconduct on the part of police officers. And this coupled
19 -- and the community knows it. There is no question about it.
20 This again, I think we find is most characteristic. Slum
21 precincts, and there is no doubt but that leads to a kind of
22 disrespect for it. But I want to remind you that in a sense
23 I think that we are shaped more by our experiences than we are
24 by our simple perceptions of this, and it is much more important
25 to me if a police officer treats me badly, than if I, you know,

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1 show you, well, he takes in the numbers. Particularly in many
2 of these communities, you know, most people play the
3 numbers, there is nothing so terrible in that sense about every-
4 body playing the numbers.

5 So, I must say I don't think we can make any kind of
6 general statement about that.

7 But I want to end by saying I think that we have two
8 conceptions about police departments which can't be true in an
9 organizational sense. One is they must be error-free organiza-
10 tions. You see, nobody thinks that the police should make a
11 mistake, that somehow an officer shall use force unduly. Nobody
12 can run that kind of an organization. Therefore, the organiza-
13 tion is unreal.

14 Two, somehow we think they must be, to borrow an
15 old phrase, cleaner than a hound's tooth.

16 MR. JENKINS: That we have got to live with.

17 PROFESSOR REISS: That is right.

18 MR. JENKINS: Just one more question, Mr. Chairman,
19 and I will be through.

20 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Nobody is hurrying you.

21 MR. JENKINS: Any member of the panel comments on it.
22 The Justice Department reports across the nation there has been
23 a 17 percent increase in crime for the first six months of
24 this year compared to the same period last year. Is there a
25 connection between civil disorder and the increase in crime or

1 is it two separate problems?

2 PROFESSOR REISS: I wrote a chapter called, "The
3 Nature and Measurement of Crime", which appears in the third
4 volume of field studies of the Commission. And I take the
5 position we don't know whether there has been an increase in
6 crime. The surveys done for the Commission show that at the
7 present time in the United States, the crime rate is probably
8 twice as high as the officially reported rate. That is, if we
9 want to be realists, we have to reorient our thinking to saying
10 that there is really twice as much crime going on every day as
11 we know about.

12 Now, if that is true, what we are saying, and I think
13 this is what is happening, the police departments are becoming
14 much better organized to process crime, that citizens are becoming
15 more oriented towards reporting crime, and so on, and we are
16 constantly dipping into what we call the dark figure, the
17 dark figure being the unreported.

18 I don't know that. The one thing where we can be
19 reasonably certain we know it doesn't change and that is homi-
20 cide. Beyond that, I think we are just dipping into the dark
21 figure.

22 Now, I saw that because I know there is a lot more
23 crime going on every day that isn't reported. So the simple
24 answer is heavens knows, there is so much more crime out there.

25 MR. JENKINS: That raises one more question. Was

1 that more true ten years ago than it is today?

2 PROFESSOR REISS: We don't know and anyone who says
3 they do is flying by the seat of their pants, if I may borrow
4 a phrase. It happens to be an area where I think I am an
5 expert and I sort of figure if I don't know. I don't know who
6 does. I hope that isn't looked upon as an arrogant response
7 but I just don't know how we would know it.

8 MR. JENKINS: What I am trying to say is our reporting
9 system has improved to such an extent in ten years that you are
10 reporting things today that ten years ago would not have been
11 reported. Therefore, your increase is not as great as the
12 figures indicate.

13 PROFESSOR REISS: Look whathappened when Mr. Leary
14 did what he did to the crime rate in New York City, what
15 O. W. Wilson did in Chicago, what he did to the crime rate in
16 Chicago. I can go in any police department in the United
17 States and I can double the crime rate overnight. I have no
18 doubt about it in my mind.

19 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Only objectively.

20 MR. SMITH: When Pat Murphy and I went to Syracuse,
21 the crime rate went up almost 62 per cent and it kept going
22 up until last year when it kind of levelled off.

23 MR. JENKINS: Then, you were a victim of your own
24 efficiency.

25 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 MR. SMITH: Right.

2 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Thornton?

3 MR. THORNTON: I would like to ask Professor Reiss
4 a question. I have two others, if I may. We have heard some
5 statistics of the increase of incidence of police brutality.
6 We have asked for statistics of increase of police abuse but
7 there doesn't seem to have been any that have been accumulated,
8 although when some of us have talked individually to policemen
9 we are told there is a substantial increase in police abuse
10 verbally and rocks thrown at them and dirty names called, and
11 so on.

12 Is there any correlation between increase of police
13 abuse, abusiveness of police by their clients as you refer to
14 it, and the increase of so-called police brutality?

15 PROFESSOR REISS: Well, I can't answer that directly
16 but let's reason it out together from what we know, and the
17 reasoning is this. I said that it is clear from our data that
18 when the person behaves uncivilly or in a hostile fashion
19 towards the officer he is more likely to respond. That is, you
20 know, almost in the nature of all of us, that unless certain
21 things intervene, aggression brings counter aggression. And
22 we know this happens in our observations with the police.
23 Now, if I grant you, and I don't know this because I have never
24 measured this, if I grant you this, that the citizen has
25 increased in his hostility toward officers, then I would assume

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1 from the relationship I know exists between hostility and
2 police behavior, that it would have gone up on the part of the
3 police. But you have to grant me that logical step.

4 MR. THORNTON: But you don't have any information on
5 that subject?

6 PROFESSOR REISS: I must say I don't think anyone
7 has any hard data. What I try to refer to are what I call hard
8 data. We are all guessing. Quite honestly, I think I first
9 knew police departments 20 years ago, studied them. My own
10 opinion is that police officers 20 years ago used force
11 unnecessarily more than they do today. That is my own opinion.

12 Now, as a matter of fact, the traditional way of
13 handling people, the traditional oldline officer, was a hard
14 character. And more, if you read the old police blotters, as
15 you well know, there was more than one man who cut himself
16 with a butcher knife, et cetera, et cetera. There were just
17 all sorts of ways of hiding it. I don't know impressionistically
18 I don't know that it has changed.

19 MR. THORNTON: In the surveys that you have made, is
20 it true or not true that the morale of the police departments
21 going down and it is increasing the difficulty in recruiting
22 new personnel in the police departments?

23 PROFESSOR REISS: Morale is low in some departments
24 and not others. For example, I make the comparison we made,
25 morale is pretty high in Chicago on the part of police officers.
Morale here in Washington

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1 is very low. That is -- moral in Boston is low by comparison.
2 Morale in Detroit is low. I know from another survey that in
3 general, morale in L.A. is high.

4 What I am saying is there is tremendous variation.
5 I have heard the same is true in Syracuse, that morale was
6 pretty high in the period in which Pat and you were in the
7 Syracuse P.D.

8 But morale, you see, is -- you may have high morale
9 for the wrong reasons and you may have low morale for the wrong
10 reasons. So, I don't put too much stock in morale.

11 MR. SMITH: You can have high morale in a department
12 where taking is the way to operate and you have plenty to take.

13 PROFESSOR REISS: And you just take it away and you
14 get low morale.

15 MR. SMITH: You say no more Christmas presents and
16 the morale goes down.

17 PROFESSOR REISS: O.W. faced that problem in Chicago
18 at first. It was a real crisis.

19 MR. THORNTON: May I ask Mr. Hardy a question? You
20 mentioned something about the frustrations of the Negro. Every-
21 one has frustrations. The boss has spoken unkindly to them.
22 The mother-in-law is visiting or they can't pay their bills or
23 something. Unhappy about a neighbors or something else.

24 Is it possible that the Negro feels that if he were
25 white that he would not have frustrations or that he associates

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1 his frustrations with the color of his skin instead of it being
2 at least partially a normal kind of thing, that everybody
3 has frustrations?

4 MR. HARDY: To a degree, I would say that he does
5 associate his frustrations with the color of his skin, but I
6 don't think they are so naive enough, at least people I have
7 talked to and lived with, they are not so naive as to think
8 that the white man, too, doesn't have frustrations and problems
9 just like he does. But the idea of, well, you are up against
10 something that is invisible when you are a Negro. You are
11 trapped down there in that ghetto.

12 I will put it plainly. There were very few white
13 people that lived in that west end of Plainfield that could
14 go home on a Saturday night when it was hot in the summer
15 and just have to stay inside of the housing project or go no
16 farther than the corner bar. Here you are getting into the
17 social conditions again. The idea of no open housing. They
18 are just not free to do the things that the white citizen is
19 able to do.

20 The youngsters in that town, the kids who were carrying
21 most of the axes in the disorders, they wanted a swimming pool
22 worse than anything. In the worst kind of way they wanted
23 recreation, but there was none for the Negro youngsters. There
24 was adequate recreation for the white youngsters in the town.
25 And this incensed them.

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1 The application of the law, there was a double standard
2 there. A white teenager was treated differently in the east
3 end of town where the bulk of the white people live. There
4 was a sweet shop. The kids would be out there in masses, you
5 may have as many as a 100 or more out there on the street but
6 in the west end of Plainfield they weren't allowed, what
7 we call the block, Plainfield Avenue, they weren't allowed on
8 the street at all. They got to the point where the kids would
9 say to me, Hardy, you know what we mean. We have no place to
10 go. And so I stand out on the street on a Sunday afternoon
11 and we talk and watch the girls go by and things like that,
12 yet the men will come down and chase us off. When you walk
13 on Plainfield Avenue, it better be going some place or coming
14 from some place. If you stop to pick up a match you are going
15 downtown.

16 Again, you have this basic resentment, these frustra-
17 tions, but I think they are accentuated by the social conditions
18 that are prevalent in the ghetto. And every place else where a
19 large mass of black people are confined, and they are confined,
20 this invisible wall again, it is there. And very few escape.

21 MR. THORNTON: Mr. Wilkins, you mentioned something
22 about if we are realistic or words to this effect, that the
23 future of America must include the poor Negro. Did you have
24 any reason to exclude the poor white, the poor Mexican-American,
25 the poor Puerto Rican, the Chinese minority, the Japanese

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1 minority, the other minorities that might exist?

2 MR. WILKINS: No, sir. I talked about the poor
3 Negro because he is the one who is rioting and we are talking
4 about civil disorders, but I would certainly feel very deeply
5 that America's opportunities should include all people. Indians,
6 as well as those others that you listed should be included.
7 But I was really simply addressing my question to the question
8 of racial disorders in large cities. That is why.

9 I would like to just add to the answer that Mr. Hardy
10 gave, I think that there is clearly an association between
11 the color of skin and frustration and it is rational. The
12 figures show that this summer ten and a half per cent of the
13 white teenagers from 16 to 21 were unemployed. 23 per cent
14 of the Negro teenagers the same age were unemployed. We have
15 made a lot of progress in the last 15 years but in 1965 the
16 non-white male median income was 51 per cent of the white
17 male median income just as it was in 1951. So that the people
18 in theghettos, although they clearly understand it is part
19 of the human condition to be frustrated a good part of the
20 time, also understand that a good chunk of their frustrations
21 are due directly to the color of their skins.

22 PROFESSOR REISS: May I respond? There is a very
23 difficult problem here and I want to see if I can make it simply.

24 There is a sense in which equal opportunity spreads
25 the difference between white and Negro. The Coleman report to

1 which you referred is a good case in point. Equalizing
2 opportunities for Negro and white children and maintaining
3 them at full equality probably means that the white goes up, that
4 is, the distance increases.

5 Now, why is that so? Because there is a cumulative
6 effect and that is a cumulative effect of education. As a
7 matter of fact, it is very clear. Interestingly enough, you
8 see, my children, their tested I.Q.'s -- not my children,
9 whites -- go up, but that age cohort as we call it. That is
10 because the base you start with is crucial and the Negro
11 child inevitably must begin on the average with less of a base
12 than the average white child in our society, even whether you
13 are in control on many things. And equalizing opportunity
14 means that he can take greater advantage, and so the anomaly,
15 the paradox is that we increase the distance between the races,
16 which has led me to feel that the people who argue for reverse
17 prejudice as a means of decreasing that do have a case in point,
18 if it is important to do so, it may mean in many cases a kind
19 of inequality relationship.

20 I want to say that historically, I think we did that
21 in immigrant groups in this country. You got ahead because
22 in many cases of whom you knew, not because you were the most
23 qualified for that job. Indeed, police departments are
24 interesting in that respect. They got taken over by an ethnic
25 group, not so much on the basis of ability, but how you got in,

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1 and partly because you were implicated in the political system.
2 And that helps the children get ahead, and so on. And there is
3 some sense in which even Negroes coming in in very large numbers
4 in police departments with not so much, you know, not saying we
5 are taking them on a full merit basis which may mean that we
6 would take more whites than Negroes, because obviously if we do
7 that across-the-board, the merit must go at the present time
8 at the direction of the white.

9 MR. SMITH: And this is the problem with professionalization.
10 If you concentrate on education, you are going to rule
11 at the Negro even more than you do now. So this is the big
12 problem.

13 MR. THORNTON: One other question, Mr. Chairman.
14 You have used -- Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Hardy used repeatedly
15 the middle class white establishment or people or attitude.
16 I have seen some information I believe, I am checking this with
17 you, that the lower down the economic scale you go of the
18 whites, the more intolerance you find the white towards the
19 Negro. So why was your choice of words, if that is true, the
20 middle class white where the resentment comes from primarily
21 of the Negroes towards the white?

22 MR. WILKINS: I can't answer for Mr. Hardy, but what
23 my use of the phrase middle class white really is meant to
24 mean is the great mass of American citizens who are not rich,
25 not really poor, the great mass for whom our retailing services

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1 are tailored, for whom our television is tailored, for whom
2 our mass media magazines are tailored, for whom all of our
3 institutions are pretty much tailored and by whom they are run,
4 and I think it is true the lower down on the economic scale you
5 go, and I would now talk about people at least on an economic
6 scale, upper lower class maybe, very low middle class whites,
7 I think that it is probably true that you get a larger per-
8 centage of people who are prejudiced and threatened by
9 Negroes rising in society and they probably make demands on
10 society because those are the whites with the most precarious
11 hold on our economic system and the ones most threatened by
12 competition.

13 But when I talk about middle class, I am just talking
14 about the mass of Americans, teachers, union officials,
15 Government officials, retailers, advertising men and lawyers.

16 MR. HARDY: I would agree with what Mr. Wilkins is
17 saying, basically the same thing. The pathetic thing is, though,
18 that the middle class, the people who basically control the
19 municipal government in a town and this sort of thing, are very
20 apathetic and the Negro is beginning to realize this and
21 particularly the young people. They feel we can shake them up.
22 One young fellow put it, at least we can make the white man
23 afraid of us and then he will listen. In Plainfield before the
24 administrations changed, the mayor there, the mayors changed,
25 the old mayer they had in that town realized what was wrong and

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1 it wasn't a matter of appealing to the government for a few
2 million dollars to pour into antipoverty programs because first
3 of all, you are dealing with a lost element there. There is a
4 group, say, from 16 to about, well, their late twenties, that
5 antipoverty doesn't help them really. The kids I grew up with,
6 we had no ideals. We didn't know anything about Head Start
7 and this sort of thing. Ten years ago that wasn't thought
8 of at all. It didn't affect us. We had to grow up the same
9 basic way that our fathers did. I mean, maybe we could get
10 ahead a little further by joining the Army and this sort of
11 thing, but still we suffered these same basic frustrations. The
12 younger generations, the Head Start, these programs, in the
13 long run they will improve conditions because these kids have
14 yet to come. The succeeding generations will improve, but
15 you are dealing with a lost element that has a very fatalistic
16 attitude. You get a kid 15 years of age who doesn't care
17 whether he lives or dies, you have got a pretty tough customer
18 there and it is something that no policeman's club is going
19 to stop or gun as was the case in Plainfield. The cops had guns,
20 so he went and got guns, too. And even if they didn't have
21 guns, I think they would have gone up against those policemen
22 there.

23 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Ginsberg?

24 MR. GINSBERG: The situation, Mr. Hardy, that you
25 described in Plainfield is as you portray it a city, an entity

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1 in and of itself. What I am pressing for is what relation, if
2 any, was there between what happened in Plainfield and the
3 preceding situation in Newark? Was there an explosion that
4 carried over, a spark that drifted into Plainfield or --

5 MR. HARDY: No. Not at all, because Plainfield
6 was set to go up before Newark. Now, as early as, well, the
7 first or second week in June, I had talked with a bunch of
8 people, a bunch of guys who smoke marijuana and this sort of
9 thing. My initial interest in this came about because I was
10 interested as to the sources of marijuana in the town. I
11 ran across some who were smoking marijuana and they happened
12 to talk too much this particular night and they were telling
13 me the town was set to blow. This was a month before Newark
14 went up almost, and yet they knew they were set to go up
15 two years ago.

16 I think Newark, sure, the idea that there was fighting
17 going on in Newark and that the -- I think if anything it was
18 admiration for the courage, that they were just not going to
19 give up in Newark until the strings were straightened out.
20 The idea of the Governor bringing in National Guard, this
21 wasn't the answer. The thing is they wanted to be heard and
22 have nothing done. The frightening thing about Plainfield
23 is the attitude of the people there, the whites I talked to,
24 was, prior to it when I was warning that things were festering,
25 you know, oh, our Negroes won't do that. We have got pretty

1 good Negroes here. Our people, no. They will never have
2 a riot here.

3 And yet, those people there were and at the present
4 time, are more heavily armed than I think Watts and Detroit
5 put together with the arms that they stole.

6 The thing is Plainfield shows you that it can happen
7 any place. Only 50,000 people in that town. About 18,000 of
8 them are Negroes. How many Plainfields have you got in this
9 country. They far outnumber the Newarks and Detroits and they
10 are a lot harder to control than places like Newark and
11 Detroit because you have more of them. You just haven't got
12 enough National Guard troops to send to all those places or
13 police departments adequate enough to handle the situation.

14 MR. GINSBERG: You spoke, too, in your statement about
15 the things that can be done and particularly you spoke of the
16 things that can be done at the municipal level. What did you
17 have in mind?

18 MR. HARDY: Well, in Plainfield former Mayor Maddox,
19 I first informed his office two years ago there was going to
20 be a riot. There was discontent.

21 He went down there and he talked to them. He talked
22 to the kids. These kids, some of them had never even seen the
23 Mayor. They never knew who ran the town, the officials. He
24 took a couple of officials and went down and talked to them. This
25 impressed them terribly, despite the fact that most people tend

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1 to think, well, they are just a bunch of half illiterate people
2 who reside in ghettos, they are not as illiterate as a lot
3 of people think. They are really, I think, pretty intelligent
4 people, from what I found. The thing is this impressed them,
5 the idea that he had an interest.

6 OK, the money wasn't there to build the swimming
7 pool now, but he showed enough interest to go down there
8 and say what is the matter. I am going to do my very best to
9 try.

10 In New York City they kept talking about how New
11 York escaped an all out explosion there. Well, the thing was
12 aside from the fact that the tactical police force in New York
13 City, I think, is really something to be admired, Mayor Lindsay
14 went out into the ghettos down there, into the Puerto Rican
15 areas, and showed an interest. The idea is he made a show. He
16 wasn't going to sit up in his office and just say we have got
17 a bunch of lawless people down there who have got to be squashed.
18 He went down. He knew something was wrong. The idea they were
19 trying to get across that things are wrong and let's try to
20 straighten them out.

21 As I said, there are warnings through police intelli-
22 gence. You will get independent tips and this sort of thing,
23 but people know. The Negroes themselves will tell you that,
24 man, this town is going to blow up. This may not be a very
25 sophisticated solution, but it requires a basic understanding,

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1 I think, of how the ghetto dweller feels and this is to, well,
2 to get an idea of how to use the situation anyway, but when a
3 riot starts, it may sound odd but someone like Casius Clay
4 can walk into a riot and stop it cold, despite the shooting,
5 et cetera, he can stop it cold.

6 For better examples, these rythm blues singers like
7 Wilson Picket and James Brown, these people are bywords in
8 Negro ghettos. The kids look up to them just like Mickey
9 Mantle maybe in a middle class group. Or any of your white
10 movie stars. The idea these people are looked up to and their
11 word is law. When someone like Wilson Picket or James Brown,
12 as unpleasant as they may sound, when they --

13 MR. WILKINS: Beg your pardon.

14 MR. HARDY: When they say something like cool it,
15 everybody cools it. Well, in Newark when they had the disturbance
16 there, they tried to get some entertainers to fone into the
17 radio station but it was kind of, well, it was poorly organized
18 but it could have been done. The best they could do was have
19 someone call in and had them record it and they played it over
20 the radio but they noticed things did quiet down when this
21 particular entertainer called in and said cool it, you know,
22 it doesn't make sense, because you do have your criminal
23 element that is going to try to keep this thing going because
24 if they can, they will cash in on it. This group is in a basic
25 minority.

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1 I don't know. I just feel, and I feel rather strongly
2 about this, that these people -- people like this can be used
3 as a delaying action and I don't mean to use the words "used",
4 because if they feel they are just being used to appease the
5 people down there it won't work. As one -- we have two Negro
6 councilmen in Plainfield and when the violence first broke
7 out, one of the white councilmen said there, referring to one
8 of the other Negro councilmen who had been in the area with
9 me trying to talk them out of rioting, he said, well, I have
10 had so much faith in Everett, who was the Negro councilman
11 there, I had a lot of faith in him, he was to go down there
12 and talk to them and say, listen, you know, we are working on
13 it and all this sort of thing. The idea of a Negro sitting in
14 a city council and going down and being able to appease them,
15 they just considered him an Uncle Tom. But the thing is I
16 think, well, on a higher plain you have athletes like Jimmy
17 Brown with his industrial group he is starting to help Negroes
18 economically. These are, this is aimed at Negro businesses,
19 small businesses, but it can be carried out or expanded, I
20 should say, to the common man in the street. If you have a
21 group of entertainers that can be sent into these riot areas
22 on the spot, you know, you have got the explosion, you have
23 got the masses in the streets there, like I said, someone like
24 Casius Clay can walk in and tell them to go home and they will.
25 At least they won't shoot anybody or break any store windows, or

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1 any of these singers can go in and tell them the same thing and
2 they will do it.

3 MR. WILKINS: I would like to take a crack at that.
4 I think that it is true that Mayor Lindsay has been very success-
5 ful in conveying to the ghetto dwellers of the City of New
6 York his deep sense of concern about the problems that afflicts
7 them and about the high priority that he and his administration
8 puts on solving those problems. And I think that -- but communi-
9 cation, that kind of personal communication is essential but it
10 is only beginning. It seems to me that one of the central
11 problems, if not the central problem, that you face in the ghettos
12 is the feeling of isolation and purposelessness that the residents
13 of those areas have, a feeling, a rational feeling, based on
14 evidence of their lives that they don't have any power to
15 determine the major decisions or affect the major decisions
16 that are going to affect the quality of their lives. So that
17 we have got to find on local levels, it seems to me, much more
18 effective ways, not simply to communicate with ghetto dwellers
19 in order to get information about where they hurt and how they
20 hurt, but to begin to deal with them in a way that will truly
21 include them in the decision making processes that affect
22 their lives and the community in which they live.

23 And this is not just for the short-range, why it
24 occurs, when you are sitting around in May trying to plan summer
25 programs. We have just got to figure out how to include those

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1 people in our decision making processes all year long on the
2 local level. We have got to understand that expanding the base
3 of those people in the community who have some power to affect
4 decisions, although it may make trouble or problems for the Mayor,
5 the City Council and others who have to contend with a variety
6 of power forces ultimately is the only answer to developing
7 a really healthy community.

8 MR. HARDY: I think what Mr. Wilkins has just brought
9 out is very important. They must have a voice in what is going
10 on. Right now in Plainfield it is real bad because the feeling
11 is the only way they can get a voice is by using a gun. This
12 is dangerous because as I pointed out, it is spreading out to
13 be something bordering on a criminal element. It is
14 gangsterism because you have got a group there that is heavily
15 armed and now they have got some say and nobody dares speak
16 out against them unless you want to wind up in a pine box.

17 Now, this is essentially the same thing you dealt
18 with back in the '30's with the Mafia. So, you see, you are
19 creating another monster of sorts.

20 Now, the people who would go down and would like to
21 have a voice aren't saying too much because they are afraid
22 to. There are people there that have had to leave town. This
23 is including Negro policemen on that force. They have had to
24 leave town because of this criminal element. The idea of the
25 killing, certainly there was a small portion that participated

1 in the actual killing of the policeman and there were other
2 criminal acts but the idea now is you have got a clique there and
3 I don't know, it is frightening when I think about it if it
4 ever blows up, and if this sort of thing develops from other
5 riots that you have had in other places, it is bad, real bad.

6 MR. GINSBERG: Is the Mafia involved there?

7 MR. HARDY: No. I wouldn't say the Mafia. I used
8 the Mafia as an archetype more or less but it is, how would
9 you say, run by black people there and I wouldn't say they
10 are Muslims. It is just a small group there. Basically, it
11 is a criminal element but the thing is they incorporate more
12 and more people in it until the idea is what is good for you,
13 you join up. The Ku Klux Klan, this sort of thing, this is
14 how it all developed and this is what is happening now. The
15 thing is the police don't really seem to care, the municipal
16 authorities there. OK, the idea they are going to get the people
17 to pay for the killing, they want someone to pay for it, is
18 basically the feeling there. They are incensed over the killing
19 of the policeman but they are overlooking what else is happening
20 there. The people are threatening right and left and the
21 thing is it is going to spread. I am familiar with this situation
22 but I can imagine what is going on in other towns where
23 things like this have broken out. There are things they are
24 afraid to say, they know this or know that or to speak out
25 against it, because a lot of it could, let's say, be eased by

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1 the Negro himself who doesn't believe in violence. He would
2 speak out himself but the thing is you get a small gang there
3 that has got guns, the other group is not going to say a word.
4 If you know what is good for you, you are not going to say
5 anything.

6 The thing is they are living in fear now. I find it
7 very distressing.

8 MR. GINSBERG: Professor Reiss, I had one question
9 for you. I had spoken with Mr. Vorenberg about certain of your
10 data that had not yet been published, accumulated for the
11 Crime Commission, but had not yet been published,
12 and I understood from him that either now or soon that
13 material would be available to him and to this Commission. I
14 just wondered what the status of that project is.

15 PROFESSOR REISS: I mentioned some of them today and
16 there is a problem in how the data are to be released. We are
17 currently planning to release them through the University News
18 Service in October. If I may say off the record.

19 (Discussion off the record.)

20 MR. GINSBERG: Would it be possible for you to send
21 us a set of the data as released?

22 PROFESSOR REISS: Sure.

23 MR. GINSBERG: Then we can expect it, and thank you
24 very much.

25 PROFESSOR REISS: May I make one observation. While

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1 Mr. Smith was talking, one of my favorite proposals occurred
2 to me which I have never been able to get off the ground,
3 though I see nothing wrong with it, and it is in line with the
4 professionalization of the police. It is one I wrote a little
5 paper on I called, "The Citizen's Receipt for Service". I
6 say it is an anomaly in our society that if I park my automobile
7 on the street, and if a police officer has contact with it, and
8 decides there is something illegal about my property, he will
9 ticket it, which essentially gives me a receipt that my property
10 has had contact with a police officer. But if I encounter him
11 face to face, I have nothing.

12 Now, I suggest that we could even legitimate, stop
13 and frisk, all of the things we are so concerned with, if an
14 absolute condition of that was that the officer must receipt
15 me for that contact. My name, time and place, reason for con-
16 tact, what kind of service was extended.

17 It is interesting, I get all sorts of flak about
18 what is wrong with that, what it would cost, and so on, and I
19 answer it somewhat this way. I as a citizen send my child to
20 school and anywhere from four to six times a year that school
21 system affords sending me a report on my child. It is official.
22 It is written out. It takes time. Indeed, the total number
23 of school reports issued in any city exceeds the total number
24 of police-citizen contacts that would occur in that city, the
25 total number they must be responsible for and prepare in many

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1 city systems, to say nothing of others. That is, we could put
2 this on a basis whereby the relationship between the officer and
3 the citizen is always accompanied by, it can be a pre-printed
4 form, in fact, which he checks.

5 Now, there are many safeguards in that system. If
6 I come up with ten contacts of stop and search or stop and
7 frisk, it is a way of making that system accountable such as no
8 other way will make it accountable. Furthermore, in simple
9 things like burglary reports and so on, you eliminate all the
10 contact with the police department that insurance companies and
11 so on might need to check out. The citizen always has his
12 receipt for every contact with the police department.

13 I don't know why we don't do it. And I would be will-
14 ing, perfectly willing, then to see much more of the so-called
15 stop and question. Why not? If an officer stops and questions
16 me he puts on there why he stopped and questioned me.

17 MR. SMITH: Do you know of any place where this is
18 used?

19 PROFESSOR REISS: No. I can't sell it.

20 MR. SMITH: Well, it seems to me, that there is a
21 variation of this being used in New Orleans and it might be
22 interesting to find out how they use it and what their success
23 is, and so forth.

24 PROFESSOR REISS: When I was in New Orleans what I
25 saw there was nothing like this.

1 MR. SMITH: I don't know. I just know they have some-
2 thing along these lines.

3 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Professor Reiss, what is your view
4 of stop and frisk and particularly its relationship to the ghetto
5 community as opposed to the non-ghetto community?

6 PROFESSOR REISS: I published some data on that. It
7 is very productive. That is to say, in our observational study,
8 when a police officer stops and frisks, he finds weapons in
9 across-the-board -- it is higher with respect to Negroes than
10 whites but we aren't sure whether that is a function of the kind
11 of community selected, but one in four has a dangerous weapon.
12 As I recall, it runs approximately a little over 30 per cent
13 for Negroes.

14 Now, there is a datum we don't have and that is what
15 proportion of the population constantly goes around armed.
16 In short, we live in a society where in these communities
17 a very substantial proportion do go about armed. I am saying
18 they are productive of dangerous weapons. There is no question
19 about that. And there is no question the police do not do it
20 indiscriminately. The data are very clear on that. They
21 always have a reason for making the particular stop and search
22 and they can tell you what the reason is and as I say, it is
23 productive of weapons.

24 The fact that a great many people go around with
25 weapons, though, is a problem and interestingly enough, the

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1 police officer not infrequently return the weapon. A good
2 reason for having a weapon is a good reason for returning it.

3 A man gets off the elevator at 63rd and Coney Island
4 in Chicago at 1:00 o'clock in the morning, looks suspicious
5 -- I saw this myself. An officer stops him and he produced a
6 yea long knife. He says, I am a cook at a downtown restaurant.
7 I get off here at 1:00 o'clock in the morning and I have to
8 get out and I walk home, and he gives his address, et cetera,
9 a man living in the area, and he says very reasonably, would
10 you want to get off the elevator at that hour in the morning
11 without a knife? The officer very reasonably says, probably
12 not.

13 That is to say, you run a certain risk in very high
14 crime rate areas. People are afraid. That is one of the things
15 that comes through loud and clear in our studies in high crime
16 areas. Many people are afraid to go out at night. Many
17 people are afraid to go out unarmed. We live in that kind of
18 society.

19 So again, I hate to complicate the question but
20 I am saying that stop and frisk is productive.

21 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Productive of what?

22 PROFESSOR REISS: Of weapons, dangerous weapons.

23 CHAIRMAN KERNER: But you say a very high percentage
24 of them are then returned by the officer who does the stopping
25 and frisking.

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1 PROFESSOR REISS: Right, but in one out of ten cases
2 there was no good reason. That is one out of ten across-the-
3 board, or look at it, in approximately 50 per cent of the cases,
4 the officer proceeded to take the weapon.

5 Now, for lots of reasons the officer doesn't follow
6 through and make an arrest. I saw for lots of reasons because
7 sometimes it is bad police practice.

8 CHAIRMAN KERNER: But the police departments have been
9 requesting of the legislatures such stop and frisk legislation.

10 PROFESSOR REISS: Well, let me say this. I agree.
11 They have been requesting it. If you are asking me do I think
12 we should have it, I say first of all, if we had a citizens
13 police receipt for service I would think that I would not be
14 in any sense opposed to such legislation, because I think it
15 is productive enough as compared with, you know, many other
16 police practices we have, that I would be for it. The problem
17 arises when we don't have any kind of protection built in for
18 its use.

19 Now, related to that, of course, is the question of,
20 you know, its differential use anyway, and whether the conse-
21 quences of using it are worth using it. That is to say, Negroes
22 resent being stopped and searched. The interesting thing is
23 whites don't seem to resent it. We observed this again and
24 again. They were far less resentful of being stopped and
25 searched. So what we are up against today is a great deal of

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1 sensitivity on the part of the Negro to being stopped by a
2 police officer which stems, I think, from the more general hostility
3 he has toward the police. So the issue gets mixed up with the
4 particular feeling that the Negro has toward the police today.
5 And that is what is complicating our whole decision making on
6 stop and search.

7 We have made it a minority group problem. In fact,
8 I want to emphasize again, many of these things we are talking
9 about on the police relates to just as many white citizens as
10 they do to Negro citizens, in fact, probably in absolute
11 numbers more. So I hope in considering many of these questions,
12 it is a hope I don't know whether we are going to get very far,
13 but I hope that we don't over-complicate all of them by
14 thinking it is somehow a Negro problem.

15 MR. WILKINS: Mr. Chairman, I would add to Professor
16 Reiss' notion of Negro hostility towards being searched or
17 sensitivity to being searched in part clearly as a result of his
18 attitude towards the police. A part also is a result of his
19 resentment of stereotype, that is, the stereotype that more
20 Negroes than other citizens in the society are apt to be
21 criminals, and he resents that stereotype as applied to him or
22 as he thinks it is applied to him when he is stopped and frisked.

23 PROFESSOR REISS: What he doesn't know is that many
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1 whites are also stopped and frisked.

2 MR. WILKINS: That is right.

3 PROFESSOR REISS: And not knowing that, he feels that
4 somehow he is the victim.

5 MR. SMITH: And also many times he is suspicious because
6 he is a Negro, not because of his activities. And that --

7 MR. WILKINS: You mean suspicious to the policeman.

8 MR. SMITH: Yes.

9 PROFESSOR REISS: It used to be, I think, much worse
10 than it is now. Any Negro in a white area was ipso facto
11 defined as suspicious. I think at least in the large police
12 departments.

13 MR. SMITH: That was taught police practice, to stop
14 Negroes who looked suspicious.

15 PROFESSOR REISS: I think that has changed.

16 MR. SMITH: Some carry over.

17 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Hardy, I think you wanted to
18 make some comments.

19 MR. HARDY: I want to elucidate a bit on this resent-
20 ment by Negroes at being searched. When you live in a ghetto
21 you come out, you know you have to be armed generally, I mean,
22 whether it is daylight or night, because you know that there
23 is not going to be adequate enforcement down there in the first
24 place. If you call a cop, if you are jumped on and screaming
25 in that street for help the police will take their time about

1 coming. As a newspaper reporter I have seen it. They don't
2 rush into a Negro neighborhood to make an arrest. Someone
3 is down there half bleeding to death. They take their time
4 about going. I think a part of it -- it in part, it is because
5 of the basic feeling that, well, some police think it is not
6 worth being bothered about because it is just Negroes down
7 there fighting among themselves anyway, but if you get a clash
8 between a white and Negro or a Negro spotted in another part
9 of town, they are down there in about five minutes.

10 PROFESSOR REISS: Or an officer in trouble.

11 MR. HARDY: Anyway, they are there at the drop of
12 a hat and this is known in the ghetto. We don't like it. If
13 a cop comes up and takes my stuff away because I want to
14 defend myself ---

15 MR. SMITH: I have talked to police who say they
16 don't pay me enough to go down. and get shot in dark alleys
17 or stabbed breaking up a fight. For \$6600 a year he is not
18 going to stick his neck out.

19 PROFESSOR REISS: Which is also true. Let's not lose
20 sight of the problem. I sometimes wonder why I have ridden
21 as much with the police signing away any crime for liability.
22 I ask myself what am I doing to my family in trying to find
23 out about this, because there is no question but what you are
24 exposing yourself to high risk. I think it is over-estimated
25 but nonetheless, there is an exposure and it is bound to have

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1 an effect. I emphasize that point in this paper on the police
2 role. The interesting thing about the police role is that all
3 too often you are left with the ill cases, that is, so much of
4 your time is spent on it, and in high crime rate areas, and
5 the officer begins to develop a kind of attitude of removal
6 from it. It is out there. It is a job.

7 CHAIRMAN KERNER: If there were greater police pro-
8 tection in these high density population areas, I gather from
9 what you have been saying, all of you, there would be really
10 no desire on the part of the individual to be carrying a
11 weapon. Is that a proper --

12 MR. HARDY: Yes. I would tend to think this would
13 have a definite affect on the situation but by the same
14 token, aside from increasing the manpower, the image of the
15 policeman has to be upgraded.

16 CHAIRMAN KERNER: This would go along with it.
17 I understand. A respect.

18 MR. HARDY: Right.

19 PROFESSOR REISS: And in Negro areas they are going
20 to demand more Negro officers. It is not enough in and of it-
21 self but at least our survey data show this, that to have confi-
22 dence in these areas, a very substantial proportion, for example,
23 of Negro citizens in Detroit say that we want Negro officers.

24 CHAIRMAN KERNER: And apparently, in our visit there,
25 Mr. Thornton, they are attempting to recruit them, but also in

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1 our discussions there with one of the Mayor's staff who had been
2 able to -- he left because he was ostracized in his own community
3 for having joined the police force. Am I correct in that
4 statement, Mr. Thornton?

5 MR. THORNTON: Yes, that is right.

6 CHAIRMAN KERNER: How are we to be able to overcome
7 this? The Negro wants more of his people on the police force,
8 yet in recruitment, the police are discouraged because they
9 can't recruit them. This becomes a vicious circle.

10 MR. THORNTON: Plus the fact, before you answer
11 that, let me add this to it, that the Negro policeman feels
12 that the assignment down there is what you said a little while
13 ago, at the bottom of the ladder so far as his acceptance
14 in the police force. He wants to be transferred back and
15 forth to the white area and back to the Negro area and you are
16 discriminating against him inside the police force if you con-
17 fine him to the ghetto area as a policeman. This is what was
18 one of the things recited to us in Detroit.

19 MR. WILKINS: I would just say that that man to whom
20 you spoke in Detroit is an exceptional fellow because he had
21 lots of options open to him.

22 PROFESSOR REISS: Can I say something off the
23 record?

24 CHAIRMAN KERNER: But may I say he left the police
25 force of his own volition at a lesser salary just to get off the

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police force and go into teaching.

MR. WILKINS: I know him.

CHAIRMAN KERNER: Very able young man.

MR. WILKINS: Very able. Right.

PROFESSOR REISS: I want to say something off the record.

CHAIRMAN KERNER: Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

CHAIRMAN KERNER: Professor, may I say I wish you would explore even further your personal receipt.

PROFESSOR REISS: I will send you a copy of what I wrote on it for OA and the Commission but which died somewhere along the line.

CHAIRMAN KERNER: I have twice vetoed the stop and frisk law in the State of Illinois because I believe that it does violate the rights of privacy of the citizen. I know of abuses of it and I think perhaps a personal receipt thing might make the stop and searches more discrete and more selective.

PROFESSOR REISS: You build in an accountability. We ought in our society whenever possible, try to build accountability right into a procedure, and I am willing to tolerate many more things when accountability is built into it.

CHAIRMAN KERNER: Yes.

MR. SMITH: Could I say one word on this? If in the

1 state law carrying a weapon is a crime and you have the right
2 to make an arrest when you have reasonable grounds to believe
3 the crime has been committed, you don't need a stop and frisk
4 law.

5 CHAIRMAN KERNER: But the stop and frisk laws as sent
6 to me, that the officer believed the individual was about to
7 commit a crime. That is entirely different.

8 PROFESSOR REISS: It is a different situation.

9 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Entirely different. The police in
10 the State of Illinois presently have the legal, constitutional
11 power to stop and search if a crime is committed and the officer
12 reasonably believes the individual committed it or is involved.
13 That is not the question that is involved legally in the stop
14 and frisk.

15 MR. SMITH: I am talking about getting the weapon
16 now. Now, the only reason to frisk somebody for a weapon --

17 PROFESSOR REISS: But that is a possession charge.
18 That is a simple possession charge, but the question is what
19 right you have to go around searching everybody to see whether
20 they possess a weapon.

21 MR. SMITH: You have to have some reasonable ground
22 to stop and frisk.

23 PROFESSOR REISS: That is the basis for the stop and
24 frisk grounds.

25 MR. SMITH: If you have that reasonable ground, you

1 have reasonable grounds to believe a crime is being committed,
2 so you arrest him.

3 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Well, this matter, I think we are
4 discussing now is a highly constitutional one and the United
5 States Supreme Court has two New York cases before it and I
6 hope will make a decision on this matter and clear the atmosphere
7 in the near future. I won't ask Mr. Wilkins to comment on it
8 as to what the Attorney General is doing.

9 Mr. McCurdy, I believe you had some questions.

10 MR. MC CURDY: Yes. I am directing this to you, Mr.
11 Hardy. One of the areas with which we are extremely concerned,
12 with which the Commission is concerned, is whether or not
13 there was planning and organization in the riots. And you said
14 a while ago that the riots in Plainfield were planned. I
15 would like to ask you now -- I am not interested in your men-
16 tioning names but by whom were they planned?

17 MR. HARDY: When I say they were planned I don't
18 necessarily mean there was a -- it is just for the want of a
19 better word. They were fairly well organized on a local level
20 there. The guys, I should say the young adults, the young
21 men, knew instinctively, I shouldn't say instinctively, but
22 we knew through the grapevine as we call it, that certain
23 things were expected of us. When so and so gets in trouble,
24 we are all there to back his play and this sort of thing. But
25 the incident with the woman in Plainfield is the reason that,

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1 well, I kind of use the word planned, because her family, she
2 came from a very large family and as I mentioned she had a
3 dozen or so nephews who range in the ages of 16 to mid-20's.
4 They didn't like the idea of their aunt being pushed down the
5 stairs by a policeman while handcuffed. They resented the
6 fact even more when they went down to sign the complaint and
7 were turned away. This I would say is a family thing. They
8 were really incensed over this sort of thing and they went out
9 and started talking about it because it was not published in
10 the papers. There was no legal action taken against the
11 policeman, not even a hearing or mention of a hearing being
12 held to look into the matter.

13 These kids got together and they were determined to do
14 something one way or the other to atone for the injustice they
15 felt their aunt had suffered at the hands of a police officer.
16 They themselves, had experienced brushes with the law because
17 they had records for smoking marijuana, possession of narcotics,
18 maybe stealing and this sort of thing. The general ghetto
19 product, young fellow about 20 or so, generally he has a police
20 record, has had several brushes with the law.

21 When I say planned it is just that it was rather
22 closely organized but on a municipal level. They knew when
23 the policeman had been killed, he was beaten, they knew the
24 Plainfield cops would come in there for blood and this is why
25 they went for guns, to defend themselves.

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1 MR. MC CURDY: Was it prior to the outbreak of the
2 riot? I think you said about a month prior to it, in the month
3 of June, that you knew that there was going to be a riot and
4 that you knew when there would be a riot. Were there any meet-
5 ings prior to the riots?

6 MR. HARDY: No, there were no meetings where they
7 got together and said we are going to riot, no. What they would
8 have, though, are rallies. These are spontaneous rallies, kids
9 that hung out in the neighborhood down there. Four or five
10 get together and start talking, did you hear what happened to
11 so and so? He had his head whipped by the cops downtown. Word
12 got around and on a weekend, well, in the ghetto, you have got
13 them all down there on a weekend and they are just drifting
14 around. There are no recreational facilities, particularly
15 for the young people, so they are in the streets. This is
16 summer, no school going on. They are around. It is nothing
17 for them to form a group and start throwing rocks and this
18 sort of thing and that is how it happened. Actually, the
19 month preceding word had gotten around that there was going to
20 be trouble because they were incensed over another incident
21 involving the police department. In each case it was with the
22 police department, a brush with the law. One of the Negro haters
23 was generally involved, and there were policemen on that
24 police force that didn't mind admitting they did not like
25 Negroes.

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1 PROFESSOR REISS: May I say something? I think we
2 have to be very careful in evaluating evidence and looking at
3 what I call only one side of the table. That is to say, if
4 one put up a simple four-fold little table and said riot so far,
5 not riot so far, activity preparing for riot, not preparing
6 for riot, I am in my own mind very convinced that in a large
7 number of cities we can find activity preparing for a riot, some
8 kind, of the kind you mentioned, and no riot so far. The great
9 danger is because we see the two things in relation to one
10 another, we somehow assume that they are highly causal.

11 The other thing is that organization again has a
12 kind of a complex relationship to this. We know a lot about
13 guerrilla activity and we know that if we once got to that
14 stage, it doesn't take large numbers. It takes small numbers,
15 very small numbers, tightly organized. We can be pretty sure
16 we are not at that stage although that stage can come in any
17 collective behavior movement. In the middle stage what we have
18 is undoubtedly everywhere in every Negro community of any size,
19 some talk about this.

20 I am not inclined to put much stock in that except
21 to say we have to recognize that sound.

22 MR. MC CURDY: Now, Mr. Hardy, you were born and raised
23 there, weren't you?

24 MR. HARDY: Yes.

25 MR. MC CURDY: And that is in the west end and that

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1 is where the slum or ghetto area is?

2 MR. HARDY: Yes.

3 MR. MC CURDY: And you said that there was a grape-
4 vine and you would get word, that you knew just about what you
5 were to do.

6 MR. HARDY: Just like the Negro does -- excuse me.

7 MR. MC CURDY: Let me ask the question, from this
8 grapevine from the people that were supposed to do things, did
9 anything come down through the grapevine about fire bombing?

10 MR. HARDY: Oh, no. This was just something that, well,
11 if I were there, I would know that, if I lived in a particular
12 neighborhood, well, if I hung out with a certain bunch,
13 we would know we were supposed to watch for the cops. Let's
14 say maybe I didn't want to shoot off a carbine on the
15 police, I am going to pitch in and keep an eye out for the
16 cops, or maybe I know where the gasoline is and I will tell
17 them, or supply them with something to help them. This is
18 basically the way it works. Like the Professor said, it
19 borders on guerrilla warfare.

20 MR. MC CURDY: You witnessed at least part of the
21 riot, didn't you?

22 MR. HARDY: Just about all of it.

23 MR. MC CURDY: Did you see any activity by outsiders,
24 people that came --

25 MR. HARDY: No. There was a lot of talk of outsiders

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1 but there were no real outsiders. The only outsiders were maybe
2 people who came from a couple of miles away who had relatives
3 in Plainfield and would come in to visit them and when there
4 was trouble, they came in. A lot left, too, when the riots
5 started. People packed up and tried to get out. Some were
6 unable to. But there was no organization, as far as a Communist
7 being in there or a Black Nationalist or anything like that.
8 There were Muslim sympathizers. When I say sympathizers, there
9 are people that are in favor of the Muslim philosophy but they
10 are not devout Muslims. They are not anti-white. They don't
11 hate, they don't preach the idea of violence, burning, this
12 sort of thing, but it just is a spark, I guess, a couple of
13 guys who said, well, let's go. We are tired, and namely, these
14 guys were these woman's relatives, but they were all Plainfield
15 people who had lived there all their lives and who knew every-
16 one else.

17 MR. MC CURDY: You saw no evidence of any organized
18 planning from outside?

19 MR. HARDY: No, no real planning.

20 MR. MC CURDY: Mr. Chairman, could I just ask Mr.
21 Wilkins a question?

22 Mr. Wilkins, I know as head of the Community Relations
23 Service that you is a large organization and you have people
24 who fan out all over the country and they get into these areas
25 where we have had riots and where there is a potential for

1 riots. And you have your finger pretty much on what is
2 happening, who the people are in these areas that are active
3 and those that know the moods, and so forth, of the ghetto
4 residents. Have you gathered any knowledge or any evidence of
5 any nationally organized activity or planning or conspiracy?

6 MR. WILKINS: No. I have seen no evidence that would
7 lead me to conclude that there was a national planning or that
8 there was an organized national conspiracy to perpetrate
9 riots in our major cities. My experience would lead me to
10 agree with Dr. Reiss. I believe that there are people in every
11 city that has a sizeable Negro community who, (a), talk about
12 how oppressive the society as a whole is, and (b), how --
13 what a catharsis a riot in their community would be.

14 Of course, they don't use that term, but it is -- I
15 would say that on the basis of what we have seen, I would say
16 that there is a great deal more talk than there is planning,
17 than there is organized activity, or than there is conspiracy.
18 And finally, I think I would conclude that although I could say
19 with Mr. Hardy that we couldn't say that A, B or C town was
20 ready for a riot at any given time in the late spring, you
21 could say it about almost any city in the country. And I don't
22 think that, well, that I can say that we have not at this stage
23 developed any gauge that would give us any reliable indication
24 that a riot was or was not to occur in a given city.

25 MR. MC CURDY: I noticed that -- I know that you have

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1 people in and out of Newark and Life Magazine said right after
2 the Newark riots in reporting those, that there were snipers
3 there from California, Chicago and Cleveland. I think that is
4 the way that they listed them. Do you have any evidence
5 of that or any knowledge of it at all?

6 MR. WILKINS: We have no evidence of that.

7 PROFESSOR REISS: May I just insert the question, the
8 NBC documentary has the contention that there is a New York
9 group linked to a Detroit group, et cetera, et cetera. We saw
10 the film earlier and I have seen it twice now, and that troubles
11 me, because I agree with everything you said. That is my
12 conception. Yet, there is one piece of so-called evidence
13 which leaves a doubt in my mind. How do we find out?

14 MR. WILKINS: Well, I can't -- when I answered Mr.
15 McCurdy's question, I very carefully said that I have seen
16 no evidence that leads me to conclude that such a nationwide
17 conspiracy exists. That is not to say that one does not exist.
18 I just have not yet seen the evidence. That is at this stage
19 as far as I can go.

20 MR. MC CURDY: Anybody else want to say anything on
21 that?

22 MR. SMITH: Well, I might say that there are people
23 who are waiting for a riot to start to get in on it or to watch
24 it with enjoyment, let us say. A couple of days before I left
25 Syracuse I was at a gathering. There was a woman there and

1 she said, I hope they burn the place down here. And I said,
2 well, why do you say that? What good is that going to do you?
3 She said it is going to take something away from the white man
4 and make him closer to me. That is what she said. And this is
5 reality.

6 MR. WILKINS: This is all over the country. There
7 are people here in this city who have been saying to themselves,
8 to each other, boy, when it hits, I am going to get me a color
9 TV. I also would conclude, I think, that I think I would --

10 PROFESSOR REISS: That is because they don't want
11 black and white.

12 MR. WILKINS: I also think they probably -- I don't
13 see any evidence for that, but I have heard an awful lot of
14 talk that sounds reasonable to me that their probably are
15 hoodlums around who talk about the possibility of a riot and
16 have plans to utilize the occasion for the enhancement of their
17 own treasures.

18 PROFESSOR REISS: There is a substantial group of
19 people in the Detroit post-riot survey, however, who claim to
20 have taken action counter-riot. That is to say, within the
21 riot area, you get at least a very substantial number who
22 claim to have taken counter-riot action. So, it is by no
23 means --

24 MR. SMITH: I think you get more of that -- the more
25 people you have who feel they are part of the community and

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1 have a voice in what is going on and have a stock in the
2 community, the more of those people you have, the more of that
3 kind of activity you will have. But, where you don't have, where
4 everybody is isolated and they have no say, they are going to
5 say, let it burn.

6 MR. WILKINS: I think I would like to add one very
7 subjective footnote to that. I have been involved in the riot
8 watching and riot involvement business for the last three
9 summers and I believe that I discern in the summer of 1967
10 a stronger anti-riot feeling in the heart of the ghettos than I
11 had ever sensed before. It was best expressed to me by a
12 group of young black militants in Detroit when I was out there
13 with Cy Vance.

14 Many people contacted out team to say stop the riot.
15 some of them said shoot to kill and other things.

16 The only group that I am aware of that came to us
17 and said stop the riot and we will help you and we have a plan
18 was a group of young black militants, all of whom wore big
19 yellow buttons that said I am coming from a black thing. And
20 these kids had a plan to communicate with other youngsters in
21 the ghetto, to speak to them in the ghetto language and tell
22 them essentially, cool it. I asked them why they wanted to do
23 this. They said, we don't care about whitey's stores. What we
24 care about is our poor black brothers and this is who this riot
25 is hurting.

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1 Well, I have heard that feeling expressed much more
2 often this summer than I have heard it expressed in previous
3 summers.

4 Now, I said I cite that as a purely subjective kind
5 of observation, but one in which I think I have a fair degree
6 of effect.

7 MR. HARDY: Going back to the idea of an organization
8 being behind the rioting disturbances, I think you have more
9 organization after the riot has occurred than you do before.
10 In Plainfield, and I have been in Newark, you have more of a
11 feeling of organization and esprit de corps among the ghetto
12 dwellers than you have ever had before and those that are
13 definitely anti-white, the small element that is out for
14 violence, and this is the element you have to watch for, but
15 they are in the minority, and as I related to you before, the
16 idea of being afraid to speak out against it which is prevalent
17 in Plainfield at the present time, this is what is so dangerous
18 because now you do have organization and it can go up again
19 any time.

20 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Hardy, do I understand what you
21 are saying is after a riot the minority or the small group
22 that is for violence is solidified?

23 MR. HARDY: Yes.

24 CHAIRMAN KERNER: So that a greater number actually
25 believe in violence than before the riot?

1 MR. HARDY: Not necessarily believe in violence.

2 CHAIRMAN KERNER: That is why I asked you to clarify
3 that. I almost drew that conclusion and I didn't want to do it
4 erroneously.

5 MR. HARDY: No. Right after a riot you have such a
6 breach in the community that the Negro, the two groups are
7 alienated right afterwards and quite naturally he can identify
8 with no one but his brother or the other Negroes, and if you
9 get a small group that is powerful enough to take it over and
10 wield enough force to scare enough of them into falling into
11 line, they have got it. Then you do have your organization and
12 this is when it comes, afterwards, not before.

13 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Any further comments? Any further
14 questions? It has been a most interesting afternoon. I thank
15 each of you on behalf of the Commission for the time you have
16 given up and the information you have given us. I have
17 learned some new things this afternoon and I am sure all the
18 members of the Commission have as well. Thank you so very much.

19 By the way, before we close, are there any documents
20 that any of you wish to leave as exhibits?

21 That will be Exhibit No. 67.

22 (The document referred to was marked
23 Exhibit No. 67 for identification.)

24 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Would you identify the document
25 by --

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1 PROFESSOR REISS: Professionalization of the Police.
2 I will also submit one later on use of force.
3 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Any other documents to be received?
4 This will be received in evidence.
5 (The document referred to heretofore
6 marked Exhibit No. 67 for identifica-
7 tion, was received in evidence.)
8 CHAIRMAN KERNER: If not, thank you so very much for
9 your helpfulness. Appreciate it.
10 (Whereupon, at 5:55 o'clock p.m., the hearing was
11 concluded.)
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