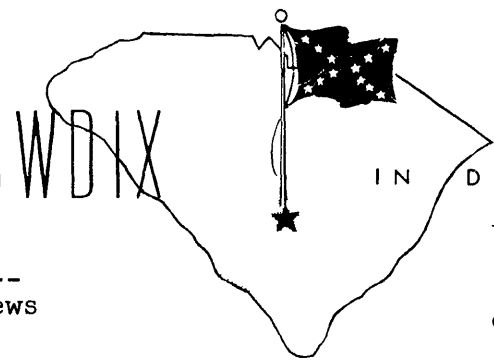

RADIO STATION WDIX IN DIXIE 5,000 WATTS

EDITORIAL

THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

Your opinion is welcome--
for or against these views

March 11, 1968 Title: Your Honest Appraisal
(Bdcst Date)

The governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner, was chairman of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders of last year. Former CIA head John A. McCone was chairman of a California organized committee to report on the Watts rioting of August of 1965. The Associated Press reports, quote "Although they came more than two years apart, there are striking similarities between last week's presidential commission report on civil disorders in 1967 and the McCone commission study of the rioting in (Watts) in 1965. (AP continues) Both blamed shortcomings in job opportunity, education, housing and police methods; both found dangerous concentrations of Negroes in slum areas; both forecast increasing disorder; neither found any organized plan or conspiracy; both called for heavy taxation to finance remedial programs. There was a significant difference: ... the study of 1967...blamed 'white racism' as a central cause," end quote AP.

No one will deny that job opportunity, education, housing and police methods are problems with that element of the Negro community that is challenging his neighbors. There is a sizeable element of the white community that has the same problem. The question is, can these problems of these people be solved by the conclusion of both the Kerner and McCone reports - namely - by government-financed remedial programs?

That the McCone and the Kerner reports, coming two year's apart, substantiate each other is a foregone conclusion. Gov. Kerner's report was written by people aligned with Pres. Johnson and the McCone report was written by people aligned with former California Gov. Pat Brown who was distributor for the Great Society in California. The McCone and Kerner reports naturally would be duplicates - the difference being that the Great Society is now two years older and two years deeper in the philosophy of self-condemnation which places the blame - not on the individual - but on society.

For the other side of the coin, there is an organization which calls itself WOMEN FOR LAW AND ORDER at P. O. Box 231, Alton, Illinois - which is the home of Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly whom Rockefeller Republicans deposed as leader of the Republican Women's national federation. WOMEN FOR LAW AND ORDER says, quote "...the LBJ 'Civil Orders' (Kerner) Commission...instead of calling for law and order by punishing the guilty...demands; spending $32 billion more (that's spelled with a "B") per year to reward rioters with Federal handouts, handcuffing your local police...to spend <u>your</u> money to re-elect LBJ by getting him 'off the hook' on the big issue of crime and racial violence," end quote WOMEN FOR LAW AND ORDER, P. O. Box 231, Alton, Illinois.

The citizens of BOTH races must make an honest appraisal of this issue - because anything less than an honest appraisal threatens the future of the dollar and the security of the home, business and persons of the citizens of this nation.

WDIX . . . IN DIXIE
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

ORANGEBURG, SC
MAR 12
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1968
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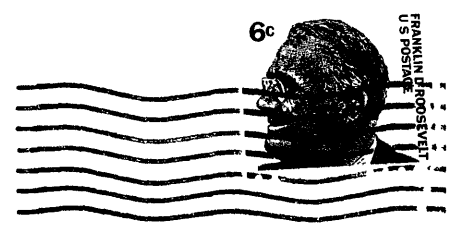

The Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Attn:
Commission on Civil Disorders

Hollywood Calif;
March 4- 1968

All Members of National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Gentleman:

All of you hang your head in shame, after the disgraceful, destructive, and stupid report. Also lack of intelligence.

Why not put the blame where it belongs. Mr Johnson, Mr. King and your labor union officials.

The rioters made the gettos so let them clean themselves up, and earn the respect of the white people.

Who is afraid of who?
And who has the yellow streak

down their back.

This country has hit a new time low since November 1963, very low at that.

And I am not a Democratic nor a Republican. Thank God.

Have you forgotten the white votes. Well I am sure there will be a lot of changes in votes.

Did you know that Politics is the dirtiest of all professions there is. Think it over it is later than you think.

I resent having these people ride my back, let them do what I am doing. Working And I am seventy one years old.

There is work for those who want to work. I know we have trouble with them where I work. They just don't want to work.

I would like to suggest that if Congress passes this bill, we should lower the stars and stripes to half mast, until this adminstration pulls this country out of the gutter, gives it back to the people, with dignity we once had.

Now more than ever you have created a white racism, and then we can blame you in the head lines.

There is no law that can make me like anyone that I don't

want to. I used to create my own civil rights by picking the person as a special individual, but no more, as a race, causing so much trouble. I think things over and over and over.

A fine example of dignity and self respect is shown very highly in the Japanese race. One never hears of them rioting here. They just picked themselves up and started over without all of this bitching.

I thank you for your time.

J. Johnson.

Jeanette Johnson
P. O BOX 46244
LOS ANGELES 4 , CALIF 90046

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
PM
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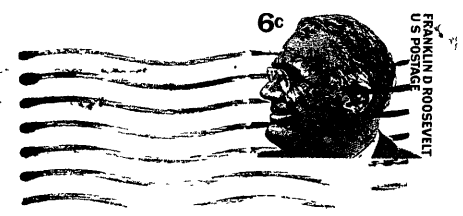
1968



Members of National advisory commission
on Civil Disorders,
Washington,
D.C. 20039

I was in the process of writing a letter myself when this editorial came out in our paper. It expressed my feelings much better than I could so I'm sending it to you.

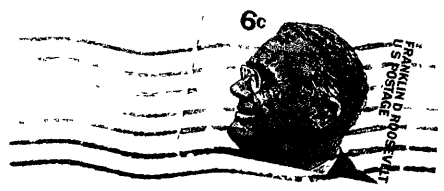
It is a shame our world has to be in such a turmoil and the reason it is cause too few people care.

The people want certain things and they elect a representive, but we don't get represented. The people we put into office promise us anything to get elected. Then when we elect them they go about and do as they well please. I don't know how some of them sleep at night. Maybe they don't. I also wonder if some of them know what the word honesty means.

Mrs Harold Reynolds
419 Linda Dr
Hopkinsville, Ky.
42240

Reynolds
419 Linda
Hopkinsville, Ky.
42240

HOPKINSVILLE, KY
MAR 4
PM
1968
42240



Commission on Civil Disorders
Washington, D.C
1016 – 16th St N.W.

Editorials

This Is The Answer?

Those who endorse the report of the Commission on Civil Disorders will probably have no trouble making a case for it.

It's equally easy to make a case against it.

Unquestionably there is much truth contained in the lengthy document drawn up by 11 persons appointed by President Johnson to study riots last year in such cities as Newark and Detroit. One can't deny some of the findings even though he is reluctant to believe the conditions exist.

The slums of the big cities are horrible. That they flourish in a country with the economic opportunities which the United States boasts has to be regarded a reflection on a lot of people and a lot of circumstances. The slums are a national shame.

But whether all the blame for either the slums or the bloody riots staged in them belongs where the President's Commission attempts to fix it is a moot question. The report points an accusing finger at just about everybody except the rioter himself.

The policeman who tries to keep law and order is a prime target. The government comes in for its share of blame because it failed to do something long before the riots started. And the indirect target of much of the report is the average American citizen who happens to live in a rural community or in a non-slum city area.

Only person who comes out unseared by the Commission's withering fire is the fellow who takes advantage of the riot excitement to break into a store, loot the place, set fire to the premises, and then shoot at the firemen who comes to put out the blaze.

The recommendations made by the Commission for preventing such riots in the future have plenty of merit, or at least some of them do. You can't argue with suggestions that people in the slums need better housing, additional job opportunities, and greatly improved schools. However, the lawlessness would have to stop before there is much hope for the latter two solutions.

It is stupid to expect any company, or even the taxpayers acting through their government, to erect a plant in a slum area that might be burned to the ground in the first riot. You won't have better schools unless you have better teachers, and the better teachers are not going to schools in which they must fight for their lives in the classrooms and hallways.

But when the Commission recommends a guaranteed income for the residents of the slums regardless of whether they work, it is treading on very dangerous ground. Such a move would, for all practical purposes, amount to bribing the residents of a part of America not to break the law and contribute to anarchy.

The country would, in substance, be telling some of its citizens, "If you will behave, you won't have to work and you will get paid just the same."

The precedent that will set for other groups in the country is not hard to contemplate. If they get together and shoot a few people, burn some buildings, and defy all law enforcement, can they expect a similar reward for behaving? If not, why not?

Radical student groups, for instance, should be able to get just about everything they demand if they adopt the same tactics in which the President's Commission sees so little wrong.

The Commission actually seems to condemn efforts now being made by cities to train police to protect themselves, save property, and disperse the rioters. Apparently law and order are supposed to surrender to the mobs.

Unanswered question: Does the country surrender first or try bribery first?

WERBER INSURANCE AGENCY
FEDERAL BUILDING
6505 BELCREST ROAD
Hyattsville, Maryland 20782

WILLIAM M WERBER, CLU
WILLIAM W WERBER, CLU

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1968
THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

LIFE MEMBER MILLION DOLLAR ROUND TABLE NALU

TELEPHONE
779-6200

February 26, 1968

Governor Otto Kerner
State Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Governor Kerner:

When your Civil Disorders Commission first began to meet, I dropped you a note to comment that the net result of the deliberations would be the further taxation of the responsible segment of our society to further expand the problems of delinquency now existing with our irresponsible segments. The item enclosed merely supports my early prediction.

On the subject of racism: (1) Would you not consider black racism responsible for the murder of some 15,000 non-Africans in the Zanzibar massacres? (2) How about the murder of some 3,000 white landowners in Kenya? Racism? (3) What would you label the dispossession of Non-African business men in Kenya? (4) What is the motivational factor in the Organization of African Unity? Is it not to kick the white man out of Africa? (5) What prompted the machine gun massacres of white missionaries, doctors, priests and nuns in Leopoldville? Racism? (6) What motivates the formation of segregated Afro-American Societies on white college campuses? Racism? (7) What prompts the N.A.A.C.P., Core, S.N.C.C. and S.C.L.C. to spew out threats against all white institutions and keep the hate pot boiling? Racism?

The white man can't hold a candle to the black man when it comes to Racism, Governor Kerner. Even the black man's churches are invariably prefixed with "Afro"; African Methodist, African Episcopalian, Abyssinian Baptist. His newspapaers are the same, Afro-American, Ebony, etc. Did you know that in all of the United States there is not a black supported College or University? They are all supported by white people.

WERBER INSURANCE AGENCY

As for the idocy of a guaranteed annual wage, how could any group of intelligent and reasonable men feel that taxing productive people to maintain unproductive people in a perpetual state of indolence will solve any problems at all? It won't. Put in a guaranteed annual wage and you will have a rapidly expanding adult population that will never work, and you will have a decreasing number of productive people to support this ideological sickness.

We have been experimenting with the welfare state for some 35 years, Governor Kerner. Are the numbers of people on welfare less or greater? Is the yearly cost of our welfare receipients less or greater? Are our crime problems less or greater? Is our debt less or greater? Have our problems been lessening or increasing?

Quite frankly, isn't it gross stupidity to recommend more of the same? Your report isn't going to solve problem one. All it will do is to sink this Nation deeper into the mud. I guarantee it.

Sincerely,

William M. Werber

William M. Werber

cc: Mayor John V. Lindsay

Senator Fred R. Harris

The Garrison City—I

Post 2/25/68

U.S. Police Arm for Summer

Aircraft Armaments, Inc

This armored police vehicle is typical of the new riot-control armament.

First of a series

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

With the first warm nights of America's fifth long, hot summer, about 20 per cent of Philadelphia's police officers will be sitting on special buses, drawing overtime pay, listening to lectures on riot control, waiting for trouble to start

In the suburbs partially ringing Detroit, police will be armed with a new high-powered rifle capable of shattering a cinder block or ripping a 4-inch hole in a human target

In Los Angeles, a shiny new mobile command post, complete with radio, teletype and a panelled conference room, will be ready to wheel into action at the earliest hints of violence.

In other cities, police will turn out in their 1968 styles —military flak jackets, newly blacked helmets, or slippery nylon windbreakers that rioters cannot easily grab. Some will crouch behind new fiberglass protective shields Others will carry, for the first time, M-1 carbines, and shotguns equipped with targeting spotlight Others will peer down from hovering helicopters, or take aim through infrared sniper scopes, or fire home the new tear-gas canisters that burst and spread smaller pellets Others will mount armored cars

See ARMS, A9, Col. 1

Riot Report to Stress Racism

By Jean M. White
Washington Post Staff Writer

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders will meet Tuesday and Wednesday to finish a report that will be a harsh indictment of racism in American society.

One aim will be to shock the American public—particularly the white people — into facing up to the gravity of the Nation's racial crisis. America, some Commission members feel, now stands in danger of polarizing into two hostile camps with a hardening of white-black antipathies

"Whatever else, we must get the problem over to the people and get them alarmed," one Commission source said yesterday.

Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner, chairman of the Commission, has singled out "racism—not poverty or cynicism" as the root of the big-city ghetto riots of last summer.

After seven months of study, the 11-member panel is putting the finishing touches on its report, which now runs some 1000 typewritten pages. It is due to be released to the public next Sunday

Sources—who have worked on the document or have read the draft—agree that it will bear down hard on white prejudice and racism. But there is some disagreement on how bold the Commission will be in its recommendations.

On one side, the draft pro-

See KERNER, A5, Col. 1

KERNER—*From Page A1*

Report on Rioting To Stress Racism

posals are said to be broad and sweeping and touch the "guts" of social conditions — jobs, schools, housing, education. But some informed sources express disappointment that the Commission doesn't come out with flat recommendations on new departures and solutions to the problems.

For one thing, the Commission—apparently by a divided vote—has agreed on a general endorsement of the idea of a guaranteed minimum income without "embracing it," as one source described it.

The endorsement comes in a discussion of the present welfare system, which the riot investigators reportedly criticize as antiquated and unfair. The Commission, one source said, doesn't map out a new program but expresses an opinion that the Nation should move toward a welfare system with a guaranteed minimum income for every family.

A Commission source pointed out that President Johnson appointed a commission in January to propose revolutionary changes in the welfare system. Ben W Heineman heads this Commission of Income Maintenance Programs.

The guaranteed-income isn't a new idea among Presidential commissions and conferences. It has drawn the strong endorsement of the White House Conference on Civil Rights and the blue-ribbon National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress

A source said the Commission report approaches the idea of guaranteed jobs in the same way—general endorsement of a decent job for everyone without saying the Government should be the "employer of last resort" Great emphasis is put on training the hard-core unemployed, which is also a big Administration project at this time

Among other proposals, the 11 members of the panel are reported to have tentatively agreed to call for 600,000 more units of Federally aided public housing this year. An earlier draft, it is said, put the target at 300,000, but New York Mayor John V Lindsay, the Commission vice chairman, pushed for the double figure

Several of the more precedent-shaking education recommendations before the Commission have been toned down in the final draft, sources said

The report now is said to mention—but cautiously—the controversial idea to let school children buy special instruction outside the public school system It also is understood to discuss community-controlled schools only as one of several proposals to improve ghetto schools

Lindsay and Sen. Fred R Harris (D-Okla) have been leading the wing of the Commission pushing for a broad-based report that goes beyond riot dissection to tackle social problems.

The recommendations will cover jobs, housing, education and welfare Other sections will deal with police control and the response of the community There is expected to be criticism of the National Guard, city hall isolation from the ghetto, and the news media for some of their riot coverage

Sen. Harris said yesterday he doesn't think the report will be "bland" or the seven months of study "would be of no use"

The report, sources say, will not be limited to a post-mortem on last summer's riots There will be sections that look into the future and deal with projections of such things as migration into the cities

Finally, the report will warn of the terrible consequences for the Nation if a massive commitment is not made to face up to racism and the miserable conditions in the big-city ghettos under the leadership of the Federal Government

WERBER INSURANCE AGENCY
FEDERAL BUILDING
6505 BELCREST ROAD
Hyattsville, Maryland 20782

Governor Otto Kerner
State Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Sir or Madam:

by Haven Page / Feb. 27, 1968

P. O. BOX 3002
SARASOTA, FLORIDA 33578
Telephone (813) 955-2881

Hon. Otto Kerner, Chairman
President's Commission on Civil Disorders
Executive Offices, The White House
Washington

Dear Governor Kerner:

UPI must have got out of the wrong side of bed this morning with the story that your findings are "expected to put most of the blame for riots on white racism". If this story is correct, I predict that it will trigger a nationwide reaction - as surprising to you as such a finding will surprise the press, city officials, and local police - namely, people will say that it is the most politically-slanted conclusion to come out of Washington in many a moon.

The story puts out three "pessimistic" feelers of your findings: that there is widening hostility between whites and Negroes; that Americans live"in an apartheid society just like South Africans", and that our nation lacks the patience to effect long-term remedies. Impartial observers don't need recourse to presidential advisory commissions to conclude that these findings, at least, differ with common knowledge. For example:

While your Commission has been huddling over how to interpret months-old causes and effects, a shift has occurred in the concerns and slogans of the Negro leaders: they are moving toward militant separate Black Society and away from Integration. The recent bloody outbursts at all-Negro colleges, the fumings and frustrations of Rap Brown, and the Carmichael-directed "dislocation" pageant, being staged by Martin Luther King in time for the Washington cherry blossom festival, show where the hostility is coming from. Black leaders don't want hostility to diminish. Maybe your Commission doesn't either - taking a cue from the Advisory Commission on Intergovernment Relations, whose recent annual report suggests establishment of a police state by executive order on the same kind of pretext you have selected - "there is no short-term solution and no popular patience for long-term remedy."

The comparison of American community relations between whites and blacks, with the experienced and livable South African institutions, is sheer lazy gobbledegook. I'll wager $100 that no member of your Commission has first-hand knowledge of "apartheid" and that you recorded no testimony on this subject.

Patiently yours,

Haven Page

HAVEN B. PAGE
P. O. BOX 3002
SARASOTA, FLORIDA 33578

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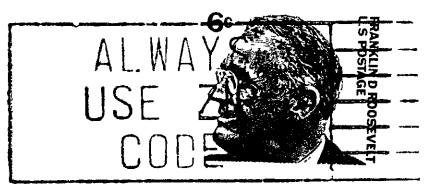

Hon. Otto Kerner, Chairman
President's Commission on Civil Disorders
Executive Offices, The White House
Washington, D.C.

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GOVT OTTO KERNER, CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENTS NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

WHITE HOUSE

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS GREETS WITH ENTHUSIASM YOUR EIGHT RECOMMENDATIONS ON EDUCATION STRATEGIES. OUR ENTHUSIASM, HOWEVER, IS TIED TO THE HOPE THAT EACH OF THEM WILL BE PUT INTO ACTION PROMPTLY ALONG THE LINES OF THE MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS PROGRAMS. NO TIME NEED BE LOST SINCE H.R. 14499, SPONSORED BY THE HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR., HAS ALREADY BEEN INTRODUCED AND ENCOMPASSES MANY OF YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS HAVING A HIGH PROPORTION OF DISADVANTAGED SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN.

CHARLES COGEN PRES AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

FORM 0805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U. S. A.

President's Commission on Civil Order
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

The words from the lips of a dignitary are most of the time considered if not carried out, but the words from the lips of some humble and poor man are all to often discarded if ever read even tho they make sense and would often times be of great merit if heeded. I heard a Negro on the news this afternoon say that they had made this country and they was going to burn it down and riot. If some white man made such statements he would be thrown in jail before twenty four hours. It seems to me, with the billions of acres of land the Government owns it could arrange for some of the Ghetto's to disburse to the country and raise themselves some food. However, there is a draw-back there, for there are to many Negroes that will not work so long as the Welfare funds furnish them enough funds that they can have a bottle of beer in one hand and a jar of pickeled pigs feet in the other hand.

The only way I can see as a possible cure for this all-time terrible mess is to make itvital to simply overpower them and make them work, or either make it manditory for the colored to marry whites, and visa versa, then within a generation from now there wouldn't be any one to disagree with for they would all be crossed and all equal. I predicted when the first trouble began in Mississippi concerning the school that it wasn't education in the minds of the Negro that it was inter-marriage, and it certinally seems to be leading in that direction, but I do hope that those in authority can and will take a lesson that Soloman, learned by having wives of other than his own people, and according to the Bible, I would assume Soloman as spiritual and carnal wise as any of the peoples of today.

The remark that Khrushchev, made some few years ago, that he (Communism) would bury us (Imperialism) just may come true without Russia shooting a single shot, for we, as a Nation, are spending ourselves to death row in my opinion and a large sum of it going to the ones that never did nor never will work. I may be taken as a psycho but wait and see by the middle Seventies, if we are arond then, and maybe someone will think of the mistakes that bought friendship always brings. Lets help the man that has tried to help himself and put the vagarants to work or let them starve and wallow in filth and everybody knowing he has a Mother, but nobody knowing who his Father is. These may seem harsh words, nevertheless, you and I regretfully know they are true.

God, help us all to open our eyes. All men were created equal, but all mendoes not remain equal, and Jesus Christ, said himself, that we would have the poor with us always:::: Can we, as people, Rub that out?

Anonymus.....

77 North Milton Street
Malden, Massachusetts
March 3, 1968

Editor
Record American
5 Winthrop Square
Boston, Massachusetts

Re: Report; The National Advisory
Commission on Civil Disorders.

Dear Sir:

With reference to the above entitled subject and somewhat irrespective of the scale of operations, the task of government rests, then, squarely upon a continuing political investigation of facts as the determinant of all action. If former Senate President John E. Powers' idea of government was a theory (keep government close to us) killed by a fact (centralization) ... then the bureaucrats idea of government must be a fact killed by Powers ' theory *** which finds renewed support by the members of the Commission.

It would, seemingly, appear that if we are to avoid the serious threat to the peace, prosperity and safety of every individual which presents itself in the situation* of a house divided against itself; that the process of integration might be better served by greater representation for all of us through the device of the Aldermanic form of government ... that "encumberson old relic of democracy."

Sincerely yours,

Joseph F. Irvin

Joseph F. Irvin

*Racial and social conflicts.

CC: Mr. David Ginsburg
Executive Director
The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder
1016 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

H.
M.A.C.R.

REC'D 17 '68

President Johnson
Washington, D.C.

Mary Lacelle
21321 Bayside
St. Clair Shores
Mich 48081

Dear President Johnson,

I am writing from a city in the suburbs of Detroit. Last year why didn't the Air Borne come earlier? It was really a mess with the riots. I don't know if anyone told you how bad it was or how bad it was going to get. One month before I wrote this letter they were talking about rioting this summer. The price of guns, went up 50% already. The negro's said that they were going to take one white child from every neighborhood & put them in the hospital. And I don't want to be the pick of the litter. The negro's also said they would burn

down half of Detroit if they had to. I respect my governor but he doesn't seem concerned about the riots. He talks about about it why doesn't he do anything about them? Its getting to the that the people are afraid to step out of their houses.

Concerned,
Mary Lacelle
Kathie Armani
Debbie Vergus

Send to

Mary Lacelle
21321 Bayside
St. Clair Shores
Michigan, 48081

M. Lacelle
21321 Bayside
S.C.S. Mich.
48081

ST. CLAIR SHORES, MI
FEB 15
PM
1968

6c
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
U.S. POSTAGE

President Johnson
White House
Washington D. C.

To the Presidents fact finding commission on riot s

Hon. Sirs:

I think the general consensus on your fact finding report is not to accept the conclusion that white people should be blamed for the riots in any of our cities last summer. Notwithstanding the fact that the sins of our fathers are being visited upon us for having these people here in the first place, we all admit that. But the true guilt lies on failure of the colored people to help themselves, even when opportunities are open to them. This does not of course apply to all of them, but those who are successful in rising above the general run have always had a place in our scheme of life. We have a long list of negro talent and leaders who are respected by all in our world today. However it is a well known fact that the ghettos as such have been in most cases created by negroes themselves. and their riots have hurt them the most

I am speaking about conditions in New haven. There should have been no riots in New Haven because negroes have always had good opportunities here, usually equal opportunities with white people, if they were capable of doing a job. The areas that are now classed as slums should not now be slums, true they were the poorer section with a lot of available living quarters over business buildings and rooming houses, but they could not be classed as slums, these areas provided living quarters for transients and people a little more or less down on their luck, but who were glad to find something that they could afford. It took the negroes to turn them into ghettoes, where they crowded families into one room and throwing the garbage out of the windows, wherever it might fall. There has not been a single group of people so careless of their living habits or less amenable to prevailing codes in the history of our city, and they follow the rule of their general behavior everywhere they go. If they are moved to better housing, that, in turn becomes a slum, they do not show any ability or desire to better their standards of living by their own endeavors or to help them selves, they would rather live on welfare than to work, they are indolent, destructive anduntidy never satisfied with their free living, which is very good in New Haven, better than that of our white senior citizens.

They held a sit down at city hall because they wanted their laundry done. 90% of the white people in New Haven do their own laundry. No go.

They also wanted transportation (cars) to markets where they could buy for less.

One woman went to the welfare department and asked for extra money to buy a crib for her baby, when asked where her baby was sleeping atpresent she replied, in the carton that the colored T.V. came in. Do I need to say they do not deserve the help that we are giving them? They appreciate nothing, respect no one.

March 11,1968.

To the

PRESIDENTS ADVISORY COMMISSION ON

CIVIL DISORDERS.

The U.S.Riot Panel,after along time of talking,has discovered that all the blame for senseless Negroe rioting belongs to the white community.No fault with the Negroes! Are they right?

At the end of the Second World War Winston Churchill exclaimed: "We have killed the wrong hog!" Are the Panel masters sure that after a wile they will not be in the mood toe repeat the same words?

Living conditions of Negroes?

1. Two thirds of all Negroes are constantly employed,a fraction has seasonal jobs or unemployment benefits.
2. Same 28% of Negroes belong to the middle class by income,it means,they earn from 7000-20000 a year.
3. About 4 million wayword Negroe women receive benefits for their illegitimate kids and themselves.(About 200.000 illegitimate negro kids are borne per year,whereas only 50.000 are produced by white perverts).
4. The rest is more or less unemplyable,what the Panel heroes know very well.

The government is doing everything possible to train the retarded,the imbecils,but there is little success.

Rep. Albert H.Quie reported:

The incredibly high cost and evident lack of success at the Mc. Coy Job Corps center in Sparta,Wis.,showed why the war on poverty needs a comlete overhaul.Statistics released by the University of Wisconsin,which operated the center,showed that in 20 months the center graduated only 365 of 3.196 enrolled at a total cost of $12.5 million."This is a flagrant waste of tax money," Quie said.

At the same time other former gheto inhabitants as Chinese,or Japanese,or Philippenes have left their ghetoes for good and have housing and jobs without any riots and rampaging around,without wasting of any tax millions or billions.Why? Because they do not have abnormally many imbecils and mentals.

Unless the production of Negroe imbecils is stopped,no Negroe slams or poverty can be eradicated.No money would help.And no Whites are able to recreate human brain.There is the hitch.

But the black militants in no way are interested in decreasing the number of imbecils,because all their "glory" is based on the existance of "unpriviledged" or unemployable or imbecils.This is another big hitch.

In Europe average wages are several times smaller than the lowest here, nevertheless,there are no real slams there.A lot of workers there earn less than wellfare heroes receive here,still they make beter living,because they do not tolerate laziness and slambuilding.

The Riot Panel would have done less demage to America and humanity by declaring that the fault lies as 50:50 of both sides.(But that must be a too daring step for American milksops)

They always prefere to fight the flowers of evil,never the roots. The roots of all inhumanity and aggression have been cultivated in Moskow.Indirectly Fashism and Nazzism also have been cultivated by Russian the brutal Bolshevism.

In the middle of 1944 the German Wehrmacht was ready to overthrow the crazy Nazzi government,even an assault was made on Hitler's life. That was the best time to offer truce over the heads of the Nazzi,but Roosevelt and other dupes craved for the toy of unconditional surrender,no matter what would in that case happen to all the nations in the Middle Europe.

Another God given occasion to set the Russian savages back into their natural boundaries arose when Kremlin created the Berlin crises in 1947.At that time only America possessed the atom bomb which would have been a great enough threet,without relly using it,in order to demand democratic ellections in Eastern Germany.All the democratic world would have morally supported such a reasonable step.If that had happened,no American army would be necessary in Europe now.But again,the famous milksops started with flowers,not with the roots.And as a kind of "reward" they got Russian instigated wars in Korea,in Vietnam etc. and they will have more and more,untill the famous American democracy collapses.

The case of Hungarian revolt,perhaps,was not suitable for direct military action,but some underground action done by underground organisations was highly possible.At least there was a rare chance of defamation of Commie-Russian savage methods before all the world.But Washington milksops pretended to see and hear nothing,while freedom of a whole nation was drowned in blood.(Is it true that Russian tanks moved into Hungary only after they learnt through Yugoslavia that America has no intention to interfere?) Even that!

Don't you really see that you are leading the country toward anrchy which ievitably will be followed by a kind of dictatorship?

EXTRA EXTRA

YOUR 50 STATES BAKSHEESH

HARRISONBURG BAKSHEESH THE D. C. BAKSHEESH FLORIDA BAKSHEESH

XXXXXXXXXX The Original Free Press Monthly Bulletin XXXXXXXXXX

YOU'VE DONE IT AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT

You've done it again, Mr. President — and what you've done they don't even do in Johnson City. This time it was the Kerner Commission. The first time, of course, it was the Warren Commission. And both times it went like this:

FIRST. A Soviet-controlled intelligence agency "clears" the members of the Commission.

SECOND. The Soviet-controlled intelligence agency then asks the members of the Commission if it can testify before the Commission.

THIRD. The Commission says yes.

FOURTH. The Soviet-controlled intelligence agency then proceeds to load (i.e., fill to overflowing) the Commission with information.

FIFTH. On the basis of the information that the Soviet-controlled intelligence agency provides, the Commission concludes that the Soviet Government had nothing to do with the matter.

Now, we ask you, Mr. President:

ONE. What kind of people is a Soviet-controlled intelligence agency going to clear? The answer is people who are green (i.e., inexperienced) or red (i.e., Party members) or have exploitable weaknesses.

TWO. Are 6,000,000+ words or 1,485 pages needed to tell the truth? "The Soviet Government hired Oswald to shoot at the Presidential car's rear bumper, and Oswald overshot the rear bumper and hit President Kennedy and Governor Connally by mistake." Is that 6,000,000+ words? "The Soviet Government activated some of its cadres." Is that 1,485 pages? The presence of too many trees is prima facie evidence that someone is trying to hide something in the forest.

THREE. What kind of information is a Soviet-controlled intelligence agency going to provide?

FOUR. What is your motive, Mr. President?

Address all inquiries to:

COMMITTEE OF THE BROOM
c/o Your 50 States Baksheesh
P. O. Box 2243, Potomac Station
Alexandria, Va. 22301 (USA)

81 Nunan Street
Charleston, S.C., April 11, 1968

Comission on Civil Disorders
Washington, D.C.
Sirs,

I am very anxious for someone to explain the meaning of "Civil Rights".

Is it a law to appease Negroes of which I am one. In the new law of appeasement, as you know, you have created a civil disobedient nation in the United States.

Those of us who are law abiding citizens have no protection at all. We live in fear of our lives.

The Congress of the United States condones lawlessness.

Whenever reports on "Civil Rights" are reported to the nation Congress never blames the shiftless, the looters, the rioters, the bomb throwers for their low down dirty acts. People like the ones I mentioned, are recognized by members of Congress, and are condoned in what they do, and they are going to continue to do so, regardless of how many laws are passed to appease this no good crowd.

Quite a number of the law abiding Negroes are wondering when will law and order prevail again in this country

What are we going to do about this lawlessness? It cannot continue. Seemingly, you cannot or does not have the nerve to tell a Negro he is wrong in anyway.

I am wondering how can jobs be procured for every poor person in the United States. The Bible says the poor we will have with us always. Now if you do not have the power to fulfill your promise or promises, what then?

Respectfully,

Mrs. I. R. Huger

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

June 13, 1968

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILES

SUBJECT: Letter of the Honorable George F. Hetfield, Mayor of Plainfield, New Jersey, dated April 26, 1968, commenting on Commission's Report concerning Plainfield, New Jersey

FROM: Robert Conot

In reply to the specific points in the Commission's report which were raised in the letter:

1. The reference to the 25 cents fare was first made by Mr. Francis M. Sabino, Superintendent of Recreation of the City, when interviewed by Mr. Stephen Kurzman and Stephen Weiner, attorneys on our staff in October. In January, in his deposition, questioned about the fare, Mr. Sabino replied as follows:

> A. "This included admittance to the pool. It included bus fare. The Recreation Commission paid for the bus. The Union County Park Commission permitted us to use the facilities for 25 cents per person."

Mr. Marshall Brown, President of the Plainfield NAACP, when asked -- regarding busing to the swimming pool - - "Was there a charge for that?" replied: "25 cents a head."

2. Chief of Police George Campbell's account of the Mary Brown case was incorporated in his deposition. It was the Commission's policy not to pass judgment on cases still in the courts. Our interest in the incident was only in the role it played in being one of the precipitants of the riot, and we were told by many persons that it had been. We do believe that our brief statement on the case:

"After being handcuffed during a routine arrest in a housing project, a woman had fallen down a flight of stairs. The officer said she had slipped. Negro residents claimed he had pushed her."

was not in any way prejudicial or one-sided.

3. Captain Campbell, replying in his deposition to the question as to how many Plainfield police officers were on the streets at approximately 6 p.m., Sunday, said "Between 18 and 20 men." He related that, following the new outbreak of disorder approximately two hours earlier, a recall had been issued by the Department. The Commission's report pointed out that the Department had been on alert until mid-day, and coult not have anticipated the new disorders, which were precipitated at a location outside of its jurisdiction.

4. There was considerable confusion and diversity of opinion among persons interviewed regarding the Sherman Glasco incident. Mr. Glasco, himself, apparently told a different story to the Commission than to you. After analyzing the various statements, the facts related in the Commission's report were those on which there was general agreement. We do not believe that the events following Mr. Glasco's departure from the diner were as significant to the unrest that followed as those at the diner itself. We therefore did not enter into a discussion of the various charges and counter-charges pertaining to these later events.

5. There were hearings in August at which a complete cross-section of New Jersey state officials involved in the Plainfield disorder testified before the Commission. These included, among others, not only Mr. Ylvisaker, but Attorney General Sills, Colonel Kelley of the State police, and others.

6. It was the Commission's method of operation not to take sworn testimony during initial field trips to cities,

which were principally investigating efforts. In addition to the interviews conducted on the initial trip to Plainfield in October, to which you refer, a number of follow-up investigations took place.

The purpose of the depositions taken in January in Plainfield and other cities was to substantiate and check back upon possible controversial items in the report. In general, it was not our policy to take sworn statements from responsible public officials, such as yourself, whose statements we believed could be trusted to be accurate without the formality of being sworn to.

CITY OF PLAINFIELD

NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CITY HALL

April 26, 1968

Honorable Otto Kerner, Chairman
The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
Washington, D. C.

Dear Governor Kerner:

Thank you for sending me the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

I would feel remiss in my duty as Mayor of the City of Plainfield were I not to tell you that I am shocked and disappointed in the many inaccuracies contained in the narrative account of events that allegedly took place in Plainfield. These inaccuracies are as follows:

Manchester Guar., p 9.

1. With reference to the busing of the children to the County pool it is stated in your report that "the fare was 25¢ per person.....". This is false as no fare whatsoever was charged.

2. The case of the alleged incident of police brutality of which the report gives only a one-sided account involving one Mary Brown... It was reported to us that this individual circulated, prior to the riots, colored photographs of bruises that she had received as a result of the alleged police brutality. Mary Brown was charged with disorderly conduct and assault and battery upon a policeman, and the policeman was charged with assault and battery by Mary Brown. The court hearing took place on

December 18, 1967, at which time Mary Brown's two children testified that their mother had endeavored to get them to commit perjury at the trial; that the police did not commit the acts that were alleged by their mother and, further, that the father had painted various parts of the mother's body with red lipstick and black shoe polish to simulate bruises in the colored photographs that were circulated before the riots. Mary Brown was convicted on both counts, appeal was made to the County Court and conviction was affirmed. Your investigating team made a brief visit to Plainfield on January 2nd to take sworn testimony for the first time. At that time, when our Acting Chief of Police, George Campbell, attempted to tell your interviewers the outcome of the Mary Brown case, they insisted that the stenographer not put this into the record. Chief Campbell insisted upon it and whether it got in the record or not, only you can tell. In any event, if it did get into the record, I think a truthful and full account of the facts should be given.

3. Referring to Sunday, July 16th, the report states, "after having been on the alert until mid-day, the Plainfield Police Department was caught unprepared. At 6:00 P.M. only 18 men were on the streets". This is false. Police records show that at this time the Department had 72 men on duty, 11 others then with the Department were not available because of vacations, sickness or service with

the National Guard in Newark. Those on vacation had been recalled and were on their way back to the City. We can only hazard a guess as to where "your reporters" obtained the figure of 18. There were 18 officers on duty on Central Avenue at 6:00 P.M. and not throughout the entire City. There had been 71 City police officers on duty at 6:00 A.M. on Sunday; some had been on duty 18 to 20 hours and since it was then quiet in the City, the force was reduced to 33 men to permit the others to rest. There were recalls during the afternoon with all available 72 men back on duty at 6:00 P.M.

4. The Commission's report as to the incident on Friday at the White Star Diner was so incomplete that it makes the account inaccurate. The off-duty officer checked the disturbance outside of the diner and saw one Negro youth lying bleeding in the street. The Negroes dispersed and no request was made by any of them for medical aid or transportation to the hospital. The officer did not witness any fight. Later the same evening, the youth with the cut approached Lieutenant Hennessey and asked for transportation to the hospital. The officer called for transportation and the youth was taken to Muhlenberg Hospital where he was treated. This same person appeared before me at the Youth Center and his only complaint was that the police did not wait for him to be treated and given a ride back to his home.

As you well know, no person appeared before the members of the Commission as a witness to give sworn testimony. Mr. Ylvisaker was accompanied by two Negro members of the Human Relations Commission at the preliminary interview with your Commission on August 9th. In October your investigating team visited Plainfield for 7 to 10 days at which time no sworn testimony was taken to my knowledge. It was only at the special visit that your investigators made to Plainfield on January 2nd that sworn testimony was taken from a select few. It was on this occasion that one of the investigating team objected to making part of the record Chief Campbell's testimony as to the true facts in the Mary Brown case, none of which appears in the report.

I can only attribute the inaccuracies, of which I have only mentioned a few, to the method that your Commission employed in obtaining the information. An investigation where all witnesses testify under oath, I am sure, would present to the Commission a different picture, particularly when facts are desired and not opinions.

I heartily endorse many of your Commission's recommendations. I trust that you will accept my comments in the spirit in which it is written. I do not believe that we should depart from the truth. I regret that your investigating team did not consult with me as to their conclusions of fact, of which they were sole judges, before they left Plainfield, in which event many of the inaccuracies would not have found their way into your report.

Sincerely,

George F. Hetfield

George F. Hetfield
Mayor

GFH/ev

WHERE SUCCESSFUL IDEAS BEGIN
Dasho-Rogers, Inc.
PUBLIC RELATIONS
Publicity • Promotions • Advertising
8 S MICHIGAN AVENUE SUITE 310 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

March 1, 1968

The Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of the State of Illinois
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Governor Kerner:

I was much impressed with the outstanding recommendations revealed by you as chairman of President Johnson's National Commission on Civil Disorders. Congratulations on a fine report, that delves deep into the problems facing our great nation.

The attached news release is merely for your information.

For the future,

Bill Dasho

William A. Dasho

WAD:ap
Enc.

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FOR: FEPCo, Inc.

For Release

CHICAGO - The report of President Johnson's National Commission on Civil Disorders was hailed today (March 1) by a Chicago employment service specializing in white-collar jobs for Negroes.

"However," said an official of FEPCo, Inc., 8 S. Michigan Avenue, which has been putting some of the recommendations into action since 1964, "business must relax inflexible 'employability' tests if private industry is to provide the one million jobs for unemployed Negroes called for in Governor Kerner's Riot Report.

"The excellent recommendations on employment are not new to us. FEPCo has been totally involved in this problem for over three years," said William A. Dasho, FEPCo president.

"We have already evolved a plan that works, a free remedial training program in office skills for men and women who have been rejected time after time because they could not pass rigid 'employability' requirements," said Dasho.

"A pattern has emerged from our pilot experiment that should be 'multiplied' city by city across the nation," he said. "It has succeeded beyond our expectations. But private industry must 'give a little to get a little' if the employment phase of the Riot Report is to be really successful."

The FEPCo plan to upgrade applicants began Jan. 8 with a free instruction program, subsidized by the firm. FEPCo paid the teachers salaries and expenses for space, equipment, etc. A dozen Chicago firms loaned practice typewriters and other materials to the project.

-more-

Add 1

Trainees responded enthusiastically to individualized, one-to-one instruction, so much so that the pilot experiment originally scheduled for two months, has been extended through March 29.

"But the kicker is that the trainees still tend to freeze on formal tests," said Dasho. "Girls who ordinarily do 50 wpm without an error, score far below their aptitudes when they feel authority is looking over their shoulder to judge and inspect, stop watch in hand.

"That's why it is so important for employers to make allowances for the nervousness of Negro applicants trying out for jobs."

Dasho pointed out that the "self-improvers," the type who eagerly volunteer for training, are the natural leaders of the Negro community. Each one who receives considerate treatment is like a drop of oil in the troubled pools of racial resentments in their home communities.

He said trainees are very much on their mettle in the practical, businesslike atmosphere of a program where they are treated like people, not problems; like future tax-payers, not relief recipients of government bounty.

"With just a little patience and practical training, unemployed Negroes can quickly become productive, happy employees," he said.

Dasho added that he is sometimes wryly amused by the irony of the millions of dollars poured into slum clearance and model community building when just a fraction of such expenditure to reclaim human resources can accomplish so much greater results.

ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

Service Above Self - He Profits Most Who Serves Best

1600 RIDGE AVENUE · EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201 U.S.A.

March 1, 1968

The Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of the State of Illinois
Office of the Governor
The State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Governor Kerner:

As Head of the Public Relations Department of Rotary International, I have read with much interest the findings of your just-published Riot Study Commission.

Rotary plans to feature a "Law and Order" Panel at the annual convention, to be held this spring in Mexico City. Panelists will include prominent law enforcement officials from Canada, Sweden, Germany, and Japan.

We would very much appreciate receiving a copy of the official report from your Riot Study Commission, for reference and background information pertaining to the Law and Order Panel. We will be studying the role of the young in crime, and your findings will be extremely relevant.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

James C. Hughes
Head, Public Relations Department

JCH/bk

MEMORANDUM TO THE MEDIA

From: Jim Hughes
Head, Public Relations Department
Rotary International
1600 Ridge Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201
Telephone: (312) 328-0100

About: Rotary's Symposium on Youth and Law and Order
at the International Convention
Mexico City, May 15, 1968

Rotary has, of course, been concerned with the rising incidence of crime in the world, not only as a matter of public morality and safety but also as it affects business. For, in a society where self-service represents a trend and where an increasing volume of the free market rests upon mutual trust, a breakdown in accepted values inhibits a fundamental economic thrust.

Luther H. Hodges, president of Rotary International, has commented:

> "Of even more compelling concern is the sorry fact that a large and increasing percentage of these major crimes are attributed to our young people. In the United States, thirty-one percent of the arrests are of those under 21 years of age. This statistic is worsened when one considers that these major crimes are often, indeed one might say usually, the culmination of a record of minor offenses. One might conclude that the descent to the worst aspects of crime are being probed by an ever more youthful segment."

--more--

Believing that we would gain fresh insights into the nature and world-wide magnitude of the problem, as well hopefully, of course, some answers, we concluded it would be useful to invite the Chiefs of Police of the world's largest cities to speak before the Rotary Convention this coming May in Mexico City. After consulting with authorities in the field, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, it was decided that we should seek out certain individuals who had demonstrated special perception and success in the field. With the active help of the International Association of Chiefs of Police invitations have been accepted by:

Dr. Gerhard Littman, President of Police, Frankfurt, Germany. Dr. Littman is regarded as one who has enjoyed outstanding success in enlisting citizen support for police work.

Carl G. Persson, Chief of the Swedish State Police. In most areas police work is a local affair, but in Sweden the problem is approached on a nationwide basis. Mr. Persson, who has a record of high achievement in the Swedish government, is in charge. He is a keen student of the sociological aspects of youth involvement.

Judge Yorihiro Naito, of the Family Court, Tokyo, Japan. The traditional relationship between the elders and the youth has been disrupted perhaps more dramatically in Japan than in many other countries. Judge Naito is an experienced authority in this field.

Leonard G. Lawrence, Chief of Police, Hamilton, Ontario, and president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. In his capacity with the international association, he has traveled and consulted widely with police officials all over the world and may be truly said to have a global view of the problem.

--more--

These men will participate in a symposium which will be chaired by Erwin D. Canham, editor-in-chief of The Christian Science Monitor and author of a popular youth dialog column. Mr. Canham will also call for reports on achievements by Rotary clubs in various parts of the world, in working with youth to constructively redirect the militancy so evident.

And, as a finale, Mr. Hodges, as Rotary's president, will suggest to the more than 12,000 Rotarians expected to be present -- and representing more than 625,000 members in some 13,000 clubs in 139 countries -- that Rotary now focus a great portion of its energies and capabilities in applying the information and guidance of the symposium in a more enlightened and dedicated approach to the problems of youth and crime which, obviously, are also parental problems, and in the promotion of that spirit of honesty and fair-dealing which is a foundation of better business.

The symposium will start at 10:30 a.m. Wednesday, May 15, in the Auditorio Nacional in Mexico City. We expect it to run until about noon. Immediately following the symposium we will hold the participants for a press conference, and such special shooting or taping, and picture-taking as the media may require. We would like very much to work with you in providing what you are interested in from this symposium, and will welcome any inquiries you may have, and will gladly assist in such arrangements as you require.

Please mark this down -- and call me.

* * *

Chicago, Illinois
8 March 1968.

Governor Otto Kerner
State House
Springfield, Illinois

After reading the summary in the "Tribune" of the report of President Johnsons National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders it is readily understood why Governor Kerner decided against standing for re:election to his present office.

Judging this report by the summary it is apparent that never, even from the so called "leaders" of so called "Black Power" (an euphemism)for anarchy)has a more flagrant incitement been made to civil disorder and anarchy. The large majority in America, the large majority which built this Nation literally by "blood, sweat & tears" have been smeared with gutter remants as "white racism".

It is suggested that the Nation be taxed literally into bankrupcy to pay for "pie in the sky" programs to support tax eaters without any regard for the tax payers.

Individuals are to be employed by industry without any regard for any existing police records which possibly in many cases would disqualify such individuals for specific positions.

By a wave of the magic $$$ wand the so called ghettos are to be swept aside without taking into consideration the bald facts that people create ~~k~~ ghettos, ghettos are not created then populated with people, "White society"does not, in itself"create maintain, condone" ghettos.

The entire gamut of old, tired cliches are rolled out for public wonderment:- "police practices"--"unemployment-underemployment" (the writer has personal knowledge of individuals QUITTING jobs which were paying OVER $100.00 per week)--"inadequate housing" (property owners are to be deprived of ANY voice in the management of what they labored to attain & maintain)--"poor recreation facilities(in Chicago in 1966 portable "swimming-wading pools" were destroyed faster than they could be constructed with the result many contractors abandoned the projects)--"disrespectful white attitudes"--'inadequate federal-municipal programs-services". Inasmuch as the ~~tax~~ $$$ come from the same source why differ between the two, and we will note the appeal for "services" tantamount to serving everything on a platter.

And even thru the medium of the summary one could go on and on and what meat will the entire report serve to the Nation.

Amongst noted Chicago "leaders" loosely used in practically all cases thanks should be given for one true leader, one strong, truthful courageous voice, that of Mr. Thomas H. Coulter who took the commission to task for not recognizing the plain fact that leadership for the riots HAD to exist because of the cohesion of the actions and weapons obtained.

In speaking of dictatorships many Americans say "it can't happen here". For their information"it" has long ago occured here!

Thomas J Dunne.

THOMAS J. DUNNE
5314 N GLENWOOD AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60640

Dear Otto Kerner: Nashville Banner

That's Telling Those Law-Abiding, Hard-Working, Taxpaying American Citizens!

One of Many in Tennessee who feel just this way — Don't get the credit Mr. Kerner

Maybe your report will get some Johnson votes

March 4,1968
217 N.Marguerite
Ferguson Mo.63135

Gov. Otto Kerner,
State Capitol,
Springfield Ill.

Dear Gov.Kerner,

It was with deep regret and a sickness in the pit of my stomach,when I read the so called findings of your Committee on Racial Disorders. I sincerily thought that after you were appointed to head this committee that we, the people, would get a fair,accurate and decent report. However, I can see now, that you were compelled to play politics,give the Administration what it wanted to hear, so it can harp for more "giveaway" monies, and at the same time not loose any of the precious rioters votes.

Now before you start calling me a Racists, let me tell you that you are wrong. I have worked with Negroes for 22 years and in that time have had nothing but the best of relations as far as getting along. In fact, I have had no fiction between myself and Negroes, while I have had numerous incidents with whites. Also, I might add, I have been a member of my International Unions Civil Rights Committee for some years.

I must admit that it does take gall for you to face your family and friends, as well as the people who elected you to office, after laying the blame on them for the doings of characters like ; H.Rap Brown ; Stokely Carmichael, Martin Luther King and other such trash. However, you and your crew of " Yes L.B.J. Master " boys say that those of that ilk didnt have a thing to do with the riots. How can you possibly come to that conclusion ? How do you explain the visit of innocent Mr. H.Rap Brown to your own E,St.Louis last summer and tha resulting burning and looting of the city ? You should swallow your gum or tobacco on that one Mr. Governor!

No , Gov.Kerner, I am proud to say that even though I do not always agree with the laws of our land , that I am mature and civilized enough to live with them as should all citizens, regardless of race , creed or color. I dont expect something for nothing , as the Great White Father in Washington has led the good for nothings of this land to expect and demand, even if they have to kick out windows and take, while police are restrained from taking proper action to stop them.I dont have a colored T.V. and I am not going to steal to come by one. How many of your luckless friends made off with a $600.00+ set ?I,m referring to the ones who are to blooming lazy to hit a lick to even feed their children. Those who want to work have no problem, but that takes a little sweat , which I should put out in the form of higher taxes so they can roam the streets at night and look for little old ladies to roll for their hard earned dollars.

After the Detroit riots (if I may use the word to you) the Chrysler Corporation provided jobs for 12,000 Negroes. This I base on an article by Stewart Alsop in Saturday Evening Post of Feb.24th. According to Mr.Alsop only a few stayed on the job more than a few days or weeks. I wish you would take time to read this article and I will be glad to furnish it to you on request.

However I,m sure you cant stand to read any thing that would make a bigger mistake than you are bound to know you have already made. Mistake my foot, mistakes are made accidently. This , you did on purpose.Now why didnt our poor mistreateds keep those jobs ? Well why should they work? All you have to do in their case is burn a store,loot it for what you want and go your merry way , and if the fuzz trys to bother you , yell "police brutality " as loud as you can and some weak kneed politican will kick the cops teeth in , for trying to do his underpaid job. Even if your poor unfortunates dont have the energy to kick out a window and take his choice of loot, some of our spineless elected officials will yell for more money from those who work, to give him every thing his heart desires---- things that lots of working people cant afford on an earned salary.

No , Gov.Kerner, I wil not sit idly by while the likes of a committee such as yours tells me that Im to blame for the burning of our cities, the looting ,the killing of our firemen , the threating of public officials and their families (as was the case of the threat made against Lady Bird herself) the showing utter disregard for every thing this nation of ours stands for.

Thank God,we of Missouri have as Governor of our fair state, a man such as Warren Hearnes! A politican who has not been afraid to stand in disagreement with the President of the United States,even though he is of the same political affilication. A deep pity for the people of the state of Illinois !

However , since you have stated you will not be a candidate again , I can only say " How lucky can the people of Illinois get ? "

I consider you owe the nation as well as your own state an apology for this tarnished report. It wont be forth coming because you cant hope to win reelection so you wont run---- I,ll bet you go into hibernation or get a choice Ambassador-ship in some lush spot out of sight for a few years.It may be a lucky break if you do, because your report gave the ones with torches a go ahead signal to burn the cities this summer.

Copies: Tom Curtis
Stuart Symington
Warren Hearnes

Sincerily Alarmed

R.L. Bishop

R,L.Bishop,along
with many others.

Name	Address
[illegible]	[illegible]
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Eleanor P. Moody	3197 Potts Ave. St Louis Mo 63116
[illegible]	3412A Texas St Louis Mo 63118
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[illegible]	3144 Fair Sullivan Mo.
[illegible]	2853 [illegible] St Louis Mo 63118
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SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
1600 HOLLOWAY AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94132
Department of Psychology

March 8, 68

Mr.Otto Kerner, Governor
State of Illinois

Dear Governor Kerner:

Mayor Alioto of San Francisco asked me what "angle" can be used to reduce the tension between the police and the ghetto. I am enclosing an "angle" I am proposing to him, thinking that you may be interested in knowing what is taking place in California. This angle may look conservative because I am appealing to the middle class sense of ethics rather than attacking it. Actually I am playing an intellectual Judo for maximum results.

Sincerely,

Magoroh Maruyama, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of
Psychology

Magoroh Maruyama, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Psychology
San Francisco State College
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Approximately
2,300 words

The Ghetto Logic

by

Magoroh Maruyama

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MAR 1 1 1969
THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

It may seem that the current racial unrest is a conflict between the ghetto and the middle class. But the direct source of the tension is a third, very thin social layer of "immediate oppressors" whose activities in the ghetto are invisible to the middle class. Today's tragedy lies in the fact that the ghetto attacks the middle class, believing that the immediate oppressors were created by the middle class, and the middle class retaliates

back against the ghetto. Actually the immediate oppressors exist inspite of, not because of the middle class. They are parasites in our society, harmful both to the ghetto and to the middle class. The ghetto and the middle class can gain mutually by eradicating the immediate oppressors instead of fighting each other.

In appearance the immediate oppressors resemble the honest businessmen and the dedicated public servants the middle class people are used to seeing. But in practice they are ruthless exploiters of the ghetto. They are like a crafty child who attacks smaller children three blocks away and never tells his parents about it. They abuse the legally powerless and never tell the civic authorities or the public about it. They get away with incredible degrees of injustice as they can manipulate legal power to be on their side against their victims.

The immediate oppressors of the ghetto consist of pawn shop owners, liquor store and grocery store operators, slum lords and the like, and some of the low-echelon policemen, legal agents and social workers. What the middle class does not realize is that there are two kinds of store owners, two kinds of employers, two kinds of policemen. The kind the middle class knows is courteous, fair and helpful. The kind the ghetto knows is exploitative, unjust and abusive. The policemen the ghetto resents are not the same policemen who serve the middle class in a praiseworthy manner.

Since the immediate oppressors are the only whites with whom the ghetto comes in direct contact, they represent the white power in the ghetto. The ghetto considers them as a device designed by the white society, and judges the white society by their behavior. As they are abusive and exploitative, the ghetto believes the whole white society to be abusive and exploitative. As the middle class does nothing to suppress them, the ghetto assumes that the middle class supports them.

In order to understand how an immediate oppressor operates in the ghetto, put yourself in the shoes of a ghetto youth. You are just standing on the street. A police car comes by and slows down. You know you are going to be picked on for harassment. The officer steps out from his car, orders you to stand against a wall with your hands up, and searches your pockets. You happened to have $130 you have just earned from your job. You obtained your job by falsifying your name because you have a previous arrest record and the employer did not want anybody with a police record. The officer finds $130 and tells you:"Punk, I know you couldn't have gotten this much unless you stoled it. Well, I let you get away easy this time. I'll give you $20 back. Make sure you keep your black mouth shut."

You know the policeman will keep the $110 to himself. But what can you do? If you tried to file a complaint, the court would not accept it. Even if the court would listen, you are afraid of losing your job if your real name becomes known. Still worse, you will become a target of retaliation by policemen.

Or you may be quietly chatting in your apartment with your sisters who are visiting you from another city. A policeman knocks on the door,

comes in, searches around, and makes a remark that the girls are prostitutes you are pimping.

These are harassments that occur many times daily in the ghetto. The policemen do not have to exercise brutality to be resented. Naturally the policemen will not report their harassments to their superior. The police chief hears nothing about it. If he does, he "knows nothing" about it. Certainly he will not report it to the mayor, and the mayor can rest in his clear conscience.

The ghetto knows nothing but exploitation. The social worker may practice favoritism in exchange for sex. The stores may raise prices on the day the welfare checks are distributed. The slumlords and the car-financing companies may manipulate laws to abuse the legally powerless. If you are a ghetto resident, you cannot expect law enforcement officers to protect you because they are hostile to you in the first place. In fact, if you are a ghetto resident and you call the police because someone has broken into your apartment, the police is likely to ignore you or show up with much delay, only to decide that the burglary was occasioned by your negligence.

The middle class lives in security. This includes not only financial

financial, legal and psychological insecurity in the population.

The middle class people may complain about a stomach ulcer caused by an internal revenue audit. But try to imagine the physical and mental stress if policemen insulted you at every fifth street corner, gave you traffic citations for far-fetched reasons,agitated you into physical fights, and the court would not listen to you because it arbitrarily decided that you are an inferior human being. Harassed on the streets, you may try to seek refuge at your home. But your home also is a dangerous place. The fire department will not answer your fire alarm. The police will not protect your home from burglars. The insurance company will cancel your policy because you are a high risk. You lose your job because you are put in jail for not paying a heavy traffic fine which you believe you don't deserve and which exceeds your monthly salary. Well, what would become of you? a nervous breakdown? a physical wreck? an alcoholic? or still worse?

I have heard many middle-class people say: "Why do Negros resort to violence? Why don't they solve their problems by non-violent means?" The fact is that the non-violent means that are available for the middle class do not exist for the ghetto Afro-Americans.(They prefer call themselves "Black" or "Afro-Americans". This does not necessarily mean they are black muslims. They consider "Negro" a label tagged by whites.) The whites within reach are immediate oppressors, including policemen. If Blacks tried to appeal to higher administration, it will dismiss the matter because it is unaware of the reality of the

immediate oppressors. In fact, the administration will refer the matter back to the immediate oppressors who then retaliate by increasing their oppression. The vicious circle worsens until massive violence erupts.

The only solution lies in the civic administration's taking up the responsibility of eliminating the practice of the immediate oppressors. The administration has to go beyond job training, fair employment, better housing and improved recreation facilities. It has to tackle the very basic problem: the legal feudalism in the ghetto in which there is no channel of complaint against injustice. The civic administration needs direct feedback from the bottom, not filtered by several layers of bureaucratic hierarchy. It also needs executive power independent from police, welfare and employment agencies to rectify the injustice. The feedback channel has to have accessible input tentacles right in the ghetto, manned by ghetto people themselves who walk on the streets, hang around in pool halls, bars and beauty salons to talk with people, check store prices and loan interest rates and monitor and report exploitation and abuse. The information givers have to be protected by confidentiality and anonymity. The administration has to demonstrate its sincerity by promptly rectifying the reported injustice and by protecting the information givers from retaliation. This may be too difficult a task for a local civic administration. The federal government may be in a more independent and stronger position to operate such an injustice-rectifying loop. In any case, this device will be much less costly than allowing riots to occur.

Now that I have pinpointed immediate oppressors as the major source of frictions which cause riots, let me go into the process of riot itself. The middle class tends to regard a riot as organized and directed by a small number of political leaders. But a close analysis of riots in Watts, Newark and Detroit shows that these were in essence a large fast chain reaction among individuals who were not organized or commanded by any leader. A riot occurs when the tension in the community rises and a small incident triggers a chain reaction. In retrospect, however, some conspicuous individuals may be labeled as leaders. In some cases political activists may organize into a coordinated group, like the snipers in some of the cities. But they are relatively small in number and mostly detached from the main body of the rioters. Some of the ghetto residents even resented the snipers.

Labeling some individuals as leaders and putting the blame of riots on them may simplify the bookkeeping and ease the conscience of the administration. But it does not solve any problem. It only detracts us from the real cause of riot: frictions caused by the immediate oppressors.

Another mistake the middle class makes is to project the middle class problems to the ghetto. The Negro voices the middle class hears come mostly from middle class Negro intellectuals or from political extremists. The voices of the ordinary ghetto residents are seldom heard. The black ghetto resents the Negro bourgeoisie as someone who has gone into the white man's "system" and has turned against their own race. Conversely, the middle class Negros look down upon the lower

class Blacks as inferiors. They resent lower class Blacks as damaging their own social acceptence by whites. For this reason the middle class Negros tend to discard the ghetto problems as someone else's problems. Often you see middle class Negros who have turned into policemen or other authority figures to act as immediate oppressors.

The Negro bourgeoisie not only may exploit the Black ghetto but also may use the pretext of helping the Black ghetto in order to advance its own cause which is irrelevant for the Black ghetto. Racial discrimination in real estate transactions, home loan interest or hotel accomodation is a middle class problem. The Black ghetto is worried about today's bread and immediate oppression.

Most of the Negro organizations and organizers whom whites consider as "leaders" of the Black community are promoters of the interests of the middle class Negros. They have no power over the Black community and are resented by it. The civic administration cannot solve the ghetto problems by negotiating with the middle class Negro "leaders" or by appointing middle class Negros to civic positions. It needs to communicate directly with the Black ghetto residents.

The ghetto life has a logic of its own. It cannot be understood with the middle class logic. Take the case of a man who has accumulated a few hundred dollars in unpaid traffic citations because of his defective car which he has to drive to his work. His low salary delay his payment of the fines, and this delay made his fines to multiply. He has just started on a steady job. One day he sees a policeman approach him on the street. He fears being arrested and given

a short prison term, which will result in loss of his job and collapse of his future which has just begun to open up. Hoping to get away, he stabs the policeman. The abstract term "murder" would not explain his act. You have to understand the despair of being trapped in the vicious circle of punitive chain and the dilemma of striving in it for any future at all.

Take another example. Two boys had a knife fight. It started as a matter of face-saving. They did not intend to kill each other. They staged the fight to display enough courage. But suddenly a policeman appeared and blew his whistle. One of the boys stabbed the other three times in the belly and the chest, and the victim died. Psychological analysis of this case showed that there were three reasons for this mortal act. First, the boy displaced his hostility toward the policeman to his innocent victim. He knew he could not fight the policeman who had a pistol. Therefore he stabbed his friend instead. Second, he knew he would be given a severe punishment, and wanted to "make up" for the punishment in advance. Third, now that a policeman appeared and blew his whistle, the knife fight became a reason for arrest. The friend therefore would be an indirect cause of the arrest. The boy wanted to "revenge" against his friend in advance for the anticipated punishment.

In these examples the aggressors acted with a certain logic because there was no way out for them. Like these two aggressors, the whole ghetto is caught in a blind alley. Increased oppression will result in increased violence.

Man acts with purpose. The relation between the purpose and the action is determined by the logic of the environment. Many ghetto women turn into prostitution. Some of them do so in order to earn easy money. But there are also many who become prostitutes because they want to be financially independent instead of depending on welfare checks. When opportunities for legitimate jobs are denied, prostitution becomes one of the few ways of self-assertion, financial independence and self-respect. Prostitution is also a way to exploit white men's money, as in some areas most of the clients are whites. In these areas, prostitution is the main source of income in the community.

In the middle class logic, prostitution means degeneration. In the ghetto logic, prostitution can be sometimes motivated by the desire for financial independence and self-respect, for which the middle class people also strive. The point I want to make is not that prostitution is a virtue in the ghetto, but that the ghetto people also strive for financial independence and self-respect using the only means available to them.

The same goes for the pimps who run prostitutes. The middle class male attains his self-image in his work and derives his sense of worth from it. The Black ghetto male lacks this source of self-image. Traditionally Black women, who worked as housemaids, seamstresses and prostitutes, had an income higher than Black men's who worked as seasonal laborers. As a result the Black men lacked the means to assert their manhood. As they consider themselves worthless, their children lack a father image, and their wives lack a husband

image. To be a pimp running prostitutes is an opportunity for a Black man to assert his manhood and to act as a father image to his girls. He may also gain a sense of victory over the white men from whom his girls take money.

These are some examples of the ghetto logic. The ghetto logic has developed as a result of the life under a peculiar pressure. The pressure does not come from an abstract entity called "main society". It comes from concrete individuals who exploit the ghetto. They are the immediate oppressors.

The middle class is puzzled by the ghetto riots because it is unaware of the existence of the immediate oppressors. The immediate oppressors are our social disgrace. They exist inspite of, but not because of the middle class morality. The middle class and the ghetto have a common cause: elimination of immediate oppressors. But of the two social strata, only the middle class possesses legal and nonviolent means . The ghetto is legally powerless.Its only means of expression is violence. Riots are not intended to destroy the middle class. They are directed against the immediate oppressors. Their message to the middle class is: "Why don't you people in power do something to eliminate our immediate oppressors?" So let us do. We can do it by extending our tentacles directly into the ghetto to monitor activities of the immediate oppressors, legally rectifying their abusive practices, and opening up non-abusive facilities to drive the abusive manipulators out of business.

(end)

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BOISE VALLEY BROADCASTERS, INCORPORATED
P. O. Box 2600 Boise, Idaho, 83701
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March 7, 1968

Dear Governor Kerner:

It appears to me that your commission laid it on the line very accurately with your report on the causes and cures of riots---my only possible disagreement might be with details of your approach to a solution. I had hoped such a report from such a commission would cause an awakening in the nation, but the first reactions from political leaders and others are discouraging. In any event, my congratulations, and I wonder if the commission has press copies of the report, one of which could be sent to me?

Enclosed is a speech I recently made expressing some of my views and experiences concerning racial disorders in urban areas. I wish I could do more to help.

Sincere best wishes,

Dwight Wm. Jensen

Dwight Wm. Jensen
Assistant News Director

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IDAHO'S OTHER PROBLEMS

a luncheon address to the Nampa Kiwanis Club
Harmony Cafe, Nampa Idaho, February 22, 1968
by Dwight Wm. Jenson

It was suggested today that while I could speak on any topic I chose, I might choose the topic of Idaho politics. So I will have something to say about Idaho politics as we go along here. But this year, when I think of Idaho politics I am impressed as never before with the differences between Idaho and the United States as a whole. The sparse population in a crowded nation. The agricultural and resource state whose sister states have been mostly manufacturers and are now seeing manufacturing industries coming second to service industries. The isolation and insularity

of our state. The luxury of a state which gets far more money from the federal government than it pays in and is able to curse that government, in a Union many of whose member states pay in far more than they get back and are in dire need of more help---which many of us in Idaho do not want them to have.

The contrast between Idaho and the United States has always impressed me, but this year more than most.

Most of the time, I look at the contrast and decide that Idaho's problems deserve Idaho's most serious consideration. This is why I choose to be a reporter in Idaho and customarily turn down offers to work elsewhere. If Idaho does not look out for Idaho, no one will. And what we have here is, by and large, worth preserving, worth improving, worth polishing and developing, well worth worrying about. It is of crucial importance that we develop our water and our minerals and our agriculture without destroying our beauty and our wilderness and our secluded spots. These are challenging and complex political problems which merit our attention and our effort. We do have to develop our schools. Too many

of them are doing far less than they should be doing. Idaho can do nothing more important than improving its schools. But at the same time it must not damage its economy or bring other necessary government activities below a subsistence level. Idaho needs governmental revision; from statehouse to cemetery district we are laden with duplication, confusion, and superfluity.

The problems of the 1969 Idaho legislature will be severe. The 1967 legislature destroyed a viable tax structure in order to please the merchant, the farmer, and the county commissioner. A tax pattern which might well have met the needs of Idaho for a decade or more without the necessity of substantial change was twisted into a program of tax relief for the well-to-do. The 1969 legislature will find itself faced with four choices: put the inventory tax back on, increase the sales tax to four percent, find another source of new tax revenue, or keep state spending lower than what is needed to do the job. I might say that if the 1967 legislature had had either leadership or conscience, it could have discovered a way to give inventory tax relief without wrecking

the tax structure and mortgaging the future of the state in the process. For example, it might have followed the Wisconsin plan. In Wisconsin, a merchant pays his inventory tax and that amount is credited against his real property tax. It amounts to tax relief on real property and it does not erase from the tax rolls those out-of-state corporations which lease their business sites and hide from the income tax by using bookkeeping and legal loopholes. But if the lobbying to remove the inventory tax was intense, and it was, the lobbying to leave it that way will be hard to overcome and it is likely to be a permanent drain of more than 14 million dollars a biennium on our economy. Its advocates say repeal of the tax will bring new business into the state. I doubt that it will ever bring 14 million dollars worth of new business to Idaho. I'm sure that it won't if the heads of those businesses look at what has happened to our school financing as a result. And I'm certain sure it will never bring in enough new business to replace that 14 million dollar biennial tax loss.

The new legislature must---or at least it should---take a responsible look at our state institutions. Governor Samuelson

has in some ways not done a good job, but he has a promising record in relation to our state institutions, and it may be that he will earn the respect so many of us are withholding from him and make his name in Idaho history more than a footnote by following up on what he has started and initiating long-needed changes in our state institutions. He is right in questioning the size and cost of the new penitentiary development. He is right in seeking a better way to handle our women prisoners, and now that the state legislature has turned him away from the Idaho State School and Hospital and forced him to consider other alternatives, he may find a good solution. He is right in questioning whether Idaho is doing the right thing in maintaining two large mental hospitals in a day when modern methods of treatment have reduced the populations of these hospitals to less than half of what they were ten years ago. I believe he is even right in suggesting that any one institution need not be limited to one purpose. I believe we could use the state hospitals or some of our other institutions for a variety of purposes. We need regional mental health centers. We need reginnal diagnostic and treatment centers for the mentally

retarded. We need special prison facilities which are not available at our prison and ought to be separate from it, such as half-way houses. We may need more vocational schools than we have. The distribution of our state institutions is strategic. Multiple use of them should at least be considered by the next legislature. The governor is also right, I'm sure, in questioning whether Lewis-Clark Normal School of Lewiston should be a four-year degree-granting college. If this governor causes Idaho to improve its use of state institutions, he will have proved that he was right in running for governor.

The problem of public school education is tied in with many other problems. With taxes. With the structure of local government. With inflation. The education problem is being presented, though, as nothing more complex than a greedy battle between self-serving teachers on the one hand and self-serving merchants and farmers on the other. It is more than that. The problem deserves far better thinking than is being devoted to it. Until it gets that kind of analysis, we will not be properly preparing our children to compete in the whole world.

And that brings us to the whole world.

During the past eighteen months or so, I have come increasingly to believe that as serious as Idaho's problems are, it is not Idaho's problems which ought to be receiving Idaho's first attention. The solutions to Idaho's problems are going to be taken out of our hands if this nation does not immediately solve two problems far more pressing than any in Idaho; namely: the wasteful war in Vietnam, and the waste of those of our citizens who live in the ghetto slums. Without ignoring its own problems, Idaho should turn itself to helping find solutions nationally.

Those two problems are interlocked. Not only is the Vietnam War costing thousands of American lives and billions of American dollars in a cause which is beneath our national dignity and beyond our national means; it is also preventing us from focusing our efforts on the almost apocalyptic problems of our slums.

It is no excuse for us in Idaho to beg away from this responsibility by saying we have no slums, we have no racial problem. In the first place, that is not true. Fort Hall is one

slum, and so far the only solution proposed by an Idahoan has been to raise the American Falls Dam and flood it out. Pocatello still has a ghetto. Boise has a ghetto and it has what amounts to a slum only a few blocks away from the businesses which are about to benefit from urban renewal tax dollars. When urban renewal has come and gone, changing the face of our capital city and boosting the wealth of its businessmen, that little slum will still be there, a monument to the tunnel vision of our city fathers.

For the well-to-do white businessman does not understand, cannot comprehend, the problems of the slum dweller or the minority group which faces discrimination. At night, on the police radio in Boise, I hear conversations such as this: The dispatcher says, "Go to the corner of Fifteenth and Grant. A bunch of colored people are getting into a fight." And the policeman answers, "Let's go a little slow getting there. Maybe they'll kill one or two before we show up." And then the next day I listen to a couple of businessmen wondering why the Negro in Newark or the Negro in Detroit

does not respect law and order. In Newark, the policemen were handing out death sentences for stealing beer. Did you ever steal beer? Did you ever in your life steal anything that was worth the price of a six-pack of beer? And did you get shot in the back for it? And are you in favor of law and order and equal justice for all? Well, of course you are.

I used to report the meetings of a Pennsylvania commission appointed to solve the problems of unemployed Negroes. They used to meet at the Tinicum Yacht Club, have dinner and drinks, and discuss appointing study groups and setting up schools. I also used to cover the heavy industry beat, and I reported the closing of the Ford Motor Company assembly plant at Chester, Pennsylvania. That put fifteen hundred men out of work. White men. There were no meetings at the Tinicum Yacht Club. There were no study groups. Ford Motor officials, union officials, city officials, state officials, federal officials flew back and forth between Chester and Dearborn and Washington and New York. Arms were twisted, threats were made, union rules were rewritten. When I left Pennsylvania, the white auto workers had mostly found new jobs. The commission

was still having dinner at the Tinicum Yacht Club.

Herblock has drawn a cartoon showing a white businessman telling his friend, "I can't understand why they don't act as if they had good housing, good education, and good jobs." The cartoon shows these men surrounded by the ghetto slums. I have walked through the Pennsylvania ghettoes and have smelled the garbage, seen the holes in the walls, seen the fly-covered meat hanging in the open butcher shops, seen the look of apathetic hopelessness on the faces. I've gone with the city health inspector as he closed and condemned slum houses unfit to live in, leaving the family that had lived there no place to go except deeper into the ghetto, to housing already unfit. And while I was doing that I was working for a daily newspaper which steadfastly refused to report these problems, rejected my stories about them, and wrote only social notes, police records, and vital statistics about Negroes. And not even the most vital statistics. Not the health figures or the unemployment figures or the income figures or the education figures. Negro leaders used to come to our newspaper office with pleas that we report the problems, that we investigate the situation. I wrote

a story telling that after a snow storm the street the mayor lived on was always plowed first and the ghetto streets were never plowed at all. The story was never printed. That newspaper even segregated its obituary columns, and on New Year's Day the city editor said to me, "Check all six hospitals, find out what baby was the first one born this year, and if it's white, we'll take its picture."

I suppose that particular Pennsylvania city is still wondering why it had race riots within two years after that. After all, there was a commission working on the problem, down at the Tinicum Yacht Club.

The executive editor of that newspaper was an Idaho man. The publisher was an Idaho man. And I hear Idaho man after Idaho man grumbling into his T-bone steak, "Why can't the Negro make something of himself?" Well, I have heard Martin Luther King say it more than once: "It is a cruel jest to ask a man to lift himself by his own bootstraps when he has no shoes."

And the Congressman from Idaho, James McClure, voted against the rat control bill and said, "In Idaho, we kill our own rats."

What he failed to say was that in Harlem they fight their own forest fires. They don't cry for federal help on that. In Watts, they build their own irrigation dams. They don't ask for seven hundred and ten million federal dollars for reclamation. In Detroit, they graze their cattle on their own land. They do not impose on the national forests. And all the phosphate that's dug in Newark is dug in their own back yards. Not a pound of it comes out of federal ground.

That, I believe, is the chief problem in Idaho politics this year. The hypocrisy, the selfishness, the desire to get everything we can for ourselves and ignore the burning problems of the ghettoes except when the summer gets hot and we can beat our sterling silver spoons on our dinner china and curse those bloodthirsty Negroes who don't know how lucky they are to live in this land of opportunity and individual enterprise, unshackled by all that federal money which burdens the rest of us. And so, we elect Congressmen who will vote for tougher laws to keep the Negro in his place. When the news came off the teletype that four Congressmen out of 435 had voted against the truth-in-lending bill, one of my colleagues

said to me, "What do you want to bet that at least one of those votes came from Idaho?" And sure enough, one had. McClure. American law for generations has protected the creditor and the landlord while leaving the debtor and the tenant to fend for himself. Such laws as that are aggravating the poverty of the Negro. And it is an Idaho man who voted against an effort to correct the situation.

McClure is worse in this respect than Compton White, but White was no spokesman for the minority, either. And even as quiet as he is on the topic, I don't think he can be elected this year against a man who represents far more closely the narrowness, the lack of understanding, and the self-righteousness of too many of us in Idaho, where we kill our own rats and care not how many New York babies die because their rats are still alive. And that is an Idaho political problem.

Frank Church is in trouble this year because he did not devote himself to that narrowness. He dared to say years ago that the Vietnam War is unwinnable, wasteful, murderous, and not in accord with our national interest. Events are proving him correct. I

And yet, even Frank Church is so cautious in his approach to this matter that up in northern Idaho the other day a man who holds somewhat similar views refered to him as "the chicken Senator from Idaho" and accused him of taking a lukewarm stand. Frank Church is no chicken, but he is aware that too many Idahoans look with disfavor on anyone who really believes that peace is a blessing and that human life is worth preserving.

Seven years ago a Rexburg man flew to Boise to watch the Idaho legislature in action. As he flew over the mountains and forests and canyons and fields of our state he looked down and around and he said to himself, "Here indeed is a land for giants." And three days later, after having seen the legislature in action, he flew back, and as he looked down at the magnificent Idaho terrain he said to himself, "Here indeed is a land for giants, inhabited by a race of pygmies."

Perhaps he was harsh. But how other than as a mental and moral pygmy can you describe the dinner guest the other night who was angry because the enemy in Vietnam would not give up and who said, "We ought to throw in some atomic bombs and just wipe them

out."?

Well. Why are we in Vietnam? Historically we are there in order to prevent the success of an anti-colonial revolution, but officially we are there to help the Vietnamese people find peace and freedom and happy lives. And how we can guarantee them happy lives by frying them with atomic bombs is a problem in chemistry which I have not quite mastered. Not long ago an American major looked at the wreckage of a little town in South Vietnam and he said, "We had to destroy the village in order to save it." We are doing that with Vietnam, destroying it in the pretense of saving it. Destroying its villages and now its cities, its agriculture, its ancient relics, its religion, its family life, its morals, its economy and its people, all in order to save it. And we hear people in Idaho saying we should continue this mission of salvation until the last body lies broken in the last burned house. Idaho people saying we should continue this destruction, or even increase it; saying that a promise made by an American President is more important than the lives of thousands of human beings. And these people, in one of the supreme ironies of our history, dignify this

attitude by calling it patriotism. That is quite a name to attach to what amounts to an abandonment of our greatest national principle, the dignity of the individual man. They favor holocaust and they oppose dissent. They oppose that very freedom of speech which is Number One in our Bill of Rights; the freedom of speech for which colonists came to America and for which soldiers froze at Valley Forge is denounced today---even today, Washington's birthday, it will be denounced by some American leader somewhere---by those who call themselves patriots. It is a blasphemy against patriotism and a poor commemoration of the birthday of George Washington. But they say it in the holiest way. "I'm in favor of the right to dissent." They say it as if they were saying Amen. "Anyone who opposes the war is a traitor who helps the enemy and kills American boys and I am in favor of the right to dissent." "Kick out Senator Church and kick out Senator Fulbright and kick out Robert Kennedy because they are not supporting our President, and I am in favor of the right of dissent." "Everyone who speaks out against the war ought to be put in jail, especially if he's a Negro agitator, and I am in favor of the right of dissent."

"Kick a Vietnik in the soatnik! If anyone opposes our policy he should be assaulted physically and left bleeding in the street, and above all remember that I am in favor of the right of dissent."

This is a black time in American history. So dark an hour that this year our national problems ought to be far more important to Idahoans than are our state problems. But the time is not so black that we are without hope. Last week I was sitting at dinner with David Halberstam of the New York Times, who believes, as I do, that the American presence in Vietnam is a terrible error; and who believes, as I do, that America should get out of there. But he also believes, as I do, that the United States is a great nation, founded on great principles and with a great capacity for good. Across the table from us that night were two men who insisted that the United States has become the new Nazi Germany, and Halberstam was arguing against that point. He told a story about his wife. She is a Polish actress. Halberstam said that in June of last year he was watching on television a speech given by President Johnson in Baltimore. The President was reciting a favorite

litany of America, the one that tells of our prosperity, our wealth. "We have X million miles of railroad and everyone else has only X minus ten. We have three cars and a chicken in every garage. All our people should be happy." David Halberstam listened to that and his reaction was one of anger. There was the President, counting our riches, and Halberstam says that already you could see it coming, the bullet in the ghetto, the heat building up to an explosion, obvious to anyone who looked; and Halberstam left the TV set and sat at dinner and pounded on the table and said, "How can he stand there and talk like that when these problems are all around us? Doesn't he see the problems? Doesn't he understand? Why doesn't he do something?" And Mrs. Halberstam said to him, "It's amazing that you worry about it. In Poland, no one would worry about it. No one would care. They would shrug their shoulders in Poland and say, 'It's his problem. It isn't mine.' Why do you worry so about those people?" The point Halberstam was making is that in a communist country, it doesn't matter. In America, we can still care. In America, we still worry about the people who need help.

That is Idaho's biggest political problem this year. Are we going to care, or are we going to adopt the attitude of a person in communist Poland and simply say that it's their problem, not ours?

I was born in Idaho. I've always been proud to call myself an Idahoan. We are the most mountainous state in the Union. We have some of the freshest air in the world. Surely from those peaks and through that fine clear air we can see beyond the narrow range of our own selfishness. We are a state carved out of wilderness by men of mental and physical strength. We are a resource state in an urban nation. Surely we can muster the strength and the resourcefulness to contribute something to the solution of our nation's desperate problems. I would hope that we can be more than a race of pygmies.

Thank you.

# # # #

TELEPHONE 874 6242

The City National Bank of Selma

9 BROAD STREET

Selma, Alabama

J. HARMON CARTER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

March 7, 1968

Dear Committee Member:

Am enclosing editorial comment by the Editor of the Montgomery Advertiser which we in the Deep South think is very liberal.

Yours very truly,

J. Harmon Carter

J. Harmon Carter
Chairman of the Board

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Whodunit? Whitey, Of Course

FOR BREVITY, the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is now commonly referred to as the Kerner Report, after the chairman, Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois.

Just as brief and far more revealing of the contents of the report is a label we suggest: The Honkey Report. That is just about all it is: the white devil as seen by black power thugs. Of course, it's dressed up in respectable prose, but it amounts to the same thing the black extremists have been saying for years: Everything is whitey's fault.

Since the "white press" is one of the defendants in the indictments turned out by the Honkey Committee, we're prejudiced. But no more prejudiced than the Commission was in merely tut-tutting rioters, looters and insurrectionists as oppressed people who perhaps protested rather too much on occasion.

Even so, the Honkey Report says, the flaming summer of 1967 was not as bad as the white press had reported it. We have been assured that the damage came to less than $100,000,000 (which is laughably low), a piddling sum, and that the list of dead and injured "was far smaller than that for automobile accidents on an average weekend." (By the same logic, why all the national debate about the war in Vietnam? We kill more Americans on the highways.)

The cost in property damage, dead and injured so far is really nothing compared to what the Commission expects in the future — unless the country ponies up with billions upon billions of dollars in protection money.

The Commission seemed to think it is only natural that Negroes may "come to support not only riots . . . but rebellion" unless the nation pays a pharaoh's ransom, imposing added taxes for the purpose if necessary.

Nothing that has been said or done to date — not the wild mouthings of a hundred Rap Browns and a thousand Stokely Carmichaels — has poured as much gas on the flames still flickering in the cities as the Honkey Report.

It blames the white man for everything imaginable, in the popular fashion of turning guilt around against the victim of crime. An old trick by the kind of defense lawyers who are, happily, going out of style was to try to persuade the jury that though his client may appear guilty the victim deserved it, and then some.

By a curious process of transference, this very argument is now all the rage in liberal circles — society is always guilty, never the criminal. Add to this the element of racial division and people of such an odd turn of mind go ape over the delicious thought of white society being guilty of all Negro crimes.

The report leaves one all but speechless in rage and nausea. It is total surrender to the mob, past and future. It is to the war of the cities what Munich was to World War II. All the criticism of police and Guardsmen — who undoubtedly did make many mistakes — is designed to show them as a primary causative factor.

And just how were police supposed to have behaved in a totally novel situation with cities aflame, the mob running amock, and all vestiges of respect for the most elemental of society's rules suddenly gone up in smoke? Were they expected, as human beings inside their uniforms, to act as if it was a routine Sunday afternoon patrol in the park?

The report is 200,000 words long. As many words could be written in angry rebuttal. But it's enough to say that it is probably the most prejudiced and lopsided analysis ever performed under the seal of the presidency. Worse, it is inflammatory and will be a cause, we fear, of aggravated troubles this summer.

The Honkey Report will dog the President this year, however much he disclaims responsibility.

March 6, 1968

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor
State of Illinois

Dear Sir:

As a life-long resident of Illinois, and as a college student now residing in Omaha, Nebraska at Creighton University, I submit this letter to you in hopes that you will take heed both as the governor of our great state and as the chairman of the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders.

At the very outset of this letter I wish to dissociate myself from the so-called "hippie" or radical element that some misinformed people are so convinced dominate the college generation. For the last three summers I have worked for the Illinois State Toll Highway Commission or the Division of Highways. I am a junior here at Creighton, President of my class, a Resident Advisor in a freshman dorm, and President of the Student Senate of the College of Arts and Sciences. I say these things about myself, I repeat, only to try to lend some credence and perhaps even a little responsible weight to what I'm about to say.

On Monday evening, as you may have read yourself, ex-Governor George C. Wallace came to Omaha to address the formulation convention of his American Party convened to place his name on the Nebraska primary ballot. You may also perhaps have noted that certain disorders occurred during the convention, followed by two nights of racial disturbances. I was there, Governor, and I wish to tell you that by and large the news reports of the events surrounding Wallace's visit here are biased, misleading, and basically false. In his wake the former governor has left Omaha reeling: at least two dead, scores injured, much damage done, and the open sores of hate scraped. Sir, I saw what "police brutality" really is on Monday night. I saw officers beat a pregnant woman, who that night had a miscarriage; I saw grown men and women, well-dressed middle class supporters of Wallace, throw chairs at and punch Negro teen-aged demonstrators; I saw hate so thick you could reach out and touch it; I saw fellow students of mine beaten insensate by policemen and Wallace backers, and then refused medical help by the officers present; today I saw a Roman Catholic priest arrested by the local police for "disturbing the peace" last Monday, but last Monday I saw him lead a

peaceful demonstration to the convention, subsequently set-upon by the rabid Wallace people. And sir, that night I heard the terrified screams of bleeding women and young people, beaten by police, beaten by "good Americans", and beaten again from behind by police; and I heard the former governor of Alabama exhort his already frenzied supporters to join him in turning America back to the "decent folks", lumping all "pseudo-intellectuals", bearded persons, and others who fail to fit the Wallace mold into a "communist-un-American" category; and I've heard for the last two days the sirens and bulletins of a city suddenly rent apart by a man whose sole intention in crossing into Nebraska must have been the stirring of hate and fomenting of violence.

This then, Governor, brings me to the major point: when your commission looks in the coming months for the root of racial tension, and seeks to prevent a "long, hot summer," keep in mind the actions and supporters of former governor George C. Wallace of Alabama as he treks from state to state peddling his particular brand of hate and discord.

Respectfully,

Frank Schepers

Frank Schepers

The Honorable Otto Kerner,
Chairman,
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Walnut Creek, March 4, 1968.

Dear Sir,-

I realize that sending this letter to you borders on insolence; I do not mean it that way, however, and I do have something to say, and I hope that you will have the patience to read it.

At least ten years ago I shocked some "good American" friends,--and thereby broke up the party,-- by predicting that a mere continuance of our white "make-believe" would lead us, sooner or later, into an all-out civil war of racial extermination; being quite uninhibited in my thinking I was not at all surprised by any aspects of any of the riots that have occurred in recent years.

In the just published Report of the findings of above-mentioned Commission I find little indication of a full understanding as to the true nature of the debt that we really owe to the black man, but I do find proposals which, if acted upon, would (I think) only increase the magnitude of our problem. The latter is measurable, quite simply and accurately, by the numerical strength of our black population and this,--in spite of all the hardships and indignities,-- is <u>already</u> increasing at a faster rate than the white population.

Quoted below are a few (selected, but relevant) extracts from the newspaper report of the Commission's findings:

> " Since these riots little has been done to change the underlying conditions that caused them" ... (the elimination of which causes) ..... "involves changes in private attitudes as well as Government programs that will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance .....from every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and above all, new will."

I fully agree with all of the above, but I say that no durable

solution of this problem can result from the particular kinds of change that are called for in other paragraphs of the report. The simple stubborn fact of the matter is that whites and blacks do not have, and never did have, the "feeling" that they are "one people"; this is an enduring fact-of-nature that pays no attention to Presidential decrees, Acts of Congress, and/or rulings of the Supreme Court. Any attempt (by economic pressure, or other) to enforce or impose integration between blacks and whites simply serves to fan the flames of racial hatred. Have we not yet learned this first simple lesson?

As a healthy, respectable and adult kind of patriotism we might well try to re-capture the dream and the "thinking" of the fathers of our country. What did they really have in mind when they spoke their famous lines about "all men being born equal"? First of all, let us remember that the world had to wait another hundred years for the Darwinian theory to put an end to a lot of "loose" talk about "man", and to give a solid scientific definition of the word.

In some of the Colonies that became the first States of the Union, the institution of slavery had existed long before (as well as after) the Revolutionary war, and the founding fathers turned their backs on Thomas Paine when he denounced slavery. Unless we (quite secretly, of course) look upon the founding fathers as world-champion hypocrites, we have to believe--out loud--that the "all men" they had in mind were the people (white) of the various European countries. After all, these were the only people they really knew anything about, and--at that time, and except for the American Indians-- these were the only people who knew of the existence of the American Colonies.

It is high time for this country to be "liberated" from the tyranny of words. The founding fathers did make honest use of

the language of their day, and everyone knew (then) just what they meant. What they aimed at, and proclaimed to the European nations (the real "world" of their day) was the establishment of a new Country with a new and ideal Constitution; the idea of anything other than an all-white citizenship didn't even occur to them or to any of their "listeners".

If such a thing were possible the fathers of our country would turn in their graves and curse us from A to Z for the ugly, bi-racial hate-ridden mess we have made of their dream. This was to be a country which, by minding its own business, would attain to such a degree of perfection that other nations would be eager to copy our system and follow in our footsteps. We have, indeed, become swollen with material wealth and power, but this is the only part of our example that the rest of the world would like to copy.

Because we failed, one hundred years ago, to do the obviously right (and then relatively simple) thing, our problem has multiplied about tenfold. We can no longer pay our debt to the negroes by re-settling them in Africa, or other foreign country, but we can meet (once and for all) our resposibilities in the matter by turning over to them their fair share of this country, this territory to become their own independent State in which they will be free to develope their own civilization in accordance with their own ideas and their own special aptitudes. What right have we to complain about the cost and the problems involved in such a re-shuffling of population? At whatever cost to me as a taxpayer, and at whatever amount of personal inconvenience, I would be glad to have the matter settled on the above basis. Our freedom to choose is steadily shrinking.

Yours sincerely,

J. Stafford Panter

J. Stafford Panter,
627 Pershing Dr., Walnut Creek, Calif.
94596

March 8, 1968

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of Illinois
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Governor Kerner:

Because you are the Chairman of the Commission on Civil Disorder to make a report to the President of the United States on the causes of last summer's race conditions in several states, I am taking the liberty to write to you a suggestive plan which I feel might help relieve racial and reduce ghetto conditions in cities where such conditions now exist.

The enclosed plan should be available to both white and black people.

Yours very truly,

Donald S. Hammer

Donald S. Hammer

DONALD S HAMMER
Route #3, Box 428
Chesterton, Indiana 46304

SUGGESTED SOLUTION TO REDUCE CIVIL DISORDER AND GHETTOS

I offer the following suggestive plan, which I feel may be a possibility of relieving the ghettos and other poor sections within many of our cities thus reducing civil disorder.

I do not offer this as a complete, successful plan, but one that can be added to other plans and also be improved upon.

My understanding is a very large majority of Negroes and Whites that migrated from the south to the northern cities did so to improve their economic condition.

Once they were here they found that they were not equipped by education or knowledge of a trade to qualify for employment in the factories and other business establishments.

I feel the large majority of these people would prefer the dignity of self-support and reasonable standard of living, including good schooling for their children.

I have heard many talks on the T. V. and discussions by both qualified White and Negro people, and have read magazines and newspapers on this question of how to improve the economic and educational qualifications of these people.

I have heard from our Washington officials, from the President of the United States, Senators and Representatives of the United States' Congress, and their special advisors on how they felt the question of improving the above named persons can be handled.

In each case, the cost will run into the hundred of millions or billions of dollars, by some guarantee income and very low renting quarters in housing to be built by the government.

While my suggestions, at the beginning, at least would not probably reduce the expenditures of large sums, but in the long run, I feel, it would reduce the cost in Federal expenditure and help remove the present disasterous tension and feeling of these people.

My suggestion is to get these people that have migrated to the northern cities to return to the south, but <u>not</u> under the conditions in which they left the South.

In place of giving a guaranteed income (which would make some feel why work when the government pays me a livable income for not working) why not spend some of these hundred of millions or billions of dollars to acquire good farm land (not marginal land) down south, build decent living houses and allot each family 40 to 60 acres, or more if required to receive income enough in exchange for his labor in farming the land.

Each farm, according to its size and type of farm, will be supplied with sufficient equipment to economically farm the land, that is tractors, plows, harvesting equipment and tools to keep the equipment in good repairs, barns and sheds for equipment, etc.

The farmer should state the general type of farming he would like to follow, that is, cattle farming, poultry farming, grain farming, or any other type for the location of his farm.

The United States' Government could purchase large quantities of such equipment at a much better price than an individual.

The family moving back South would agree to farm the land in approved methods according to the type of land and crops and would pay back to the Government a small percentage on income from his farm. When the Government has been paid back for its investment to each farmer, then the government will give that farmer a clear title to his land and equipment including the home building and all other building the government paid for.

Until these people become sufficiently educated in farming under new or modern methods there should be either a county, state, or federal farm agent to instruct the farmer on how best to farm his land and continue to watch him and to help him on any farming question he may have. Likewise, these agents would help him through education on the best method of marketing his crop.

These agents would receive their compensation from the federal government, if federal farm agents. If these farm agents were state agents, the state would pay their compensation. It could be arranged that the state could pay a designated percentage of the state farm agent and the federal government pay part of the state farm agent.

Each section or district, according to its size and population should have a consolidated school system under state control and all principals, supervisors, and instructing staff must be a fully qualified instructor as required in the city schools.

I feel that with such a plan in a specified time, the farmer will have paid for his farm and will be an independent farmer and an asset to the community and to the United States.

During the time he moves to the farm and while paying for the farm, the farmer and his family should never be made to feel they are merely servitude farmers under the control and domination of any part of the federal or state government but are respected members of the community, in private business for themselves.

There must be some control over the farmer to see that he lives up to his agreement to farm in a legitimate way.

Should he prove shiftless or does not try to make a success of his condition, after a review of his case by qualified people such as his neighboring farmers, refused help from the farm agents, does not take care of his equipment and his home, he will be removed from the farm.

I feel some such plan will reduce ghettos' conditions which will reduce civil disorder in the northern cities and will make these people, both black and white, that accepts this opportunity will attain self-independence and dignity which is the right of every American.

This plan would require funds for those taking part in this program until they receive returns from their first crops. Also, this plan may be worked in other states in place of the southern states if the person preferred to move to a state not located in the south.