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A study of negro riots in the United States 1963-1968

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**A STUDY OF NEGRO RIOTS IN THE UNITED STATES
1963-1968**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts**


**by
Leona Ann Chase**

June, 1969

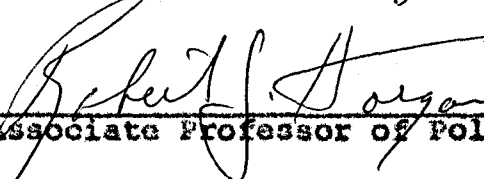
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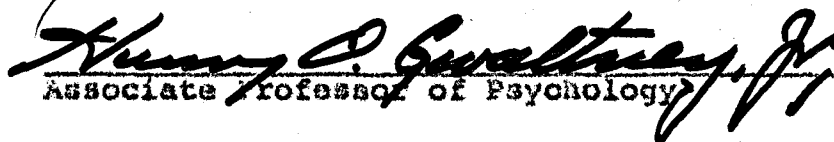
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PREFACE

The purpose of this study was to examine the civil rights phenomena in the context of the Negro riots during the years 1963-1968. The inadequacies of this study are in part due to the material upon which it is based. The reports of the state study commissions did not deal with racism adequately, or the probability of implementation of various recommendations. Consequently, this paper could not treat these topics except perfunctorily. In turn, it was difficult to assess the practicality of various proposals since the extent of these variables was unknown. The failure of the Kerner Commission report to outline a program of attitude modification to combat white racism also limited the scope of this paper. Finally, there is not a single source which treats the riot years in its entirety, hence the statistics utilized were often based on those compiled by such magazines as Newsweek and Time. One must accept on face value their findings. With this in mind, this study in terms of its purposes and conclusions can be more accurately assessed.

The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Dr. Spencer D. Albright, Dr. Henry O. Gwaltney, Jr., and Dr. R. Barry Westin in the preparation of this paper.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The biggest domestic problem besetting the United States in the 1960's is the abolition of racism through the Civil rights movement. Beginning in 1963 the issues were complicated by rioting in the Negro ghettos of urban America. Since then the violent outbursts have gained intensity until the statistics on the riot pillaged areas are awesome. The material concerning the riot years 1963-1968 is of such a nature that there is no single source which treats the problem extensively.

I. THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this paper is to provide a brief look at the riot years 1963 to April, 1968. The riots following the death of Martin Luther King were deemed a suitable cut-off point for the study. The riots included were chosen either because of their size and intensity, or because of their geographic location. Hence, not every riot which occurred during this period is mentioned. There is also a statistical breakdown of the major riots included in this study. The hypothesis is that attitude modification is an important prerequisite for the eradication of racism in America, but it has been given insufficient consideration by various study commissions.

This section devoted to Negro and white attitudes toward the civil rights movement and rioting is an attempt to clarify conflicting viewpoint. It emphasizes the controversy in the leadership of both races concerning who will lead and the methods to be employed to attain desired goals.

The chapter concerned with the underlying factors of riots is unique because the emphasis has been placed on the psychological make-up of the Negro and his views on police brutality. In addition, there is an outline of the stages of a riot based on a careful study conducted by the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence.

Since rioting in Negro ghettos has become commonplace, study commissions on the state and national level have made recommendations to remedy the problems of slum life. There are two chapters which have been devoted to a discussion of some of these recommendations and their subsequent implementation.

Riot control technique and weapons are of such importance that an entire chapter is concerned with this topic. The controversy on the use of force to disperse rioters is considered in some detail.

The importance of the study can be stated succinctly. The civil rights movement and the resultant riots are domestic issues of paramount importance. The heuristic value of the paper is evident. The aspects discussed should encourage further research especially in the fields of Negro ghetto psychology and riot control techniques. The evidence as presented in this study supports the general conclusion that

local, state, and especially the federal governments must take steps to ameliorate present ghetto conditions. Hence government must assume a primary role in the adjustment of current inequities. However, business and industry must also become an integral part of this process. Furthermore, implementation of recommendations is dependent upon attitude modification within white society. This can be achieved only through a revision of the educational system at all levels. The contributions of the Negro to American society must be placed in proper perspective. Otherwise, the U. S. faces a grim future.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

The source of the following definitions is Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1959). A Negro may be described as "a person of the typical African branch of the black race... inhabiting the Sudan, or loosely of any of the black races of Africa..."

The legal definition of a riot is, "The tumultous disturbance of the public peace by an unlawful assembly of three or more persons in the execution of some private object."

Racism may be described as an "assumption of inherent superiority or the purity and superiority of certain races, and consequent discrimination against other races; also any doctrine or program of racial domination and discrimination based on such an assumption."

The legal definition of civil rights is that of "relating to the private rights of individuals in a community and to legal proceedings in connection with them."

III. THE SOURCES

Since this thesis is a survey in nature, it does not give a detailed account of any one particular aspect of the topic. Hence, the sources are varied. The sources include material from books upon which the theoretical framework of this paper is based. The magazine and journal articles are often the source of specific data on the riot years. The government documents used are Violence in the City-An End or a Beginning?, the report of the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, and also their supplementary reports, as well as Report for Action, a document prepared by The Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder in the State of New Jersey. In addition, the U. S. Riot Commission's Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was utilized. These documents were a source of information on the recommendations to alleviate squalid conditions and the success of these proposals. They are included in the appendices for further referral.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The history of the Negro in America provides an illuminating view into the motivation underlying the present psychological crises of these people. For example, psychologists and sociologists agree that the slave period is significant to the present family structure of the American Negro. The matriarchal family of urban ghettos can be traced back to this period when the woman was highly valued by the slaveowner as a sex object as well as a "mammy" for his own children. Negro men were displaced as heads of their own families by the slave system which emphasized the role of the Negro woman. Subsequent freedom did not completely upset this matriarchal tendency. Negro women were hired as domestics but Negro men were considered a serious threat to white labor, and thus were not hired. Even today Negro women find employment more readily than men and are hence considered the head of the household.¹

Using the available historical evidence, then, it is possible to reconstruct an accurate and definitive portrait of the Negro in American white society. The quest for identity and fulfillment by the Negro is thus brought into sharp focus, and the resulting integrated model is of serious consideration to all who wish to understand contemporary Negro thought in the United States.

Early in the sixteenth century Negro slaves were imported to the Caribbean area. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were close to 500,000 Negroes in the Americas.²

In the United States, black slaves were first brought to Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. Subsequent growth in the Negro population during the next hundred years gave impetus to an attempted slave rebellion in New York in 1712.³

During the revolutionary period, the black man joined with his white counterpart to throw off British oppression. Approximately five thousand Negroes helped the colonial revolt. After our freedom had been assured, certain state legislatures subsequently took measures to bar slavery within their boundaries. Hence in 1783, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, legally prohibited slavery. New York and Pennsylvania provided gradual measures for the abolition of slavery in their respective states. On the national level, the U. S. Constitution had stipulated that the slave market could not be prohibited until 1808. By then, however, the Negro reproductive rate was sufficient to sustain the growing needs of slave labor in the South. Thus, by 1860, there were nearly four million black slaves.⁴

The black man appeared doomed to eke out his existence as a slave by the events of the 1850's. The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the Dred Scott case in 1857 were vivid examples of prevailing opinion in the U. S. concerning the Negro plight. However, the events of

the 1860's brought a ray of hope to the American Negro. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 ended the bitter debate concerning the future of slavery in the U. S. This edict provided for the freedom of slaves in the seceding states.⁵

The concept of riots is not a phenomenon peculiar to the twentieth century. In 1862, violence erupted between Negro and Irish job applicants, the latter fearing the competition from the cheap Negro labor. The most violent outbursts between Negro and Irish laborers occurred the following year in the New York City Draft Riots.⁶

From a legal standpoint, the Negro position was assured with the passage of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. However, it would be several decades before these amendments were interpreted so as to provide a viable medium for the extension of Negro civil rights. In addition, the Civil Rights Law of 1875 legally enabled Negroes to utilize public transportation and accommodation facilities. Unfortunately, in most instances the law was ignored.⁷

With the end of the Reconstruction era in the South, white society regained control of their representative bodies again, and subsequently included grandfather clauses in their state constitutions which, in effect, prohibited most Negroes from voting in elections. The extent of this disenfranchisement can be seen in Louisiana which had 130,344 male black voters in 1896 as compared with 5,320 Negro voters after the turn of the century.⁸

The Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, espoused the "separate but equal" doctrine which was upheld until 1954, when more humane considerations took precedence.⁹

Again violence broke out in the first decade of the twentieth century as whites rioted against Negroes. This occurred in New York in 1900; Greensburg, Indiana, in 1906; and Springfield, Illinois, in 1908. In addition lynchings of Negroes were frequent in the southern portion of the United States.¹⁰

The contributions of Booker T. Washington are significant. He espoused the belief that Negroes could become indispensable members of society by learning technical skills. Toward this end he founded the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute during the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹¹

Another outstanding Negro was W. E. B. Dubois who was the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910 (N.A.A.C.P.). Through the energetic forces of the N.A.A.C.P., the grandfather clauses in state constitutions were overruled by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1915.¹²

Tragedy struck East St. Louis in July, 1917, when white citizens went on a rampage against Negro workers, fearing their labor competition. When the outbreak ceased, the figures were staggering: one hundred wounded, 300 buildings destroyed, and 48 lives lost.¹³

some: 34 killed, and two million dollars in property losses.¹⁹

The first major breakthrough in the civil rights movement occurred in 1954. The Supreme Court struck down school segregation in the Brown v. Board of Education case. A bus boycott in 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, resulted in a court ruling barring segregation on buses. The civil rights movement received further impetus under the direction of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) was established by him in 1957 to promote Negro equality.²⁰

The character of the civil rights movement underwent profound changes beginning in the 1960's. Activism replaced passivism as evidenced in the sit-in demonstrations conducted by Negro youths in the South as early as 1960.²¹

This new student involvement drew the support of S.C.L.C. and the N.A.A.C.P. However, by 1961, the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) had rejected Martin Luther King, Jr. as too modest in his demands. In the meantime, C.O.R.E. sponsored the freedom rides into Alabama and Mississippi. In evaluating the various civil rights associations, it could be said that S.N.C.C. was the most militant, and C.O.R.E. the most integrated, the latter appealing to both black and white segments of society. S.C.L.C. was the most committed to the Negro cause, and the N.A.A.C.P. offered a multitude of programs to serve the Negro cause.²²

Mention must also be made of the Black Muslim and Black Power concepts. The Black Muslims, founded about 1930, advocated the establishment of a separate black society within the existing matrix of American life.²³

The philosophical roots of the Black Power theory can be found essentially in the Negro Church, the ideas of Marcus Garvey, and Pan-Africanism. Basically black power is an emotional response within the Negro personality. It, too, implies an enforced separation of black and white elements of society. In order to attain this goal, political and economic sectors must be brought under the direction of the Negro. The influence of black power has been relatively significant. Modifications of these principles have been inculcated into the philosophical concepts of S.N.C.C. and C.O.R.E.²⁴

Using this historical evidence as a guide, the previous history of the Negro can be seen as one filled with frustration, fear and poverty. Only moderate gains toward complete freedom and equal opportunity had been made by the end of the 1950's. The Negro character of the 1960's had been molded and tempered by his previous experiences which yielded a more militant, emotional response to Negro ghetto life. As a consequence the Negro riots beginning in 1963 can be more easily comprehended. The riots are a part of a continuum which began with arrival of the first Negro slave. Subsequent developments insured the fact that the riot technique

would be utilized to a significant degree. In the next few chapters an attempt will be made to outline the major events of the Negro riots of 1963-1968, with the hope that these events will be brought into proper perspective, and the future of the American Negro will be perceived.

CHAPTER III

THE YEAR 1963

Militancy became the key word in Negro actions in 1963. This chapter deals with the events of that year and provides a statistical breakdown of some of the riots.

The year 1963 marked the beginning of an era of Negro riots in the United States. The riots have come to characterize the American long, hot summers. The roots of these meleés can be traced back to an incident almost a decade earlier, when a Negro woman in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give her seat to a white man while riding a bus. This occurred in December, 1955.¹ While the incident itself did not lead to a riot, it is the beginning of Negro resistance to discriminatory laws and regulations. The trend in the civil rights movement may be viewed as a continuum on which one end represents Negro passivity, succeeded by sit-ins and pickets, and finally ending in riots. The Negro in the South, at first made extensive use of nonviolent demonstrations such as sit-ins to gain his rights. Before the riots, the slogan of the Negro movement could have been termed: "Direct Action to Augment Legalism; Legalism to Augment the Conference Table."² The nonviolent approach did not predetermine that violence would ultimately be the consequence. It was the

limited success of these measures which led some Negroes to use the riot as a device to emphasize their demands.

Baltimore, Maryland, was the scene of a riot on Easter Monday, 1963. Incidents on Easter Monday are a traditional occurrence in the Druid Hill Park section of the city. More than two thousand Negroes participated in the incident which resulted in twenty-eight arrests and injured two people.³

Nearby in the nation's capital, Negro youths inflicted injuries on eleven white citizens in a rampage on April 13, 1963. There was no reported precipitating incident.⁴

The South was not immune to violence either. Birmingham, Alabama, was the scene of intense discord, when a bomb was set off at the home of Martin Luther King's brother, the Reverend A. D. William King. This explosion was coupled with the bombing of a motel which had served as Negro headquarters for the local civil rights movement. News spread rapidly among the Negro inhabitants and the following day, May 12, 1963, more than 2500 Negroes participated in a riot, which left fifty individuals injured. Local and state troops were called in to maintain law and order.⁵ Finally, on May 13, President Kennedy ordered three thousand National Guardsmen to Alabama where they were sent to military installations at Anniston and Montgomery.⁶ Despite the protests of Governor George Wallace, the President had sent the troops under the provisions of Title 10, Section 333, Paragraph 1, U. S. Code, which states that it is permissible for the President to

decide when federal troops are necessary to maintain civil order.⁷

At the height of the rioting in Birmingham, Jeremiah X, a member of the Black Muslims made the statement, "There are race riots coming such as this country has never seen before."⁸

Cambridge, Maryland, was the next place of racial flare-up. Tensions had been on the increase for the last year and a half, when more active Negro leaders pressed their demands. The whites expressed apathy concerning the Negro problems.⁹ The precipitating event was the attempt by Negroes to enter the segregated Dizzyland Restaurant, owned by Robert Fechsensfeld. Once they got inside, Fechsensfeld locked the door and shouted to his customers, "Come an get 'em boys." The result was a riot on July 11, 1963, which made necessary the calling in of the National Guard who placed the city under martial law.¹⁰

Negroes stood on Race Street and chanted at the whites, "Come on, you white bastards, cross on over here."¹¹

Ironically, this outburst occurred in a city whose welcome sign proclaims, "CAMBRIDGE IS NOT JUST A PLACE - IT'S PEOPLE MAKING PROGRESS."¹²

The South again became a host to violence. This time Savannah, Georgia, was the place in July, 1963. With the arrest of Hosea Williams, President of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters, for leading demonstrations, Negroes broke up into gangs. The local police sprayed tear gas and water

at the participants, while the crowd hurled pieces of glass and bricks. Later, Williams was freed on a thirty thousand dollar bond.¹³

Negroes in Chicago, Illinois, tried to prevent mobile classroom units from being used in their neighborhood. They interpreted this as a step at continued segregation. Negroes started throwing objects at the police. The arrests totaled 170 in a riotous outbreak during two weeks in August.¹⁴

Racial tensions flared anew in Birmingham on September 15, 1963, with the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Four died in the tragedy. Rioting broke out, and President Kennedy sent federal mediators to ease tensions. A local committee was organized to bring about racial harmony.¹⁵

The last riot of the season occurred in Detroit in October, 1963. The precipitating factor was the arrest of Negroes for disturbing the peace. This led to a riot in which two hundred Negroes protested the police action.¹⁶

The year 1963 ended on a sour note. It had been a stormy and volatile year; it was a portent of things to come.

CHAPTER IV

THE YEAR 1964

The purpose of this section is to examine closely the events of 1964, and to show that it was one part of a continuum which led to the Watts riots of 1965.

The year 1964 started off badly with brawling between the Klu Klux Klan and Negro groups in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 25-26, 1964. The incident was touched off by a visit of a United Nations group to this southern city. There were several arrests and at this time Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), stated that the Negro cause must be supported by white citizens as well, if the movement was to meet with success.¹

The succeeding months were calm until violence erupted in Harlem, New York, on July 18-24, 1964. Rioting came as a result of the shooting of a Negro by police on July 18. Four days later over a thousand Negroes were locked in battle against the police. The outbursts spread from Harlem to the Bedford-Stuyvestant area, another predominantly Negro district. At the end of the fracas, the statistical figures were: one dead, 140 injured, 500 arrested, 600 stores damaged, and 400,000 dollars in property damage.²

The activities of the mob were no doubt spurred on by the agitation of local hate groups. These included the Harlem Defense Council and the Harlem Freedom Fighters. Some prominent officials felt that these groups had been used by the Communists. The President of the New York City branch of the N.A.A.C.P., Reverend Richard A. Hildebrand, declared that the Reds utilized these agitators "...because they think they are the wildest and can promote the most unrest."³ Certainly the Harlem riots were evidence of turmoil and tensions.

A relatively minor incident occurred in Toledo, Ohio, on July 23, 1964. Firemen summoned by a false alarm were barraged by objects hurled at them by one hundred and fifty Negro youths.⁴

A major outbreak of violence took place between July 24-26, 1964, in Rochester, New York. With the arrest of a Negro on drunkenness charges, rioting erupted with 4,000 colored participants. Three died as a result of this incident and on July 28, 1964, National Guardsmen were sent to Rochester to ease tension. This city of 300,000 inhabitants including 33,000 Negroes had been termed a model city.⁵ Rochester had many employment opportunities, but most Negroes did not meet the desired specifications. Hence, discontent had spread among the black population. In addition, Rochester and many other northern cities had been the subject of intensive power struggles among various Negro leaders for the control of the civil rights movement. These two issues contributed to the riot in Rochester.⁶

Police in St. Louis, Missouri, were confronted by an angry mob of glass hurling Negroes when they answered a call in a Negro district. This incident occurred on July 25, 1964.⁷

Jersey City, New Jersey, was the scene of three riot filled nights beginning August 2, 1964. The violence was touched off by the arrest of a Negro woman for public drunkenness. At the end of the disorder, forty individuals were wounded, and fifty arrests were made. Though some New Jersey Negroes might view the actions as a violent demonstration to promote equal rights, New Jersey Governor Richard E. Hughes declared, "This hoodlumism has no connection with any kind of legitimate and lawful civil rights efforts."⁸

Another violent eruption also occurred on August 2, 1964. The place was Kansas City, Kansas. While police were on a call in a Negro area, they were confronted by fifteen hundred rioting Negroes. Five policemen were wounded in the fracas.⁹

A statistical breakdown of riots between July 18, 1964, and August 30, 1964, can be found in Table I. It includes seven major northern cities which were scenes of Negro violence. During this period there were five deaths, 952 injuries, 2,484 arrests, 1080 shops looted or damaged, and between 6.5 and 8.3 million dollars in damage.¹⁰

In summary, it can be said that the precipitating event in most riots for the year 1964 involved police and Negroes. Temporary solutions to the Negro problem had proved unsatisfactory. However, most cities were reluctant to state that

conditions were uncontrollable.¹¹ Hence, each succeeding year has seen an increase in Negro outbursts. The events of the past two years culminated in the disastrous Watts riot of 1965.

TABLE I

RIOT STATISTICS FOR SUMMER 1964*

City and Date of Riot	Killed	Injured	Arrested	Shops Looted or Damaged	Cost in Dollars to Community++
Philadelphia August 28-30, 1964)	0	341	774	225	3 million +
New York, N. Y. (July 18-23, 1964)	1	144	519	541	1 to 2 million
Rochester, N. Y. (July 24-25, 1964)	4	350	976	204	2 to 3 million
Jersey City, N. J. (August 2-4, 1964)	0	46	52	71	\$300,000
Patterson, N. J. (August 11-14, 1964)	0	8	65	20	50,000
Elizabeth, N. J. (August 11-14, 1964)	0	6	18	17	minor
Chicago Suburbs (August 16-17, 1964)	0	57	80	2	minor
TOTALS	5	952	2,484	1,080	6.5 to 8.5 million

++NOTE: This includes damages to buildings, stolen merchandise, cost of troops and extra police and some instances estimates of business losses.

*"Looting: The High Cost of Race Violence," U.S. News and World Report, 57:38, September 14, 1964.

CHAPTER VI

THE YEAR 1965

This particular section discusses the riots of 1965 leading up to Watts. It provides a statistical study on Watts based on material in the McCone Commission Report.

Another riotous year awaited United States citizens in 1965. New York City was the scene of a riot on February 17, 1965. A boycott of local schools of a month's duration had been led by Reverend Milton Galamison. The purpose of this action was to promote integration in the schools. The result was that fifty-five hundred Negro students did not attend classes during this period. An attack on police and white citizens by Negroes on February 17. By February 20, fifty arrests had been made.¹

In the deep South fighting broke out in Marion, Alabama, on February 18, 1965, in the wake of a massive drive for Negro voter participation. The precipitating event was the arrest of a Negro leader. Protesters, numbering five hundred, were beaten off by officers wielding night sticks.²

The city of Cleveland, Ohio, was the next scene of racial discord. A group of Negro teenagers had assaulted six white

youths on March 12. During the week there were signs of increasing turmoil and by March 18, 1965, white students refused admittance to their Negro classmates at Collinwood High School. A melée ensued and more than a hundred police officers were needed to break up the disturbance.³

The culmination of violent outbursts by the Negro portion of society can be found in The Watts riots of August 11-17, 1965. Watts is a Negro section in Los Angeles, California. The riots prior to this incident were merely a preview of what was to come. This riot was the most significant one for the period with which this study deals. The underlying meaning can be said to be "...that it was the first time in Watts that race consciousness has been a basis for acting."⁴ The evidence to support this statement is convincing if one accepts the declaration of the Negro rioters themselves. One rioter stated, "You jus' take an' run, an you burn when they ain't nothin' to take. You burn whitey, man. You burn his tail up so he know what it's all about." Another participant in the Watts riots said, "Well, it cost \$200 million and 36 folks were killed. I hope Whitey got the message."⁵

Whitey indeed got the message. At the end of the tragedy, the statistics showed 34 individuals dead and 1,032 wounded. More than 600 stores were damaged, 200 of which were considered total losses. The cost in damages was more than 40 million dollars. Fire stations received more than 2,000 calls during the riots. There were 3,952 arrests of which 541 involved

juveniles. These arrests included 2,278 felony charges. Convictions were gotten on 356 of these cases and another 626 cases were still pending.⁶

The tragic events were triggered by the arrest of Marquette Frye, a Negro, for drunken driving. The place of arrest was at 116th and Avalon Streets, which is located near the Watts district. A crowd of almost one thousand gathered near the scene of arrest, and they watched while the mother of the suspect attacked one of the officers. A tense atmosphere prevailed during the following days, and rioting was the primary nighttime activity. Later, Friday afternoon, August 13, 1965, it was decided to call in the federal troops, after much delay concerning this step. Friday was the worst day of the rioting and by late Saturday, August 14, 1965, there were thirteen thousand nine hundred troops stationed in the riot area. During the riots the most officers contributed by the Los Angeles Police Department was 934, and the most contributed by the Sheriff's Office was 719 men. A curfew was imposed on Saturday, and this enabled law enforcement officials to gain control of the situation. By Tuesday, August 17, rioting and disturbances had ended.⁷

Contrary to the accusations voiced by the Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker that the Watts riots were planned,⁸ testimony of law officials before the California study commission indicated that there was no premeditated

plan of action by one group which triggered the riot.⁹

The condition which made the Watts riot inevitable, had been in existence for a considerable period of time. However, the events of the preceding year had brought feelings to a fever pitch. These events included: (1) federally sponsored programs which did not meet the Negroes' needs; (2) the repeal of California's Fair Housing Act by the voters and (3) the evidence that rioting and aggressive actions went unpunished.¹⁰ All of these factors and more contributed to one of the most disastrous riots of the 1953-1968 period.

CHAPTER VI

THE YEAR 1966

The tragedy of Watts caused American citizens to reevaluate the course of social justice in the light of harsh reality. To reinforce the lessons of 1965, another riot beset year was awaiting an unsuspecting public.

The bustling city of Omaha, Nebraska, felt the sharp pangs of violence on July 3, 1966, when Negroes began to riot in a city whose black inhabitants total 25,000. By July 6th, the National Guard had restored order. Concerning the incident, Nebraska's Governor Frank Morrison was quoted as saying, "We're having no truck with advocates of violence... We're not going to listen to a lot of grievances that have been chewed over and over again. Lawbreakers will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."¹

The city of brotherly love, Philadelphia, was the scene of a disturbance on July 12, 1966, as police battled black power advocates who protested police treatment.²

One of the most devastating riots occurred in Chicago, Illinois, from July 12-15, 1966. Martin Luther King had appeared before a Negro gathering of almost 50,000 at which time he protested poor housing and employment practices to which local black people had been subjected.³ While he

deplored the use of force, violence broke out between Negroes and police. The precipitating event was the forcible shut-down of water hydrants by police in a Negro sector of the city.⁴

The intensity of the street fighting required the presence of four thousand National Guard to quell the outbreak. After the smoke had cleared the consequences were only too evident: 83 wounded, two killed and 403 arrests.⁵

The local police blamed the presence of Reverend King as the catalyst which sparked the riot. As Joseph Le Febour, president of the police association declared, "Wherever he goes and preaches nonviolence, violence erupts."⁶

A trivial incident in a tavern in the Negro Hough district of Cleveland, resulted in a riotous melee on July 18, 1966. Uncontrolled looting and sniping necessitated the calling out of the National Guard to restore calm. Statistically, four were dead, forty-six wounded, and 164 were arrested. Thousands of dollars in property damage resulted.⁷

City officials were convinced that a conspiracy had sparked the riot. Safety Director, John H. McCormick, expressed the view that "there is no doubt in my mind that trouble was planned for Cleveland. The pattern here and in other cities is almost identical. I believe the whole thing was planned with a high degree of intelligence behind it."⁸ There was no conclusive evidence to support this statement, however.

The month of July also saw a melee between rock throwing Negroes and the police of Brooklyn, N. Y. More than a thousand officers were needed to quell the disorder.⁹

A minor disturbance erupted in Providence, Rhode Island, on August 1-2, 1966, when Negroes went on a rock hurling rampage. Approximately fifty police officers brought the situation under control and arrested twenty-two Negroes.¹⁰

The city of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was the host to violence on August 3-4, 1966, as rioting erupted in protest of the lack of job opportunities for Negroes.¹¹ Local officials later employed approximately sixty Negroes which terminated the incident.¹²

The murder of a Negro man by three white men acted as the catalyst for a riot in Dayton, Ohio, on September 1, 1966. Rock hurling and looting characterized the incident which required the presence of 1,000 Guardsmen to restore peace. Approximately twenty were injured and one hundred were arrested.¹³

Sporadic rioting by Negroes of Waukegan, Illinois, occurred over a two week period during September. The arrest of a Negro for arson of a building in which two of seven people were seriously burned, triggered the melee.¹⁴ Over one hundred and thirty arrests were made, and the mayor threatened to suspend welfare payments to riot participants.¹⁵

Benton Harbor, Michigan, witnessed an incident in September, involving rioting Negroes which was precipitated by

the shooting of a Negro by a white man. Finally, three hundred National Guardsmen brought the situation under control.¹⁶

The characteristics of the year 1966 were similar to the preceding riot years. Violence and death marked the passage of another fateful year. Unfortunately, the following year was to offer more bitter examples of the depth of Negro despair.

CHAPTER VII

THE YEAR 1967

As succeeding years passed Negro riots increased in intensity. The predictions for the year 1967 were not optimistic. Sterling Tucker, head of the Urban League in the District of Columbia, stated, "We are developing a psychology of summer rioting in the whole nation. There is an air of expectancy. You can almost feel it."¹

One of the earliest outbreaks of the season occurred in Nashville, Tennessee, April 8-10, 1967. A speech by black militant leader, Stokely Carmichael, had inflamed Negro college youths. At one point he declared, "If we don't get justice, we're going to tear this country apart."² Afterwards a disturbance occurred in which only a few were injured, but approximately one hundred arrests were made.³

Boston, Massachusetts, was the host to violence from June 2-5, 1967. The statistics are evidence of the extent of the Negro malice: one hundred wounded, seventy-three jailed, and two million dollars in property damage. The National Guard was needed to bring the city back to normal conditions.⁴

The presence of Stokely Carmichael again provoked violence, this time in Prattville, Alabama, on June 11. Hearing of the

arrest of Carmichael for threatening a police officer, Negroes began brawling and rioting which also included gun sniping. Ten individuals were arrested, and four were injured. A small detachment of National Guardsmen was necessary to restore calm.⁵

The shooting of a Negro burglary suspect by police was the catalyst for a riot in Tampa, Florida, on June 12-14, 1967. Looting and fire-bombing were characteristic of the disorder. Approximately five hundred National Guardsmen assisted 350 police officers and 150 deputies to quell the outbreak. There were twenty persons hurt and one hundred arrests.⁶ Property damage was approximately 1.5 million dollars.⁷

The arrest of protestors declaiming the death sentence of a fellow Negro, sparked a four day riot in Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 12-16. The National Guard was utilized, 260 arrests were made and two million dollars in damage was the result.⁸

The state of Massachusetts was the scene of another disturbance in June, this time in Roxbury. The Mothers for Adequate Welfare (MAW) staged a protest at the local relief center. Unfortunately, the situation became uncontrollable, and a riot was the consequence. Of the more than 1,000 participants, forty were arrested, seventy-five were injured, and damages totaled 250,000 dollars.⁹

Buffalo, New York, was the scene of an outburst during the nights of June 27-29. Approximately one thousand Negro

participants engaged in looting and setting fires. There were two hundred arrests, one hundred injured, and 250,000 dollars in damages.¹⁰

One of the most devastating riots of 1967 occurred in Newark, New Jersey, from July 13-17. The precipitating event was the arrest of a cab driver for following a police cruiser too closely.¹¹ Rumors of the incident spread among the black inhabitants and firebombing and stealing occurred. There were 1,465 arrests.¹²

Most of the property damages were in stock which totaled over ten million dollars, and there were 364 fire calls of which 64 were false alarms and 70 were emergencies unrelated to fire.¹³ Twenty-six died during the four day period.¹⁴ There were 3,000 Guardsmen and 1,400 local law officers used to quell the riot.¹⁵

In nearby Plainfield, New Jersey, a riot took place which resulted in injuries to forty-six of the approximately 350 rioters and the death of one policeman. In addition there were approximately 150 arrests.¹⁶ The melee was sparked by rumors of police cruelty.¹⁷

The peak of the rioting season occurred in Detroit from July 23-30. The spark which triggered the outbreak was the raiding of a club on Twelfth Street in a Negro sector of the city. The aftermath of the riot was awesome: 41 killed, 347 wounded, 3,800 arrests, and 500 million dollars in property losses.¹⁸ Economic losses may rise to almost one

billion dollars, however.¹⁹

It was necessary to utilize the force of 7,300 National Guardsmen to regain a semblance of order to the riot torn city.²⁰ No conclusive proof of pre-riot organization and planning could be discovered, however.²¹ The atmosphere of the riot area was described by Mayor Cavanaugh in the following statement, "People are filled with a carnival spirit. Rioting has become a lark, a joke. There's a sense of euphoria in the air."²²

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was the scene of a riotous incident on July 30. More than six hundred Negroes were jailed, four died and 100 were hurt. Fire damage was estimated at approximately 100,000 dollars.²³

On July 31, 1967, four hundred Negroes went on a rampage in West Palm Beach, Florida. The number of arrests was forty-six, and property losses were approximately 350,000 dollars.²⁴

Table II contains the states with the number of cities which experienced riots in 1967. It is evident that rioting is not peculiar to any one area of the United States. The more populated states with a high percentage of Negro inhabitants living in ghettos such as New Jersey and Michigan are more likely to experience some type of violence.

The tremendous loss of life and property had exceeded even the most grim predictions. The year 1967 was one of the most violent on record. The year 1968 was to witness the

death of Reverend Martin Luther King, and a wave of senseless riots which were a reaction to his assassination.

TABLE II

RIOT TORN STATES IN 1967*

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Cities</u>
New Jersey	14 cities
Michigan	11 "
California	11 "
New York	11 "
Ohio	10 "
Illinois	9 "
Florida	5 "
Alabama	3 "
Connecticut	3 "
North Carolina	3 "
Pennsylvania	3 "
Arizona	2 "
Iowa	2 "
Mississippi	2 "
Tennessee	2 "
Colorado	1 "
Delaware	1 "
Georgia	1 "
Indiana	1 "
Kansas	1 "
Kentucky	1 "
Maryland	1 "
Massachusetts	1 "
Minnesota	1 "
Missouri	1 "
Nebraska	1 "
Oregon	1 "
Rhode Island	1 "
Texas	1 "
Virginia	1 "
Washington	1 "
Wisconsin	1 "
District of Columbia	1 "

* "Race Troubles: Record of 109 Cities." U. S. News and World Report, 63:30, August 14, 1967.

CHAPTER VIII

THE YEAR 1968

The year 1968 witnessed the death of moderate Negro leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4. He had come to Memphis to settle a garbage collectors' strike. His assassination sparked a series of meaningless riots in Negro ghettos across the land.

The nation's capital experienced a major outbreak of violence following the death of King. The city was occupied by fifteen thousand troops. The consequences of the disturbance were disastrous: seven dead, 1,156 wounded, 7,370 jailed, 711 fires and close to fifteen million dollars in property losses.¹ The riot participants included Negro employees of the federal government.²

Detroit was the scene of another riot in April. This time eleven died, 2,900 were arrested, 162 buildings were destroyed and nine million dollars in property damage resulted.

In Pennsylvania, the city of Pittsburgh was the host to violence. Property losses were high, totaling nearly one million dollars. There were five hundred fires and 1,300 arrests. Almost six thousand state and local police and National Guardsmen were utilized to restore a semblance of order to the city.⁴

The bustling city of Chicago was the scene of bloodshed as well. Approximately, 2,000 arrests were made, and 1,000 were hurt. Eleven died, and 1,000 lost their homes. Approximately ten million dollars in damage was done. Both the National Guard and army troops were necessary to quell the mobs.⁵ The use of Rumor Central which was an information center, dispelled many false stories which might have aggravated the Negro populace. Hence, it prevented the riot from reaching massive proportions.⁶

On April 6, 1968, Baltimore, Maryland, witnessed the effects of a Negro rampage. Property losses were estimated at ten million dollars. There were six deaths, nine hundred wounded, 250 fires and 5,500 arrests. The National Guard was utilized in this city.⁷

In the mid-West, Kansas City, Missouri, experienced a racial flare-up. There were six deaths, 65 hurt, 250 fires set, and five hundred thousand dollars in property damages.⁸

The statistics for the riots in April were staggering: 125 cities in 29 states saw some form of outburst. There were 2,600 fires, and 21,586 army troops and 47,307 Guardsmen were called into active duty to quell the disorders.⁹ Property damage was almost forty-five million dollars. There were 39 deaths, 3,500 injured, 20,000 arrests.¹⁰

Strangely enough, a man who advocated nonviolence in his lifetime, provoked massive retaliation on white society by his death. After tempers had calmed, it was evident that

nothing could compensate for the death of King, but that much could be done in the future to alleviate squalid ghetto conditions. The riots of April, 1968, while admittedly less fierce with regard to loss of life, had resulted in skyrocketing property losses. However, the Negro was the real loser since most of the rioting occurred in Negro sectors.

The night before his death, King had declared: "I just want to do God's will. And He has allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I have looked over, and I have seen the Promised Land."¹¹ Negro America wants to see the promised land, too.

CHAPTER IX

RIOT CONTROL

In the wake of massive civil disorder, a reevaluation of present riot control policies has been deemed necessary. The ineffectiveness of local and state police as well as the National Guard has resulted in new riot control training programs, techniques and weapons. In the future a better integration of available forces and more effective utilization riot control weapons and techniques should decrease the hazards of rioting and lead to a restoration of law and order more quickly.

In the United States, there are over forty thousand local law enforcement agencies, each of which is unique in many respects.¹ Of the policemen available approximately thirteen per cent are utilized between the hours of 4 P.M. and midnight. However, over eighty-five per cent of riot situations occur during this same time period. In addition, the police must canvass an entire city not just the Negro sectors.²

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has suggested that the best method of avoiding future riots is to ameliorate squalid conditions of the Negro ghetto and to imbue in its residents a respect for law and order. Since the riot condi-

tions are evident, however, they have also suggested riot training for local police, support of the law enforcement agency by the community, and better police-community relations.³

I. Training

Until recently, many police departments had the equivalent of about eighteen hours in riot training, very little of which was geared to higher command levels. Most training emphasized individual participation, whereas riot training by its very nature requires group interaction and coordination.⁴

A program in riot control should be at least eighty hours in duration. The training should include crowd psychology, and the use of riot weapons and nonlethal gases.⁵

Each local agency should devise a plan of mobilization in the event of civil disorder and emphasize coordination among the various levels of the organization. Law enforcement officers should participate in seminars dealing with the aspects of riot control, and if possible should observe the procedures of other police departments in coping with mass disturbances.⁶

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has conducted over three hundred riot seminars since September of 1967. Over thirteen thousand policemen have participated in these discussions. A special pamphlet on riot control has also been published by them.⁷

During the training and seminar discussions, the officers should become aware of their feelings with regard to Negroes, and there should be reinforcement for performance and conformity to approved norms by the participants.⁸

The training program should be of sufficient length to achieve effectiveness at all levels of command. Emphasis should be placed on the role of riot teams to control various disturbances. There should be practice of the proposed plan of action, and coordination between local, state and national agencies.⁹

Those that should be selected for riot training on a police force, should possess the following qualifications:

A. Physical characteristics

1. Age - mid twenties
2. Height - at least 6'
3. Good health

B. Mental Characteristics

1. Intelligence
2. Common sense
3. Free of social bias
4. Knowledge of community problems

C. Possess knowledge of:

1. Riot configurations
2. Types of mobs
3. Legal basis for laws
4. How to behave in a neutral manner¹⁰

The ideal policeman has been described by Miami Police Chief Rocky Pomerance as "...part priest, part psychiatrist, part social worker, part karate expert-----and he has to be able to make a decision in a few seconds that will stand up before complex legal scrutiny clear up to the U. S. Supreme Court."¹¹

II. The Use of Force

One of the most controversial aspects of riot control concerns the use of force. It can be argued that the danger of harming innocent bystanders should be of paramount consideration in any discussion on the potential use of force. In addition, it is difficult to defend the use of shooting to deter looters, as well as the fact that a display of arms usually contributes to an already volatile situation.¹²

The opposing view favoring the use of force is succinctly expressed by Mr. Julian Levi, professor of urban affairs at the University of Chicago. He stated: "It has been repeatedly demonstrated that the only way you can control an escalating riot is to provide the most visible public power you can. And you must be willing to use force if it is required----though it should be made very clear that it will be used impartially. More mistakes are made by delaying the calling up the Guard than in calling it too soon."¹³

Another aspect of the same problem involves the shooting

of riot participants. A get-tough policy is advocated by the mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley. He declared: "Anyone with a Molotov cocktail...is a potential murderer... and should be shot right on the spot."¹⁴

However, the mayor of New York, John V. Lindsay took exception to this view when he said: "We are not going to turn disorder into chaos through the unprincipled use of force; we are not going to shoot children."¹⁵

The significance of the above statements lies in the fact that both mayors have witnessed riots during their administrations and yet they have each drawn opposite conclusions. This is a good example of the differing points of view which exist throughout the country on this vital issue.

III. The National Guard

The inadequacy of the National Guard to deal with urban riots was evident during the summer of 1967. Since then a new policy with regard to their riot training has been implemented.

Until recently, only about one per cent of the National Guard was Negro.¹⁶ It has been decided that there will be an active recruitment of Negro men in the future to serve in this branch.¹⁷ A new training program for Guardsmen has been initiated at Fort Gordon, Georgia, and they will be equipped with tear gas, floodlights and bullhorns.¹⁸

It had been suggested by former Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor that Guardsmen be instructed clearly and precisely in their duties during a riot. The use of large weapons should be avoided. Tanks should be used to remove men under fire. Also special marksmen should be used to flush snipers from their positions.¹⁹

Finally, it has been decided that the National Guard units should be decreased in number but brought up to nearly capacity strength. In addition, twelve thousand men will be added to the Guard's ranks. Approximately sixty per cent of the Guardsmen will be assigned to military police duty.²⁰

IV. Riot Weapons and Techniques

The intensity of violence in riot situations demands the most modern and effective weapons to combat the outbreak. One of the chemical agents used by police is Mace which attacks the nervous system and immobilizes the would-be riot participant for thirty minutes. Another chemical device is Riotrol which comes in dry form. When it is scattered on the ground and mixed with water the area is impossible to walk upon by rioters.²¹ There is also an agent known as chemical DM which will produce vertigo and an upset stomach when combined with tear gas and strayed at the rioters.²² All of these chemical devices immobilize the aggressor without inflicting permanent harm.

The importance of the helicopter in detecting snipers has been demonstrated. In addition, an imposed curfew enables the police to regain control of an unruly situation.²³ Standard riot formations are used by troops to dispel crowds. One such formation is the "wedge" which diverts rioters in the direction desired by the police. Another is "the line" in which troops move ahead together side by side. All these formations require that the men make verbal sounds while stomping their feet.²⁴

The New Hampshire State Police have suggested the utilization of a twenty man riot team which among other things would include:

- (a) one man in charge of a walkie-talkie
- (b) one person skilled in the use of a tear gas gun
- (c) four men using shotguns
- (d) one person skilled in the use of smoke and/or flare projectiles
- (e) each person equipped with 24 rounds of number six birdshot.²⁵

These suggestions would enable the police officer to meet armed resistance on a massive scale. The use of guns is in contrast to the nonlethal chemical agents which have also been used of late. The use of chemical agents implies that officers must be equipped with gas masks and other paraphenalia in order not to become the victims of

their own crowd dispersion tactics. It is evident that the variety of techniques available is part of the controversy which underlies riot control, that is, the degree and type of force necessary to dispel rioters. However, there has been increasing research in the area of non-lethal weapons which are proving more effective in restoring order. It is probable that these will be used regularly in the future.

Practically speaking, the characteristics of the efficient policeman outlined in the previous discussion would be difficult to achieve. Since each man's attitudes are a product of his background and environment, to attain the qualifications suggested would really entail a sweeping restructuring of American attitudes. This would take a considerable length of time. In addition, the risks involved and the financial remuneration of police work does not attract a sufficient number of men, who are needed in this era of high crime incidence. It would appear, then, that to upgrade the police system, public support, better pay and more fringe benefits and new recruitment methods are essential. If these suggestions are implemented, life in urban America will improve dramatically.

CHAPTER X

RECOMMENDATIONS (I)

In the wake of the tragic riots which the United States has witnessed, many attempts have led to violence in the streets. There have also been many recommendations for alleviating the plight of the Negro. This chapter discusses some of these suggestions as made by the California Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, and the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorders in the State of New Jersey. However, it is not the purpose of this or the following chapter to give an in-depth account of these suggestions, so the reader is referred to the appendices for specific details.

After the Watts riots, Governor Edmund Brown realized that a study must be made of the significant causes of the riots. This study commission was headed by John McCone, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Not only did the members of this group discover the motivating factors, but they also made recommendations in the areas of employment, health, education, welfare, and police-community relations.

I. Recommendations on Police-Community Relations

The criticism of the action of the Los Angeles Police

Department resulted in some suggestions to improve law enforcement procedures. Since the relations between the police and Negro public were somewhat strained, the Commission suggested an expanded public relations program. All grievances of citizens should be directed to an Inspector General, who would look into the matter according to rules set forth by the Board of Police Commissioners.¹

II. Recommendations on Employment

Unemployment is always a factor of discontent in poverty stricken areas. Several ways of remedying the situation were suggested. Vocational training centers, and employment centers, are needed in the depressed areas. Every effort must be made on the local, state, and federal levels to encourage Negroes to utilize these centers. Lastly, there should be a state law making it mandatory that all labor unions and businesses having 250 or more workers, must submit a statistical breakdown of their employees' racial backgrounds to the State Fair Employment Practices Commission.²

III. Recommendations on Education

The average Negro has little or no education. To overcome this handicap and provide for future generations of Negro children, the following plan of action was developed. Schools in the riot areas which are not up to the proficiency level of the rest of the city schools should be

labeled "Emergency Schools". An "Emergency Literacy Program" should immediately be instituted which would consist of fewer students in each class, and it would emphasize skills which would enable these children to be placed on average levels of achievement for their particular age group. In addition, a headstart program should be developed to prepare preschoolers in the skills necessary to succeed in future academic life.³

IV. Recommendation in Health and Welfare

The health of the average Negro living in depressed areas is poor. The California Commission suggested that a new hospital in the Watts area was needed, and that various local public health services should be made more readily available to the Negro citizens.⁴

The Commission emphasized that the implementation of all these recommendations would be time consuming and costly. Miracles would not be the order of the day. However, the plans would succeed if there was civic responsibility on the part of federal, local and state agencies, the news media, labor, industry, and the Negro community. The hope of the future must rest on the cooperation of all these segments of society.⁵

V. Progress Reports

A progress report of the California Commission's recommendations was submitted in 1966. In the area of law

enforcement, a program to improve police-community relations had been initiated with ten lieutenants and six aides assigned to this specific duty. The position of Inspector General had been added to the police force, but his duties were somewhat more restricted than envisioned by the Commission's suggestion.⁶

Employment opportunities increased during the year with implementation of vocational and job placement programs. New agencies which had begun operation included the Economic and Youth Opportunity Center, the Equal Opportunity Foundation, the California State Employment Service, and the Opportunities Industrialization Center. However, no law was introduced in the state legislature concerning employers' reports on the racial background of their employees.⁷

Education is fundamental to society but progress has been slow in this area. Under the auspices of the federal government, Operation Headstart was begun for pre-schoolers in the Los Angeles area. It met with little success, as not even 8 per cent of the three to four year olds in the impoverished areas had been placed in the program. No attempt had been made to implement the suggestion for the "Emergency Literacy Programs".⁸

The need for the improvement in Negro health is evident but plans for a new hospital were frustrated when voters failed to support the bond issue. However, the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors apportioned funds for the hospital.

In addition, plans for increased health services to the Negro community were being implemented.⁹

The following year, 1967, another progress report on the recommendations of the commission was published. The suggestions on education met with little success. The Headstart Program was utilized by only about 50 percent of the qualified youngsters in the Negro areas. The Emergency Literacy Program had still not been initiated.¹⁰

Though unemployment in the state of California was on the decline in 1967, there were no reliable figures on the Negro unemployment percentages.¹¹ A bill was introduced before the California state legislature to make it compulsory for those employing more than 250 workers to submit a report on their racial backgrounds. The bill was voted down by the members of the legislature.¹²

The health and welfare programs have been more successful. Federal and state funds have been allocated for a new hospital in Los Angeles County. Health services have been extended to the Negro community, though there were no figures available on the success of these services in alleviating poor health conditions.¹³

VI. New Jersey Commission's Recommendations

The state of New Jersey was witness to riots in the Newark area in 1967. As a consequence Governor Richard E. Hughes formed a commission to study the causative factors

of the riots, and to make recommendations, which when implemented would avert outbursts in the future. Some of these recommendations are applicable to most riot areas. Hence, they are included in this discussion. These suggestions pertain to housing, loans, summer programs, and welfare programs.

The dwellings of Negroes are generally inadequate, and the Negro has little pride in his home or neighborhood. These poverty-stricken Negroes should be helped so that they can purchase their own homes, which would be a source of pride and satisfaction to them. Overcrowded living conditions can be remedied by finding homes for the Negroes in suburbia. Multiple-family dwellings should not be built in the slums in the future. Finally, Negroes should try to improve the conditions of their present neighborhoods.¹⁴

The economic factors contributing to disadvantaged areas can be alleviated by reducing property taxes and encouraging private industry to loan funds to local enterprises in the impoverished areas.¹⁵

Since rioting is more prevalent during the summer months, the New Jersey Commission suggested that summer programs be initiated. There should be organizations in which Negro juveniles can meet and enjoy one another's company, and plan services which will help their fellow citizens. "Street academies" should be established which would enable youths to gain admittance to colleges and universities.¹⁶

The welfare system should be administered by one state

agency, which would increase efficiency. The presence of a male in the household should no longer preclude welfare payments. A more streamlined approach for application of welfare benefits would expedite the process both for the potential recipient and the welfare department. Also the maximum wage allowance should be increased before a corresponding welfare payment decrease is effected.¹⁷

The apparent flaw in the recommendations of these commissions is that they fail to come to grips with prevailing attitudes. While a general exhortation is made to government, business, labor unions and their leaders to implement the suggestions brought forth, the real crux of the matter is only superficially encountered. Each of these institutions is made up of individuals whose opinions may be at variance with those of the commissions. Since implementation is dependent on their support this is the basic consideration. Merely revealing the problems and suggesting solutions is only part of the answer. Unless popular opinion agrees with these recommendations little will be accomplished. For example, the repeal of the Fair Housing Act by California voters is a prime instance of conflict between white voter opinion and recommendations. Another example is the failure of the California state legislature to pass a law requiring businesses to record the number of Negroes employed by them. In each instance recommendations were at variance with prevailing opinion held by those who really determine the outcome of

these suggestions.

Thus, recognition of the views of the American public is essential. Attitudes are a product of experience and environment and they are only slowly modified. While the purpose of these commissions is to reveal causative factors and make recommendations, they must also come to grips with this factor as well. They must do more than estimate costs and determine methods of administration. The probability of implementation must be faced. Limited financial resources, length of time and the attitudes of the white citizenry and legislature should be underscored. These limitations must be considered in more detail than they have been in the past.

In addition, the problem of time must be considered. Inadvertently, the recommendations of these commissions have been proclaimed to the Negro ranks without the warning that it will take time before these solutions are achieved. This is not so much the fault of the reports as it is the news media which have publicized the recommendations and ignored the implicit warning that these things take time. It will be the task of future study commissions to place more emphasis on this aspect so that the news media will accurately report the findings.

CHAPTER XI

RECOMMENDATIONS (II)

The riots during the summer of 1967 were of such intensity as to provoke an anguished cry from the American public. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was assigned the task of delving into the economic and social factors which provided the motivation for massive outbreaks of disorder. The commission headed by Otto Kerner, Governor of Illinois, traced the path of the Negro in American society, with emphasis on his present plight in the areas of housing, employment, welfare and education. In the next few paragraphs the discussion will consider the problems and recommendations outlined by the commission for employment, housing, and welfare.

It is possible to describe Negro dissatisfaction with society as a hierarchy of grievances. There are three levels of intensity which are as follows:

"First Level of Intensity"

1. Police Practices
2. Unemployment and Underemployment
3. Inadequate Housing

Second Level of Intensity

4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs

6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms

Third Level of Intensity

7. Disrespectful white attitudes
8. Discriminatory administration of Justice
9. Inadequacy of federal programs
10. Inadequacy of municipal services
11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
12. Inadequate welfare programs.*¹

Many of these complaints have been dealt with elsewhere in this paper, but it is evident that the grievances cover the spectrum of social injustice.

The Negro population expansion has contributed to the desperation apparent in black society today. As of 1966, there were 12.1 million Negroes located in the central cities. There will be nearly 20.8 million Negroes in this same area by 1985.² Also, there were 21.5 million blacks living in the South as of 1966.³ Because of this vast surge in population growth, aggravated conditions in both economic and social spheres have resulted.

I. Employment

Unemployment has been a significant factor in the motivation of Negro riot participants. It has been estimated that twenty per cent of the black rioters in 1967 were not employed. In addition there are nearly 500,000

critically unemployed among Negro ranks. In order to overcome this negative factor it has been suggested that the U. S. economy undergo extensive growth to provide new employment opportunities. There must be a full scale job recruitment, as well as a broad training program which will utilize latent skills. An increased involvement by private business and industry must be effected if significant gains are to result.⁴

To counteract present conditions, there should be one million new job opportunities within the next three years. Many of these jobs could include work to improve the slum situation.⁵ To fill these openings, recruitment must be made by both public and private sectors. In 1967, a new recruitment program on the local level was initiated by the U. S. Department of Labor. A national computerized system would also facilitate job placement. On the private level the National Alliance of Businessmen has attempted to train and place the unemployed.⁶

It has been recommended that a federal corporation be established to deal specifically with the problems of employment. It would cooperate with business and industry, pay for any training programs financed by the private sector and if necessary provide training in areas that business cannot finance.⁷

Since many job opportunities exist in the suburbs,

an effort must be made to improve transportation from the city to these outlying areas as well as to provide Negroes with the means to live in suburbia.⁸

II. Housing

Within the next five years six million new housing units for low and moderate income families must be provided. Most of these units should be built outside the ghetto sectors. Urban renewal projects must be more effective than at present. Inducements to provide low cost dwellings must be available to the private sector. Finally, expanded rent supplement programs must be initiated.⁹

Loans without interest to pay expenditures of building by non-profit groups must be made available if substantial low rent housing is to be constructed. There should also be rental supplements for occupants of present dwellings, not just new ones. This should also encompass home ownership for low income families.¹⁰ Also strict building codes should be established which would insure that poor families would not be subjected to substandard conditions.¹¹

III. Welfare Programs

The American welfare system has two inherent weaknesses: it does not include many who should utilize it, and the amount given is not sufficient to meet the needs of the individual. In 1967, expenditures for Aid to Families

with Dependent Children (AFDC) was close to 2.0 billion dollars and yet this provided only thirty-six dollars per month for each person on its rolls. State and local governments have contributed almost forty-five percent of the funds necessary to finance this program.¹²

Most state welfare boards have required recipients to establish a year's residency in their respective states. If a man is present in the family then the family is declared ineligible for benefits. This has not contributed to family solidarity. Furthermore any income results in reduced welfare payments.¹³

Recommendations in the area of welfare include a separate agency for the administration of AFDC, as well as the National government financing of AFDC in its entirety. In addition, abolition of the man-in-the-home regulation, as well as expansion of the maximum income requirements before a decrease in welfare payments is effected. These changes would enable more people to seek employment, and allow mothers to care for their children. It would encompass underemployment as well as the unemployed who are physically fit.

IV. Conclusions

The recommendations of this commission while specific in regard to such aspects as administration, time element, cost, and number of jobs needed, falls short of its goal.

in some respects. The National Advisory Commission has discussed white racism in some detail. The report stated that white racism manifested itself in three ways. These were: (1) segregation and discrimination, i.e., housing and employment; (2) white society deserting the cities for the suburbs and (3) the continued existence of urban Negro slums.¹⁵ The Commission also reported that at the present rate two separate societies (black and white) would emerge and in approximately twenty years the breach would be irreparable.¹⁶ However, the Commission while recognizing the existence of white attitudes has failed to offer a program which would modify present attitudes. Thus, without a program for attitude change all recommendations to alleviate the plight of the Negro are doomed to founder on the shoals of ineffectiveness.

Inadvertently, this aspect of the situation has been obscured by the proposals of the Commission and the result is that the Negro populace is convinced that these solutions are automatic. When the changes are not forthcoming frustration can be the result.

The fact that these recommendations are essential cannot be denied. However, this does not guarantee that Congress will introduce bills to implement these suggestions or will appropriate the money to support various projects. In addition, will the white citizens be willing to actively support these measures? It would appear that rather than

have large cities destroyed by riots, these suggestions would be a better solution, but will the public agree with this logic? If the past is any indication of the future the answer to the last question is "no". Merely describing present inequities is inadequate, the public must be convinced that their attitudes should change. Failure to outline a plan of attitude modification is a basic flaw of the Commission's report. The success of various proposals is inextricably linked with attitude change. A future study commission must suggest a plan which will overcome white racism. Otherwise progress will not be achieved.

CHAPTER VII

NEGRO AND WHITE ATTITUDES ON THE ISSUES

The attitudes expressed by both whites and Negroes are generally reflected in their actions. The discussion which follows is an attempt to present the views of both sides concerning civil rights and riots. It is only in this manner that one can evaluate the past, the present, and the ominous future.

The actions of the Negro populace are governed by its attitude toward the white man. The greatest obstacle to the Negro cause is considered to be white society. A survey has shown that over 40 per cent of the Negroes believe that the white man wants the black man kept in a subordinate position. Another 17 per cent feel that the white citizens have expressed an apathetic attitude toward Negro problems.¹

Their attitude toward violent expressions of their demands and toward rioting is dependent on their economic status. Most middle class Negroes support the nonviolent protests, similar to those espoused by the late Martin Luther King, Jr. There is one survey which has estimated that out of every four Negroes, one is convinced that some form of violence will erupt. The Negro wants to be considered an equal citizen and he will use any method to achieve these ends.

Perhaps the statement of a California Negro dentist best sums up the feeling of the Negroes. He commented, "I want to be a whole man this very instant."²

A statistical analysis of Negro views can be found in Table III. Only fifteen percent of the rank and file Negroes would join in a riot, and only one per cent of the Negro leadership would do so. Approximately 61 per cent of the rank and file would refrain from such activity. However, 61 per cent also felt that there would be future riots.³

The Negro movement for civil rights has been on the upsurge for many years. One Negro, who had been able to organize his people and draw attention to their cause effectively, was the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. He proposed that the nonviolent demonstration be used to gain their rights. Of this tactic King said: "Nonviolent direct action is a method of acting to rectify a social situation that is unjust and it involves in engaging in a practical technique that nullifies the use of violence at every point"⁴

At its best the nonviolent protest achieved for the Negro a bargaining position from which he could work hand in hand with the white leaders to attain his rights. Its success as an effective weapon had been provided in the South.

The North, however, has seen more evidence of violence than of peaceful demonstrations. Negro leaders, such as the late Reverend King, have expressed concern over racial tension

TABLE III

HOW NEGROES FEEL ABOUT RIOTS*

	Total			
	<u>Rank & File</u>	<u>Non South</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Leadership</u>
Would join a riot	15%	13%	18%	1%
Would not join	61%	62%	59%	75%
Not sure	24%	25%	23%	24%
Think there will be more riots	61%	62%	61%	79%
Will not be	8%	7%	8%	2%
Not sure	31%	31%	31%	19%

*"Crisis of Color." Newsweek, 68:22, August, 1966.

in the North.⁵

In addition, a statement issued by Reverend King, A. Phillip Randolph, and Roy Wilkins on July 26, 1967, expressed the view of responsible leadership on the subject of riots. They stated:

"Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people."⁶

The reason that leaders of King's ilk have not been successful in urban areas is due to the intense competition among potential leaders who are vying for the support of these urban Negro masses. The more moderate expressions of action espoused by some leaders have been rejected in favor of more militant ones expressed by extremist leaders. Claude Brown, Negro author of Manchild in the Promised Land, made the following statement which succinctly expressed the feeling of riot participants in urban areas. He stated:

"Who the hell is Martin Luther King in Harlem? You mean that old Southern preacher who is always going around talking about peace?... Nobody wants to hear that nonsense in Harlem. Harlem is not a passive community. People are violent....A riot is...like the last resort you know, of the hopeless. Well, in Harlem, in Los Angeles, in those riots, the reason they couldn't find anybody to talk to those people, is because they've neglected them too long."

"The riots are a good thing...they had the best idea in Los Angeles that anybody's had about any of the ghettos yet. Burn it to the ground. There's nothing tricky about it. It's pretty nice."⁷

This is not to say that all Negroes concur in this opinion. Many Negro leaders have expressed doubts on the efficacy of violence. Adam Clayton Powell, Congressman from Harlem, commented, "The day the Negro changes from nonviolence to violence, he is finished, and the Black Revolution has to start all over again, at some future date."⁸

It has often been stated that the middle class Negro should help his poorer brethren. Whitney Young, Jr., head of the Urban League, believes that the poverty stricken Negroes are intensely envious of those who have done well and are inclined to distrust the middle class Negroes. Hence, extremist leaders have been able to make inroads into this segment of society.⁹

The Negro ranking of their leaders can be seen in Table IV. It shows changes in percentage rankings from 1963 to 1966, by both rank and file and Negro leadership. Moderate leadership as exemplified by Martin Luther King, James Meredith, and Roy Wilkins still retained majority support among both groups. Militants such as Stokely Carmichael have a small but significant percentage of

TABLE IV

HOW NEGROES RANK THEIR LEADERS*

<u>Rank and File</u>			<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Group</u>
1966	1963		1966	1963
88	88	Martin Luther King, Jr.	87	95
71	79	James Meredith	35	81
66	80	Jackie Robinson	58	82
64	68	Roy Wilkins	62	92
56	60	Dick Gregory	65	80
54	X	Charles Evers	68	X
53	62	Ralph Bunche	49	87
48	64	Thurgood Marshall	81	94
47	X	James Farmer	70	X
44	51	Adam Clayton Powell	49	52
35	X	A. Phillip Randolph	83	X
33	X	Whitney Young, Jr.	70	X
22	X	Baynard Rustin	53	X
19	X	Floyd McKissick	35	X
19	X	Stokely Carmichael	33	X
12	15	Elijah Muhammad	15	17

* "Black Power: Road to Disaster?" Newsweek, 68:34, August 22, 1966.

support.¹⁰

On the other hand, white leaders, especially some Congressmen, viewed the situation in an entirely different perspective. Senator Karl Mundt, a Republican from South Dakota, was convinced the Reds were behind the violent outbursts and were agitating the Negroes to use the riot as a weapon of destruction.¹¹

Another viewpoint was expressed by southern Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia. In the wake of riots in New York state, he was of the opinion that legislation governing civil rights had contributed to the degenerating conditions now existing between the white and black elements of society.¹²

There are those in Congress who felt that more must be done to aid the civil rights movement and to avert disaster. Representative of this view was Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut who declared, "...equality of opportunity must be more than just law or theory. It must be a real fact of everyday life."¹³

On a broader spectrum the views of whites and Negroes on various issues involved in the civil rights movement are considered in Tables V and VI. Table V is indicative of changing white views over a three year period. There is a sign of a slow but steady decrease in white prejudice in the North and South. By 1966, only 46 percent of whites in the North would have minded a Negro family as a neighbor, but 69 percent of

TABLE V

HOW WHITE VIEWS OF THE NEGRO HAVE CHANGED*

<u>Whites Would Mind</u>	<u>All Whites</u>		<u>Southern Whites</u>	
	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>
Sitting next to Negro in Restaurant	20%	16%	50%	42%
Sitting next to Negro in Movie	24%	20%	54%	46%
Using same rest room as Negro	24%	21%	56%	56%
Trying on same clothing Negro tried on	36%	28%	57%	54%
Sitting next to Negro on bus	20%	16%	47%	44%
If teen-age child dated a Negro	90%	88%	97%	94%
If Negro family moved next door	51%	46%	74%	69%
If close relative or friend married a Negro	84%	79%	91%	92%

*White Consensus: 'They're Trying to Go Too Fast,' Newsweek, 68:26, August 22, 1966.

the southern whites would have objected. In the latter instance this can be compared to the 74 percent who would have objected in 1963.¹⁴

The evidence in Table VI shows that the greatest areas of conflicting white and Negro attitudes were concerned with housing, riots and police action.¹⁵

TABLE VI
WHERE WHITES AND NEGROES DISAGREE MOST*

	<u>Negroes</u>	<u>Whites</u>	
Want Integrated Housing	68%	42%	Opposed
Think Demonstrations Helpful	73%	63%	Think Harmful
Think Riots Helpful	34%	75%	Think Harmful
Think Police Unfair	33%	58%	Think Fair

*"The Longest Hottest Summer." Newsweek, 68:57, August 22, 1966.

However, there is one important area which has not been treated adequately in any state report. This is the concept of racism. Racism today is markedly different than its earlier counterpart and has contributed to present deteriorating conditions. It is not the virulent form which manifested itself in the Ku Klux Klan or Negro lynchings. Today it is characterized by passivity. The failure of the white citizenry to act once inequities in the social structure have been revealed

is evident. There has been some progress, but the attitudes of American citizens have been slow to change. Hence laws have either not been introduced in legislatures or failed to pass for one reason or another. Whether the attitude is active or passive racism, the results are the same. The injustices in Negro living are not eradicated.

The attitudes of present white society are the result of centuries of prejudice. Slowly these opinions are changing, but it will be a considerable time before intellectual acceptance is succeeded by large scale involvement to relieve the plight of the Negro. At the present time most middle and upper class white citizens accept the equality of the Negro intellectually. But their actual contact with them is limited. They live in areas where Negroes do not and their children often attend private schools where Negroes are prohibited. Hence, active involvement is limited and support for the Negro cause is more verbal than actual.

The lower white class is even slower to accept or support the cause of the Negro. Closer economically to the lower Negro class, the only thing that has distinguished him from his Negro counterpart has been the color of his skin. Once this characteristic is no longer valid, the lower class white citizen is placed in a precarious position. He has been reluctant to support the Negro cause because it threatens to diminish his own social status.

Thus the elements of racism are important in understanding the plight of the American Negro. The failure of the state study commissions to emphasize this problem is a major shortcoming.

In summary, it can be said that most poverty-stricken Negroes tend to distrust the white segments of society. They even distrust middle class Negroes. As a result they have become the ready prey of extremist leaders who are using them to gain their own ends. The Negro wants equality at every level, and when he is frustrated he often turns to violence. Negro leaders themselves are split over the issues at hand. The more moderate leaders have lost ground in the urban areas, especially in the North.

White leaders are also confused on the problems of the Negroes. Some feel that the civil rights legislation itself is to blame, for it upset the existing status quo. Others feel that the riots are the results of Communist agitation, though there is no conclusive proof to support this assumption. Finally, there are those while not condoning violence who realize that action must be taken immediately to relieve oppressive conditions under which the Negro must live.

CHAPTER XIII

BEHAVIORAL ANALYSIS

The reasons behind the Negroes' militant movement are complex. They include inadequate housing, inferior education and health services, unemployment, and the increased need for welfare. Beyond these factors are the psychological elements which determine Negro behavior. In this chapter, there will be a discussion of some of the less widely known factors, which have placed the Negro on the brink of chaos and destruction.

There has been a tendency in the U. S. to take an unbalanced attitude toward race relations rather than view it as a problem capable of moderate solutions.¹ Because of this the Negro has believed that he has been abandoned by those who could help him.²

Although there is no single Negro entity, most Negroes are thoroughly inculcated with the viewpoints of the white man.³ These have contributed to a rigidity of thinking which has made him inflexible in his search for the solutions to his problems.⁴

Indifference has superseded action, and the Negro is ashamed of his color and all it represents to the rest of society. His violent outbursts are a lashing out at all the forces which have made him what he considers himself to be:

an outcast.⁵

During the previous decades American civilization has undergone a technological transformation which is unparalleled in the rest of the world. The Negro society, as a whole, has been left behind and the Negro has found it more difficult to cope with his situation.⁶

The emergence of the new African nations, with black citizens who have all the rights which the American Negro desires, has only complicated the issues.⁷ The interaction of these factors has led to an identity crisis for the Negro. To resolve the situation, a total integration of the black man into society must be achieved promptly.⁸ The Negro wants everything immediately without waiting for gradual improvement in existing conditions. The result has been an active civil rights movement which is more than just working towards the goal of equal opportunity. It also provides solidarity and meaning to Negro life.⁹

Recently Negro juveniles have become more militant, because they no longer respect the laws of white society.¹⁰ This situation will continue to be menacing as long as nothing is done to alleviate the miserable conditions of Negro life. The militant movement will find more of its support in the poorest classes of Negroes, and they will make use of economic as well as violent pressures to achieve a change in their conditions.¹¹

Violence is dependant on the need to alter the status

quo. The more intense the need, the more likely violence will erupt.¹² The mob action of the Negro has come under close scrutiny, and the hypothesis on violence suggested by Arthur W. Hoffman, Illinois state criminologist, bears consideration. He stated:

"Violence must be viewed as containing whatever attributes the subject possesses (his physical and mental qualities, including the tensional and emotional reinforcements) and the discerned objectives. Group violence involves all these individual elements and in addition, supplies justifications, incentives, organized strength and opportunities for action in crucial situations with one's fellows or peers.

If therefore, it be said that violence instead of being instinctive, arises because of a frustrating set of life conditions demanding adjustment, we would appear to have a valid hypothesis."¹³

The question remains as to why an upsurge in riots tactics has occurred since the initiation of liberal civil rights programs. A succinct answer is proved by George Henderson, assistant superintendent of Detroit public schools. He stated: "To raise levels of expectation without providing corresponding opportunity is psychologically devastating."¹⁴ Fortunately, the majority of Negroes do not believe in engaging in riot activity. (See Table III). However, since rioting in the streets has been used as a pressure tactic, some people have condemned all Negroes.¹⁵

In order for any segment of society to conform to the rules and regulations set forth by it they must be able to relate to these laws. By this is meant that the laws must be relevant to their position and they must feel that they

will receive justice under the law. In many instances, the Negro has not been able to do this, and questions his equality before the law.¹⁶

The riot situation itself has been the subject of careful analysis. The Lemburg Center for the Study of Violence, located at Brandeis University, was founded in the hope of discovering the underlying causes of riots. This organization is headed by John P. Spiegel, M. D. This center has found that there are four clearly discernible stages in a riot. They are (1) the precipitating event, in which law enforcement officials are involved; (2) confrontation, in which news about the incident is quickly spread among the people in the area. At this point riot conditions can still be curtailed; (3) the Roman holiday, in which juveniles participate and steal from local stores, considering it a form of play; (4) war, in which the participants now are locked in battle and arson, brawls and shootings are consequences.¹⁷

The whole situation, according to Dr. Spiegel, is dependent on the perception by the participants of the law enforcement official's attitudes. In addition, he feels:

"...it isn't just a question of who talks to whom- but of who listens to rood of the ghetto. Too many communities have a blanket 'get tough' policy. This doesn't generally work because it tends to make the moderates become militants and the militants become extremists."¹⁸

This is in marked contrast to the opinion expressed by Julian Levi (see Chapter on Riot Control) who feels more mistakes are made calling forces in too late than too early.

However, the real answer is that city officials must develop the ability to determine when the situation demands the use of force. This means they must understand the mood of the ghetto, which will insure moderate action.

The causes of the riots can be found in two areas: the Negro family and Negro society. The basis of all society is the family unit. If family solidarity is weakened, then moral degeneracy is often the consequence. In many families the father is absent, so that the father image is weakened. The families are often emotionally impoverished, and there are no guiding principles for the children to follow. The education of the youngsters is considered unimportant. These conditions can promote aggressive tendencies such as those prevalent in Negro rioters.¹⁹

From a psychological viewpoint, Dr. Joost A. M. Meerloo, a psychoanalyst, made the following analysis on the underlying cause of riots. He commented:

"The gang leader usually hypnotizes his followers into acts of artificial heroism and mayhem while he himself stays well out of danger. The hate toward the lacking father authority is acted out on the policeman. A host of social triggers is used as justification for acts of wanton bestiality, including the burden of racial inferiority and persecution. Most of this rage is a camouflage of inner despair. The object of this violence is always part of a fantasy. The scapegoat enemy is artificially created. This pseudo-aggression provokes masochistic pleasure including the final urge for self-defeat. Self-pity is the underlying mood. Not only do we hate the hand that feeds us, but we sometimes bite it."²⁰

Because the problem is the product of sociological and and psychological causalities, psychiatry and psychology can

contribute to the alleviation of these conditions through the expansion of mental health facilities and through an increased awareness of community issues.²¹

There are other factors as well which have contributed to the degenerating Negro attitude. Many of them have felt that they were not well treated by the police.²² Racial disharmony is promoted by the improper functioning of government agencies. Also, few Negroes own the businesses which operate in their districts. Hence, they have had no opportunity to deal with their peers.²³

Another cause of race tension is focused on the controversy of police brutality. The cries of police brutality have been heard again and again from the riot torn areas, until the sounds are almost deafening. There is some truth to the accusations in certain cities. In Cleveland, for example, it was reported that a Negro man was beaten by a group of whites. Police accompanied him to the hospital, where he was beaten by them while waiting to see a physician.²⁴

The Watts area was the subject of a survey in 1964 in which it was found that out of four hundred sixty-one thousand Negroes, less than a thousand believed that the Negro was equal in the eyes of the law. These findings are correlated to what is perceived by the mass of individuals rather than what exists in objective reality.²⁵ Hence, though the incidence of police brutality is probably minor, it has been magnified in the eyes of the Negroes, and it is this perception of existing

conditions which has influenced their behavior.

With the Watts riot of 1965, the Los Angeles police under the direction of Police Chief William H. Parker came under examination. The Police were under undue pressure during the riot, and on the whole probably acted as well as could be expected, but the comments of Chief Parker only reconfirmed the Negroes' attitude toward the police. Once the rioting had ceased he stated, "We're on top and they are on the bottom."²⁶ He also declared that the Negroes were incited to riot because of all the statements made that the Negro does not have equal rights.²⁷ It is hard to believe that Watts was the perfect Negro community, and that the people were victims of propaganda which had no basis in reality. More than likely the seeds of discontent had been there for years, and the civil rights movement acted as a catalyst to speed up the growing unrest.

The concept of racism has also contributed to the current unrest. The eradication of racism in American society has not been easy in its formulation and it could be said that:

Most direct or indirect strategies to change racism fail because these approaches fit into the format regarding all Blacks as the same, as if the problem is not complicated by a host of other factors psychological, moral, historical, national, geographic. Such strategies often fail to recognize that one kind of approach works in one situation, not in every situation; that the way one approaches young people is not the way one approaches old people, that the black urban dweller in Washington is not identical to the black urban dweller in Chicago nor to the field hand of Alabama, that even within the ghettos there

are differences among Blacks - in life, style, sentiment and attitudes.²⁸

However, if we are to achieve the goals of a balanced, functional society, an integration of policies and attitudes to nullify racism must be employed.

All of the previously discussed factors have contributed in varying degrees to the present situation in race relations in the United States. The solutions to the problems are complex, but the violent alternatives make it imperative that we continue to search for peaceful solutions.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSIONS

The displays of violence utilized by the Negroes during the five year period 1963-1968 are indicative of a new trend in Negroes' actions. The statistics for this period are staggering. The number of deaths attributed to the riots is considerable. Property damage has been estimated in the billions of dollars. The distinguishing characteristic between the riots of April, 1968, and its predecessors is the decrease in the number of casualties, but the corresponding rise in property losses. The Negro has learned that white society suffers most when they inflict financial losses. Hence the increased emphasis on material destruction and looting. The riots of 1968 were marked by police restraint which had the two-fold effect of limiting casualties, but increasing property losses. The Negro participants have made one point very clear. If nothing is done to alleviate their squalid conditions, they will take matters into their own hands and burn the ghettos to the ground. The riot is an urgent cry for help from masses of people who have waited too long for too little.

The theory that the Negro is incited to this action by agitators of Communist origin is inconclusive. Nothing more than circumstantial evidence has been found to support the

theory. A more plausible hypothesis is that the attitude of the Negro has changed in the last decade. He has become aware of his plight, and he wants the situation remedied. In addition, some progress has spurred his hopes. The seeds of discontent have been growing for a long time, and it is the decade of the 1960's which has seen the ripening of the bitter fruit.

Specifically, most rank and file Negroes disdain the use of force. This is reflected in the statements of responsible Negro leadership. In addition, moderate Negro leaders still command majority support. However, there is an increase in the following of such black militants as Stokely Carmichael. This indicates some dissatisfaction with the present leadership. The real problem centers on the fact that the Negroes have no one leader with whom they can identify. Hence, some have resorted to street riots while others have placed their faith in the conference table. This split could eventually lead to the movement's foundering on the shoals of ineffectiveness.

White attitudes have changed somewhat as well. Acceptance of the Negro as an integral member of society is slowly becoming a reality. However, for the middle and upper white classes, this is more intellectual or verbal than actual. Active support and commitment to the Negro cause has been minimal. The lower white class is even slower to recognize

the rights of the Negro. This brings us to the problem of modern racism. Today racism exhibits itself in passive resistance. White support of legislation to aid the Negro has not always been enthusiastic. Coupled with this is the failure of the state study commissions to analyze this subtle form of racism. In addition, they have refused to face the prospect that white citizens, state legislatures, and Congress may not approve their recommendations. This failure to consider the probability of implementation is a genuine flaw in their approach. There is more to ameliorating conditions than merely revealing existent inequities. How do we insure that all these suggestions will be accepted by white society? This implies that careful research must be undertaken to determine how to change white attitudes so as to encourage active support of the Negro cause. This problem must be attacked by future commissions, both state and federal.

One possible method of modifying attitudes is the revision of the present educational system beginning at the primary level. Prejudice could be overcome at an early age by increased emphasis on the contributions of the Negro to American life. If this were done on all levels of the educational system the result would be a generation of both whites and blacks who are aware of the Negro's role in society, and who are willing to support measures to remove existing inequities. In addition, respect and pride in the black race would be fostered.

Psychologically, the Negro has suffered intense identification problems. Restricted by the laws and mores of white society, he has been unable to share in its concomitant rewards. Hence, his strong desire to identify with white society has been hindered by the color of his skin and by the rejection of white society itself. The result has been frustration which has led to aggression. The riot is an emotional release for the Negro. In turn perception of existing conditions has contributed to violence in the ghettos.

Our nation was founded on the premises of law and order. The white segment of society staunchly holds to its belief in these principles. Many Negroes no longer consider the system viable, and they have ceased to identify with it. Equality before the law must exist in practice as well as in theory. The problem is not so much the laws themselves as it is in the individuals who execute or interpret them. Both the police and court systems must be composed of individuals who are capable of rendering justice impartially. Such individuals may be difficult to find, and the burden on the educational system to produce such individuals is evident. Time will no doubt eliminate many of these problems. Unfortunately, the Negro refuses to wait any longer.

The rumors of police brutality have been uttered again and again until the Negro perception of white society is colored with the views of supposed mistreatment and misunderstanding. Their perceptions do not correlate with the facts

in objective reality. Their perception of police brutality has often led to riots when in actuality the mistreatment was nonexistent. For many Negroes in the riot areas, they are no longer operating on the level of reason, but rather on the level of emotion. Emotions are often unstable, volatile, and difficult to restrain.

The study commissions which were formed as a consequence of the riots have sought to uncover the motivating forces of the ghetto. Each subsequent study has probed more deeply than its predecessor to reveal the causal factors of rioting. All the studies agree that significant improvement must be made in the areas of education, employment, housing, welfare, and police-community relations. The solutions offered are diverse and demand the increased participation of local, state, and federal governments as well as business and industry. The initiative must come from government since only this sphere has the money resources and administrative hierarchy to direct and implement such programs. Business and industry, however, can supplement these programs as well.

The recommendations advanced have been moderately successful in some areas, and a failure in others. The real problem is the question of time. Any program which is to be effective must be geared to meet these new demands. To provide one million new jobs and six million new housing units within the next few years requires massive organization and money resources. Financial disaster could result without

precise planning. To the white citizen the projects are progressing well, even rapidly. The Negro, however, has a different concept of time. Everything is thought of in terms of the present, not the future. Herein lies the conflict.

The controversy surrounding the use of force to disperse rioters has provoked much discussion. The killing of Negroes will neither prevent future riots nor improve existing conditions. The question arises whether the use of deadly force to dissuade looters is justified. The answer lies in the future of technology to make effective chemical and mechanical devices which will deter rioters without inflicting permanent harm. Chemical agents such as mace have already proved their worth. If a policeman's life is threatened, however, he should use any means available even deadly force to defend himself. The preservation of life is a supreme law. Hopefully, riot control will not need to depend on lethal weapons in the future except in extreme instances. Nonlethal devices would avoid a holocaust as well as prevent looters from reaping material gain.

With regard to the police system, a better caliber of men can be insured through active support of the local police by the public, better pay, fringe benefits, and improved recruitment and training methods. Again, the burden is placed on the educational system to produce individuals sufficiently free of racial bias and aware of community problems who will become members of the police system. Better selection methods

must be established in order to insure that only men with these qualifications will be included. In fact, specific training in dealing with minority groups may be advisable. More qualified Negroes should be added to the police force as well. Obviously, in order to effect such proposals, money and time are the prerequisites. The white community must be willing to support these changes financially, and the Negro community must be willing to wait until such alterations are effected.

The lines of communication between the two races have fallen into disuse. For years the Negro uttered words which he was expected to say. Now he has revealed his true feelings, and the rest of society feels deceived. A new communication system (i.e., a local grievance board to air gripes) must be developed in which both sides can contribute freely. The idea of compromise must be given new meaning. It can represent positive accomplishment rather than defeat for one side.

Finally, and most importantly, a firm stand must be taken on the riots. Though one can sympathize with the Negro of the ghetto, one cannot condone his actions. In the end, his actions will bring about his ignominious defeat. Every citizen, white or black, must earnestly support the principles of law and order. Without these principles society will be plunged into chaos and oblivion. In the face of unjust laws, resort must be made to the courts, conference table, and nonviolent protest not violence.

Adhering to the principles of law and order, our nation can find the solution to its biggest domestic problem. The idea of a responsible citizenship joined together in a spirit of cooperation must again become a part of the American way. Lest we forget this fact, the words of Abraham Lincoln should remind us, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

¹ Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 70; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 41, 49-50, 65-69; and Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 39-59.

² Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 207.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 208, 210.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 210-211.

⁶ Ibid., p. 214.

⁷ Ibid., p. 213.

⁸ Ibid., p. 214.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 215-216.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 216.

¹² Ibid., p. 217.

¹³ Ibid., p. 218.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 219.

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