

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

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OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

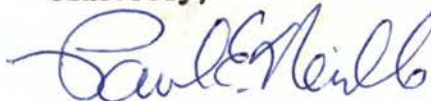
April 29, 1968

Attorney General Ramsey Clark
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Attorney General Clark:

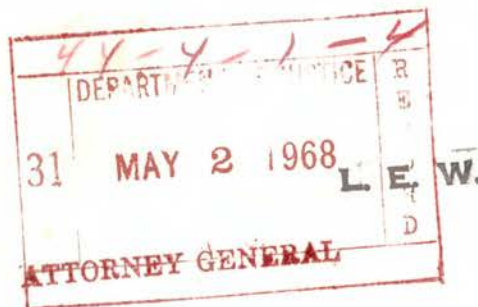
I would like to express again my thanks for your participation in the 1968 convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. I heard only the most favorable comments on your talk from members of the Society, and I can say that you were great. Again, my appreciation for your effort and your contribution.

Sincerely,



Paul E. Neville

PEN: jr



Am. Soc. of N. Ed.

ne
cliff:

a number of newsmen seem to be raising the same questions today.

- (1) ~~what is our reaction to~~ ~~mayor daley's~~ outburst on shoot to kill?
- (2) are we publicly sacrificing businesses to save lives?
- (3) should there some sort of federal riot insurance?

i have been asked these questions, in one context or another, all day. perhaps r.c. would want to include some comments on these points.

also, a couple of newsmen wonder if r.c. will be open to questions following/before his speech to the asne.

dave

Points raised
in phone calls

4/17/68

Am Society of newspaper Editors

Clark Attacked By Rep. Gardner

By United Press International

Rep. John Gardner, R-N.C., today accused Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark of encouraging riots by stating that police should not shoot arsonists and looters. He called for Clark's resignation.

"Your very statement and the conduct of your office is an open invitation to the people to burn, riot and loot in every city in America," Gardner said in a letter to Clark.

Clark warned yesterday in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors here that the racial violence could be dangerously escalated if police are allowed to shoot to kill or maim arsonists and looters.

file

Clark Differs With Daley Gun Order, Fears Riot Growth

BY RONALD J. OSTROW
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark took issue Wednesday with Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's "shoot-to-kill" order against arsonists, saying the use of unnecessary deadly force could escalate ghetto riots.

Clark's comment, the first Administration response to the hard line taken by Mayor Daley, came in reply to a question from the audience after he delivered a speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Asked what he thought of Daley's instructions on shooting to kill arsonists and shooting to maim looters, Clark said police should use "deadly force" only in self-defense or to protect the lives of others.

'Very Dangerous Escalation'

"To resort to deadly force under other circumstances would tend toward a very dangerous escalation of the problem we are all so intent on solving," Clark said.

The editors applauded his answer.

In Chicago, Daley moderated the tone of his controversial position. In a new statement read to the Chicago City Council, he emphasized the obligation of police to carry out their duties "by utilizing minimum force necessary."

In his speech Clark said police had "acted with balance generally" in handling the "riots and wild violence" that erupted in cities across the country after Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination.

Please Turn to Page 11, Col. 3

Clark Warns Guns Could Escalate Riots

Continued from First Page

"Because of that there were fewer deaths and less property damage" in all of these riots than in just one major riot last year, Clark said. "We can bless our police for that."

Another speaker, the Rev. James E. Groppi, a civil rights leader in Milwaukee, told the editors that if Daley "uses that kind of treatment, he's going to get some return gunfire . . . To shoot a 12-year-old for stealing a six-pack of beer, it's immoral."

'Desire to Resist'

"The more oppressive a police department becomes, the greater is our desire to resist to the point where we don't care if we live any longer," the priest said.

In his speech, Father Groppi said, "Ethically, I'm not opposed to the use of violence" in demonstrating on behalf of Negro grievances. "Tactically, I have some questions."

Clark has played a major role in charting response to riots with a massive show of strength and a minimum use of firepower, a tactic widely used in the disorders following Dr. King's death.

He said the FBI riot control manual and the Justice Department-sponsored riot training program for 125 police departments stressed minimal use of deadly force.

'Alienate . . . Minorities'

To do otherwise, he said, would "alienate the minorities and induce those who are not now disposed to violence to adopt terrorist and guerrilla tactics."

Clark said that only a fraction of Negroes are "prepared to resort to lawlessness and a much

smaller fraction of those to physical violence."

What happens during the first four to six hours after a potentially riot-provoking incident is crucial, Clark said.

In that time, it is the police who can prevent and control widespread unrest, not the Army, Clark said, "unless we are prepared to go to a garrison state."

Because of this, he said, "the policeman is the most important man in the United States today."

If police efforts to head off a riot fail, the Army "can and has suppressed riots," Clark said.

Editors at the opening session assailed the American Bar Assn.'s Reardon report which issues guidelines limiting pretrial comment in criminal cases.

J. Edward Murray of the Arizona Republic said, "This report is being cited almost daily as an excuse to suppress legitimate news."

William B. Dickinson, managing editor of the Philadelphia Bulletin, said, "I think the time for cooperation is past. I think the time has come to fight."

4-18-68

Clark Warns on Use Of 'Deadly Force'

By Jean M. White
Washington Post Staff Writer

Attorney General Ramsey Clark warned yesterday that police orders to shoot arsonists and looters during riots can lead to "a very dangerous escalation" of the Nation's racial crisis.

His rebuke on get-tough police orders came in answer to a question on whether he approved of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's directive to police to "shoot to kill" arsonists and "shoot to maim or cripple" looters in any future riots.

Clark's answer drew applause from his audience at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention.

"I do not believe that the use of deadly force by law-enforcement officers is permissible except in self-defense or when it is necessary to protect the lives of others," the Attorney General emphasized.

In Chicago yesterday, Mayor Daley defended his controversial "shoot to kill or maim" directive before the City Council. But, at the same time, he said the policy of the Chicago police department is to use only the minimum force necessary to carry out its duties.

John Dreiske, special correspondent for The Washington Post, reported from Chicago yesterday that Daley confidants, attempting to explain the Mayor's Monday outburst, say he was terribly upset at the prospect that Chicago might lose the Democratic Na-

tional Convention to another city.

Daley's sensitiveness on this matter was dramatized by special orders to Chicago police to convert the International Amphitheater into a near-fortress during the violence after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Another reason given for Daley's heated words was that the Mayor was just simply drained after six days of burning and looting on Chicago's West Side and spoke out in frustration.

A Chicago police order to use "deadly force" if necessary against arsonists has been on the books since May, 1967—nearly a year before Daley's crackdown order.

The 1967 order covers arson, attempted arson, burglary, and

See CLARK, A3, Col. 1

Clark Warns Police On 'Deadly Force' Use

CLARK, From A1

attempted burglary and says that "such force as necessary, including deadly force" shall be used to prevent the crime or the escape of the perpetrators. Shooting, however, is forbidden if there is a likelihood of serious injury to another person.

In his speech here yesterday before an ASNE seminar on "Conflict in the Cities," Attorney General Clark told the editors that the public should "bless our police" for the restraint and balance shown in handling the violence that broke out after the King assassination.

With trouble in 100 cities and widespread rioting in at least a dozen, Clark stressed there "were fewer deaths and less property damages in all of these than in one riot alone last year."

It was apparent that the Attorney General was using the editors' conference as a forum to plead for support of the policy to use police power cautiously and place the protection of lives above the protection of property during riots.

Restrictions on the use of deadly force were spelled out in the FBI's rewritten riot manual last fall and in 125 riot-control conferences sponsored by the Justice Department and the International Association of Police Chiefs during the winter.

As he has done before, Clark singled out the beat policeman as "the most important man in the United States today."

"He will determine whether we will have social stability, order under law, while we rebuild our cities and ourselves in the next few precious years," he told the editors.

Before yielding to despair, he said, it is well to put today's racial violence in the perspective of the Nation's and world's history.

In 1863, Clark noted, 2000 persons died in draft and race riots in three days in New York City—nearly ten times as many as in all the Nation's riots in the last five years. He also pointed to present-day riots in a disciplined society like Japan and an authoritarian country like Spain.

It took a white priest—the Rev. James E. Groppi of Milwaukee—to strike home dramatically the anger and frustration of Negro ghetto dwellers for the editors yesterday.

After three months of being tailed by policemen during the Milwaukee housing marches, Father Groppi said he drove into the driveway of his St. Boniface rectory one night and a police squad car came up behind.

At that moment, his anger exploded, the Catholic priest said, and he wanted only "to plow the police car out of the driveway."

"I put the car in reverse . . . I missed reverse and the car engine gunned. Then I got out and told the policeman to get off the property, that it was private property. He spit on me.

"This what goes on daily in the black community," Father Groppi concluded.

Another speaker, the Rev. Leon Sullivan, founder of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers, told the editors that the Negro problem is much more economic than racial.

"You cannot integrate the suburbs with a relief check," he observed.

APR 18 1968

Clark Criticizes Daley's Order to Shoot Looters

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 17 — Attorney General Ramsay Clark said today that the order of Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago to shoot arsonists and looters ran counter to effective antiriot procedure.

It could lead, Mr. Clark said, to "a very dangerous escalation of the problems we are so intent on solving."

It was the first public response by an Administration official to Mayor Daley's announcement last Monday that he had ordered the Chicago police to "shoot to kill" arsonists and "shoot to maim or cripple" looters. The order drew severe criticism yesterday from Mayor Lindsay of New York and other public figures.

Mr. Clark was questioned about the Daley order following an address this morning to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at the Shoreham Hotel. He replied to the questioner in the audience that he had not fully examined what the Mayor, a prominent Democrat, had said, but added: "I have earlier stated my views on the use of deadly force. I do not believe it is permissible except in self-defense or when it is necessary to protect the lives of others."

'Dangerous Escalation'

"I think that to resort to deadly force is contrary to the total experience of law enforcement in this country and would tend toward a very dangerous escalation of the problems we are so intent on solving."

In earlier remarks, Mr. Clark asserted, without mentioning Mayor Daley, that the indiscriminate use of police force could provoke a counterattack by the rioters, encourage "terrorist and guerrilla tactics" and

risk "permanent alienation among minorities."

He said that the prohibition against "deadly force" except to provide self-defense or "protect the lives of others" had been detailed in the manual of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He said it had been impressed upon law enforcement officials at a series of riot control conferences by the Justice Department and the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Mr. Clark's comments appeared to reflect the Government's policy, which he helped design, of restraint against looters and arsonists even if it meant the sacrifice of personal property. The purpose is to avoid a sudden increase of violence, massed confrontations between rioters and the police, and the widespread loss of life.

Father Groppi Agrees

Mr. Clark's views on the use of deadly force were shared by another participant in the morning program, the Rev. James E. Groppi, the white Roman Catholic priest who has led open housing demonstrations in Milwaukee.

"The more oppressive a police department becomes, the greater is our desire to resist, to the point where we don't care whether we live or die any longer," said Father Groppi in a panel discussion on the crisis in the cities.

"If he [Mayor Daley] uses that kind of treatment, he's going to get some return gunfire. To shoot a 12-year-old kid for stealing a six-pack of beer—I think it is immoral."

In their remarks, however, Father Groppi maintained that the Milwaukee police had engaged in constant "harassment and intimidation," had

"dehumanized" the Negro and had adopted a double standard of justice, meeting out harsh penalties to Negroes and minor penalties to whites for essentially the same infractions of the law.

"These kinds of injustices," he said, "are now apparent to the black community."

Police Are Commended

Mr. Clark, acknowledging that police-community relations constituted "the most important law enforcement problem of this and the next several decades," said that the police "had acted with balance generally" during the recent disturbances that followed the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He commended the police for keeping deaths—the total was 39—and violence at low levels.

Mr. Clark called for stepped-up recruiting and training programs for metropolitan police departments and urged full public and editorial support of police efforts because.

"The policeman is the most important man in the United States today," he said. "He will determine whether we can maintain social stability and order under law in these next few years while we rebuild the cities and ourselves."

Daley Tempers Order

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 17—Mayor Daley tempered today his statements of last Monday by saying that it was the established policy of the police to use "only minimum force" in performing their duties.

In a statement to the City Council, in a Law Day proclamation, Mr. Daley said that arsonists and looters "should be restrained if possible by minimum force" but could not be

given "permissive rights" for their criminal action. He made no mention of shooting by policemen.

He said that persons on the West Side, where most of the damage in the recent violence took place, "had one universal demand—protect us from the arsonists, from the looter, from the mob and its leaders."

He concluded:

"We cannot resign ourselves to the proposition that civil protest must lead to death or devastation, to abandonment of the law that is fundamental for the preservation of the rights of the people and their freedom."

A number of aldermen in the predominantly Democratic council supported the Mayor's stand, and three minority aldermen criticized it. A majority of the 10 Negro aldermen said nothing at the council meeting.

Meanwhile, Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, in Chicago for speeches, told reporters:

"Such force as necessary must be used to maintain law and order. I believe the words of the Mayor have been misinterpreted."

Mr. Kerner headed the President's National Advisory on Civil Disorders, which urged restraint by the police during disorders.

Miami Chief Urges Force

MIAMI, April 17 (UPI)—Chief of Police Walter B. Headley said today that arsonists and looters during a riot should be shot on sight.

"It is a matter of common law that looters and arsonists may be shot on sight," he said. "That is the quickest way to contain it."

Chief Headley, commenting on Mayor Daley's order, added: "That could have been me talking. I concur completely."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

American Society of Newspaper Editors

April 17, 1968

NO PREPARED STATEMENT

FROM
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
to
Official indicated below by check mark

draft

Attorney General	X
Deputy Attorney General	
First Assistant Deputy Attorney General	
Executive Office For U. S. Attorneys	
Executive Office For U. S. Marshals	
Solicitor General	
Executive Assistant to the Attorney General	
Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust	
Assistant Attorney General, Tax	
Assistant Attorney General, Civil	
Assistant Attorney General, Lands	
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal	
Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel	
Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security	
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights	
Assistant Attorney General For Administration	
Budget and Accounts Office	
Records Administration Office	
Personnel Office	
Administrative Services Office	
Supplies and Printing Section	
Transcription Section	
Director, FBI	
Assistant to the Director - Room 5736	
Assistant Director - Room 5640	
Director of Prisons	
Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization	
Pardon Attorney	
Parole Board	
Board of Immigration Appeals	
Librarian	
Office of Law Enforcement Assistance	
Community Relations Service	

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Clark -

We are swamped by requests for copies of your talk yesterday. Here is the transcript, slightly edited by me. Do you want to edit further?

Cliff Sessions
4/18

*Am Society of
Newspaper Editors*

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as head of federal civilian forces at the University of Mississippi trouble and during the Selma-Montgomery March. He has also headed a special task force for Watts studying means of speeding federal programs there.

He became Attorney General in February of 1967 and immediately thereafter his esteemed father, Thomas Clark, resigned from the Supreme Court to avoid any possibility of conflict of interest within the family.

The details of his career in government are impressive but the best accolade that I read about him was in Harper's Magazine where John Seigenthaler said that he could not think of a single nitpicking fault about Ramsey Clark.

Mr. Attorney General, there is no better audience in the United States on which to test one's nitpicking or one's equanimity. Thank you for being with us today.

(Applause.)

THE HONORABLE RAMSEY CLARK (Attorney General of the United States): Thank you, Mr. Meyer. Ladies and gentlemen: I guess, if a fellow doesn't have any nitpicking faults, he can't amount to much. And equanimity is probably

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the longest word I've ever been called.

(Laughter.)

I'll look it up when I get back to the office.

It's okay so far.

Let me think out loud with you in a general way about a very difficult problem for this nation at a very difficult time. Let me try to give you some impressions, a hard thing to do, of how it looks from where I sit. The problem is race relations in the United States, riots, violence, social stability, progress and the American dream.

Sir Arthur Balfour, in what we like to think of as the gentle Nineteenth Century, even though it wasn't, defined civilization as a "disreputable episode in the history of a minor planet." I guess we have considerably more evidence now to support his finding than it appears to us by hindsight he had then.

It's easy, it's natural, it's human to look at the dark side and, heaven knows, we have an immense problem in race relations in the United States, and I think man knows that if it cannot be solved in this nation with our purposes and our traditions and our people, then there must be little,

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if any, hope that it can be solved on this globe and perhaps there is little time for the solution.

We all wonder why we have riots. What causes them? And we all tend to ^{give} make easy answers, ^{but} ~~because~~ the answers must be very complex and must contain many, many factors, ~~but that~~ ~~first~~ we have to try to understand. We have to do our best to understand, to know the truth.

You deal in the truth, or at least you try to, ~~and~~ the truth is hard to come by these days, in part perhaps because there is so much of it. Don Quixote observed, you recall, that fact is often the enemy of truth. We make too much of too little. We don't dig hard enough to see the whole picture.

If we want to know why we have these riots, we have to know very much about the people who riot, and we have to understand what we know. It has to be more than a statistic or something that we read in the newspaper, ~~because~~ man judges basically by his own experience and reality is his own experience, ~~and~~ above all, we need to open lines of communication with all of our people so that we have the opportunity to know the truth and perhaps then it can set us

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free.

There is a great misery among many of our people, there really is, and we don't like to think that. We don't like to think it possible. There is a great alienation among many of our people and human nature in us wants to deny it. Our young are alienated somewhat and that's such an easy phrase. It requires a lot of thought and a lot more time to really have meaning than we can give here this morning or even today, but what about our youth?

Our poor are alienated. I guess the poor have always been somewhat alienated and that's as easy a phrase as the one about youth.

Lamine, who was a French cleric, ~~he was~~ a teenager at the French Revolution, ^{who} ~~he~~ lived through the Napoleonic era, ^{and} ~~he~~ saw the Revolution in France of 1848, said that every nation that has had stability has depended for that stability upon the resignation of the poor to being poor.

We are blessed about our poor in a way that other times and places haven't been. They are a small minority, and that has one great advantage, ~~and that is~~ that proportionately there are fewer of us that suffer it, but poverty today

is unlike poverty in the past and perhaps it's harder to be resigned in the midst of such affluence when anyone can see Marlborough Country on television which doesn't look like 125th Street.

And our minorities are alienated, and we have to know that. They live mostly in physical segregation and psychological loneliness. And the alienation of our young, poor Negro is compounded and here is the most alienated of all.

He comes into this world with the probability of infant mortality that is four, five, seven times ^{greater}, depending on his circumstances, but a multiple of that nature almost anywhere, a probability of that dimension that he will die in infancy. He will suffer common communicable diseases and other ill health at a multiple proportionate to his part of the whole population of that suffered by the population as a whole.

He will go to a school that is probably not a very good school and he won't go as long as others and, if he struggles through to college, he will represent about four-and-a-half per cent of the college population while he

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represents better than 12 per cent of the total population of college age, and that disadvantage, which is one to three, doesn't reflect the whole picture because six out of ten ^{who} ~~that~~ make it to college will be in a predominantly Negro college of the South which, for all of the heart they put into their effort, are the poorest that we have.

At that time when employment becomes most important, when you drop out of high school, if you've made it that far, when you become 16, when, if you are ever going to have hope, you will have it, his chances of employment, if he's a boy, are about one-fourth the chance for the white boy of the same age, and 25 per cent won't find jobs between 16 and 21. And, if it's a girl, about one-third.

And those ^{who} ~~that~~ ^{obtain} ~~find~~ jobs will find them frequently menial in nature with little chance for advancement, and little opportunity for fulfillment. They will live in, for the most part, buildings or houses that are substandard, and even those who are earning a better livelihood, with incomes of \$10,000 or more in their families, will find that they have four times greater incidence in which they live in substandard housing than the white population with \$10,000

-10
income per family or more.

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They will live in the midst of most of the crime and vice in the city they call home. After Watts, in the curfew area, the 45-square-mile zone in South Central Los Angeles where 13 per cent of the city population resided, we found 60 per cent of the arrests that had occurred over a period of three years, and that reflects a much higher incidence and a much higher subjection to crime and to misery.

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There are millions of American Negroes who know of this disadvantage. There are thousands I fear who sympathize to some extent with those who would resort to extra-legal means to bring change. There are hundreds, and there really are, who have lost faith in the will and the capability of this nation to bring equal justice to all of its people, and that's a terrible thing, and there are scores who would create violence.

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But we have to look at this immense problem in both a historic and a contemporary perspective before we despair. First, the Negro is probably less than an eighth of our people, a small minority. A tiny fraction of them, a

j-11
very small fraction, are prepared to resort to lawlessness, and a much smaller fraction of those to physical violence, and this has to be the teaching of both this past few weeks and these past few years.

Riots are not new to this continent. They are not new to our people. It was rioting before the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 that caused Clause 17 of Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution creating a District of Columbia, because the founders felt the government needed a place where it could protect its own integrity, unwilling to leave it to the states.

It was July of 1863, and that was a dark year in the history of this country, between July the 11th, roughly, and Bastille Day, July the 14th, 1863, when draft and racial riots in New York City brought death to more than 2,000 people.

Abe Lincoln had his problems. Gettysburg. He'd gotten the message but it was hard to interpret or see the meaning then only a week before these riots.

Cold Harbor, the low point for the Union Forces, was nearly a year away. The Union, Lincoln's one great

j-12
purpose, was at the breaking point and here in the largest city a riot over a period of days of a dimension that brought death to more than 10 times the number of people killed in all of the riots in all of our American cities in all of the last five years. We've had riots in the 1930s and the 1940s and the 1950s. Nor are we alone in this nation in rioting at this time.

There is a great unrest throughout the world. There is rioting among the most disciplined of nations and families. Perhaps we would say that there has been a growing permissiveness among our people for two generations, a lack of self-discipline, a lack of family-discipline and perhaps we would say that this has contributed substantially to the present unrest, to the present lawlessness, but that can't be the whole story because Japan probably has the most disciplined family and the most disciplined individual in the world. They are in all of the jails and in all forms of custody in Japan today, fewer than 70,000 people in a nation of 100 million, for commission of crimes of all natures. We have more than 10 times that number proportionately probably in all of our federal, state and local

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jurisdictions.

But the riots that we have seen in Japan have been fierce and they have been directed at authority in a way that our have not. We haven't had the stomach for that in the same sense the Japanese students have when they swing at the head of a policeman. Ours have been property-oriented.

And Spain and Poland, authoritarian countries, have witnessed rioting. There has been terror in a number of nations that has plagued the nations. Look at Algiera in the fifties and the death and destruction brought there. Look at this year in many parts of the world, guerilla warfare, and we have not seen this here and, if we have the will and the strength, we will not.

We know that basically it's a question of will here. We know first that the turbulence comes from a people that are a tiny minority and at no time and no place in history has their total potential in comparison to whole potential been so weak. We know ~~that their course would be suicidal~~ and that only a tiny fraction would even lend part to it. ^(we know that their course would be suicidal) Their chances are nil.

But we can divide this nation. We live in a house

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largely divided now, and we have to know that, and we have to work with all of our hearts through all of our people in three areas:

First, to remove the points of tension, ⁽⁻⁾ the things that trigger violence because violence divides us more than everything else.

Second, we have to build our police, a police who can act with balance, because the policeman is the most important man in the United States today, ~~because~~ he will determine whether we are able to maintain social stability, order under law, in these next precious years while we rebuild our cities and ourselves. The policeman is the man in the middle. He must act with balance.

All of our experience at this time tells us that excessiveness or permissiveness in enforcement of the law brings on a breakdown of order and if the policeman overacts or if he underacts, violence is likely to be caused. The policeman, like the mountain, is there. He has got to maintain social stability and ^{after that} ~~he has got to~~ live among a people who all too frequently see him as the only symbol of a law largely foreign in their view to their lives.

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The relationship of the police to community is the most important law enforcement problem of this and the next several decades. Police-community relations means the totality of the attitudes between police and the people they serve, and when those relations are bad law can only be authoritarian.

Police-community relations measure the difference between an authoritarian government acting by fiat for people it does not serve and a democratic government of the people, by the people and for the people, ^{the difference} between subjugation and service. ~~That is what police-community relations measure.~~

The police have to be able to relate to all segments of our society and all segments of our society have to know that the police serve them and, with this, we can maintain stability while we build.

The third great area is this massive task of education, of employment, of housing, of equality for all, a task that will take years to accomplish.

(Transcript continued on page number 135.)

4/1
We did not come to this present estate overnight. It has developed for generations. And we will not come out of it overnight, because it is a very profound fact ingrained in the hearts and souls of those presently living, to be transmitted to those to come, and it will take great faith, great purpose and great effort to turn a corner that has not yet turned.

We can make progress. We have made progress. We can make more progress, and we must.

Federal spending in education has increased in four years from \$3 billion to \$12 billion, and that spells immense opportunity.

It was in 1920 that H. G. Wells said ~~that to him~~ it seemed more and more that civilization was in a race between education and catastrophe. And that may be the basic long-distance race. But we have got to sprint right now. And the sprint ^{requires} ~~is~~ order under law, ~~to preserve time for education and rebuilding.~~

In health, where there has been such great disadvantage, and where, with all of our wealth, we rank low among the more modern nations, federal spending has increased in four years from the same \$3 billion level to

\$14 billion. 5.6 million people have crossed the poverty line in four years.

In 1964 75,000 people were trained in manpower development; a million and a half this year.

By massive effort, we can do what has to be done. And while we do it, ~~again~~ it will be the policemen first, ~~the policemen~~ with the only real chance, who can prevent riots, who can prevent violence, ^{and} ~~that will~~ permit progress.

The army can suppress a riot. The army has suppressed riots, and the army will suppress any riots that occur in these United States in the future, ^{if necessary}.

But to prevent a riot or to control a riot before it is widespread, we must rely on the police, because they are there, unless we are prepared to go to garrisoned cities, because every experience teaches us that it is the first few hours, the first four to six hours at the most, ~~probably~~, that determines whether a potential riot can be snuffed, whether order can be restored. And unless an army is garrisoned in a city, it will not be on the streets, with rare exceptions, in that short period of time.

The job is for the police. And the police have trained diligently.

Surely one of the lessons that we must see from

what has happened in the United States since the death of Dr. Martin Luther King is the very effectiveness of police training.

Riots or wild violence that could have easily led to a major riot occurred in more than 100 cities, widespread rioting in more than half a dozen, but the police have acted with balance generally. And because of that there were fewer deaths in this widespread and almost seemingly spontaneous violence, fewer deaths and less property damage than in one riot last year. And we can bless our police for that. Because it is easy to overact and it is easy to underact. ~~Either tends to remove you from danger.~~ If you underact, you walk away. If you overact, you end with violence that will cause a stormy future.

The police need all of the support that we can give them. They need adequate manpower. They need diligent training. They need a unity of spirit behind them, and not one of controversy, because their task is hard enough.

Deadly force throughout law enforcement history in the United States has been used only in self-defense or to protect lives. This is the admonition of the FBI

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Manual on rioting, reworked and redistributed to law enforcement agencies throughout the United States last fall. This is the lesson of the training conferences with 125 police departments through the winter.

This is a lesson that must be adhered to if we are not to permanently alienate minorities and cause a degeneration among those who do not have the will for it now into terrorist and guerrilla tactics. And it will require our support of the police to bring this to pass.

We have got to do everything within our power, and perhaps you here have more power than anyone else, to open the opportunities for the exchange of views that still exist. It is not too late. We can exchange views to prevent repression, perhaps the natural human reflex, from becoming general.

Thomas Watt learned what happens when you hold the lid on a boiling pot. It explodes.

To show to all of our people that our laws and our purpose as a people have a clear and generous meaning of equality for all, ~~that will be~~ to fulfill the obligations of a great nation, to give the opportunity to every American to achieve his own fulfillment, it is only

a matter of will.

There was never a time when people had more resources, more opportunity to accomplish an end in a crisis than we, if we only have the will.

And as we go through these anxious and dangerous times, above all perhaps, we should remember that when it is all over, however turbulent it may have been, we shall all have to live here in America on the same soil together forever. Nothing else is possible.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. MEYER: The Attorney General has consented to make himself available for questions. So we can take about five minutes.

Are there any questions?

Yes, sir.

MR. EUGENE FARRELL (Jersey Journal): You want to tell us about the search for Dr. King's killer?

MR. CLARK: Every resource of the FBI that can reasonably be applied is being applied. Vast efforts are being undertaken by a number of agencies of local law

enforcement.

Evidence relating to the crime is very substantial.

I remain hopeful that we will have a solution and that it will come, the Lord willing, soon.

I do not think it would be in the interest of justice to go into the facts, to prejudice anyone's rights, and perhaps most of all, to prejudice this terribly important investigation itself.

MR. MEYER: Roy Fisher.

MR. ROY FISHER (Chicago Daily News): Mr. Attorney General, do you approve of Mayor Daley's instructions to the Chicago Police Department that they should shoot ~~to~~ kill arsonists and shoot to maim looters?

MR. CLARK: It ^{seems} ~~is~~ almost the thing to do to seek controversy when we need to be constructive.

I have not had the opportunity to fully review what Mayor Daley has done.

I have earlier stated my views on the use of deadly force. I do not believe that it is permissible except in self-defense to protect the lives of law

enforcement officers or to protect the lives of others.

I think the resort to deadly force under other circumstances, and contrary to our total experience in law enforcement in this country, would tend toward a very dangerous escalation of the problem we are so intent on resolving.

(Applause.)

MR. MEYER: One more question.

Is there another question?

Yes, sir.

MR. R. D. FUNK (Santa Monica Evening Outlook): Mr. Attorney General, back to the Dr. King matter, don't you think that there might be a danger in the Attorney General's secrecy about the investigation, as much of a danger as there is—for the American public as there is in keeping quiet the progress of this investigation, for the defendant's rights?

MR. CLARK: No, I do not.

I feel that it is for us to indict in court and to disclose the progress only as it is consistent with the integrity and effectiveness of the investigation itself 9

and the need of the public to know.

MR. MEYER: Sir, we thank you for taking the time to be with us today.

I have been instructed to announce that the Luncheon will begin at 12:45. And this session is adjourned.

Thank you.


(Applause.)

(The Wednesday Morning Session adjourned at 12:22 o'clock p.m.)

Memorandum

TO : The Attorney General

DATE: April 16, 1968

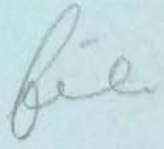
FROM : Cliff SessionsSUBJECT: American Society of Newspaper Editors
April 17th - Shoreham

You are scheduled to hold forth at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention from 11:30 to 12:15, dividing the time as you wish between address and Q and A.

This is perhaps the most influential audience there is: some 500 editors of the biggest newspapers throughout the nation. The convention is traditionally used as a major forum by public figures.

You are asked to arrive about 11:15 a.m. You will be met at the Shoreham front door by Sylvan Meyer of the Gainesville, Ga. Times, who will introduce you, and Charles L. Bennett of the Oklahoman and Times of Oklahoma City, who is the convention "greeter."

Your address will follow a discussion of "Crisis in the Cities" by a panel consisting of Robert D. Lilley, chairman of the New Jersey riot commission; Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, militant-turned-moderate; and Father Groppi.



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ATTORNEY GENERAL RAMSEY CLARK

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WASHDC

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PAUL E NEVILLE BUFFALO EVENING NEWS PROGRAM DIRECTOR AMERICAN
 SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

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February 26, 1968

Dear Mr. Neville:

Thank you for inviting me to address
the American Society of Newspaper Editors on
April 17.

I am honored by the invitation and
delighted to accept. I look forward to being
with you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Ramsey Clark

Mr. Paul E. Neville
Program Chairman, American
Society of Newspaper Editors
Buffalo Evening News
Buffalo, New York 14240

RC:CS:dj
cc: Files

INVITATION SPEECH

2/19/68

American Society
of Newspaper
Editors

2/15 ltr to AG from Paul E. Neville;

Re: Following verbal invitation from Nat Finney,
to AG to address convention at 11:00 AM on April 17
at the Shoreham Hotel

AL Wed
April 17

2/19 to Mrs. McHale

MICHAEL J. OGDEN
PROVIDENCE JOURNAL-BULLETIN
PRESIDENT

VINCENT S. JONES
GANNETT NEWSPAPERS
1ST VICE PRESIDENT

NORMAN E. ISAACS
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BOLD NOYES
WASHINGTON STAR
SECRETARY

CREED C. BLACK
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
TREASURER

April 17, 1968
RC is free
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

OFFICE OF THE PROGRAM CHAIRMAN

PAUL E. NEVILLE
BUFFALO EVENING NEWS
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14240

February 15, 1968

Attorney General Ramsey Clark
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.



Dear Attorney General Clark:

Nat Finney, chief of our Washington Bureau, possibly has been in touch with your office by this time. However, I would like to follow up and on behalf of the members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors invite you to address our convention at 11 AM on the morning of April 17th in the Shoreham Hotel.

What I think the members would like from you would be an assessment of the crime situation and the potential for trouble in the cities this summer; also, what the government is planning and doing in the way of counter measures. This is just a suggestion because, obviously, you are free to choose any subject you please.

Preceding your address there will be a panel discussion on the general theme of "Crisis in the Cities." This panel will be clear of the room before you are presented to the Society. We have had some acceptances from panel members, but I have run into reluctance of some to appear with others-- a perennial problem for program chairmen, I guess. However, I will let you know as soon as the membership of the panel is decided upon because it will be of interest to you.

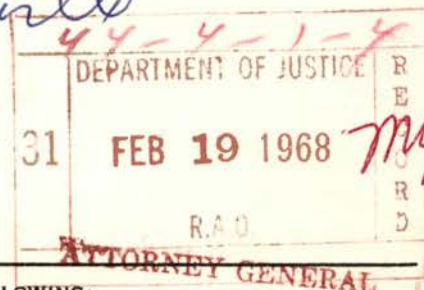
I do hope you can fit this appearance into your busy schedule because I know the members of the Society are concerned about what I think and what many of them think is the Number One problem in our country today.

I do hope we'll have a chance to meet in April. I think we have a mutual friend in John Brademus.

Sincerely,

Paul E. Neville
Paul E. Neville

PEN: jr



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