

Detroit

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Please file

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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: February 16, 1968

FROM : L. Guinot

SUBJECT: Information Concerning Detroit Sniping Incidents

A total of twenty-six persons were arrested in Detroit as a result of their alleged "sniping" activity; of these twenty-six, two were females, one of whom was determined to be non-Negro, the other also appears to be white.

Since the state of Michigan has no statute relating to sniping, all persons suspected of this activity were charged with "assault with intent to commit murder." Of the twenty-six so charged, twenty-three were dismissed for lack of sufficient evidence to support the charge, two plead guilty to lesser offenses (failure to report a firearm for safety inspection in one instance), and one has been bound for trial which is set for April 26, 1968.

I was received by Judge Vincent J. Brennan, of the Recorder's Court, who spent close to forty-five minutes with me discussing the cases. To my questions concerning the basis for the arrests, he stated that none of the people charged with "sniping" were actually seen holding or discharging a firearm. He stated that the arrests were made by policemen who were in very excited states of mind, who after hearing shots and ascertaining the general direction from which they came, ran into buildings and arrested "suspicious looking people," searched their apartments, and if they found a weapon, took the occupant or occupants of the apartments to police stations and charged them.

An interesting point which serves to lend credence to Judge Brennan's comments on the arrests is the fact that in the Clovie Smith case, the only case bound for trial, the arresting officers took two men to the police station for booking,



Smith and an elderly Negro man. The second man was taken to the police station despite his allegation that he was blind. He was later released when it was discovered that the man was in fact blind.

After my conversation with Judge Brennan, I spoke with the Special Assistant Prosecutor in charge of riot cases, a Mr. Nolan. This gentleman was doubly interesting to talk to since he was the prosecuting attorney in the Michael Lewis case. He informed me that Lewis's attorney, Mr. Fred Persons, had been successful in having the indictment quashed on the grounds that there is no statute in Michigan expressly forbidding "inciting to riot." Mr. Nolan argued that even if this was true the charge could be brought based on the Common Law, as the latter was in effect in Michigan prior to the statutes. Mr. Nolan is presently in the process of appealing the case.

Although I was unable to contact Mr. Persons, I was promised a copy of his appellate brief, as well as Mr. Nolan's, by Mrs. K. Resh, the Warrant Clerk of the Recorder's Court.

As concerns the two women who were charged with "sniping," I found that they are two young white females who were in the company of two Negro males who were suspected and charged with assault with intent to commit murder. Of the two, Judith Kunesh is known to be white. Her companion Martha Krantz (Krantz) is also thought to be white but no one knew for certain. There seems to be a great deal of animosity among the police officers I spoke to, who work in the Court, concerning Miss Kunesh.

In the area of fire bombing I was told by Mrs. Resh that people suspected of this activity were charged under two different charges, possession and placing of explosives, and arson. A total of eighteen non-white persons were charged with "possession and placing," five of which were females. Accused of arson were fifteen non-white persons, all males. Mrs. Resh was unable to give me information concerning the disposition of these cases although she feels that most are

set for trial. She volunteered to prepare a summary of the same if we so desire.

In general the trip was successful; everyone seemed to be desirous of helping me. To this effect I wish to invite your attention to the collaboration of Mrs. Kalliope Resh, the Warrant Clerk. I believe a short note of thanks to Mrs. Resh's superior would be appropriate.

Respectfully


UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

QR
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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 17, 1967

FROM : J. K. Scales

SUBJECT: First Interview with Frank H. Joyce, Executive Director of P.A.R. (People Against Racism), in Detroit, December 22, 1967, 9:00 a.m.

At the suggestion of Richard H. Lobenthal (Michigan A.D.L. Director), I made direct contact with Joyce and met him at the London Inn for breakfast at 9:00 a.m. on Friday, December 22, 1967. Joyce appears to be in his late twenties, wears his hair long, and approaches problems with an intellectual curiosity that sometimes overcomes his radicalism.

Joyce is Executive Director of PAR, which has offices at 2631 Woodward, Detroit. He has an office staff of three and a group of about fifty people that he "can count on."

The purpose of the organization is to "cleanse the whiteman of his prejudice and racism." They conduct seminars and community meetings. The attached materials provided by Joyce describe the organization in greater detail.

Joyce volunteered that he and other leaders of PAR were thinking of concentrating upon the Detroit suburbs "because our efforts are most needed there." "None of us really want to return to that neurotic area, but we feel that we have to, in order to accomplish our purposes. Of course, the suburbanites will regard us as 'agitators'."

Rev. Cleage has been a consistent political and religious force in Detroit for ten or more years, but has walked into a "vacuum" since the disorder and has been able to unite the black movement and get the "establishment" to deal with his group. "Cleage provides a comprehensive religious, political and grass roots orientation for all Negroes."



Cleage and Grace Boggs have a "working relationship."
(Joyce would not explain that statement in more detail.)

The Afro-American Unity Movement is now defunct; its
leaders have been absorbed into the poverty programs.

Donald Lobsinger of "Breakthrough" is intelligent and
"frighteningly organized." Joyce estimates that
"Breakthrough" has a "hard core" group of about 25. In
Joyce's opinion, Lobsinger is a little overwhelmed by
the attention that his group has been receiving since
the disorder and Joyce suggests that Lobsinger feels
a little "ideologically inadequate" now that he is in
"the racist rather than the conspiracy business." Joyce
states that Lobsinger did not have much money before
the disorder, but now he has been receiving substantial
contributions from white city and suburban dwellers.
Joyce considers Breakthrough a highly effective movement
and is frightened that the whites may get out of hand.
Joyce implied that the whites were arming more than the
blacks. Joyce recalled a confrontation between Lobsinger
and a black militant where words were exchanged and
Lobsinger backed off from a fight.

Joyce has never been a member of the Students for a
Democratic Society. He went to high school with
Thomas Hayden and considers him a friend, but feels
that Hayden may be involved in too many activities.

Joyce believes that "a lot of what happened in the
disorders can be attributed to the "Blue Flu'." He
said that beginning in the Spring of 1967, individuals
in the police department started to show how needed and
important they were by going on strike, failing to
issue traffic tickets, etc. Joyce theorizes that they
purposely maintained inaction through the disorder,
but miscalculated and made it necessary to have the
National Guard come in. (I do not personally accept
this theory as an explanation of police inaction during
the disorder. However, it may partially explain why many
persons did not hesitate to participate in looting, etc.)

Joyce advised that the DuBois Society is not very active; sometime ago it tried to organize at Wayne State, but it was not very successful. We have materials on this, obtained from A.D.L.).

Joyce said that CORE was an effective organization in 1965--"it knew how to provoke the police"--but its leader, Clyde Cleveland, now works for the poverty program and it is no longer a force. It's decline came long before the disorder.

Joyce knows of no evidence of planning, arms, or sniping.

At this point, he had to leave and we agreed that I would call him Saturday morning to determine a definite time to get together with him again.

Investigator

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: December 27, 1967

FROM : John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Second Interview with Frank H. Joyce, Executive Secretary,
People Against Racism (PAR), December 23, 1967, in Detroit

I met with Frank Joyce again, at his office, on December 23, 1967, at 3:30 p.m. and went with him to buy some tires and do some Christmas shopping.

At this office, I asked him if he knew any "good cops" I could talk with and he suggested that I contact one Harry Galloway who "has moved around a lot," but is now believed to be in Detroit's Tenth Precinct.

As we drove out to a tire place on the outskirts of Detroit, we talked again about Breakthrough. Joyce stated that before the disorder Lobsinger could draw a crowd of 2-300, but that since the disorder, he had drawn crowds of 1,500 in the city and of 2,000 in the suburbs. Joyce added that Lobsinger had some 15,000 people on his mailing list; Joyce offered to send me copies of PAR's "intelligence" reports on Breakthrough and tapes of some of Lobsinger's speeches.

I asked Joyce what he thought about the NBC program on the disorder and he said that it had been discredited, adding that Walter Sheridan was not to be trusted.

I referred again to PAR's decision to move into the suburbs; he mentioned that they had considered fighting Breakthrough in the city, an alternative, but had decided that there was too great a possibility of a backfire.

I asked Joyce what PAR's objectives would be in the suburbs and he replied "divide and conquer." He explained that their initial objective is to cause conflict and polarization within the white suburban community. He said that the best way was to get the young people into seminars on racism, then cause them to disagree with their parents. Eventually there would be conflict between



children and some parents with the educational system. Joyce described this as a "De-Brainwashing" process to eliminate the concept of white supremacy. "Before long the students will want to set up their own courses, then conflict. It doesn't matter who wins initially for history is on our side." He added that he believed that the cities should be black.

We walked into Korvettes Department Store on the outskirts of Detroit and after he complained about Christmas commercialism, I asked him if "integration" might result once the whites had been "de-briefed" and the blacks had reached self-determination. Joyce said that he believed that the cities should be black and that "integration" was a white word--a paternalistic word--and that it might come about, but that it was not an aim. He said that integration would have to be "put on the shelf" for a while. "What PAR is doing is therefore very compatible with the Black Power Movement." He said that he was in a funny position because of his previous contact with blacks in the ghetto. Later he said that his relations with black militants are good now, because the blacks are more confident of being on a winning battle and are therefore less suspicious and hostile. Joyce said that it was different two years ago. (At this point, I went alone to the gun department, and asked the assistant manager if gun sales were up this Christmas over last. "Are you kidding," he said, "I've never sold more guns in my life." "People aren't asking me about what is good for shooting pigeons, they come in and say: we'd like to have a 'gun for the house'." He added that the stores policy is to take name and address of purchasers and that he has been involved in arguments with at least four customers in the past two weeks who have resented the request for such information. He says that sales are up 40% over the usual yearly increase. He has worked in that department for three Christmases)

Discussing this experience with Joyce, I asked if many rifle clubs were forming. He said that there were many white clubs ("the N.R.A. should know") and that he thought there was a Negro rifle club in Detroit, but that he did not know the name of it. While we waited for the garage to put some new tires on, we discussed how important words were. I had commented on the

word "rebellion" as opposed to "riot" or "disorder." "Rebellion," Joyce said, is more positive historically and also gets across the master slave-concept. In Joyce's opinion, the concept of "colonialism" is similarly helpful in explaining the Negroes' situation.

At this point, he said, PAR would go after the educational systems and then after family relationships. He added that the only group he did not know what to do with was "the cops." What do you want to do with them, I asked. "Get rid of them" he replied. Completely? "Yes" Not just eliminate their racism? "No," said Joyce, "replace them with Negro cops in Negro areas and have all cops realize that they are not the leaders, but only the agents of the entire community." Joyce then said that he thought the idea of having a federal paratroop corp for "riots" (interesting that he used the term in this context) was a good idea, but that it might backfire. He said that the police resist the community agent idea by recruiting in the suburbs. He thought efforts to get Negroes in the National Guard and Police Departments might also backfire.

I asked him if he thought we would have "blot of blood in the streets" and he said that it was inevitable.

As we drove back into town, he criticized those who are working within the systems, noting that federal programs were quite successful in giving rewards. Joyce said that PAR was trying to provide an external reference for these people "such as Al Harrison," so that they won't be bribed into changing their attitudes. He said that Harrison is a friend of his and has been recently telling Joyce how much economic power the poverty programs have.

Joyce said that the hippies have taught the new left that it needs a sense of cooperation between members in order to keep goint. "Mao knew that and so did George Washington."

He said that the Negroes of Detroit were not completely united, but that there was no real dissension. "The Negro bourgeoisie is waking up to the fact that it has been under colonialism and

is moving toward the militants." "The white-colonialists have always permitted the natives to have the feeling that they are leading.

Walter Ruether has lost the Negroes, who once were his base. According to Joyce, last week a press release against the Cleage federation was identified by mark as coming from Ruether's Office. "This was a stupid mistake by someone and Ruether is finished."

He mentioned "Grace" (Boggs) and I asked if I might talk with her. Joyce said that she was a close friend, but that he would only mention it, and could not push it. He knows James Williams, General Manager of the Inner City Voice and can arrange to have me see him.

I aim to contact him when I am in town again.

He gave me some PAR materials and they are attached.

Investigator

Enclosure

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 17, 1967

FROM : John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Interview with Rev. Albert Cleage conducted in Detroit,
December 21, 1967, at 4:30 p.m.

John P. Lynch ("Jack"), (Consultant to the Commission), Arthur E. Goussy (a Detroit attorney who arranged the meeting) and I spoke with Rev. Cleage at the latter's church (Central Community United Church of Christ). We were required to show identification in order to get into the church building, which was completely locked, and were ushered into a large room that appeared to be used for Sunday School classes. Rev. Cleage sat on one side of a medium size table in the front of the room, and seated us directly across from him at the opposite side of the table.

Mr. Lynch opened the session by telling Rev. Cleage that we were there to hear Cleage's views with respect to what the Commission should recommend. Cleage maintained a hard stare at us, and, after momentary silence, asked Lynch what he thought the Commission should do. Lynch mentioned a number of suggestions that others had made and Cleage did not respond significantly. I suggested that maybe Cleage felt that we were erroneous in assuming that the Commission was entitled to recommend anything. After a few exchanges of similar tone, Cleage said that the best thing that the Commission could do, would be to help the Negro get "black power" and achieve "black self-determination."

In subsequent exchanges, led primarily by Lynch, Cleage made the points presented herein. 1/

1/ I have presented these in dialogue form to suggest the tone of the meeting, although the sequence and the actual words may not be exact.



Rev. Cleage is not for integration, but "for co-existence between two equal power structures." "Blacks should govern any city where they are in the majority and should have proportional representation in cities where they are in a minority." Cleage specified representation on all levels and in all departments: executive, legislative, and judiciary. In Detroit the aim is to control the police and fire departments and "get the white man out." In response to a reference to Lobsinger of "Breakthrough" (who is telling the white man to arm), Cleage said: "We're not interested in the suburbs. Suburban whitey has to be persuaded that he is not in danger. We want to live among our own kind, not in suburbs." He scored the concept of metropolitanism which, he said, would act to dilute the black man's vote, by redefinition of city lines.

Cleage stated that black men should own the stores in black areas. "Things cost 25% more in black areas than in white areas. A lot of white merchants in the black areas couldn't stay in business in white areas."

Could the Commission help by supporting **legislation**, such as bills against rats, etc? Cleage responded: "that's all right, but the blacks will take care of these problems once they have 'black power.' Legislation is meaningful if it lends itself to 'black power'."

Did Cleage think that President Johnson and Senator Robert Kennedy understood "black power?" Cleage replied that Bobby Kennedy understood power and so did the President "so they might understand." He added that maybe the Negroes would have to leave the Democratic Party in 1968 and cause its defeat in order to "be welcomed back by Bobby Kennedy in 1972." Cleage said that it would take days or years to explain "black power" to Governor Romney and "it would probably never sink-in."

Was the Black Power Movement purely a political movement? "No," replied Cleage, "it is a political, social, cultural, intellectual, and religious movement." "Christ was black. White christianity has been a tool to suppress the Negro.

The church has been Uncle Tom." "Under black power, church and state are merged." His church and others are related financially and give each other support. He implied that his church was becoming a national Negro church. "There is a place for white followers, but not for white leaders in the Black Power Movement."

There are no "Toms" among youth between the ages of 16-27. Lynch asked if Black Power would be realized for that generation. Cleage replied that he hoped so and if it were not realized for this generation, everything Cleage was trying to do would fail. "If Detroit cannot do it, then no city can."

Do you keep in touch with black militants nationally? "Of course, we talk with each other. I am in touch with Brown and Carmichael, we talk." Lynch asked if there was a national "conspiracy," and Cleage replied that "it is more a loosely formed amalgamation." He added that "Black Power" has different names in different areas-- somewhere its Black Panther, etc.

Cleage consistently referred to the disorder as a "rebellion." He emphasized the word each time he used it, conditioning us to its use; at one point Lynch referred to the disorder as a "civil war," and Cleage replied: "those are your words."

In a number of ways Rev. Cleage was asked if he expected violence, and he carefully replied each time that that was up to the white man.

Lynch referred at one point to the statement of a Pittsburgh doctor that Planned Parenthood was more active in Negro areas than in white areas, and that it was genocide. Cleage agreed, adding that "we want those black babies."

Cleage said that his federation has cooperation from CORE and NAACP, but that neither group leads the federation.

Cleage mentioned that Walter Ruether cannot stay in power long "without us" and "now he's through," because of his recent stand against giving money to Cleage's group.

Lynch told Cleage that he would like very much to have him come to Washington and talk with other members of the staff of the Commission. Rev. Cleage said that he would come "just on the one in a thousand possibility that it might do some good, as long as a convenient time is chosen."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 17, 1968

FROM : J. K. Scales

SUBJECT: Interview with James A. Bush, Field Investigator, Detroit Commission on Community Relations, December 21, 1967 in Detroit

I met at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, December 21, 1967, with the above. Richard Lobenthal, Director of ADL, had suggested that I talk with Bush, who is now supervisor of Field Services and has been with the Commission as an investigator since 1961. The Commission was established after the 1944 Detroit riot.

Bush suggested that we discuss matters in his office. He appeared candid, but did not offer any definite facts to support his conclusions.

1. United Afro-American Unity Movement was a "Malcolm X spin-off" from the Black Muslims. General Baker was one of the persons involved in that movement and so was Clayton Dowdelle both were arrested during this past summer's disorder. Dowdelle is now Vice-Chairman of Cleage's group. He could not recall exactly what the charges were. 1/

The "feeling was" that the Afro-American Unity was not involving the Negro community at all; many members had police records and after a while the church group that had supported it pulled out.

Bush does not recall any activity by the group since late 1966, when they had a demonstration protesting the war. He recalls that approximately twenty-one persons picketed.

2. Lomax represents "irresponsible" journalism. The story about the magazine salesman is exaggerated. Bush had

1/ The Detroit Police Department advised that both had been arrested for curfew violations and had been later found not guilty.



a report from the same source, as Lomax, but he "checked it out" and found that there was no truth in the story.

3. Rumors of riots and of caches of arms have been circulating in Detroit since 1964. The police have never confirmed such reports. The usual predicted location is 12th and Carroll Streets. Bush has "despaired" of finding caches of weapons.

4. Rev. Cleage is a "prima donna," who has been involved in a number of organizations since 1963, e.g. ICOC (Inter-City Organizing Committee), Freedom Now, GOAL. Cleage is articulate. Cleage's church was once a "white church" for light skinned Negroes, and Cleage was known to look down on other Negroes. Bush has heard that the church is still subsidized by the United Church of Christ of which it is a part. Cleage has much more prominence now than he did before the disorder because of a "wide spread feeling among 12th Street Negroes that traditional organizations have failed." Most 12th Street Negroes identify with Rev. Cleage.

5. Olayton Dowdelle has pulled away from Cleage; he is disenchanted. Together with Don Bagley, (once with GROW), Dowdelle is now a community organizer in the Woodward area. Dowdelle's reason for disenchantment is ideological; Bush did not explain. CORE has never been that strong in town and has never been the Negroes' link to the power structure. However, Detroit CORE has tended to be Black Power oriented longer than its national parent.

6. There was a police report, made prior to the riot, to the effect that there would be a riot on 14th and Seward. He suggested that I obtain the report from the police.

7. Bush had no particulars on Michael Lewis.

8. Organized crime was "part of the continuum" and took advantage of the situation. (He would not be more specific.)

9. There were reports that drycleaners were hit by organized crime and Bush believes that this is established. He referred me to a Wayne study. "Also some may have set off their own stores."

10. Negro anger at merchants is a key factor in the looting. A source who was out in the crowd on Sunday said that almost everyone was talking about mistreatment by the merchants. Based on what Bush has seen and heard, no organization was needed to carry out last summer's disorder.

11. The police department was involved in looting.

12. Bush has never heard of a gang called "Satan's Angels," but he "thinks" that youth gangs were involved at some stage of the disorder, as were burglars, pimps, etc.

13. Vaughn is now a Director of CCAC. His store was hit, as was a Beauty & Barber Shop on 12th Street. A suit is pending by Vaughn.

14. In the autumn of 1965, RAM was behind a demonstration at Fort Wayne Military Induction Center, Detroit. They passed out leaflets. (He did not provide further particulars.)

15. Bush has heard that there was a meeting of militants at Boggs' house after Watts. The Boggs had been involved with GOAL and Cleage used to publicize GOAL's position, but Milton Henry is GOAL's real leader. Bush thinks there was a meeting of socialists in New York about a month ago and that the Boggs were involved. In Bush's opinion, they are the powers behind the scene.

16. The Inter-City Voice, published by James Williams, has been in existence since September 1, 1967, and follows the same line as Cleage. They had a rally in the fall to raise money for the newspaper. The founder was involved in the Algier's motel incident.

17. Tony Locricchio was consultant to NBC. Bush does not believe Locricchio's story, but likes Locuricchio.

18. SNCC has never been very active in Detroit; its primary function has been to raise money for the national SNCC organization.

19. Frank Joyce is now in charge of PAR (People Against Racism), which was established in 1966 as a spin-off from the National Student Movement.

20. Bush has heard that there is a Negro group conducting target practice in Detroit, known as the "Fox and Wolf Club."

21. There has been quite a bit of talk that Commissioner Girardin and the Mayor were negligent during the disorder, but Bush defends them: "they didn't have the manpower to put it back in the bottle." (I did not ask Bush about the relevancy of the police strike.)

22. The DuBois Society was forming in Detroit in 1966, but there is nothing left. It "could" be underground.

23. The Black Muslims are "straight."

24. Breakthrough has benefitted greatly from the disorder.

Bush and I agreed that the above was very sketchy, but I had to leave for another interview. He said that he would be happy to see me at another time, but I have not had the opportunity to follow-up. His telephone number is 313-963-9550. The City of Detroit Commission on Community Relations is located at 150 Michigan Avenue, Detroit.

I think that the above should be relied upon merely for leads and as corroboration of statements made by others.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

OK
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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 16, 1968

FROM : John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Sessions with Richard H. Lobenthal, Director, Michigan Regional Office Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith and Assistant Director Annette S. Ran

I met with Lobenthal at the Regional Office on Wednesday, December 20, 1967, at noon, pursuant to the suggestion of Robert C. Kohler, N.J. Director of the League. The Michigan office is located at 163 Madison, Detroit (WO 2-9686).

We agreed that he would share his judgment and facts about organizations and the disorder and that I would not disclose to the Commission or the public that his office had been a source. They say that they do not have extensive files on Negro militant groups, but they were generally very helpful.

Lobenthal has been Michigan Director for four and one-half years; Ran has been with ADL since 1966. Two years previous to that, she was working for CORE (the Detroit Chapter). I rate them very highly in general knowledge and insight, but I think that they were reluctant or unable to give more particulars.

Lobenthal said that the disorder had "proven everyone's theory" since many elements were involved at various stages.

He had no information on Michael Lewis, but his impression was that there had been two to three agitators involved early Sunday morning.

He added that beginning on the second or third day, a "gang" of thirty teenage Negro kids from the ghetto, called "Satan Angels" participated in concerted looting and fire-bombing, etc. He had no specific facts on this (and I will develop



this through other sources). He said that he did not know of any connection between members of this gang and the militants; he considers it merely as a gang of hoods.

He said that police "encouraged" looting in many cases, but he would not tie it in with the "Blue Flu" theory. He had no specific evidence on this.

At this point he mentioned Dr. Lurie, as one who was documenting that laundrys and drycleaning establishments were hit in a certain way that suggested mafia involvement. He said that Lurie was a friend of his, but that he (Lurie) was paranoid, almost psychotic and "about ready to go off the deep end." Lobenthal believes that Lurie is in financial trouble. However, he added that Lurie has good credentials in the academic world and that people are taking his theories seriously.

During lunch, Lobenthal suggested that I contact the following to develop organizational requirements:

1. James Bush, Field Investigator for the Detroit Community Commission on Human Relations, which was established after the 1944 riots and, in Lobenthal's opinion is, in conflict with the Mayor's office. He suggested that I use his name, that I try to see Bush over coffee and that I avoid his superiors (especially Marx). (Reference is made to interview conducted with Bush December 21, 1967).

2. Carol Schmidt, Michigan Chronicle. (Reference is made to interview conducted by Perry).

3. Clyde Cleveland, former Chairman of CORE, who works in the City Poverty program, is Treasurer of Cleages group and is on the Mayor's Commission on Human Resource. Development. (I gave Perry the name).

4. Don Lobsinger, Breakthrough. (Reference is made to my interview with Lobsinger, December 21, 1967.)

5. James Williams, General Manager of the Intercity Voice, and former member of CORE. (I gave the name to Perry).

6. Joseph Strickland, Detroit News, of questionable credibility. (Norb Rayford and I each tried to find time to see Strickland, but we were unable to. I think that we should do so if we have another opportunity.)

7. Alvin Harrison, head of Afro-American Unity and members Glayton Dowdell, "General" Baker (Names given to Perry).

8. Dan Aldrich, SNCC (Name given to Perry).

9. Roy Williams, Housing Director of Urban League. (TE 2-4600) (I decided not to see him).

10. Milton Henry, Lawyer in Cleage "orbit" (Name given to Rayford).

11. Burt Levey, Civil Rights Commission.

12. Frank Joyce, PAR, People Against Racism, Editor of 5th Estate. (Reference is made to my interviews dated December 22, 23, 1967.)

13. Donald Roberts, teacher at Wayne who straddles ghetto and middle class. (Name given to Perry.)

Lobenthal mentioned that Vaughn's Bookstore run by Edward Vaughn and Polly Ross, 1213 Dexter is a "Black Nationalist" bookstore.

We parted at 2:15 p.m. and agreed to meet again at 8 o'clock that evening.

Because of my involvement in the dinner with Dr. Lurie, I called Lobenthal and agreed to see him at 9:30 p.m. He was leaving for vacation the next morning and had planned to be in the office anyway. He and Miss Ran were very helpful under the circumstances.

Lobenthal and Ran expressed the following:

A. Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). There "may be two or three" individuals in Detroit belonging to this

organization, but they have no file or specific information on them.

B. SNCC. There is and for some time has been a small group, relatively ineffective before, during and after the disorder. Rap Brown will get a good audience when he comes to speak because Negroes like to hear the white man shouted at, but there is no local hard core following.

C. Afro American Unity Conference. This is a very "loose knit" organization that reached its peak during the Kerchaval incident in 1966, when it had a handful of leaders and 200-300 followers and a storefront. Sometime prior to the disorder they could probably get twenty-five people to support them, they are probably no longer in existence. Harrison, who once led the group, is now working for the establishment.

D. CORE. During the period 1963-1965, the only civil rights group doing anything was CORE. At that time, it was sponsoring demonstrations against poor housing and employment discrimination in supermarkets, etc. Ran said that when she was active (1965) they could assemble fifty picketers without difficulty.

However, since 1966, CORE has "dwindled out of influence" because it was never a young group and never could relate with the 12th Street "nitty gritty," and because many of its white members went over to poverty programs, etc., as it became more "black." Ran would be surprised if they could get more than eleven people out to picket now.

E. The NAACP. The Detroit chapter has a large membership list, but it is a "fairly nothing" organization. CORE and NAACP do not work well together.

F. Black Muslims. ADL does not identify this group as "activists."

G. Dubois Society. Lobenthal has the impression that they are not too effective; materials are attached.

H. CCAC. Lobenthal sees Rev. Cleage as a political opportunist who has managed to hold down the militants, keep pressure on the white community and "snowball" fund raising. Cleage has been on the scene for sometime and has been in social circles with the Boggs. ("They have used each other for years.") Cleage was not talking to the guy on 12th Street before the disorder.

I. Grace and James Boggs have been in Detroit for some time and have kept in contact with Cleage because they have similar inclinations. James is a Negro factory worker; she is Chinese. They live conservatively (perhaps in the ghetto) from his salary and her royalties; they supported Cleage's campaign two years ago. They do not seem to have been as close to Cleage since the disorder, but Lobenthal does not know why and would not say that there is a "rift."

J. Breakthrough. Lobsinger has lived in Detroit all his life (with his mother). Breakthrough makes more noise than the Birchers, is to the right of the Birchers and sometimes distributes Birch material. Individual members may belong to both. Breakthrough has been benefitting from post-disorder white reaction and polarization and it has a very large effect on Detroit's white community. The significant thing about Breakthrough is that it is city, not suburban based.

K. American Nazi Party. Minutemen are also in the Detroit area, but they are not very effective.

L. KKK. There has been no KKK activity since the Detroit disorder, but there has been such activity in Flint within "the last month or so."

They have no evidence that any of the above right wing organizations or individuals were active during the disorder.

Shooting clubs are being organized by Breakthrough and by individuals some of whom are Birchers.

I felt that it was time to leave although much more could have been developed in terms of financing, etc. However, they invited me to call or see them again and I plan to do so after cross-checking some of this information.

JKS:ims 1/17/68
1 - JKS Chron.
1 - Detroit Gen.

PR
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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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

January 12, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: M. C. Miskovsky
FROM: John K. Scales
SUBJECT: Interviews with Anthony Locricchio,
Detroit, Michigan, December 22, 23
and 24, 1967

Norbert Rayford made the initial contact with Mr. Locricchio, who was a consultant to the NBC show and has been giving speeches in the Detroit area about what the extremists are planning.

I met Locricchio at noon, December 22, 1967 and for a total of twelve hours during the next two days.

Locricchio is 30 years old and since 1964 has been a Catholic Seminarian at St. Clair Shores, Michigan. He has been an attorney, a school teacher and a social worker. From June 1965 to September 1966, he was the Director of Program Development of the Detroit Archdioces, a poverty program. He has also been a consultant for the Federal Government on the youth employment project. On the fourth day of the disorders, Locricchio was asked to serve as a special aide to the Mayor of Detroit. Locricchio had previously helped to write the model cities proposal for Detroit.

I do not question Locricchio's credibility or honesty, but the credibility and motive of his informants is an unknown quantity; I am not convinced that Locricchio is the kind of person who cannot be "taken." His sympathies are with the black militants and he expresses concern that the extremist element is taking it over.

Investigators from the McClellan Committee have spent eight hours with Locricchio and they expect him to testify in January when their hearings focus on Detroit. Locricchio is wavering on this and I have suggested that his testimony might be misused.

There follows Locricchio's account of organizational development and activity in Detroit. He based his statement on his own experience and upon information received from informants, whom he describes as black militants ("blacks") who are scared by extremist elements.

I. Pre-disorder

In 1965, Locricchio was at the Sacred Heart Seminary (in Detroit's 12th Street area) and was asked to direct a Neighborhood Youth Corps program called "Project Summer Breeze." He was also involved in "Project Scope", a privately financed program.

He first learned of militants in July 1965 through his contact with youths. In 1965:

1. RAM had only a few members.
2. The Afro-American Unity Movement had approximately 50 members and was headed by one "General Baker". The group was then "conservative militant" and one of its "plans" was a "black guard" to follow the police, reporting any "brutality". The group was unique at this point because it was the only group emphasizing Afro-history and culture. Locricchio believes that Edward Vaughn was associated with the organization, "at least philosophically".

Locricchio does not believe that any SDS people were in any way associated with the group, but he "thinks" that some of its members were also RAM members.

In Locricchio's opinion, 1965 was the real start of the Black Power Movement in Detroit. After Watts, there was a total change in the tone of the Afro-American Unity group; it was no longer a conservative organization.

3. CORE was at the peak of its activity and influence. It had picketing support from other groups and was relating well with almost all Negroes, including "blacks." In fact, at this point Detroit's CORE was blacker than national CORE.
4. NAACP was largely a money-making organization in 1965 and was not relating well to blacks.
5. SNCC was fairly effective and becoming black. After Watts, all groups became black, but the Afro-American group made the greatest change.
6. Rev. Cleage had run for office under the "Freedom Now Ticket". Toward the end of 1965, he was starting to preach "black power" and was beginning to sound a little like Stokely Carmichael.

Toward the end of 1965, one began to see the "natural look" in perhaps 5% of the Negro teenagers. However, at that time, Locricchio was able to associate with "blacks" and there was little hostility between them and white social workers.

The year 1966 brought more experimental programs and more federal aid. During that year, Locricchio started to make contacts with the criminal element - with pushers and prostitutes, through his work in the jails. The black

criminal underworld was and still is controlled by whites.

In early 1966, the NAACP had no influence on the ghetto, CORE was in decline and SNCC had moved into the foreground as the most militant group. The Afro-American Unity Movement, then led by Al Harrison, was at its peak.

The Kercherval incident of 1966 was planned as a joint RAM-Afro-American effort. Children as young as 7 years old were taught how to make Molotov cocktails. The incident took place on Detroit's East Side, about a block from the Afro-American headquarters. Youths intentionally provoked an incident by insulting the police. As the police dragged them off, thirty youths appeared and shouted "police brutality." Windows were smashed and the police car was burned. Three days and nights of disturbance followed.

As a result of this incident, uncommitted Negroes were brought into "black militant" camps. On the second night of the riot, Rev. Cleage stepped in and called a meeting at his church. The Kercherval incident was the first unifying incident. It brought Grace Boggs and Cleage together for the first time and it put SNCC people in control.

In the aftermath of the incident, there was a model cities conference and local organizations such as GROW and the Virginia Park Association were established. The organizers in these groups were black and Locricchio began to feel the hostility.

In December 1966, Locricchio first heard of a plan for a small disorder in 1967, followed by a large one in 1968. He heard that the purpose of the 1967 disorder was to unify the Negroes around the black militants.

In January 1967, the "black" element was still small; Rev. Cleage had not yet become the "voice"; he had not decided to jump. By May 1967, Cleage was "allowed" more of a voice and he and Grace Boggs were in tune. Al Harrison of the Afro-American Unity Movement started working for the city's legal aid department in early 1967. (Locricchio expects that the Unity Movement has gone underground).

The Black Arts Convention was planned for Detroit and Grace Boggs was instrumental in the planning. The guest list included Rap Brown.

Rumors of riots circulated during the six weeks period prior to the disorder and "minor" incidents such as the Park incident, increased the tension.

II. During the Disorder

Locricchio was out on the street during the first night of the disorder. On the fourth day of the disorder, he was made an aide to the Mayor.

Locricchio does not know anything about the "blind pig" or its ownership or any rumors relating to that particular blind pig prior to the disorder.

Locricchio has heard that Michael Lewis (but he knows of no connection between Lewis and any particular organization or group) was walking the streets at or about 5:00 a.m. and "just happened to be outside when the raid was made." Lewis was walking with a "hood" (the one who appeared on the NBC show) and another uncommitted black ("No. 2"). While the raid was being made, Lewis went back behind the bank building and "hood" started "mouthing off" as a crowd gathered. Lewis heaved a rock over the bank building and hit a police car. Hood then threw a rock and broke a window of a drug store.

Later in the morning, Sunday, July 21, 1967, No. 2 took hood into his confidence and he took him to an apartment on 14th Street and Blaine. (Locricchio does not believe that it was a basement apartment, because from the apartment Hood could see policemen assembling at Keefer Hospital). In the apartment Hood saw a number of bottles already filled with gasoline. Hood and No. 2 then filled a number of other bottles (Somewhere Locricchio has heard that the apartment was rented three weeks before). Hood and No. 2

were there for approximately a half an hour. Thereafter they took some bottles with them and went to a meeting.

The meeting was held at approximately 10 a.m. in a rather large "church like" recreation room. The room had a balcony. (Locricchio doubts that it was Cleage's church). "Possibly," the meeting was on 14th Street. Between fifty and seventy-five people attended the meeting; most of them were young and black. The meeting was presided over by a Negro woman and a Negro man, who made the statement that the disorder had started and that they had no choice but to participate. (Locricchio later identified the leaders of the meeting as Dorothy Dewberry and Ken Cockasal).*

The leaders taught the uninformed how to use Molotov cocktails and arson teams of four or five men were set up.

Hood was surprised to see certain people at the meeting; one of them was Jackie Wilson, a national recording star. Locricchio is sure that Rev. Cleage was not there, but there may have been some members of his church there. At the meeting Hood met a person (later referred to as No. 3) for the first time.

The meeting lasted for an hour or an hour and a half. The NBC program showed that fires started about the time the meeting was said to have broken up.

(The script of the NBC show in our files supplements this account in a general way).

On Monday, July 23, 1967, at approximately 7 p.m., Hood was taken by No. 2 to a place in (Detroit Eastside, near Kercheval). The place was run by whites. (Locricchio would not say that any Chinese restaurants were involved.) Hood was taken into a back room, the walls of which were lined with guns of a late model cartridge type. Hood did not know how to use the gun, so No. 2 took him up on a roof on Pinginy Street to practice. No. 2 showed him how to load, but they did not fire. An hour or so later, Hood was taken by No. 2 to 14th Street and made to shoot at a policeman. Hood told Locricchio that he was almost sure that he hit him, but the NBC story is otherwise. Hood told Locricchio that he slept all day Tuesday.

On Wednesday, No. 2 and No. 3 told Hood that he was wanted by the police. At No. 2's suggestion, Hood and No. 3 went on that day to Chicago in No. 3's car. Hood did some "dope business" and then accompanied No. 3 to a "mansion" on Lake Shore Drive, Chicago. Hood told Locricchio that the house had a boatwell, a sunken living room, weird statutes and unusual lamps. According to Hood, there were four white men and one white woman in the house (Locricchio was asked by an investigator named Kelly -- he did not know whether he was from FCC or ICC -- if he knew Lucy Montgomery). The woman was very nice to Hood.

Hood advised that No. 3 and the woman spoke in a "slavic" language. (But Locricchio said that Hood would not know the difference). No. 3 delivered an envelope to the woman and tried unsuccessfully to see its contents after it was opened. No. 3 and Hood were told to go down to the boatwell. They waited fifteen minutes or so and then No. 3 was given a letter to take back to Detroit.

Locricchio said that there was a great deal of travel between Detroit and Chicago by Detroit extremists, but Locricchio would not offer any facts.

NBC knows the details of the above story; the McClellan people do not.

In reply to specific questions concerning the disorder, Locricchio advised as follows:

1. He thinks that the police raided a Muslim mosque during the disorder and found a transmitter (and walkie-talkies) picking up police calls.

2. Locricchio does not think that he has heard of a gang called "Satans Angels" but he suspects that a gang called "Brothers Incorporated" took advantage of the riot situation. Locricchio described them as a "miserable group" that would walk into and break up a party. There are 8-10 of them, their ages range from 23-31, and they normally engaged in artwork at a theater on the West Side.

3. He does not think that there is much truth in Lomax's story that magazine salesmen were planting seeds of revolt prior to the disorder. The blacks regard Lomax as a "Negro drop-out and sell-out."

4. Locricchio does not believe in the "Blue Flu" theory.

5. Locricchio does not know that any circulars were distributed during or immediately prior to the disorder.

6. Locricchio knows that Frank Ditto, either Milton or Richard, Henry Edward Vaughan, and possibly Clayton Dowdelle went to the Newark Conference and that they did not come back together.

III. Post-Disorder

A. Background.

On or about July 30, 1967, Locricchio went into Mayor's office, as an unpaid aide to help out in any way that he could. He had been asked to assist by Tony Ripley, the Mayor's assistant and now with the New York TIMES.

The first assignment through Ripley was to prepare a report for the Mayor on the situation generally, with emphasis on extremists Negro and white. There were only two copies of the report made and the McClellan Committee had a copy. The report was about seven pages long and covered December 1966 through August 1967. Locricchio said that he did not retain a copy for himself (?).

Locricchio was in the Mayor's Office until on or about August 19, 1967. Since that time, he has worked with NBC and has been active as a seminarian.

B. General Organizational Pattern in the Negro Community

The disorder created unity within the Negro community. Groups that were not planning together before became loosely allied after the disorder. Of course, there were power struggles, but the militants moved toward unity.

Before the disorder, Rev. Cleage was ineffective in molding opinion and bringing about unity. During the riot, Cleage and the Richard or Milton Henry emerged as spokesman for the extremist groups.

During and immediately after the disorder, the Young Turks (who were active in the Sunday morning meeting) started to form an extremely loose alliance with Cleage, the Henrys and the Boggs.

Before the riot, some of the "Young Turks" were involved in and related to structured movements such as CORE, NSM (Northern Student Movement) and various neighborhood groups. During the disorder they experienced violence and actual police brutality for the first time so that a great deal of the ideology was made concrete and organizations with limited goals became irrelevant to them.

Organizations already existing or set up immediately before the disorder to work in the communities were transformed by the riot from "Negro" groups to "black" groups.

Most neighborhood groups went through their own revolution. Example--WCO (WEst Control Organization), dates back 8-10 years. Initially, it was a white pressure group. Before the riot its leadership was integrated. After the riot it became "totally black in leadership goals, and outlook." Ex-ESVID (East Side Voice of Independence), had been set up three or four weeks before the riot with integrated leadership. After the disorder, it became totally black, practically overnight.

In short, after the disorder, the black ideology--black is beautiful--took hold of individuals and organizations. Rev. Cleage was allowed to be the spokesman because at this point there was an underground movement and the real leaders didnot want to surface. Cleage serves two functions: He verbalizes the movement, and effectively brings in money for the movement. This describes the situation as it was three weeks after the disorder.

Rap Brown was brought into Detroit on the weekend of August 20 or 27th. SNCC was responsible for bringing him into town, but the Inner City Voice, Cleage, Boggs, Vaughan, all cooperated in carrying it off. The large response was a total surprise to the organizers; support was broad across the Negro community. The organizers had seen Negroes become black militants and now they see the possibility for commitment or sympathy to extremists.

They had been saying that young black kids will come to them, and this proves it, beyond expectation. Three weeks after the riot, recognized community leaders are completely rejected and some of them (e.g. Conyers) undergo change from Negro to "black."

The mood of the crowd at Rap Brown's appearance went from carnival to panic three times and the crowd grew each time. Comments such as "we've got to stop looting and start shooting" were wildly cheered by the crowd.

The close alliance that was formed after the riot became cohesive by this event. The money collected, \$10,000, went to Cleage, as committee chairman who used it to paint his church. When the Young Turks found out, he was threatened and Cleage replaced the funds. At this point, no specific organization dared to take money from the movement.

Soon after the Rap Brown speech there was the "New Left" conference in Chicago. Word went out among extremists to get to the conference and break it up. The word came from outside of Detroit, but it is significant that a good number of Detroit organizations responded. The basic reasons for breaking up the conference was that any coalition with whites was seen as a watering down of the movement.

They are successful and this indicates to Detroit extremists that they can "hold their own" and that black groups can be effective working together on a national basis.

At this point the "inner circle" had taken control and become the important concern. One can no longer speak in terms of labels nor pinpoint the roles of various organizations. However, SNCC maintains its identify more than other organizations by virtue of its national contacts.

Rev. Cleage began a new anti-new Detroit committee group in about the middle of August, called the Detroit's Citizens League, or something like that.

Rev. Cleage and Milton Henry went to the Ponchartrain Hotel to talk with NBC, during the third week of August, after Cleage had been told by the inner circle not to talk. Cleage saw this as a chance to make it big, but as he got off the freight elevator, he was spotted by a black militant bellboy. Cleage and Henry became suspects of selling out. After the NBC Show, he and Henry reviewed it for the Michigan Chronical and blasted it completely. Grace Boggs ghost wrote the article and that the white press was after a communist stressed conspiracy and that everyone knew that there were no communists. The interesting thing is that the show did not even imply a comspiracy; Grace had just read into it.

The next event that brought out a large cross section was a mock trial of Detroit policemen in connection with the Algiers Motel incident. It was held at Dexter theater during the first week in September. The inner circle provided the motivation, but other groups planned it. Approximately \$10,000 was collected, supposedly for a defense fund for "Greensleeves" and others to make them symbols. The money did not get to "Greensleeves" until Cleage was pressured. Locricchio suspects that Milton Henry represents "Greensleeves," but he does not know.

The period of late September and October became a kind of step back and look period: the very loose structure that could exist now needed more structure to keep it going. Therefore, individual organizations became somewhat important again and there was a natural regrouping.

In November 1967, there was a movement towards merger under Cleage and an attempt by Cleage, Dowdell, and Boggs to bring the hardest elements, the young Turks, into federation. Cleage called separate meetings with young Turk leaders and he was unsuccessful. One of the hard elements told Locricchio that the offer was very attractive and that the ideology sounded good, but "I can't trust him, (Cleage)."

The federation was as tensibly formed by Cleage, covering a large cross-section of Negro and black groups, but the moving force behind the formation was Rennie Freeman, Director (WCO). In Locricchio's opinion, Freeman is militant but not extremist.

A power struggle took place recently in the federation and the Negro conservative element was able to block the New Detroit support to the federation, because of conservative's fear that militants would run away with it. However, militant leaders went to Ford Motor Company and last week got \$33,000, resulting in total takeover of the federation by the militants. It now appears to Locricchio that extremists are involved in the federation because an extremist came to Locricchio a week ago and said: "It now appears that we can use the federation." The federation's mailing list is secret, and includes specific individuals. Locricchio will get a copy of the membership list in a few days (from people who are scared by extremists) and can let us see it.

Community organizations formed in the past month are starting to be staffed by black extremists although many are conservative "on the surface". An example is North Woodward Community project, headed by Don Bagley, and staffed by Ken Cockaral. Locricchio's informant referred to it as a

front, "which will rip off its cover when the time comes".

Locricchio feels that if these organizations could be held by militants, the country would be better.

C. Post Riot National Activity.

1. When Rap Brown came to Detroit for the Dexter theater rally in August, his plane was late from New York because a pilot refused to fly with him. Despite this delay, before going to the theater, he spent an hour and one-half upon arrival at a meeting at Dorothy Dewberry's house. Locricchio's informant was in the house and said that Brown and a few others went into a special room and that there was an exchange of letters between Brown and others. Dan Aldrich (SNCC) was one of the people at the house. According to Locricchio, Aldrich is intensely highly dedicated, very sharp and talks about revolution and violence with ease. While Brown was in Detroit, Aldrich tried unsuccessfully to get \$10,000, from NBC through Sheridan for a television appearance of Rap Brown. This indicated to Locricchio that Brown was hard-up for cash.

As Brown's plane was arriving Joe Strickland showed up at the airport on some pretense, after his newspaper had failed to let him cover the story. Locricchio

suspects that Strickland may be closely involved with the inner circle.

Milton Henry told Locricchio at the airport, that he was concerned with what would happen with crowds at the theater. Although all reporters were reportedly removed from the theater, some got tapes of Brown's seditious speeches. Although the crowd was scared at times, it kept coming back to hear him.

As Brown was leaving the airport, NBC took pictures of some 15 people. Locricchio does not remember who they all were. However, Locricchio recalls that Milton Henry and Dan Aldrich were there, and that Dorothy Dewberry was not. Two of the fifteen are "inconsequential women", black beauties in Afro clothes. Some of the fifteen may have been plain-clothesmen. One of Locricchio's informants told him shortly thereafter that the inner circle wanted the film.

While NBC was set up in the Detroit's Pontchartrain Hotel for filming, No. 4 came to visit Locricchio in the latter's room. Locricchio suspected that No. 4 was up to

something, but Locricchio said he had to go out, and No. 4 asked if he could take a nap in Locricchio's room. When Locricchio came back into his room, he could tell it had been searched for the film of people at the airport, where No. 4 had been.

After the Brown rally, hood agreed to appear on TV and he told either No. 2 or 3. After the filming of the show, Hood went to his apartment and was shot once in the back. Locricchio did a "stupid thing" and confirmed that the guy who talked was shot. Hood is now in another city.

2. Two or three weeks after the riot, word went around among Detroit extremists to get to Milwaukee and take over Father Groppi, but they were unsuccessful. A small number went from Detroit because there was dissension over ideology. Locricchio did not provide details.

3. From No. 1, word came in the first week of September that there was a "Will Rogers" in Detroit from Atlanta, collecting guns to take back to that city. Locricchio did not hear specifically what the guns were to be used for, but at the same time, there was talk of setting up a "white" assassination of Martin Luther King to polarize the Negro community around the extremists. Rogers took handguns to Atlanta in his valise and returned again to Detroit within

a week. Locricchio would "guess" that Rogers is involved with SNCC and that guns were more available in Detroit because of break-ins during the disorder.

4. At the time of Rogers trip, there was talk that parts for a tank were coming in from outside the country and that it would be assembled in Atlanta. Locricchio's "theory" is that outside source have not yet delivered arms and that it is still in the promise stage.

5. In August and September, the inner circle group traveled back and forth to Atlanta. No details are known by Locricchio.

6. In late October, 5 men (including James Williams of the Intercity Voice) went down to Atlanta "to pick up someone's mother." They were down there a week and when they returned one forgot to mention "this cover". Locricchio knows nothing except that the trip was made.

7. The first week in October, a colored "minister" from Atlanta appeared in Detroit looking for a church. Locricchio met him and, upon investigation, found that he was not a minister. The "minister" had done community organization work in Chicago with a Detroit black, and "by

accident" the "minister and the black" ended up in the same community organization in Detroit. Locricchio has recently heard that the "minister" is going to Chicago.

8. Locricchio believes that there was a meeting of extremists in Toronto sometime in early or middle December. Locricchio's source was a white girl in a local poverty program office. Her boss, a community organizer, went to New York, but called back and the operator said he was in Toronto. When he got back, her boss made a "big stink" because he could not find his cancelled airline ticket. Stokely was in Paris a week before this and her feeling was that a French group in Toronto was raising funds. She had heard Toronto mentioned many times and there had been a lot of talk about the "friendly French group in Toronto" since the beginning of December. She has heard people mention that French people understand because they are also in revolution. (Kelly and Kane of ICC-FCC (?) asked Locricchio about this). Locricchio's informant is checking on this. She is a "white black" and scared stiff by extremists. She does not know who else went to Toronto from Detroit, but thinks that there were three persons.

9. Locricchio was told recently by No. 4 that a guerilla warfare school exists and that Stokely Carmichael's trip was to learn tactics. No. 4 is a close friend of Stokely's.

10. No. 4 said that inner circle is basically maoist, identifying with Negro expatriots in Cuba.

11. Locricchio believes there are some extremists contacts in Flint and Saginaw. Locricchio has heard "going up to Flint" etc. His impression is that there are very few extremists in Flint and Saginaw now. He also believes that they were "conversion" trips, and probably unsuccessful.

12. The Boston SNCC people moved into Detroit in late June or early July and all indications were that they were having financial troubles and were in Detroit for assistance. Locricchio said that they had no role in the disorder. He does not know if they are still in Detroit.

13. At the time of the Tranksgiving rumor, explosives were supposed to be coming up from Miami-Cuban sources.

14. In talk about explosives for next summer, the source is said to be a stockpile in Watts.

IV. General.

1. The Inner City voice figures prominently in the inner circle.

2. Clyde Cleveland, former head of CORE, is becoming more extremist underneath and less militant on surface. Clyde may have a white wife.

3. Alvin Harrison (former Afro-American Unity Movement) is working for the poverty program "on the surface" but Locricchio was informed that he has an airline ticket for Paris that he renews every day. During the disorder, Carol Schmidt was interviewing Harrison when youths ran in with something "urgent" and he shut them off. Harrison dates Dorothy Dewberry, so he must be considered ideologically sound.

4. General Baker (Afro-American) is an old time extremist; does not live in a basement apartment. Baker, probably the force behind the Kercherval incident, since then and now is under close surveillance by the police.

5. Locricchio has heard of Donald Roberts of Wayne, who is in the "Crisis Counsel", the intellectual arm of the inner circle.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Jan. 9, 1968

FROM : N. C. Rayford

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Committee for Student Rights in Detroit

On December 3, 1967, the undersigned attended the meeting of the Committee for Student Rights at the Central High School Auditorium in Detroit, Michigan. The meeting was scheduled to start at 5 p.m., however, it did not get underway until approximately 6 p.m. A representative of a local television station, when questioned, advised that he and his crew were covering the meeting because the subject of anti-Vietnam meetings was much in the news. He apparently thought that the high school students who sponsored the "Do It Yourself Student Rally" were primarily opposed to the U. S. Commitment in Vietnam. A review of the program reflects that the subject of war in Vietnam was not mentioned.

Scheryl Peterson gave the welcoming address and stated the purpose of the Committee. The undersigned concluded that the purpose, as stated by Miss Peterson, was innocuous enough, in that she stated that the Committee was concerned with promoting communication between the school administrators and the student body and also promoting a healthy interschool relationship with other high schools in Detroit. However, since the meeting was attended by at least 16 youths who had been at Rev. Cleage's church that morning, the undersigned concluded that it was at least possible that a more militant group could eventually control the Committee for Student Rights.

There were approximately 125 persons of which there were about 50 adults. It was noted that three persons in the audience remained seated during the National Anthem. Dr. Normal Drachler, Superintendent of Detroit Public Schools, was scheduled to speak, however, he did not appear at the meeting but sent a representative. It was noted also that several others listed on the program did not appear, including



Congressman John Conyers and State Representative James Del Rio. Number 106, Journal of the House of Representatives of the Michigan Seventy-fourth Legislature, which is attached herewith, is a printing of a speech by Rep. Del Rio concerning his reasons for voting "No" on the passing of an income tax bill giving as his reasons the deplorable conditions which exist in the metropolitan school systems. Also attached is a pamphlet written by Rep. Del Rio in which he traces the conspiracy of silence by historians to include the achievements of black people from earlier history through the present time. There are three other articles in the booklet entitled, "The White Commandments", "The History of the Civil Struggle", and "Where Do We Go From Here? The Del Rio View".

N. C. Rayford
Investigator

NR

M. C. Miskovsky

Jan. 9, 1968

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N. C. Rayford
Investigator

NCR/raf

1/9/68

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XX

THE COMMITTEE FOR STUDENT RIGHTS

presents a

Do
IT
Yourself
STUDENT
RALLY

"WHAT ABOUT YOU?"

Sunday, December 3, 1967
5:00 p.m.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
2425 Tuxedo at LaSalle Blvd.

Clarence Harris, Chairman

PROGRAM

I

NATIONAL ANTHEM..... Northwestern
High Band
Mr. Hicks
INVOCATION.....The Rev. Charles A. Hill
Hartford Ave. Bapt. Church
MASTER OF CEREMONY..... Ronald Massey
Central High
WELCOME & PURPOSE..... Scheryl Peterson
Northwestern High
INTRODUCTION..... Jim Madry
School Agent, Northwestern
RESPONSE..... Dr. Norman Drachler
Supt. Detroit Public Schools

II

DANCERS..... Young Americans
Northwestern
SELECTION..... Jeri Fowler
Northwestern
SELECTION..... Carl Temple
"I'LL ALWAYS LOVE YOU"..... Carol Fleming
"OLD MAN RIVER"..... The Counts
Cass Tech
POEM..... Wendall Anthony
Central
DANCE..... Central High
All City Dance Class
Mrs. Embree

III

"THE ROLE OF THE STUDENT IN SCHOOL" (3 minutes)

The Rev. Roy A. Allen
Pastor, Chapel Hill
Pres., Det. Council of Organizations

Jackie Vaughn III
State Rep. 23rd Dist.
Director H.E.O.C.

John Conyers, Jr.
Congressman, 1st Dist.

Noah Brown, Jr.
Director H.E.O.C.

James Del Rio
State Representative
24th Dist.

Lonnie Peek
Grad Student
Wayne State

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER..... Monsey Wilson
Pres. Northwestern
Alumni Assoc.

SPEAKER..... Clarence Harris
Chairman, Committee
For Student Rights

BENEDICTION..... The Rev. Charles A. Hill

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Fred Brown
Dr. Haley Bell
Radio Stations WCHB-D
The Great Cities Office

Lillian Staton
Marie Teasley
The Michigan Chronicle
Col. James Luster,
The Cadets of America

All Participants,
and
You

A LOOK AT REP. DEL RIO

by Judd Arnett
Detroit Free Press Columnist

There will now be a cautious approach in the general direction of James Del Rio, who has never been captured on paper by a white man. He has never been captured in any other fashion, for that matter, for he is a child of this century's civil rights movement, wily and untamed, understood by few and feared by many.

Mr. Del Rio, a small, quick, highly aggressive, opportunistic, diamond-needed talking machine, is currently the State Representative from Detroit's 24th District. The use of "currently" is probably extraneous: Who is going to beat him in what election?

If you went out and asked the first 100 white citizens you met, "What shall we do with him?", at least 82 percent would cry, "Throw the bum out!"

Yet . . .

. . . And here is where capturing Mr. Del Rio on paper becomes next to impossible - in his own way he means well, and in his own way he speaks for many members of the Negro community.

The trouble with James Del Rio, man and boy, is that he has always had the toughs. Life has been a jungle, claw and fang, and when a Negro makes it up the ladder it is different than when whitey makes it, for they start out with different goals and they end in different places.

James Del Rio, in short, has never been able to forget the claw and the fang, as you may have forgotten it, O kinsman of Horatio Alger, and in this he has much in common with the members of his race. You might say that James Del Rio has been brewing for 200 years, and it will be much beyond tomorrow before he settles snugly and securely into this "new society."



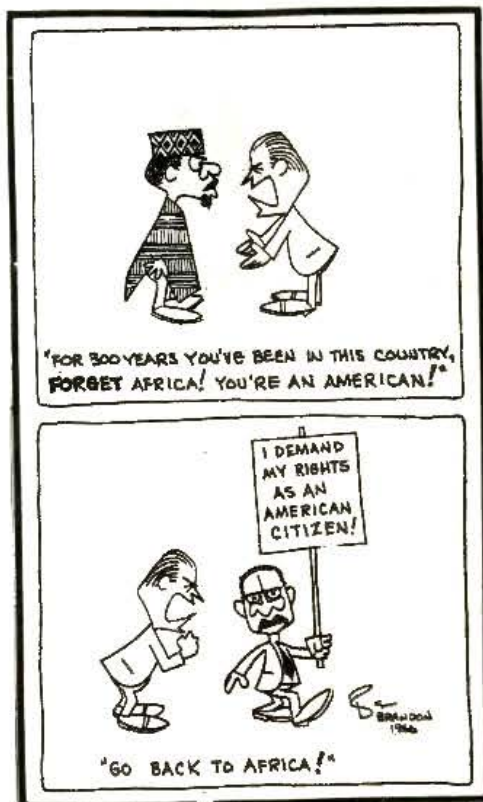
James Del Rio

STATE REPRESENTATIVE
24TH DISTRICT
Detroit
DEMOCRAT

991 West Grand Blvd. Detroit, Mich. TY 8-8888 Lansing 517-373-1772

Born in Detroit, January 30, 1924. Graduate Northwestern High School, Detroit Institute of Technology; attended University of Michigan and the Detroit College of Law. Awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree by the Union Baptist Seminary of Birmingham, Alabama. Has a son, Alan, 13 years old. Former, Mortgage Banker, Retired Real Estate Broker and Insurance Executive. Trustee, New Bethel Church. Member and recipient of awards from many civic and community organizations. Named Michigan Industrial Ambassador in 1961 by Governor Swainson; Named Member of Mayor's Committee on Industrial and Commercial Development of the City of Detroit; Appointed Financial Consultant for U. S. Foreign Trade Mission in 1962. Elected to the House of Representatives May 10, 1965.

1. The Conspiracy
2. The White Commandments
3. The History of the Civil Rights Struggle
4. Where Do We Go from Here? The Del Rio View



The Conspiracy
by
James Del Rio

Is the conspiracy of silence among Historians to forget African History, which includes Greeks, Turks, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Jews, Japanese, and Chinese peoples and their integration intentional?

The Cro-Magnon man of Dordogne is a Magdalenian, contemporary with the Negroid intrusion. The fine proportions of the skull indicate unmistakable intellectuality. The remains left by this race in the caves of Perigord reveal great skill in the art of sculpting and painting animals, whereas the Negroids of that time specialized in the representation of their own species. The daggers of that epoch, described in *Reliquiae Aquitaniae*, are engraved on reindeer horn, and the weapons underwent perhaps many practical improvements due to the effort, eventually successful, of the Magdalenians to drive out the Negroids, their artistic rivals.

During the Pleistocene period came a new Stone Age, with agriculture, domestic animals, pottery, and the grinding and polishing of stone tools. Evidence of this culture is found in Egypt and North Africa, the Sahara in West Africa, East and South Africa.

The Neolithic culture is of great significance. In Egypt it is found five thousand years before Christ. A thousand years later it changed from flint to copper. The Predynastic Egyptians who represented this culture were settled folk; they hunted and fished, and cultivated grain; made clothes and baskets, used copper, and were distinctly Negroid in physique. Probably they came from the south, from what is now Nubia. Later there came to Egypt other people of the type corresponding to the modern Beja, who lived in settled communities and used copper and gold. This brown Negroid people, like the modern Beja, Galla, and Somali, mixed increasingly with Asiatic blood, but their culture was African and extended by unbroken thread up the Nile and beyond the Somali peninsula.

The name "Negro" originally embraced a clear conception of ethnology - the African with dark skin, so-called "wooly" hair, thick lips and nose; but it is one of the achievements of modern science to confine this type to a small district even in Africa. Gallas, Nubians, Hottentots, the Congo races, and the Bantus are not "genuine" Negroes from this view, and thus we find that the continent of Africa is peopled by races other than the "genuine" Negro.

Nothing then remains for the Negro in the "pure" sense of the word save, as Waitz says, "a tract of country extending over not more than ten or twelve degrees of latitude, which may be traced from the mouth of the Senegal River to Timbuktu."

At a period as early as three thousand years before Christ the people of the North African coastal plains were practically identical with the early Egyptians and present two types: long-headed Negroid people and broad-headed Asiatics. Among the Berber types today are tall and medium long-headed people with broad faces, swarthy skin, and dark eyes. They have many Negroid characteristics, especially toward the south. Beside these are short, broad-headed people.

These Berbers are the ones who correspond to the ancient Egyptians and who have close relationship to the Neolithic inhabitants of France. Among them today the Negro element is widely represented.

There is thus no one African race and no one Negro type. Africa has as great a physical and cultural variety as Europe or Asia.

Before the year four thousand B.C. there is evidence that Negroid Dravidians and Mongoloid Sumerians ruled in Southern Asia, in Asia Minor, and in the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates. Negroids followed them under Sargon, and Sargon boasted that "he commanded the black heads and ruled them."

But it was in the valley of the Nile that the most significant continuous human culture arose, significant not necessarily because it was absolutely the oldest or the best, but because it led to that European civilization of which the world boasts today and regards in many ways as the greatest and last word in human culture.

Despite this, it is one of the astonishing results of the written history of Africa, that almost unanimously in the nineteenth century Egypt was not regarded as part of Africa. Its history and culture were separated from that of the other inhabitants of Africa; it was even asserted that Egypt was in reality Asiatic, and indeed Arnold Toynbee's Study of History definitely regarded Egyptian civilization as "white," or European! The Egyptians, however, regarded themselves as African. The Greeks looked upon Egypt as part of Africa not only geographically but culturally, and every fact of history and anthropology proves that the Egyptians were an African people varying no more from other African peoples than groups like the Scandinavians vary from other Europeans, or groups like the Japanese from other Asiatics. There can be but one adequate explanation of this vagary of nineteenth-century science: it was due to the slave trade and Negro slavery. It was due to the fact that the rise and support of capitalism called for rationalization based upon degrading and discrediting the Negroid peoples. It is especially significant that the science of Egyptology arose and flourished at the very time that the cotton kingdom reached its greatest power on the foundation of American Negro slavery. We may then without further ado ignore this verdict of history, widespread as it is, and treat Egyptian history as an integral part of African history.

The list of things which Egypt learned and handed down to us from that far day is enormous; the art of shaving, the use of wigs, the wearing of kilts and sandals, the invention of musical instruments, chairs, beds, cushions, and jewelry. The burial customs discovered in Europe came without reasonable doubt from Africa, brought by African invaders. Later the improvements made by the Egyptians were imitated in Sicily and Italy. Egyptian culture was in this way the forerunner of Greece.

The history of civilization which began in Egypt was not so much a matter of dynasties and dates. It was an attempt to settle certain problems of living together - of government, defense, religion, family, property, science, and art. What we must remember is that in these seven lines of human endeavor, it was African Egypt that made the beginning and set the pace.

Here then, from the time that the Egyptians began history down to the birth of Christ, for five thousand years mankind evolved a pattern of human culture which became the goal of the rest of the world and was imitated everywhere. When persons wished to study science, art, government, or religion, they went to Egypt. The Greeks, inspired by Asia, turned toward Africa for learning, and the Romans in turn learned of Greece and Egypt.

It would be interesting to know what the Egyptians, earliest of civilized men, thought of the matter of race and color. Of race in the modern sense they seemed to have had no conception. On their monuments they depicted peoples by the color of their skin and their hair. The hair was treated in many ways: sometimes it was straight and Mongoloid; perhaps more often it was curled and Negroid. Now and then it was curly and hidden by wigs. The Egyptians painted themselves usually as brown, sometimes dark brown, sometimes reddish-brown. Other folk, both Egyptians and non-Egyptians, were painted as yellow. Often brown Egyptians were coupled with yellow women, either signifying less exposure to the sun or intermarriage with Mongoloids and whites. A few were painted as white, referring to some parts of North Africa and Europe.

We conclude, therefore, that the Egyptians were Negroids, and not only that, but by tradition they believed themselves descended not from the whites or the yellows, but from the black peoples of the south. Thence they traced their origin, and toward the south in earlier days they turned the faces of their buried corpses.

Randall-MacIver of the Department of Egyptology and Arthur Thomson, professor of Anatomy, at Oxford, in a report on what is one of the most extensive and complete surveys of Ancient Egyptian skeletal material ever made, stated that of the Egyptians studied belonging to the periods from the Early Predynastic to the Fifth Dynasty, 24 per cent of the males and 19-1/2 per cent of the females were to be classified as Negroes. "In every character of which we have a measure they conform accurately to the Negro type."

Ra-Nehesi, the black Pharaoh, was the last defender of Egypt against the Hyksos who came in from Syria and began the conquest of Egypt.

The redemption of Egypt from the Hyksos came in the Eighteenth Dynasty through an Ethiopian power. The Hyksos held Egypt perhaps five hundred years; then came Aahmes of the Thebaid. With Aahmes was associated the black Queen Nofritari, or Nefertari.

The stream of Egyptian history in the day of its proudest triumphs now merges into that of Ethiopia, the Land of the Blacks; in such wise that Ethiopian history is seen to be the main current of Negro culture, from the Mountains of the Moon to the Mediterranean, blossoming on the lower Nile, but never severed from the Great Lakes of Inner Africa.

Ethiopia - 2000 B.C. to 500 A.D.

In Greek legend, Ethiopia, "land of the burnt faces," lay either side of the Red Sea in Africa and Asia and was inhabited by black folk. Eventually the blacks mixed with yellow Asiatics. After the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the term Ethiopia was used usually to designate regions in Africa corresponding to what we now know as Nubia or the Egyptian Sudan. The Sudan was known to the Egyptians and Hebrews as Kash or Cush. In Hebrew folklore the descendants of Ham "were Cush and Egypt."

If efforts have been made to separate the history of Egypt from Africa and the Negro race, a similar determination with regard to Ethiopia is even more contradictory. Science for years tried to separate men into great groups called races; at first the object was to explain human history by human differences. The scientific basis of race difference, however, appeared increasingly difficult as observation and measurement became more accurate. There was no scientific basis for the race theory in the 20th Century, but we began to speak of three "races" - Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid. This compromised mankind, knowing well that no scientifically accurate definition of these races could be made which would not leave most of mankind outside the limits.

In Ethiopia the sunrise of human culture took place, spreading down into the Nile valley.

Ethiopia, land of the blacks, was thus the cradle of Egyptian civilization.

When Asia overwhelmed Egypt, Egypt sought refuge in Ethiopia as a child returns to its mother, and Ethiopia then for centuries dominated Egypt and successfully invaded Asia.

What are the peoples who from vague prehistory emerged as the Africans of today? The answer has been bedeviled by the assumption that there was in Africa a "true" Negro and that this pure aboriginal race was mixed with a mythical "Hamitic race" which came apparently from neither Europe, Asia, nor Africa, but constituted itself as a "white element" in Negro Africa. We may dismiss this "Hamitic" race as a quite unnecessary assumption.

Flora Shaw wrote of the blackest men of the Sudan and their brilliant civilization, but warned her readers that they were not Negroes:

So here in Ethiopia, "Land of the Blacks," country of the "Burnt Faces," we are continually faced with the silly paradox that these black folks were not Negroes. What then are Negroes? Who are Africans? Why has the whole history of Ethiopia been neglected or ascribed to white "Hamites"? And why does every historian and encyclopedist, whenever he writes of the civilization of the upper Nile, feel compelled to reiterate that these black people were "not Negroes"?

Again, the mixture of blood among the three races is always referred to as an explanation of the advance among Negroes and the retrogression among whites. Is this scientific? A "white" or Asiatic aristocracy is repeatedly adduced as accounting for the rise of the Sudan, the government of Uganda, the industry of the Bushongo, and even the art of the Ashanti. Nothing is ever said of the influence of Negro blood in Europe and Asia, yet distinct Negroid features can be seen today all over Europe. When a black Jew boasts to his fellow religionists "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem," he is supposed to be tanned; when Syria and Arabia show in hair and color their Negro blood, this is completely ignored and

and their culture called "white." When Buddha appears all over Asia portrayed as black and curly-haired, science makes little effort to investigate or explain.

The myths of Hercules and of Busiris are painted on a vase dating from the sixth century B.C. Hercules is represented as black and curly haired; the Egyptians of Busiris are represented as both black and yellow, and a bodyguard of five Ethiopians are marching to the defense of Busiris.

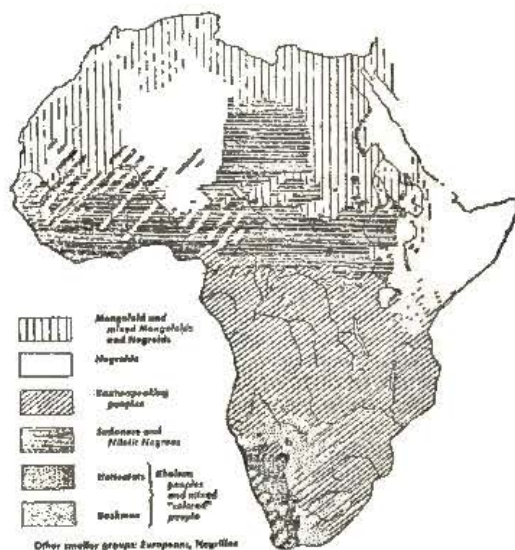
It was around 2500 B.C. that the Hebrew nation had begun to arise. It became enslaved in Egypt, perhaps in the time of Rameses I. Its history touched Ethiopia at many points, and Jews showed the blacks the highest respect.

In personal relations there were repeated bonds between Jews and Ethiopians. A black minister of state, Ebedmelech, rescued the prophet Jeremfah from prison: Moses married a black woman and Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married. (Numbers 12:1)

The Negro strain in Alexander II is apparent, and still more so in Ptolemy XIII, the flute-playing father of the most celebrated of the Cleopatras. Ptolemy's mother was a slave. Cleopatra herself is known through tradition as having been of a tawny, or mulatto color.

The duel between Europe and Africa came with the Punic Wars: the first from 264 to 241 B.C.; the second from 218 to 201 B.C.; and the final one from 149 to 146 B.C. These wars started as efforts to defend Italy against migration and conquest from Africa, where Mongoloids and Negroids with some infiltrating of Europeans had built the city of Carthage. Within this city all races were represented, and Carthage secured a stronghold in Sicily which the first Punic War was fought to break.

The second Punic War began with the invasion of Spain by Carthage and the eruption of the Carthaginian army into Italy. The leader, Hannibal, was finally driven back into Africa. Hannibal and his African troops must have brought a strong Negro strain into the Roman population. For thirteen years they dominated the peninsula from Naples to the Alps. Hannibal, himself, if we believe his coins, may well have been a Negro with woolly hair. His wife was Spanish. In Rome the spread



RACES IN AFRICA
From *Les Races de L'Afrique*, Paris, Payot, 1935.

of the plantation system after the second Punic War led to the wide use of slaves, but these slaves were from Greece and from Spain.

West Coast of Africa from A.D. 500 to 1,800

It has long been the belief of modern men that the history of Europe covers the essential history of civilization, with unimportant exceptions; that the progress of the white race has been along the one natural, normal path to the highest possible human culture. Even in its collapse today, the dominant opinion is that this is but an unfortunate halting on the way; the same march must and will be resumed after a breathing space for recovery.

On the other hand, we know that the history of modern Europe is very short; scarcely a moment of time as compared with that of eternal Egypt. The British Empire is not more than two hundred and fifty years old; France in her present stature dates back three hundred years; the United States was born only a hundred and seventy years ago; and Germany less than one hundred years. When, therefore, we compare modern Europe with the great empires which have died, it is not far different in length of days from the empires of Persia, Assyria, the Hittites, and Babylon. Ethiopia ruled the world longer than England has.

Africa saw the stars of God; Asia saw the soul of man; Europe saw and sees only man's body, which it feeds and polishes until it is fat, gross and cruel.

It may well be that the West Coast Negroes first gave to civilization the art of welding iron which spread over all Africa and then eventually into Europe and Asia. It is of course possible that iron welding was discovered on other continents independently of Africa, but no continent had so wide a use of iron in earliest times.

According to Boas: "It seems likely that at times when the European was still satisfied with rude stone tools, the African had invented or adopted the art of smelting iron. Consider for a moment what this invention has meant for the advance of the human race.

Asia and Africa A.D. 500 to 1,500

The connection between Asia and Africa has always been close. There was probably actual land connection in prehistoric times, and the black race appears in both continents in the earliest records, making it doubtful which continent is the point of origin. Certainly the Negroid people of Asia have played a leading part in her history. The blacks of Melanesia have scoured the seas, and Charles Tauber makes them inventors of one of the world's first written languages: thus "this greatest of all human inventions was made by aborigines whose descendants today rank among the lowest, the proto-Australians."

It is certain that the Black Buddha of India was imaged in the Negroid type. In the black Negro God, whether called Buddha or Sut-Nahsi, we have a datum. They carry their color in the proof of their origin. The people who first fashioned and worshipped the divine image in the Negroid mould of humanity must, according to all knowledge of human nature, have been Negroes themselves. For blackness is not merely mystical, the features and hair of Buddha belong to the black race and Nahsi is the Negro name. The genetrix represented as the Dea Multimammia, the Diana of Ephesus, is found as a black figure, nor is the hue mystical only, for the features are Negroid as were those of the black Isis in Egypt.

The first Babylon seems to have been of a Negroid race. The earliest Egyptian civilization seems to have been Negroid. It was in the days before the Semite was known in either land. The Black seems to have built up a great empire, such as it was, by the waters of the Ganges before Mongol or Aryan. Way down under the mud and slime of the beginnings . . . is the Negroid contribution to the fair superstructure of modern civilization.

According to Professor Munro, one of the foremost students of Japanese life and culture: "The Japanese are a mixture of several distinct stocks - Negrito, Mongolian . . . Breadth of face, intraorbital width, flat nose, prognathism, and brachycephaly might be traced to the Negro stock."

Mohammedanism arose in the Arabian deserts, starting from Mecca which was in that part of the world which the Greeks called Ethiopia and regarded as part of the African Ethiopia. It must from earliest time have had a large population of Negroids.

It is probable that Chinese ships traded directly with Africa from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. When the Portugese came they found the Arabs intermarried and integrated with the Bantu and in control of the trade.

One of the most astonishing developments in Africa was the rule of the Mameluke slaves in Egypt for six centuries, from 1193 to 1805. There has been no exact parallel to this in history, and yet students have neglected this period with singular unanimity. The Mamelukes were white slaves bought by the thousands in the Balkans, Greece, Turkey, and the Near East.

Napoleon Bonaparte explained the difference between slavery in the East and West:

"These countries were inhabited by men of different colors. Polygamy is the simple way of preventing them from persecuting one another. The legislators have thought that in order that the whites be not enemies of the blacks, the blacks of the whites, the copper-colored of the one and the other, it was necessary to make them all members of the same family and struggle thus against a penchant of man to hate all that is not like him. Mohamet thought that four women were sufficient to attain this goal because each man could have one white, one black, one copper-colored, and one wife of another color

Toussaint in Haiti was the first successful black sultan of the West. Byano and Palmares cleared his way.

His successor, Ishmael, fell into the snare of colonial imperialism, baited by Lord Beaconsfield. Britain saw in the Suez Canal, once conceived by the Pharaohs and dug by the French thousands of years later, a link to unite the British Empire, guard her Indian investment and consolidate her control of trade.

The Black Sudan

How civilization flamed in the Sudan in a culture which was African and not Arabian and which helped light a renaissance of culture in Europe.

In the west the Moslems first came into touch with the Negro kingdom of Ghana. Here large quantities of gold were gathered in early days, and we have the names of seventy-four rulers before A.D. 300, running through twenty-one generations. This would take us back approximately a thousand years, to 700 B.C., or about the time that Pharaoh Necho of Egypt sent out the Phoenician expedition which circumnavigated Africa; and possibly before the time when Hanno, the Carthaginian, explored the West Coast of Africa.

Throughout the Middle Ages, in Germany and in Latin Europe, statues of the "Black Virgin Mary" and portraits of Negro saints of the church were widely exhibited. The stained glass of the Cathedral at Chartres, France especially illustrates this.

There was born in the Egypto-Syrian area, with its Mongoloid and Negroid elements, a social reformer called Jesus Christ. Nordics who have never accepted his doctrine of submission to evil, repudiation of riches, and love for mankind, have usually limned him as Caucasoid. He was probably a swarthy Syrian Jew, with hooked nose and curled hair; perhaps he even inherited Ethiopian blood. He probably looked like that Jew at whom Hitler stared in Vienna: "One day when I was walking through the inner city, I suddenly came upon a being clad in a long caftan, with black curls." From that day dates his active anti-Semitism. Jesus tried to make men better, simpler, truer; he did not succeed. He was charged with blasphemy and treason, and hanged on nails until he was dead. Around legends of his person and ideals have been built creeds, churches, inquisitions, and dreams. Finally there arose the organized and institutionalized Christian Church.

It must be remembered that in ancient and medieval days the color of a man's skin was usually not stressed or even mentioned unless it had cultural significance; that is, if a group of black folk had a particular cultural pattern, then reference to the skin color of an individual belonging to that group fixed his cultural status.

On the other hand, a man might be black and not belong to a black cultural group; in that case his skin color would not be mentioned at all. Thus Ra Nesi, Pharaoh of Egypt, was mentioned as black probably because he was also a member of an Ethiopian clan; while Nofritari, although black, was called Egyptian.

Critics who have almost had hysterics in seeking to deny that Shakespeare meant to paint a Negro as a noble warrior and successful suitor of a beautiful white woman.

When Italian painters and others began to paint the legend of the three kings who visited the cradle of Christ, it seemed logical that one of the three princes, who represent the three great peoples of earth, should be a black Negroid of Africa as the other two represented yellow Asia and white Europe.

In the same fourteenth century we see growing in the Sudan the expansion of imperialism in black Africa. The movement of Islam up the Nile continued from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. As a result, the Bantu tribes, which probably had originally moved north from the Great Lakes toward the Mediterranean, began a countermovement perhaps long before the eleventh century. They moved toward the West Coast and the kingdom of the Congo, which dominated the valley and forests of the great Congo system; they pressed upon the Great Lakes, threatening the Negroids and mulattoes on the East Coast; and they fell upon the civilization of the Monomotapa centering at Zimbabwe. They overthrew and changed the culture while at the same time continuing it. They marched on in a series of stops and forays until they reached South Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the west came greater disaster to black Africa. The city-state coast culture, withdrawing from the Sudanese imperialism, met expanding Europe; and that Europe, beginning with trade in gold and pepper, turned to a trade in human flesh on the greatest scale the world has ever seen. The gain from American black labor together with the loot of India changed the face of world industry. Built on a miraculous union of science and technique, the capitalistic system was founded on African slavery

and degradation. The very name of the Songhay was forgotten, and Europe ruled the world.

This thousand years of history might have been different if the Christian Church had retained its hold upon Asia and Africa instead of expelling these countries and turning to the Nordic barbarians. In Northern Africa, the Nile valley, and Ethiopia, in Syria and the Middle East, the Catholic Church had wide range and power during the early Middle Ages. Through the greed of the Eastern Roman Empire, and because of endless controversy and disputes like that of Arianism, all these churches were lost to the Roman hierarchy. Thus when Islam came to the valley of the Nile it came to defend Egyptian Christians and was welcomed by them, instead of meeting opposition from the organized Christian Church. When, on the other hand, Christianity met black folk in the African slave and red men in America, it regarded them as lost heathens to be exterminated or enslaved. Thus the Church upheld the slave trade and its consequences.

Poverty, ignorance, and disease are back of most of our crime, and to this is added a curious lack of ethical guidance. Churches tend to teach dogma rather than what is right and wrong; and the funny strips exalt craftiness and laugh at suffering.

In contrast to all this comes the reign of luxury, conspicuous expenditure, the flaunting of diamonds and furs; the demand for great estates and servants, while round about is sickness, starvation, and insanity.

We curb thought and discussion because we are afraid that those who are powerful and comfortable under present conditions may be disturbed in their present control of the world. Our news is distorted and our newspapers prostituted by those who own and use them for profit and propaganda. Our "free press" is a series of tight little principalities which channel public opinion with prejudiced headlines and screened news.

We seek happiness and escape through drunkenness and night clubs. We couple our religion with hate, saying "God so loved the World," and boasting how much we hate our enemies.

If this Nation could not exist half slave and half free, then the World in which the nation plays a larger role also cannot be half slave or half free, but must recognize world democracy.

Few people realize what Africa and her children have done to win the World Wars. In the first, the Senegalese saved France at the first onslaught of the Germans; black soldiers of Africa conquered the German colonies; American Negroes rushed the critical supplies to Europe which turned the tide of victory.

In World War II thousands of Africans fought in Europe, Burma, India, and Africa; they formed a large part of Montgomery's Eighth Army in the decisive North African campaign; an American Negro physician contrived the banks of blood plasma which saved tens of thousands of lives; Negroes built thousands of miles of strategic road under direct enemy fire; Negroes handled three-fourths of the ammunition in the European Theatre of Operations and fired much of it. Negro fighting troops took part in the invasion of Normandy, in the invasion of Italy, and as flight squadrons and hospital corps. In America eight Negro scientists were engaged in the research on the atomic bomb.

The stars of dark Andromeda belong up there in the great heaven that hangs above this tortured world. Despite the crude and cruel motives behind her shame and exposure, her degradation and enchaining, the fire and freedom of black Africa, with the uncurbed might of her consort Asia, are indispensable to the fertilizing of the universal soil of mankind, which Europe alone never would nor could give this aching earth.

The New Africa

In 1965 there are 37 independent countries in Africa. In the industrial world the significance of Africa increased. Today out of Africa come 95 per cent of the world's diamonds; 80 per cent of the cobalt; 60 per cent of the gold; 75 per cent of the sisal hemp; 70 per cent of the palm oil; 70 per cent of the cocoa; 35 per cent of the phosphates; 30 per cent of the chrome and manganese; 20 per cent of the copper; 15 per cent of the coffee; an increasing part of the uranium and radium, and large amounts of tin, iron and spices.

In the Union of South Africa a white nation has determined on race subordination as a policy, and 2,600,000 whites are attempting to rule and exploit ten million blacks and colored. The Rhodesias are attempting to follow this policy in part. The looming struggle is of vast portent.

Meantime this current story gets small space in the Afro-American press with its 150 weekly newspapers circulating among two million readers. Four of the leading papers have from 100,000 to 300,000 readers each and are in the realm of big business, subject to the control of finance capital in advertising, allotment of newsprint and political influence. Political party funds are often available to swell income during elections, and their main support comes from readers who must not offend the Department of Justice and the FBI or they will lose their jobs. Meantime since the Second World War, 15 million American Negroes have sent less than \$10,000 to help the struggles of 200,000,000 Africans.

On the other hand the Negro press discusses race relations in the United States, reports news of the Negro group and personal items. Its chief demand for 150 years has been political, civil and social equality with white Americans.

Here they are advancing rapidly, and today it is clear that they have a chance to trade wide breaks in the American color line for acquiescence in American and West European control of the world's colored peoples. This is shown by the pressure on them to keep silence on Africa and Asia and on white working-class movements, and in return to accept more power to vote; abolition of separation in education; dropping of "jim-crow" units in our military forces and gradual disappearance of the Negro ghetto in work and housing. To this is added much long-delayed recognition of Negro ability and desert.

It is fair to admit that most American Negroes, even those of intelligence and courage, do not yet fully realize that they are being bribed to trade equal status in the United States for the slavery of the majority of men. When this is clear, especially to black youth, the race must be aroused to thought and action and will see that the price asked for their cooperation is far higher than need be paid, since race and color equality is bound to come in any event.

Africa, ancient Africa, has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Africa has no choice between private capitalism and socialism. The whole world, including capitalist countries, is moving toward socialism, inevitably, inexorably.

For 400 years Europe and North America have built their civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightfully belong to these colonial peoples.

This resume of Black History will be called Anti-White, or even Pro-Colored. The conspiracy of Silence among so-called White Historians who have promoted white power or white nationalism and have succeeded only in promoting self-hatred among the colored peoples of the world.

The Spanish word "Negro", meaning Black - a descriptive adjective was raised by these historians from the position of an adjective to the substantive name of a race and they compounded their treachery or stupidity by then depriving this adjective of its capital letter. The adjective, Negro, was used by them to tie color to race and Blackness to slavery and degradation. The White Race was pictured as pure and superior. Being pro-Black is not proof of hating Whites, but it does say we now must see ourselves through our own eyes and we reject the White Cult historians and others who say you must appear to be a white man in a black skin in order to be acceptable.

Four thousand years before Christ, the Black Egyptians who were distinctly Negroid in physique, ruled the World. Rameses and his Queens were cast in no other mould. Moses married a Black woman. Cleopatra was colored and Hannibal ruled from Naples to the Alps.

Demand from your teacher the truth. If she is culturally deprived she may have to do some homework.

Self-hatred has proven to be the most dangerous problem for Black people. Therefore, self-pride in being Black and knowing your history beyond American Slavery back to the Kings and Queens of Egypt and Ethiopia will create the foundation for the most dangerous problem for the White World today (pride in being Black). You have nothing to lose but your 2nd class citizenship. You have a continent and nationality to regain. You have freedom and human dignity to attain.

One thing alone I own and this is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a half century I have been nothing but a "Nigger". On this basis and this alone, I dare speak, I dare advise.

ONE NEGRO SAID TO ANOTHER IN VIET NAM:



THE WHITE COMMANDMENTS

It is almost a formula as simple as this . . . When We want to do -- it's Racism . . . When "They" want us to do - it's patriotism!!!

Nigger, "You are an American" . . . Except in jobs, housing, education, marriage and a few miscellaneous areas . . .

Nigger, You must not think as a Negro, in the areas of voting, spending money, and an assortment of other things . . .

Nigger, You must not hate, nor take vengeance, nor reprisals against those who have hated and exploited you . . . Forgive them, turn the other cheek . . . Love them with all your heart and soul . . . And do not rise up even if your own freedom (which is guaranteed - it says here- in the Constitution) is at stake . . .

I am agin "Window Dressing" . . . That is the placement of hand-picked - House Negroes . . . Whose reason for being in a certain niche is that of diverting attention from the facts of life . . .

I am agin tokenism . . . That is the tossing of a crumb from the table while somebody else makes off with the whole loaf . . .

I am for backing up ANYBODY, regardless of race, creed, etc., who is enlightened, liberal and dedicated to do his small bit to correct the evils of segregation, enslavement, etc. . . I am for rewarding our friends, who and wherever they are . . . and perhaps even to avenge ourselves in this area where we are persecuted, deprived and misused . . .

This will take all kinds of people and programs, to achieve . . . Some to do the digging . . . Some militant . . . Some scholarly . . . Some passive . . . Some statesmen . . . Some connivers . . . Some philosophers . . . Some persuaders . . . Some White, Some Black, and Some to serve by merely kneeling and praying . . .

For use of the same gimmick of ridiculing the status quo of some sections of our country . . . Here are some commandments:

Thous shall not be conscious of thy race except for the convenience of the Majority . . .

Thou shall not covet thy former master's house, nor his education, nor his job . . .

Thous shall not move into a "White" neighborhood . . .

Thou shall not have thy own business, nor banks, nor any other entity which shall serve to concentrate thy wealth . . .

Thou shalt not be in a hurry to attain thy freedom, but must wait and be patient . . .

Thou shalt not seek employment according to thy skills, but according to thy race . . . Thou knowest well thou art a bootblack, field hand, common laborer domestic, etc.

Thou shalt seek thy rewards ONLY in the Hereafter, and be content with just occasional glimpses into the promised land . . . For yea, verily, thou hast by thy numbers become a problem, and thou has wounded us sorely, lest thee persist in fulfilling the promises that "ETHIOPIA SHALL STRETCH FORTH HER HANDS AND RULE THE EARTH AGAIN!"

The decade spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed.

In a highly industrialized 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most vulnerable - in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. Lower-middle-class college students launched the attack that brought down this imposing but hollow structure.

Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industrialized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movement's classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment, housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these inter-related problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action - or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered from was by getting rid of the local sheriff - and that meant political action, which in turn meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic party where the only meaningful primary contests in the South are fought.

A conscious bid for political power is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected. What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement. Is this the right course? And if it is, can the transformation be accomplished?

The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of de facto segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 per cent to 54 per cent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend de facto segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth expands. Behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. America's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?

Before trying to answer, let me first insist that the task of the movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial

barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experience of various ethnic immigrant groups, particularly the Jews. But the analogies with the Jews do not hold for three simple but profound reasons. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a resource which has afforded them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country, were forbidden by law to read or write. Second, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image is obvious. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission (the right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old). Third, Jews are called white and have the option of relinquishing their cultural-religious identity, intermarrying, passing, etc. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option. There is also a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable in terms of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic roles bear little resemblance.

Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the Western frontier is settled, labor organization has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is altering the fundamental structure of the labor force, destroying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs - jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

Whatever the pace of this technological revolution may be, the direction is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as the Secretary of Labor puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Negroes, of course, are not the only people being affected by these developments, but the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over, it is 68 per cent. They are without a future. It goes without saying that any effort to combat demoralization and apathy is desirable, but we must understand that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common-sense response to an objective reality. Negro youths have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in American society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents; vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resort to illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional path (school, work, etc.) is superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruelty to harangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, we will see motivation and self-help in abundant enough quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the self-help advocated by many liberals and the doctrines of the so-called Black Muslims, who are not Black Muslims, but just Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. But every prostitute the Muslims convert to a model of virtue is replaced by the ghetto with two more.

Let me sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: The civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged social movement - an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full opportunity but with achieving the fact of equality. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action.

Thus, during the first New York school boycott, the TIMES editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; therefore, the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in connecting Negro demands to broader pressures for constructive revision of existing policies. They apparently see nothing strange in the fact that in the last twenty-five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty. My quarrel with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their call for moderation is, for all practical purposes, a call to the Negro to adjust to the status quo, and therefore is immoral.

Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation. I believe that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes - in their hearts - unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot objectively be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the ugliest features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted de facto school segregation in the urban centers that the issue of quality education for all children stirred into motion. Finally, it seems reasonably clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

The Negro struggle has hardly run its course; and it will not stop moving until it has been utterly defeated or won substantial equality.

It is clear that Negro needs cannot be satisfied unless we go beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda. How are these constructive objectives to be achieved? The answer is simple, deceptively so: through political power.

There is strong moralistic strain in the civil rights movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts.

Neither that movement, nor the country's twenty-million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States. The Negro "swing vote" in crucial urban areas as the source of the Negro's independent political power base thus created, and to realize this potential is one of the most challenging and urgent tasks before the civil rights movement. If the movement can wrest leadership of the ghetto vote from the machines it will have acquired an organized constituency such as other major ethnic groups in our society now have.

But we must also remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on "other" votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be "independent", but must operate for one candidate or the other, even if by default. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense. The labor movement, despite its obvious faults, has been the largest single organized force in this country pushing for progressive social legislation. And where the Negro-labor-liberal axis is weak, as in the farm belt, it was the religious groups that were most influential in rallying support for the Civil Rights Bill.

The durability of the coalition was interestingly tested during the election. I do not believe that the Johnson landslide proved the "white backlash" to be a myth. It proved, rather, that economic interests are more fundamental than prejudice: the backslashers decided that loss of social security was, after all, too high a price to pay for a slap at the Negro.

Where there is injustice social disorder is inevitable. Jesus said that, Confucius said that, Buddha said that, Jeremiah and Isaiah said that. So what makes you think I can go into an economically troubled area and tell those kids to be "nice."

Since 1954, Negro unemployment has doubled; the gap between white and Negro median income has broadened; the slums are fuller and their boundaries are the same; there are more Negro children in segregated classrooms - if things have become worse after all we've been through, there's something damn wrong with the leaders, the liberals, the whole alliance which has not produced victories.

Everybody seems ready for Medication, but nobody seems ready for Immunization.

The Del Rio View - As Architect and Founder of The Conference of Colored Elected Officials of the State of Michigan for Political Education.

Theme: Identity and Black Politics

Every racial group has a nationality division within the Democratic Party, but us. The Poles have a Polish American Division, the Latins have a Latin American Division. There's an Irish American Division, an Italian American Division, etc.

Why not have an Afro-American Division?

Informed Negroes say (according to U.S. News and World Report) that the feeling is growing among their people that they are being exploited for political purposes by the National Democratic Party. "When they want Negro votes they make gestures in our direction" said one Negro office holder, "But they always try to keep command of things - they are for White Power." "This, more than any number of Stokely Carmichaels, is what is feeding the Black Power movement," another elected Negro said.

Black Politics will help more than any other single movement to bring us total freedom within the Democratic structure of this country. There has never been a free people, a free country, a real Democracy on the face of this earth. In a city of some 300,000 slaves and 90,000 so-called free men, Plato sat down and praised freedom in exquisitely elegant phrases. In a colony of 500,000 slaves and thousands of white indentured servants, Thomas Jefferson, a wealthy slave owner, sat down and wrote the memorable words of the Declaration of Independence. In a country with 10,000,000 third-class citizens, and millions on millions of poverty-stricken whites, Woodrow Wilson segregated the toilets in Washington, D.C., and went forth to make the world safe for Democracy. There has never been a free people, a free country, a real Democracy in the recorded history of man.

We must, therefore, conclude that for the Black Man in search of a method or an ideology that will expurgate the economic and political paralysis that emasculates him, humiliates him, he must generate a movement of Black Politics and Identity for his economic, social, and political freedom.

It has often puzzled me when some Americans have approached me with the question, "Are you a Negro?", when it is very obvious that I represent an unmistakable specimen which the anthropologist will call Negroid.

Not long ago, I heard over the radio that two Negroes and a Canadian were captured trying to blow up the Statue of Liberty in New York. Those referred to as Negroes, were, of course, Americans of African descent, while the Canadian was, of course, a Canadian of French descent, often referred to as French-Canadian.

What is meant by "Negro" in American usage? Could it be a racial, social, economic, political or cultural categorization? If racially categorized, the term "Negro," as commonly used in the United States, would seem less accurate and less "scientific." There are only a very few people in the United States, or Africa, who can actually be classified as Negroes, or Negroid. The greater number of the ethnic group called Negroes are stock blended of Africans, American Indians, Europeans and Asiatics. In fact, there is no pure race anywhere today in the world. Negroism is an American creation! It is the white man's idea of a black man, and that man's place in the American Society. It is an American concept that is socially desired, politically sanctioned and economically abused. The American white man does not say he is a Caucasian American - he says, "I'm Irish American." Negro means Black, Afro-American means a racial extraction of any color. Negro means a man whose entire way of life must be fashioned in the image of the white man's before he is recognized as a human being. It means a person of inferior "race."

Language in a Society does not develop apart from the society's historical, economic and political evolution. Afro-American descent could mean any color, while "Negro" in Spanish means black. Black, in the American language, to the white man, means evil, uncleanness, defamation, etc. Such usages are found in everyday language, such as:

Blackball - to exclude from membership, or ostracize

Black book - a book containing names that are out of favor, or in disgrace

Black letter - unlucky, black letter days

Blacklist - a list of persons regarded as suspect, or deserving of censure

Blackmail - extortion by intimidation

Black sheep - Black mark, Black Muslims, Black power, etc.

These concepts cannot be considered accidental, and undoubtedly would not exist in a society wherein whites were a minority, as they are in the world. Historically these concepts have evolved as a result of the need of the dominant group to maintain social and economical relationships on the basis of inequality, if its color is to survive.

The white child in our society, therefore, is instilled with prevailing thinking on race relations, through language, and this thinking is difficult to overcome once the roots of the language have imbedded themselves into pliant minds. The child carries into adulthood the various connotations, mainly unfavorable, of the word "black" that he has garnered through the years.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, the noted pediatrician, claims that psychological studies show that the so-called Negro child, by accepting the white man's prejudice against him, becomes prejudiced against himself and his color by the time he is four or five years old. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark has shown the existence of self-hatred in young, so-called Negro children in especially devised tests such as the "Doll Test" and the "Coloring Test." What is the answer to this self-hatred? Is it more White culture? Considering how white culture has affected the minds of our children, directly or indirectly, the question arises as to whether we need any more of it. Instead, heavy doses of "Black Culture" must be infused into the minds of our children in much the same manner that medicine is administered to the sick. Only when their minds have been "darkened" with sufficient knowledge about this heritage beyond the history of American slavery will Negro children gain positive images of themselves and take

pride in their African heritage instead of rejecting it.

THUS, THE NECESSARY THERAPY REQUIRED BY AMERICANS OF AFRICAN DESCENT IS KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF. THE NEGRO HAS TO SET HIS OWN VALUES AND LOOK AT HIMSELF THROUGH HIS OWN EYES AND NOT SEEK DIGNITY BY THE INFINITE PURSUIT OF WHITENESS IN THE EYES OF A WHITE RACIST SOCIETY WHICH DEPRIVED HIM OF HIS DIGNITY IN THE FIRST PLACE. THE JOB OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN AT THIS POINT IN TIME, IS NOT TO BECOME A WHITE MAN IN A DARK SKIN BUT TO BECOME HIMSELF.

The call for Black politics is the symbolic call to politically sophisticated Afro-American elected officials and precinct delegates to unite and organize for the assumption of the only power that will generate us from the onslaught of persistent socio-political degradation and relentless economic deprivation and exploitation.

BLACK POLITICS IS A CLARION CALL FOR FUNCTIONAL COLLECTIVIZATION OF BLACK POLITICIANS, FOR AN ASSUMPTION AND SHARING OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE AND OBJECTIVE PROGRAMS. BLACK POLITICS UNEQUIVOCALLY ARTICULATES DESEGREGATION BUT NOT INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR THOSE WHO URGE INTEGRATION THE BIG QUESTIONS ARE: INTEGRATION INTO WHAT, OR WHOSE SOCIETY? INTEGRATION AT WHAT PRICE? OUR DIGNITY OR ECONOMIC SLAVERY? IS THE SO-CALLED NEGRO AN AMERICAN OR NOT? IF HE IS AN AMERICAN THEN WHY IS HE A NEGRO? AND WHY IS HE WALKING THE STREETS OF AMERICA BEGGING FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WHICH ARE ALREADY GUARANTEED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES? Even the displaced Europeans who found refuge in America since two World Wars, are already enjoying first-class citizenship and civil rights from the very first day they came to the United States. Yet, the so-called Negro, who shed his blood, sweat and tears in order that Europe could have peace, liberty and freedom, still does not enjoy that same peace, liberty and freedom.

THE CHILDREN OF THE SAME DISPLACED EUROPEANS WHO FOUND REFUGE IN AMERICA ARE NOW THE ONES WHO SPIT, AND THROW STONES, TOMATOES, EGGS, AND INSULTS AT THE CHILDREN OF THE SAME SO-CALLED NEGROES, WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES TO FREE EUROPE FROM THE GRIPS OF NAZIISM AND FACISM.

What guarantees of real freedom are there for black citizens in the United States with its white power structure? Black politics says, emphatically, that integration into the present American Society is not consistent with reality because this white power structure, with its established system, was built and is sustained through a systematic exploitation and subjugation of the colored man inside and outside of the United States. Therefore, to advocate the integration of the Black man into such a system is nothing short of delusion and ethnic suicide.

THE JEWS LEAD AND CONTROL JEWISH POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS; POLISH-AMERICANS CONTROL POLISH-AMERICAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS; THE JAPANESE-AMERICANS CONTROL JAPANESE-AMERICAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS; THE CHINESE-AMERICANS CONTROL CHINESE-AMERICAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS. IS IT THEREFORE NOT RACISM IF BLACK POLITICS URGES THE AFRO-AMERICAN TO LEAD AND CONTROL HIS POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS. SUCH AN ADVOCACY IS VERY CONSISTENT WITH AMERICANISM. BLACK POLITICS OPERATES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AMERICANISM AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THEREFORE SHOULD NOT BE CALLED RACIST OR VIOLENT UNLESS WE ARE PREPARED TO SAY, IN ESSENCE, THAT AMERICANISM IS RACIST AND VIOLENT!

For the Afro-American, in search of identity and power in America, Black politics is the ideology of the time. It is the ideology that will expurgate the economic and political paralysis that emasculates and humiliates the Black man in the white power structure and system in the United States. Black politics does not mean Black isolationism or separatism, but rather, Black unity and cooperation for a meaningful participation in the complex society of the United States of America.

Haven't you thought to yourself sometime during your life, when you thought about your individual position in the American scene, "Something is wrong?" Maybe now you know -- think about it.

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Lansing, Thursday, June 29, 1967.

Rep. Del Rio, having reserved the right to enter his protest against the passage of the bill, made the following statement:

"Mr. Speaker and members of the House:

I voted no on Senate Bill No. 89 calling for an income tax because it is not fiscal reform, it is an income tax, and a great deal of the funds collected, which are inadequate, will be used for the Detroit School System. The Detroit Education Association sets forth many of my reasons, in their March, 1967 Report, excerpts which are contained herein and made a part of this explanation of my no vote.

A large city, as compared with other communities, has a number of advantages to offer its residents. A large number of people living in a relatively small space can provide for each other adequate public utilities, varied recreational and cultural services, and superior educational opportunities for their children, all at comparatively little cost to each. This is true so long as a fair and equitable tax structure exists and so long as there remains a good balance between those residents who are in the upper income bracket and those in the lower income bracket. But when large numbers of upper-income residents move out, taking with them their earnings and their tax dollars from the support of city services, living in a large city for those low-income residents who have to remain, it becomes at first unpleasant and then unbearable.

This is what has happened in many of our big cities, even as it has happened to Detroit. The inner city is currently populated by those who are economically and in large part racially segregated from the rest of American society.

There is no freedom without economic freedom, and every citizen of this country is entitled to be free.

The most obvious problems of the Detroit Public Schools were outlined by educators during the Special Committee's first visit to Detroit in April 1966. Chief among these reported problems were—

The insufficiency of classroom space and qualified classroom teachers and, in consequence, the prevalence of—

Overcrowded classrooms

Split sessions in many of the high schools

Extensive assignment to regular positions of emergency substitutes, many of whom are uncertificated and without degrees

Assignment of teachers out of their field to fill vacancies in areas of greatest teacher shortage

Overburdened teaching schedules leaving insufficient time for classroom prep-

aration, staff planning, and carrying out of in-service educational programs. Excessively high teacher turnover rates, particularly in low-income neighborhoods of the city—a problem reportedly intensified by the teacher rotation policy, which provides for automatic transfer of teachers after completion of a probationary period of three years. A failure of communication between the school administration and the teaching staff and between the school system and its economically disadvantaged communities.

The system-wide adherence, with only occasional exceptions, to curricular, text, and supplementary materials that are reflective of a white-middle-class society, although 25 percent of the students attending Detroit Public Schools are classified as "economically and culturally disadvantaged" and 54 percent are Negroes.

The achievement gap between students in low-income area schools and those attending schools in middle-and upper-income neighborhoods—a disparity that increases as the students move upward through the grades.

The legal responsibility for governance of the Detroit Public Schools is vested in a seven-member Board of Education, elected at large to staggered six-year terms of office. Detroit School Board members are elected on nonpartisan ballots, as are all of the city's elected officials.

Detroit's own contribution to modern times, the automobile, made possible its rapid and random suburbanization, through which the city has suffered serious losses in corporate and residential wealth and leadership.

Changing Characteristics of Public School Population. Reflecting what has happened in the city, Detroit's public schools, between 1961 and 1965, lost 23,748 white pupils and gained 31,108 Negro pupils. For the most part, those who moved out were the children of relatively stable, middle and upper-middle income families of relatively strong educational backgrounds.

The Metropolitan Area. Spreading out from the City of Detroit are the white residential preserves of the suburbs and the rapidly growing satellite cities of the metropolis, insulated from the congestion, poverty, and strife of the central city by the administrative autonomy of city, township, and village charters.

School Operating Deficit and Emergency Relief Measures. More recently—in August 1966—when the Detroit Board of Education predicted a \$12 to \$15 million school operating deficit for the coming school year and announced that as one of the austerity measures to be enforced, first and seventh grades throughout the city would be put on half-day sessions, Detroit Parent-Teachers Association groups and teacher organization leaders joined school officials in an appeal to the legislature for additional state funds for the city schools.

Emergency funds were granted by the legislature, making an additional \$12.5 million available to Detroit Public Schools and aiding school districts throughout the state as well. An increase of \$2.50 per pupil was granted to all school districts in Michigan; the state aid allowance to districts bearing a property tax overburden was doubled; and the state's payments for Social Security taxes to the Detroit Retirement Fund for the current year and for 1965-66 were instead paid to the Detroit Board of Education for school operating purposes. The legislative appropriation was made on the assumption that Detroit voters would approve a 5-mill property tax increase in September 1966. The school millage increase was passed, narrowing the school revenue-expenditure gap—but on only a short-range basis.

In a report dated October 19, 1966, the Citizens Research Council of Michigan predicted:

Even with the five-mill increase, projected revenues will not cover projected expenditures over the five-year period. In the fourth year (1970-71) a \$1.3 million deficit shows up. Projected expenditures will exceed revenues by \$3.4 million by the end of the five-year period.

Urban Renewal: An Unequal Partnership. The record so far, however, indicates that the public-private partnership of urban redevelopment in Detroit has been an unequal one and that the private interests of those groups with the greatest financial investment in the city have been served to the detriment of public purpose. In consequence, as municipal buildings, freeways, and high-rent apartments and townhouses have absorbed large masses of inner-city land, slums have spread; slum-dwellers, displaced, have been forced into housing as miserable as, or more so than, that from which they were dispossessed; absentee landlords have grown rich; the racial and economic stratification of neighborhoods has deepened.

The emphasis of city planners shifted from public housing on scattered sites throughout the city to private redevelopment of cleared slum sites. Within the new mayor's first year in office, the director and three members of the Housing Commission were replaced by the mayor's appointees and the reconstituted commission recommended elimination of eight vacant scattered sites and two inner-city slum sites that had been slated for public housing. Mowitz comments: "The deletion of the vacant sites for public housing, all of which were located in outlying areas of the city, meant that low-income families would continue to be concentrated in the city's core area, and the elimination of the projects slated for slum sites meant that public housing would not be used as a vehicle for slum clearance."

During the 1950's two public housing projects—which had been planned since 1940—were constructed in Detroit under the provisions of the National Housing Act of 1949. Since that time, no public housing has been constructed in the city.

Heavy reliance on subsidized housing would have had depressant effect on the retail sales of downtown merchants; on city tax revenues; and on the profits to be realized by builders, bankers, realtors, and industrialists.

Among the constructive results that grew out of the Gratiot Project was the establishment, as one Detroitier put it, of the city's only truly integrated community—racially integrated. The desirability of this outcome is not discounted by the observation that housing costs in this racially integrated community exclude the low-income family, regardless of race.

Although public education has been profoundly affected by the failures of urban renewal, school people have remained aloof both from the urban decision makers and from those who protest the decisions.

The living conditions that exist in some of Detroit's absentee-owned, slum apartment buildings are suggested in the following excerpts from news reports appearing in the Detroit Free Press:

September 26, 1966

Several families in a dilapidated Detroit apartment house were without gas and electric services over the week-end as court officials tried unsuccessfully to locate the landlord who turned them out and padlocked the utility rooms. (Real estate dealer who recently purchased the 54-unit building) ordered all 33 families out of the building. He said he wanted to correct the structure's 200 health and building code violations. "You are hereby notified that you are required to move immediately upon expiration of your present paid-up rental," the notice read. "If your rent is not paid up you must move at once." Tenants rebelled at the order, saying (landlord's) intent was to break up the tenant council that had been formed with the assistance of the Congress of Racial Equality to force rent and maintenance concessions from the landlord.

September 30, 1966

Tenants evicted from an apartment house picketed the virtually empty building Thursday. Twenty-four families, including 30 children, were evicted from the 26 unit building . . . after they went on a rent strike. They refused to pay their rent, they said, because two children were bitten by rats in the building. They said they were also protesting poor living conditions at the building.

From such tragic injustices as these, vast profits are made by the absentee landlords who are able to purchase their slum properties at minimal prices, easily financed through legitimate lending institutions, and to rent them at rates that are exorbitant, considering the condition of the property and the income levels of the tenants. The landowners—living in the suburbs or outer rings of the city—are effectively removed from the urban blight they have helped to create.

And the process of racial and economic segregation of neighborhoods continues in Detroit, as in large cities throughout the nation. The impact this has had on the effectiveness of public education is suggested in the following excerpt from Thompson's paper, "Toward a Framework for Urban Public Management":

. . . what was, at small scale, the relatively innocuous practice of clustering homes by size and value becomes, at great size, virtually complete socio-economic segregation, as first grade-school and finally even high-school districts are exhausted by these ever-enlarging homogeneous enclaves. Not only does the slum child attend only slum schools (and the children of the affluent meet only "their kind") but political fragmentation divorces tax base from public service needs and

reinforces the cultural disparities within the metropolitan school system with great financial inequalities. The public school is, therefore, rapidly losing its traditional role of redressing the great inequalities in home and neighborhood life that obstruct attainment of the goal of equal opportunity. For perhaps one-tenth of the population of our large metropolitan areas, equal opportunity is a myth and a mockery.

Denial of Equality of Educational Opportunity Through Continuance of De Facto Segregation in the Schools. Detroit's public school officials have played no decisive role, even within their own organizational realm, in offsetting the educationally harmful effects of segregated housing through systematic planning and system-wide implementation of plans to reduce substantially the de facto segregation of the student body.

To the extent that there has been a racial mix in Detroit neighborhoods, it has been reflected in the public schools. Through a limited open enrollment policy and bussing of students to relieve overcrowded conditions in inner-city and transitional area schools, some additional desegregation of classrooms has been achieved. But, for the most part, segregated schools serve segregated communities.

The Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, while saying little about methods of school desegregation, did recommend—The Board of Education should affirm its responsibility, as of a public educational agency, to promote the process of racial desegregation in every feasible way within the Public Schools of Detroit, and the Board of Education should reaffirm its belief in the historic goal of American public education which recognized the blending of our heterogeneous population as a means for achieving equality of educational opportunity as a necessity for national unity and progress.

However, in 1962, when the Citizens Committee report was issued, more than two-thirds of the Detroit Public Schools were racially segregated; since that time there has been little change in the proportion of segregated schools or in the system's policy on student body desegregation.

In the summer of 1966, the Board of Education revised its pupil transfer policy to permit students to transfer to open schools only when their transfer would contribute to the integration of the receiving school.

As will be shown in school racial counts, the "open schools" policy has not effected any significant increase in the racial integration of Detroit schools. Like the "freedom-of-choice" policy in the South, it places the burden of responsibility for desegregation on the pupil and the parent; it offers a choice only to those students who have intrepidity and sophistication enough to make the transfer to a predominantly "white" school and money enough to pay for it.

School District Boundaries. In 1957 the Detroit Public School System was divided into eight administrative districts—the Central District, with more than 90 per cent Negro enrollment, was encompassed by the seven other districts. In 1958 the district boundary lines were redefined and nine districts were established, again on the basis of geographical relationship to the city's center. The result of this system of organization was that the extent of racial segregation in each district was highly visible. The districts as they existed in 1961 contained the following proportions of Negro pupils and teachers:

District	Percent Negro Pupils	Percent Negro Teachers
Center	95.0	45.0
Southeast	72.0	45.0
East	68.0	25.0
South	60.0	35.0
Southwest	42.0	19.0
North	36.0	13.0
West	7.0	.56
Northeast	1.0	1.0
Northwest	.5	.5

In its 1962 recommendations on school desegregation, the Citizens Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities stated that—

Numerous public schools in Detroit are presently segregated by race. The allegation that purposeful administrative devices have at times been used to perpetuate segregation in some schools is clearly substantiated.

It was the recommendation of the Citizens Committee that "to avoid any impression of boundary line gerrymandering," the Board should implement the recommendation of the earlier Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, which had urged that—A complete analysis be made immediately of all school boundaries within our city for the express purpose of establishing school districts that will be based on major principles: safety of the child; distance involved; efficient use of school plant; and the inclusion of all ethnic, racial, and religious groups residing in each school area.

The pattern and extent of racial segregation did not change appreciably over the four-year period. The number of schools with no Negro pupils enrolled was sharply reduced, but there was an even greater increase in the number of predominantly white schools. There were more racially segregated schools in 1965 than in 1961.

In 1965, the Detroit school system, whose enrollment was 54.8 percent Negro, had the following proportion of Negroes among its administrative and supervisory staff:

Of 307 counselors, 65 (21 percent) were Negroes.
Of 352 department heads, 23 (7 percent) were Negroes.
Of 314 assistant principals, 19 (6 percent) were Negroes.
Of 257 principals, 13 (5 percent) were Negroes.

The Coleman Report on Equality of Educational Opportunity, published in 1966 by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, contains the findings of a comprehensive survey of inequity in the quality of education available to the nation's youth. The survey, conducted under the directorship of James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, covered all educational levels of public schools throughout the country. This voluminous work makes several points that seem particularly relevant. An analysis is made of the effect of school characteristics on the achievement of racially different student groups. Among the conclusions reported are the following:

The average white student's achievement is less affected by the strength or weakness of his school's facilities, curricula, and teachers than is the average minority pupil's . . .

The conclusion can then be drawn that improving the school of a minority pupil will increase his achievement more than will improving the school of a white child increase his. In short, whites, and to a lesser extent Oriental Americans, are less affected one way or the other by the quality of their schools than are minority pupils. This indicates that it is for most disadvantaged children that improvements in school quality will make the most difference in achievement.

Finally, it appears that a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school. This effect is again less for white pupils than for any minority group other than Orientals. Thus, if a white pupil from a home that is strongly and effectively supportive of education is put in a school where most pupils do not come from such homes, his achievement will be little different than if he were in a school composed of others like himself. But if a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase.

This general result, taken together with the earlier examination of school difference, has important implications for equality of educational opportunity. For . . . the principal way in which the school environments of Negroes and whites differ is in the composition of their student bodies, and it turns out that the composition of the student bodies has a strong relationship to the achievement of Negro and other minority pupils.

The phrase "class struggle" now appears in black tie and softened aliases as "slum and suburb," "inequalities," problems of the "disadvantaged," of the "culturally deprived," of "integration." However, Americanized or blurred the new image may appear, the basic fact seems simple enough: A remarkable "class struggle" now rattles our nation's schools and the scene of sharpest conflict is in the city.

The Detroit school system still administers group intelligence tests in the elementary grades assigning to each student a letter mental rating based on his numerical score. The IQ label determines a student's eligibility for admission,

not only to special ability courses, but also to remedial courses offered on an after-school, voluntary basis in Detroit schools.

The trouble with such exclusive ground rules is that the IQ test, like all written tests, is mainly a test of reading skill. If a child cannot read well he will be very unlikely to do well on IQ tests.

The ground rules, then, work something like this: A child is given a reading test (an IQ test). If he does poorly on this he cannot get remedial aid. If he does relatively well on the test, he is eligible for remedial aid. A strange logic, but one which is all too often applied in the schools.

Evidence of In-School Segregation. The neglect and in-school segregation of students, Dr. Sexton said, could probably be traced to three principal sources:

The IQ evasion: the tendency of educators to "put the blame for the educational failure of low-income children on their 'low IQ levels.'"

The . . . contempt, or at least indifference, which is often felt by teachers and others for their 'social' inferiors, and the irritation caused by their behavior, manners, and appearance;

After School: The Consequence of Inequality. Another kind of relationship between education and income confronts the youth who, upon graduation or dropout from a lower-class school (which usually means also a predominantly Negro school), finds that with an inadequate education his chances for earning an adequate income are dim indeed. Without the financial means to go to college even if his public school record qualified him for college, he has no opportunity to recoup the educational deficit of public school years.

In 1936 two Detroit citizens, a federal court judge and the dean of the Wayne State University law school, enlisted the aid of a group of citizens, including several Wayne State University faculty members, in conducting a study that would give some indication of the percentage of Detroit Negro high school graduates attending colleges or universities. They surveyed the upper 20 percent of graduating classes of six predominantly Negro, inner-city high schools. Approximately one-third of the upper 20 percent of all six graduating classes were enrolled in college or otherwise gainfully employed; the other two-thirds were neither in school nor at work.

Income, Education, and Unemployment in Detroit Neighborhoods, 1963. Neither is it encouraging to Negro youth to realize that even if they do remain in high school through graduation, and even if they do go on to college, their employment and earning prospects will still be markedly inferior to those of their white counterparts. Income and employment comparisons on the basis of race and level of educational attainment show that this is clearly the case: that nationally, the Negro college graduate earns in his lifetime no more than a white man whose education ended at the eighth grade.

Those who speak critically of a "lack of motivation" on the part of disadvantaged Negro students need look no further than these statistics to see at least one understandable reason for it.

Administration of the Apprentice Training Program: A Further Barrier to Equality of Educational Opportunity. For the out-of-school youth who may have nowhere to go but down, Detroit's apprentice training schools offer an opportunity for learning a skilled or technical trade. The school system provides the building and apprentice trainees for the manufacturing and construction trades apprentice training schools; the two schools are operated by the union or craft organization.

In order to be accepted for apprentice training, an applicant must be a high school graduate or have established equivalency by examination, and he must have obtained a job with an employer who will enter into an apprenticeship agreement with the school system and the union.

In 1962, the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities found that—

The operation of the apprentice program is obviously discriminatory. Since the applicant for admission to the program must first have a job in the field in which he wishes to secure apprentice training, and since minority group members are not admitted by employers and trade union members to many of these jobs, there are few, if any, members of the minority groups in the program.

The Citizens Committee urged the Board to inform all participating employers and trade unions that it would no longer condone racially discriminatory practices in selection of apprentice trainees and that if such practices continued, it would close

its apprentice training program; and to notify the federal government, which helps to finance the programs, of this position. The Committee also recommended that the Board take immediate steps, through counseling and the necessary school program, to ensure that all students would be well prepared to qualify for admission and take advantage of the apprentice training program.

The Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Equal Educational Opportunity is one of the organizations that has directed a continuing effort toward ending racial discrimination in the apprentice training program and toward finding solutions to the broad spectrum of school problems that afflict, with particular severity, the low-income, segregated Negro school. This organization was established in 1965 by a group of 70 citizens who came together as individuals from many diverse groups in the community—churches, labor organizations, civic groups, and civil rights groups—because, they said, they were "concerned with the lack of substantial progress on the part of the Detroit Board of Education in correcting the problems clearly defined in the 1962 report of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity."

At the time of the NEA investigation, however, the testimony of teachers and lay citizens reflected great dissatisfaction with the Board's progress in ending discrimination in the apprentice training programs and in its development of counseling services and relevant course offerings for Negro high school youth to interest them in these programs and qualify them for admission.

The most recent information that the NEA Special Committee could obtain in this connection was a comparison of racial counts for the two apprentice schools over the two-year period from 1964 to 1966. These data show that there is ample justification for the dissatisfaction.

In 1964, the Construction Trades Apprentice School enrolled 1,821 Caucasians and 34 Negroes. By 1966, the number of Caucasian students enrolled had grown to 2,474—an increase of 653; the number of Negro students was 41—an increase of 7.

The Manufacturing Trades School in 1964 enrolled 977 white students and 73 non-whites. In 1966, the white enrollment numbered 1,267—an increase of 290; the non-white enrollment was 118—an increase of 45.

Millions of dollars had been spent creating a good image of Detroit nationally—the image of a city that had solved its race problem—but he maintained that only superficial solutions had been effected.

"Parents are called to a meeting," he said, "and the educators get up and lecture. There is no feedback. The parents are given all sorts of false signals. There are internalized institutional techniques to keep the parents from knowing the truth about their schools."

The insistence, in response to the Sherrill School parents' Complaint, that "at all times relative to the matters at bar, Board has maintained a nonsegregated school system," when, in fact, more than two-thirds of the Detroit Public Schools are racially segregated.

Many people were speaking for themselves as well as for their neighbors when they described the plight of the economically disadvantaged Negro doing battle with an educational and societal status quo which a parent described as "tragic for our children" and "going to have tragic results tomorrow, five years from now, ten years from now, and fifty years from now."

It was noted by the NEA Special Committee as one of many recent indications that increasing numbers of disadvantaged Negroes are no longer willing to be represented by a few "accepted" Negro leaders whose negotiations with public officials have long been conducted according to the occasional-concessions policy of a white power elite.

School Millage Failures. Many persons interviewed by the NEA Special Committee felt that the loss of school millage referendums in recent years has been due largely to the failure of school officials to communicate the needs of public education to the people and to make good their assurance of progress toward desegregation and equalization of educational opportunity.

Citizens of Detroit, including some members of the city's legislative delegation, told the NEA Subcommittee that consistently throughout the year—except when a school money bill is coming up in the legislature or when a school millage campaign is being run—the school system's public relations program is dedicated to creating the image of an exemplary educational program. In the middle-and up-

per-income areas of the city, residents have little reason to question this image. In these neighborhoods, citizens have consistently voted down proposals to increase the school tax rate — partially because these people have no grave cause for concern about their schools and partially, several persons commented, "because they think their money is going to inner-city schools, to the people who can't support themselves, who are public liabilities anyway." Said one person, "The School Board concentrates on the inner city of Detroit for a Yes vote on millage. It is very dependent on the people who have had the least benefit of educational advantage."

Consistently in the past, the inner-city areas have carried the day for school millage and bond issue referendums. But in recent years this trend has begun to change.

I have been critical of Detroit Public Schools' communication with the legislature. The school officials should go out and make themselves known to their legislators at other times than in the school system's hour of financial need . . . For the next superintendent, I want a man who is experienced in practical politics.

I think education is the key to the whole plight of the inner-city child. The housing agencies are battling big real estate; I think we can get improved education before we can get housing patterns changed. But the school system is just turning deaf ears on the pleas of the children. School officials are so busy defending their position that they cannot hear what is going on.

An Urban League employee said that his organization has made continuing efforts to get detailed unemployment statistics for the central city from the Michigan Employment Security Commission and from state sources—without success. The chairman of a Total Action against Poverty citizens advisory committee reported that his organization, also, has been unable to penetrate the veil of confidentiality that the authorities have lowered over this area. He said that members of the citizens advisory committees were conducting neighborhood surveys to make their own determination of the extent of unemployment in impoverished areas.

The education system has really not communicated to people in the community what are the educational needs of the city. The big thing people talk about is crime. They raise policemen's salaries. No one looks upon crime as a symptom of the failure of education.

The City of Detroit is currently engaged in a Community Renewal Program which involves study of the planning and impact of urban renewal on the city. In order to carry out the Program, it has been necessary to develop information sources concerning the social and physical conditions of the impoverished inner-city areas of Detroit. For this purpose, and also to provide information that will assist in analysis of the city's Total Action against Poverty (TAP) Program, the Mayor's Committee on Community Renewal (the city controller, the director-secretary of the Housing Commission, the director of city planning, and the community development coordinator) has established a Social Data Bank to serve as a repository for a continuing informational input by the city's health, social service, educational, and correctional agencies. The areas of Social Data Bank coverage include all of the inner city and some adjoining transitional area neighborhoods selected as TAP social action target areas.

Because this entire operation seems to be extremely relevant to the question of equality of educational opportunity in the Detroit Public Schools, the NEA Special Committee quotes the following facts about poverty in Detroit, as revealed by the Social Data Bank for a nine-month period in 1965 and shown in Table 5.

Several glaring information gaps appear in this data collection. The table shows alarming rates of adult and juvenile delinquency, school dropout and truancy, and venereal disease and tuberculosis; but very little information is provided to tell the story of the social problems that would be unmistakably related to any deficiency in the city's services to its racial and economic ghettos—services which are necessary components of the complex of conditions which must obtain if equality of educational opportunity is to be provided.

The question arises, in fact, whether the Detroit Social Data Bank is to be used as a means of ending the tragic deprivation of the ghettos or only of exposing the delinquencies and failures of those condemned to ghetto living.

Among the families with children 12 to 17 years old, 11.2 percent had one or more high school dropouts. Almost one half, 42.6 percent, of the families that did

have teen-agers in school indicated that they were having problems in school, primarily learning difficulties such as reading problems, as well as general adjustment problems. In 30.8 percent of the families with 6- to 11-year-old children, similar school learning and adjustment difficulties were identified.

The conclusion of the Greenleigh Report was "that the three major service systems—health, education, and welfare—which now have the bulk of contact with the poor, could become the key instruments in a more effective attack on poverty if they can adapt to the requirements of the situation by providing more comprehensive and more accessible services."

It would appear, however, that these three major service systems will not be fully effective and that the battle for equality of opportunity in education, or in any other area of urban life, will not be won until there is a willingness on the part of both school and civic officials to share an informed understanding of ghetto conditions and to evaluate objectively their own organizational strengths and weaknesses in the service of all city-dwellers.

Instructional Staff Shortage. Not only is there an admitted need for staff expansion in Detroit schools, but high teacher turnover rates and low ability to attract and retain qualified professional personnel have resulted in a continuing failure to fill established positions. The following summary indicates the extent of the staff shortage in the Detroit schools:

1. The Detroit school system opened in September 1965 with a shortage of 400 classroom teachers. In September 1966, the announced shortage was 500.

2. The shortage of classroom teachers has forced the school administration to draw on its list of substitute teachers to serve in regular positions and on prolonged classroom assignments. In March 1965, there were 497 emergency substitutes in regular positions (ESRP's) in the Detroit Public Schools. Among this group, 226 had no degree, 4 were graduates of non-accredited institutions, 224 held the B.A., and 23 the M.A. Although the NEA Special Committee was unable to obtain information from the school administration on the placement of ESRP's in different regions of the city, testimony indicated that there has been a disproportionately large placement of these teachers, and of beginning teachers, in the low-income area schools, where both teacher and pupil turnover rates are high and the problems of teaching and learning are continuous and severe.

3. The substitute shortage has been intensified by extensive use of ESRP's and by the reluctance of substitutes to accept assignments in Detroit's "difficult" schools. This has become an increasingly critical problem, as is shown by the following monthly comparisons between 1964 and 1965:

Number of unfilled substitute calls:

September 1964	564
September 1965	1,302
October 1964	712
October 1965	2,520
November 1964	15
November 1965	680

To compensate for the lack of substitutes, teachers are required to divide the classes of absent colleagues into two or three sections and take them into their own classrooms; libraries, in the words of one librarian, "are used to dump children into when there are no substitutes available; and sometimes the school librarian is used as a substitute himself; building administrators are required to substitute for five school days each year; counselors and special teachers are called on for substitute work; and in a number of inner-city and transitional area schools reporting, upper elementary students are assigned as teacher substitutes.

Specialized Professional Personnel and Supervisory Services. Intensifying the problems of teachers and students in overcrowded classrooms is the insufficiency of specialized professional staff to provide counseling, guidance, remedial, health and psychological services for the children and youth in the Detroit Public Schools; and the shortage is felt most deeply in the schools of disadvantaged neighborhoods, where environmental factors militate against equality of educational opportunity.

Before a disturbed child can receive psychological assistance, he must receive diagnostic testing. But before this happens, the teacher must fill in a form (5027) to be submitted through the visiting teacher to a central office committee, which advises on disposition of the case without ever seeing the child. If the committee

decides that psychological testing is in order, the teacher must fill out a second form (658) to be submitted to the psychological clinic. The child may then be placed on the waiting list for psychological testing. The waiting period may last for several weeks, several months, or several years. And while he waits, he "sits in" the regular classroom. Testing, if it finally takes place, may or may not precede preventative or remedial action. Frequently, teachers say, it serves only as a brief interruption to the waiting period.

Remedial instruction, aside from the remedial work that each classroom teacher is called upon to do, is offered to pupils on a voluntary after-school basis in some Detroit schools. Additional funds have been provided for remedial instruction, along with other enrichment and compensatory programs, in schools that have been chosen for various federally and state-funded special educational projects.

Reports were received that some of the specially funded projects have been implemented in such a manner that they are not achieving the specific, limited purpose for which they were designed.

One such report concerned the state-funded "shared experience" program involving teachers and students in one predominantly Negro and one predominantly white school. The Special Committee was told of a trip to Lansing, one of the "team projects" in this program, which was, in fact, not a team project at all. There was no advance briefing or meeting of teachers or discussion with students to prepare them for making this a racially integrating experience. The bus picked up the group of students and teachers at each school. They traveled on the same bus, and they visited the same state buildings, but throughout the trip the two groups remained separate. There was no follow-up to the simultaneous, but unshared experience.

A beginning probationary teacher will be placed in a position in which it is believed he has a chance to have adequate supervision and other favorable conditions for his initial teaching experience. He will remain in that position for three years, and then be transferred to a position in which an experienced teacher with his preparation is needed, and in a location which will give him a different kind of experience as to community background of pupils.

Pupil Promotion Policies. Pupil promotion policies are a matter of apparent confusion among Detroit school personnel and an issue of marked concern among school patrons and pupils. As in many school systems today, a central issue is whether, when children fail continuously to achieve at grade level — and in low-income area schools many of them do — it is better to retain these children repeatedly, perhaps increasing their sense of failure, or to promote them socially up the academic ladder despite the probability that at each grade level their chances for learning will be further diminished by the educational opportunities missed (perhaps never effectively offered) during the earlier grades.

Many teachers admitted that they did not know the way out of this dilemma. Some stated that their principals insisted upon a promotional "quota system" prohibiting the teachers from failing more than a certain percentage of students. They expressed particular need for guidance in this area.

The Northern High School Boycott. The Northern High School boycott, and the conditions that prompted it, gave evidence of many of the problems that have been discussed in this report. It would not seem unreasonable to assume that unless a more meaningful relationship can be achieved between the schools and students of the inner city, unless the students and their parents can be convinced that the public school establishment is making sincere and effective efforts to provide equality of educational opportunity, the student action at Northern High School will not be the last such protest movement on the part of Detroit Public School youth. The Northern boycott should give warning to those who direct and operate the public schools of Detroit that education offers the impoverished Negro youth his only accepted escape route from the ghetto; when equal educational opportunity is denied, the act of public protest appears as the only way left open to him to effect constructive change.

Northern High School, constructed in 1920, is located in the core area of Detroit on a site that is very little larger than the building itself. In 1965-66, 98.6 percent of the 2,200-member student body were Negroes. The school employed 98 professional staff members. The principal of the school in 1965-66 had served in this position since 1963, having been promoted from the assistant principalship. He had

been with the Detroit school system for 43 years and was in his final year of service before retirement.

During the 1965-66 school year, a test of Northern ninth-grade students selected at random showed that 55.5 percent scored below the sixth-grade level in reading ability. Of this group, 27 percent were between the fifth- and sixth-grade levels, 23 percent scored between the third- and fifth-grade levels, and 5.5 percent had scores below the third-grade reading level.

In February 1965, an educational progress test of mathematics, science, and reading ability was administered to Northern students in grades 10-B and 12-B. The tests indicated that 76 percent were below average in mathematics, 78 percent were similarly deficient in science, and 79.8 percent were "alarmingly weak in reading ability." It should be expected that 50 percent of students at a given grade level would score below the ability norm; in this school, more than three-fourths of the tested students scored below average levels.

The Student Editorial. In March 1966, a twelfth-grade honor student at Northern High School wrote an editorial for the student newspaper, which he titled "Educational Camouflage." It is quoted below, unedited, as he gave it to the NEA Special Committee.

Educational Camouflage

If the Negro in America is to ever gain what is often termed as true equality he must first gain true education.

There is a constant large number of students graduating from inner city schools who aren't going to college and aren't being sufficiently prepared for either !!! Northern is a perfect example. Too many of our graduates who do make it in college complain that during their stay here they weren't prepared for college courses. Some contend that it's impossible to get a sufficient education at Northern. Many students make the mistaken assumption that our low classroom achievement is standard everywhere else. So, they go their way contented with an inferior education.

Lately we've seen many dramatic changes in the area of Civil Rights. Laws have been passed guaranteeing equal educational opportunities. One of two things has prevented the law from functioning properly, especially in big cities; either our ideas of equal opportunities do not conform with the government, and/or the laws just aren't being enforced with the low income Negro in mind. We simply do not feel that such a drastic difference in classroom achievement, such as the one between Redford and Northern, should be allowed to exist.

Students are passed, on many occasions, because they have to be. That is, the teachers can't fail too many!

Room has to be made for the next batch, so students graduate with an insufficient education and apparently little concern is aroused.

In his book, *Slums & Suburbs*, Dr. James Conant points out that in low income areas of large cities in the U.S., 59 percent of the young men between the ages of 16 and 21 are not working. This was before the War on Poverty and other similar programs, but the number is still too large. This problem, it seems is monumental, and an indictment to be the laxity and passivity with which some of our schools are being run. We wonder if the teachers in Detroit condone the present situation and if so, why do they bother to call themselves teachers?

We don't believe that students should pass any class for any other reason than having completed the course satisfactorily. We suggest that an academic achievement test be standardized and given to all perspective graduates. Thus establishing a minimum ability allowed in achievement in the academic subjects.

The schools that share the same problems as Northern High are also schools that are heavily populated with Negroes. We doubt if this is accidental. It is more likely a direct result of de-facto segregation. We wonder if our schools are being operated on the principle that Negroes aren't as capable of learning as whites, so why bother with them?

Banning of the Editorial. Before deadline time for the editorial, the student met several times with the Northern High School principal and head of the English Department. He had questioned the principal about educational conditions at Northern, had told him that the article was being prepared, and had voiced the convictions that it contained. On March 25, without having seen the editorial, the principal left Detroit to attend a meeting of the North Central Accrediting As-

sociation. Before he left, the principal requested the English Department head to review the editorial when it came back in galleys from the printer and to use his own judgment concerning its publication. This was counter to normal school policy, which placed editorial content of the newspaper within the jurisdiction of the newspaper staff's faculty adviser. Against the wishes of the faculty adviser, the English Department head deleted the editorial from the paper.

In discussing this incident with the NEA Special Committee, the English Department head gave his reasons for suppression of the editorial. He said that he considered it inflammatory and full of unsupported charges and that even if the student had written on a less sensitive subject he would have withdrawn it from publication because of the errors in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation.

A Detroit News report appearing on April 21, 1968, gave the following account of the English Department head's corrections of the controversial editorial:

An original copy of the editorial was presented to the Board yesterday. On it were (the department head's) comments written in red.

There was only one correction for misspelling. The remaining corrections made were based on expression and sentence construction, such as the use of a split infinitive.

(The English department head) also faulted (the student) for his failure to identify Dr. James B. Conant, president emeritus of Harvard University, as doctor of philosophy. The English department head noted that a reader might mistake Dr. Conant for a medical doctor.

Student Reaction. When it became known that the editorial had been censored, the author and two other student leaders began to organize the student body for a protest demonstration. Word of the movement passed swiftly to the central administration headquarters. On April 7, the day of the scheduled student walk-out and two days before the week-long Easter holiday, the superintendent went to Northern High School, where he met with the student body. Failing in his efforts to dissuade them from their intended protest demonstration, he gave them his permission to conduct it and overruled the censorship of the editorial, announcing that it would be published in a subsequent issue of the newspaper.

Demonstration, Negotiation, and Boycott. Many parents joined the Northern students in the two-hour protest march of April 7. Following the demonstration, the students and superintendent met together in the parish house of a nearby Episcopal church, whose pastor has achieved a close rapport with the children and youth of the neighborhood. At this meeting on April 7, it was agreed that the students would present a formal list of grievances to the school administration and that administrative attention would be given to remedying the inadequacies at Northern High School.

The students' first demand, submitted in a letter to the superintendent on April 15, was that the Northern principal be removed and that his replacement be someone other than the assistant principal. The students also asked for the replacement of a policeman who had been assigned to Northern in 1963 to combat the problems of narcotics peddling, prostitution, and other forms of juvenile and adult delinquency that surrounded and invaded the school. Students and some faculty members charged that this individual, a Negro, was abusive in his manners to teachers as well as students; that for example, he had admonished one teacher with the threat, "I'll knock your block off." Several prior faculty complaints had been registered concerning the principal and the policeman, although there were teachers and lay citizens who came strongly to the defense of both.

From Monday, April 18, when school reopened after the Easter holiday, through Wednesday, April 20, the Northern principal remained away from the high school, meeting with members of the central administrative staff, the Board of Education, and student representatives to discuss ways of resolving the dispute. Against the superintendent's advice, the Board of Education invited the three student leaders to present their case at a meeting on Tuesday, April 19.

The student editorialist told the NEA Special Committee, "It was not a Board meeting . . . It was a meeting of the Board as a committee of the whole, with the superintendent presiding. The first thing he did was to tell us that he had just got back from Washington and did not know what it was all about. We had one and a half hours. After that they had to go off somewhere for a party for (the superintendent). There was not enough time for us to present our case. Forty-five minutes of our time were used by the Board committee chairman. But we pre-

sented our case as well as we could in the time allowed. We asked if we would get a decision that night. We were told, "You will get a decision when we are ready to give it to you. They led us to believe that (the principal) would be back."

And on Wednesday, April 20, the superintendent did announce that the Northern High School principal would remain at the school.

Again there was a student walk-out, but this time it was for considerably longer than two hours.

Several of the student demands had been met by this time: on "routine reassignment," the Detroit Police Department moved the patrolman who had been at Northern High School, replacing him with another Negro member of the force. Administrative assurances were given that there would be no staff transfers as a result of the Northern walk-out, so long as there was no further breach of the system's established rules and regulations. Plans were made for the appointment of school study teams, each to include lay adult citizens and students, to investigate each of the city's comprehensive high schools. The Episcopal minister referred to above was appointed as chairman of the Northern High School study committee.

The Northern High School students announced, however, that they would not return to school as long as the principal remained. The student appointees to the Northern High School study team, one of whom was the student editorialist, refused to serve on the committee until the Northern principal was removed. The minister who had been asked to chair the committee stated that without student participation, he could neither lead nor take part in the high school study.

Freedom School. With assistance from adults in the community, including faculty members from Wayne State University and clergymen, the Northern students established a freedom school, holding classes in several inner-city churches. The Northern Freedom School opened on Thursday, April 21, with an enrollment of approximately 1,100. By the third day, the NEA Special Committee was told, about 1,700 pupils were attending the school. This was a number equivalent to the number in average daily attendance at Northern High School. Approximately 150 volunteer teachers served on a part-time basis in Freedom School classrooms. Some of them were lay citizens; some were faculty members from local colleges and universities; some were teachers from the public schools. While Northern was without students, 30 teachers asked for administrative permission to teach in the Freedom School; they were informed that they could do so on an after-school basis.

Students Return to Northern. On Tuesday, April 26, the fifth day of the boycott, the Northern students, at a Freedom School assembly, voted to return to the high school, having been assured by the chairman of the Board of Education that the Northern principal would not be at his desk on the next day. The School Board chairman did not clarify the principal's status, saying that the final decision regarding his future "truly and rightfully belongs in the hand of (the superintendent)." On the same day, the superintendent announced only that the Northern principal would be retained indefinitely at the School Center Building where, in meeting with the three leaders of the student protest, he would work seeking solutions to the problems of Northern. On this basis, the students returned to Northern High School. Later in the week, the superintendent announced that for the remainder of the school year, the principal of Northern, while continuing to hold this title, would be assigned to the central administrative office to work on Northern problems. The assistant principal was named acting principal of the school. Although the students had requested that school officials name some other person as replacement to the principal, they accepted the final decision of the superintendent without further protest.

The Northern High School boycott was ended, but the Northern Freedom School continued to function on an after-school basis for the remainder of the school year.

Northern High school students expressed greater expectations for the possibilities—and great dissatisfaction with the realities—of public education in the ghetto. In essays written in Northern Freedom School classrooms, some of them wrote . . .

"In an accelerated English course, in which only superior students are placed for supposedly "enriched" English we're getting the same or less than general English students . . . Is this what's being taught at other public schools?

In my biology class the teacher is most helpful and I learn a lot, but we only have books. It isn't really a biology classroom, just a room.

We have ability but we need adequate facilities to have them fully developed.

In sewing classes there are about 12 machines for maybe 29 or 30 girls and only about five or six of them work. In typing, the typewriters are broken most of the time. In swimming, a polar bear couldn't stand the icy water. I think Northern has too many teachers that don't care about the students. They give us work and sometimes don't care if we get it or not. They say that the black boys and girls don't want to learn, so therefore they don't put much in their jobs."

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Inequalities and deficiencies in the educational opportunity available to Detroit Public School youth have their origin not only in the social and economic inequalities of the urban society, but in the preconditioned attitudes that teachers and administrators, as well as students, bring to the school system.

Many believe that there can be no equal educational opportunity until the total environment of the disadvantaged is changed, until opportunities in all other areas of life are more nearly equal. This concept has some validity, but it can be misused as a rationalization for the failure of the public schools to reach and relate to children who have not grown up in the middle-class system of values and behavior. Such a view, Deutsch points out, "often leads to negation not only of the essential responsibility of the school but also of the actual and potential strengths of the children."

No one should claim that the public school system, or any other agency alone, can solve the problems of economic, educational, social, and political inequality that are so explosively concentrated in the big city. For this reason, the Committee has addressed itself throughout this report to the interrelationship of the school system and other public agencies as jointly responsible for the existing conditions of inequality and jointly responsible for their amelioration. The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee are offered on the same basis.

Equalizing Educational Opportunity Through Ending De Facto Segregation of Schools. The public school system is in a key position to bring people of different racial and class groups together when they are young enough and flexible enough to escape the stereotypes that have handicapped their elders. In this sense, the school system can, if it will, make a powerful contribution to the broadened social understandings of children and to the nation in which those children will become adult citizens, leaders, and decision makers.

The NEA Special Committee is convinced that the economic, as well as the racial, segregation of students is educationally harmful to all classes of children—to those who grow up in the cultural isolation of white, middle-class neighborhoods, as well as to those who are isolated by poverty and alienated by racial discrimination.

Typically, the child attending a segregated Negro school is a child of low socioeconomic status who has spent all of his life in a racial ghetto and who has always been an "outsider," as Deutsch points out — "not only excluded from the mainstream, but . . . not even allowed to bathe in the tributaries." The public school system offers many of these children their only opportunity to move out of the brutal vise of racial and economic segregation.

Typically, the segregated Negro school has offered the second- and third-bests, the hand-me-downs and leftovers of school services, facilities, and professional personnel. The long history of educational neglect in urban and rural ghettos has been such that the burden of proof for equalizing school offerings now rests with the school system. Racial and economic desegregation of schools is vital, not only to the enrichment and expansion of the cultural understandings of all children, but to give evidence that the school system is making in good faith efforts to provide equality of educational opportunity to all children.

To encourage voluntary desegregation, the NEA Special Committee recommends the establishment of a "plus factor" at each comprehensive high school throughout the city. Each comprehensive high school should be organized to provide some outstanding feature of specialized educational programming. Students should be permitted to attend any high school on the basis of their choice of educational specialty, with their transportation costs paid by the Board of Education.

Desegregation of Professional and Nonprofessional Personnel—The ending of de

facto segregation of students is only part of the task that must be accomplished if there is to be true equality of educational opportunity in the Detroit Public Schools.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the school administration increase its efforts to further the racial balance among professional and nonprofessional staff throughout the system and that it adopt positive measures to widen promotional opportunities for Negro personnel.

Eliminating Racial Discrimination in Apprentice Training Programs—There has been only token integration in the apprentice training programs operated jointly with employing and union or craft organizations.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the Detroit Board of Education and school administration take immediate and positive action, as recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Equal Educational Opportunity, to end racial discrimination in the selection of students for apprentice training programs.

The Special Committee recommends immediate suspension or termination of any programs in which the participating employers, unions, and/or trade organizations refuse to comply with Board antidiscrimination policy. These programs are partially supported by Federal funds. Neither school system participation in, nor federal support of, such programs should be maintained in the face of persistent failure to comply with Board policy and with federal statutes.

The NEA Special Committee further recommends that additional funds and personnel be sought by the Board of Education to greatly expand the preapprenticeship training programs in inner-city high schools in order to identify, counsel, and provide special educational services for students with potential ability for and interest in apprenticeship and cooperative-work programs. Federal funds would be far better expended in this effort than in the support of training classes from which students are excluded on the basis of race.

Equalizing Educational Opportunities in Higher Education. Increasingly the colleges are determining what individuals will be given opportunity in society. In most cases they set standards, intentionally or not, that tend to exclude Negroes, particularly children from disadvantaged areas. Such standards often appear to be arbitrary and irrelevant, for experience has shown that individuals from such areas can often perform well in many programs which would have been denied them if traditional standards had been applied.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that at least one junior college and one advanced technical school be established in Detroit soon. Such schools should be directed to seek enrollees from areas of the city that do not normally have opportunity for advanced education beyond high school.

These recommendations have been ignored by the Board of Education. For this reason I therefore have voted "No" on the income tax in protest.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

16

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Jan. 8, 1968

FROM : N. C. Rayford

SUBJECT: Concerned Democrats Meeting in Detroit--December 2, 1967

Attached herewith are the following exhibits:

- 1-A. Proposed Agenda
- 1-B. Rules for Conduct
- 1-C. Proposed Statement of Purpose
- 1-D. Proposed Position Paper: Equal Representation
- 1-E. Proposed Position Paper: Michigan Democrats
and 1968
- 1-F. Proposed Position Paper: Foreign Policy
- 1-G. Proposed Position Paper: Housing and Poverty
- 1-H. Proposed Position Paper: Employment
- 1-I. Proposed Position Paper: Education
- 2. Resolution Adopted by First Congressional
District
- 3. Handbill, "Stop the Draft Week - Dec. 4-8"
- 4. Handbill, "Wallace Stay Home"
- 5. Handbill, "What Price War in Vietnam?"
- 6. Letter from Co-Chairman New Politics
- 7. Proposed Draft of Call for a Michigan Conference
on New Politics



8. "Vote Socialist"
9. "The Socialist Candidates in 68"
10. Americans for Democratic Action envelope
11. Newspaper Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace
12. New University Thought (Magazine)

The undersigned attended the luncheon meeting at which Congressman John Conyers, Jr. spoke. His address was a stirring appeal to have the audience consider the causes of the racial disturbances in Detroit and condemn repressive acts, such as the spending of \$5 million on riot control weapons, which further polarized the attitudes of the white and black communities. While not specifically condemning the war in Vietnam, he noted the amount of money that it takes to carry on the war and how that money could be spent on domestic affairs.

The writer notes only that the principal objectives of this group coincide with the objectives of the "New Left" Political Group, and that "New Left" literature and socialist pamphlets were distributed. Nevertheless, it does not appear that there is any connection between the two groups especially since this group is trying to operate within the framework of the regular Democratic Party.

N. C. Rayford
Investigator

NR

M. C. Miskovsky

Jan. 8, 1968

N. C. Rayford

Concerned Democrats Meeting in Detroit--December 2, 1967

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N. C. Rayford
Investigator

NCR/raf
1/8/68

Dist: 1 - NCR Chron.
1 - Organizations

FOUNDING CONVENTION
MICHIGAN CONFERENCE OF CONCERNED DEMOCRATS
Saturday, December 2, 1967 Detroit Cobo Hall

PROPOSED AGENDA

9:00 - 10:00 AM	Registration		
10:00 - 10:30 AM	Plenary Session	Room 3037	Murray Jackson (Chmn Lst) chairs
	Agenda		
	Rules		
	Statement of Purpose		
10:30-11:00 AM	<u>Keynote Address</u>	Room 3037	<u>Zolton Ferency</u>
11:00-12:30 AM	District Meetings		
	1st District.....Room 3175		11th District....room 3037
	2nd District Room 3176		12th District room 3037
	3rd District.....Room 3185		13th District....Room 3178
	4th District room 3037		14th District Room 3186
	5th District.....room 3037		15th District....Room 3187
	6th District room 3037		16th District Room 3187
	7th District.....room 3037		17th District....Room 3177
	8th District room 3037		18th District Room 3037
	9th District.....room 3037		19th District....room 3037
	10th District room 3037		
	<u>Agenda</u>		
	Chairman of District Meetings Will		
	Appoint Two members to Organization and Structure Committee		
	Appoint One member to Resolutions Committee		
	Urge one academic per school to attend academic work group		
	Urge some clergy to attend clergy work group (both meet in the afternoon)		
	Select some people for the afternoon "Building MCCD" workshop		
	Discussion		
	The politics of the District and aims of MCCD		
	Issues		
	Meeting time back home after convention		
	Collect names and addresses		
12:30-2:00 PM	<u>Luncheon and Address</u>	Room 2040	<u>Congressman John Conyers Jr</u>
2:00-3:30 PM	Panel, Workshops, and Committees		
	A. 1968 Issues, Perspectives and action <u>Room 3037</u>		
	State Senators Craig and Young, Jim Pino, Murray Jackson and other State leaders (On what needs to be done)		
	B. Building the Concerned Democrats in Wayne County...Rm 3185 (Workshop)		
	C. Building the Concerned Democrats in MichiganRm 3186 Workshop (outside of Wayne County)		
	D. Academics WorkshopRm 3175		
	Students 3187		
	E. Clergy WorkshopRm 3176		
	F. Resolutions CommitteeRm 3177		
	G. Organization and Nominating CommitteeRm 3178		
3:30-5:00 PM 4:15	Plenary Session	Room 3037	<u>Senator Roger Craig Chairman</u>
	Structure		
	Election of Officers		
	Resolutions		
5:00-5:30 PM	District Meetings - Elections of state coordinators		
	Same rooms as in morning		
5:30-7:00 PM	Cocktail Hour		
7:00-10:00 PM	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Robert Vaughn Guest Speaker</u>	Room 2040
		Senator Eugene McCarthy's Chicago address will be piped in later in the evening	

WE WISH YOU A CONSTRUCTIVE CONVENTION

Michigan Conference of Concerned Democrats

Paul Boutelle

(continued)

wrote in explanation of his decision at the time.

In 1965 he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, and in 1966 ran for Attorney General on the SWP ticket.

Paul Boutelle is married and has a 12-year-old son, Daryl, who is already active in the black liberation movement.

The Vice Presidential candidate has worked selling books on Afro-American history, and is presently a taxi driver and a member of the New York City AFL-CIO Taxi Drivers Union.

Fred Halstead for President
Paul Boutelle for Vice President

The Socialist Candidates in 68

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003
Telephone (212) 982-5932

- ☐ I would like more information.
☐ I would like to arrange a meeting for an SWP candidate.
☐ I want to help the SWP campaign.
☐ Enclosed is \$ to help build the socialist campaign.

Name

Address

City Phone

State Zip

Fred Halstead for President

Whoever the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties may be, one thing is certain. They will be "well off", if not downright filthy rich; and they will be pledged to defend the interests of the exploiting capitalist rulers at home and abroad.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will stand in sharp contrast to them. Both Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle are working men dedicated to advance the struggles of the black and white masses for a better world.

Fred Halstead, the SWP candidate for President, is 40 years old. He lives in a public housing project in the Chelsea district of Manhattan with his wife and four children.

Fred Halstead is one of the leaders of the New York antiwar movement. His antiwar activities go back to World War II, when he was 18 years old. He wore a Navy uniform, and was stationed in the Pacific area at the end of the war. The ruling circles in the U.S. then hoped to keep a large part of the wartime draftees mobilized for action against the colonial revolution after the armistice was signed. Their calculations were upset by the unexpected great movement which swept through the troops in Europe and the Pacific demanding to be brought home.

"In the beginning of 1946," Halstead recalled in his introduction to the pamphlet, *GIs and the Fight Against War*, "I was stationed on a ship of the U. S. Navy which was one of those involved in carrying Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers from Shanghai to northern China to fight the Red Army. As I recall, we ordinary sailors knew almost nothing about the civil war then developing



FRED HALSTEAD, his wife Virginia and his daughter Laura at Easter, 1963, New York peace march. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance introduced new element into this march by bringing signs demanding end to Vietnam war and withdrawal of U.S. troops.

in China. As a matter of fact, most of us had never heard of it before we found ourselves directly involved. But we did know that we did not want to be involved and that nobody had a right to force us to be. . .

"I remember first coming across the going-home movement in the Red Cross building in Shanghai, where U. S. servicemen used to stop in for hamburgers while in town. There, in the lobby over the bulletin board, was a large banner which announced a meeting and said: 'GIs Unite! We Want to Go Home.'"

Halstead and his buddies joined this movement, which became so overwhelming it soon forced the Pentagon to demobilize the armed forces.

More recently, Halstead was a principal organizer of the "Hands Off Cuba" demonstration in New York City during the 1962

(over)

Fred Halstead

(continued)

missile crisis. This was one of the first attempts at building a broad, non-exclusive antiwar demonstration.

This antiwar fighter and socialist has served on the staff of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee since its formation in 1965 and has been instrumental in organizing the large demonstrations the committee has held.

As a member of the administrative body of the National Mobilization Committee, Halstead was a principal organizer of the April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration of half a million in New York, the most massive protest demonstration in U.S. history.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for President has also been active in the labor movement since he was a teenager.

He has participated in the following strikes and organizing campaigns: The Imperial Valley California agricultural strike in 1949; United Automobile Workers and Garment Workers organizing campaigns



PAUL BOUTELLE speaking at rally in Brooklyn in defense of 17 black militants framed-up on "criminal anarchy" charges in New York.



PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE Fred Halstead at massive April 15, 1967 antiwar march in New York. Halstead was one of the principal organizers of the giant demonstration.

in Los Angeles in 1949-52; and the Square D Electrical Workers strike in Detroit in 1954 (when he was twice arrested).

Halstead is a cloth-cutter by trade, and has been for many years a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Fred Halstead moved to New York in 1955 to become a staff writer for the socialist weekly, *The Militant*. He has covered many events in the civil rights movement for that paper, starting with the historic Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott.

As a resident of New York's Lower East Side area, he was an activist in the 1964 rent strike movement, and wrote a book about the city-wide rent strike movement called *Harlem Stirs*, published by Marzani and Munsell.

Halstead's parents were socialists. His mother was a follower of the great American socialist leader and antiwar fighter of the early 1900s, Eugene V. Debs. His father had a red card in the Industrial Workers of the World and was an early member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fred Halstead joined the SWP when he was 20, in 1947.

Paul Boutelle for Vice President

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, is a familiar figure at street corner meetings and other rallies in Harlem and Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section, speaking from the platform with other black militants.

Boutelle was born in Harlem 35 years ago and has lived there most of his life. Like many black youths, he dropped out of school early. "At the age of 16, after 10 boring years of school, I quit," he says. "I have no regrets at this time over that decision. When I started to acquire a real education in my early twenties, I did not have that much brainwashing to get out of my mind."

Boutelle began to study on his own. "My first awakening was a nationalist awakening," he says, "a feeling of pride in being black and a feeling of revulsion and hatred at what this capitalist racist system did and is doing to people of color throughout the world. Around 1957 I began listening to many militant African and Afro-American speakers from Malcolm X to the non-religious black nationalists. I felt then, as I do now, that black nationalism is necessary to the healthy development and liberation of my people."

In 1963 the young black militant became active in the effort to build an all-black Freedom Now Party. He became chairman of the Harlem Freedom Now Party and in 1964 ran as that party's candidate for state senator from the 21st district in Harlem.

In the early 1960s, he was also active in the defense of victims of a racist frame-up in Monroe, North Carolina, and served as a fund-raising speaker to aid the defendants.

In 1965, he helped organize and was founding chairman of Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. He is presently secretary of the Black United Action Front, a coalition of organizations and individuals, which organized the Harlem contingent in the April 15, 1967 mobilization against the war.

Boutelle is chairman of the Alexander Defense Committee, a group established to aid Dr. Neville Alexander and other freedom-fighters now serving long terms in South Africa's apartheid prisons.

He has been participating in the campaign to defend the 17 alleged members of the Revolutionary Action Movement framed up



AT HARLEM RALLY, Paul Boutelle demanding black GIs be brought home now.

on unconstitutional charges of "criminal anarchy" in New York.

Through his studies, Boutelle became a Marxist. In 1965 he joined the Socialist Workers Party, because "the SWP has a consistent record of engaging in independent class politics, is the Marxist organization that has developed the best analysis of black nationalism, and has been from the start a firm supporter of efforts to build an independent black political party," he

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PROPOSED STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: MCCD

The Michigan Conference of Concerned Democrats is a partisan organization, working within the Democratic party to achieve a true equalitarian and interracial society at home, and a foreign policy of self-determination abroad.

① It believes that the first order of business for local, state, and national government must be the removal of all social inequalities, in particular those which are the product of racism, beginning with the areas of housing, education, and employment. In order to best achieve this, the MCCD supports the right of self-determination of the black community with regard to the selection of those who speak for and represent its aims.

② The MCCD opposes American intervention in Viet Nam, because it contradicts the ideal of self-determination abroad. It further believes that an equalitarian society at home cannot be achieved under the present system of values and priorities which prevails in American foreign policy. Since the Vietnamese conflict has caused a monstrous drain on resources badly needed for domestic programs, it is doubly inconsistent with MCCD goals.

The MCCD believes that the Democratic Party is at present the best political vehicle for achieving its goals, and therefore seeks the aid and support of all Michigan Democrats who agree with them. In turn, the MCCD will offer its aid and support to all Democratic candidates for public office who by their record and public statements indicate that this goal is their primary concern.

The MCCD believes that the Democratic Party is the property of its members, not of its officers and candidates. It therefore will continue to seek means by which grass-roots opinion may be expressed, and by which all Democrats may participate in decision-making within the Party structure.

A review of the history of the Michigan Democratic party in the past two or three decades will show that the party has enjoyed and profited from the overwhelming support of the black community. This support has been maintained solidly in Michigan even though in some areas in the nation the Democratic party and its leaders were vocal and dangerous enemies of that community.

Locally, this support was given and maintained on the promise of a meaningful coalition in which black people would have their rightful share of power to shape and govern the society in which they live. This promise has never been kept. Instead, the black community's attempts to secure positive action in their interest have been thwarted and killed by lack of support and sometimes direct opposition from the white members of this alleged "coalition".

Even in areas of almost exclusive concern to black people, ultimate decision-making power has rested almost exclusively with whites. Instead of the promised interracial coalition of whites and blacks which would be beneficial and advantageous to both groups, the whites have profited from the votes and support of blacks without earning them through action.

The black members of the coalition have repeatedly found that not only were they powerless to bring about positive action, but that they were powerless to prevent actions detrimental to their community and repugnant to liberals everywhere.

Out of this myth of "coalition" came tokenism. It arose out of the fear that liberal whites could not be elected without support and trust from the blacks. But tokenism must come to an end, for it is dishonest and destructive to the American ideals of representative government. It perpetuates a promise never kept.

Black people will not wait any longer for white liberals to keep their promise. The time is long overdue for blacks to obtain rightful representation in the councils of state, both large and small. They must have rightful representation on decision-making bodies, be they economic, political, legislative, judicial, social, or industrial.

The MCCD believes that the destiny of the Democratic party and of this nation depends upon a genuine co-partnership between the liberal white community and its black counterpart. This alliance must be based on a genuine equality of its partners, and the black element of this co-partnership must have the power of self-determination with respect to the right to select from its community those who will speak for and be representative of its prevailing sentiments.

The MCCD dedicates its resources to the fulfillment of these ends, and further endorses the following specific proposals:

1. We endorse the efforts of Representative David Holmes to ensure proportional representation of the black community in the Wayne County judicial system.
2. We endorse the proposal of Rep. Jackie Vaughn III which provides that the larger cities of Michigan be governed by bodies selected on a one-man one-vote districted basis.
3. We support giving paramount consideration to the desires of the black community in the rebuilding of Michigan's inner cities. This should include, where requested, the building of co-operatives and provision for small business loans to residents of the community.

16c

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE CONVENTION OF THE MICHIGAN CONFERENCE OF
CONCERNED DEMOCRATS — DECEMBER 2, 1967

I. GENERAL RULES.

In the absence of specific rules, Roberts Rules of Order shall obtain.

II. SPECIFIC RULES.

1. Action of the Convention shall be limited to items on the Agenda.
2. Action on Resolutions.
 - a. Resolutions may be brought before the Convention only by the Committee on Resolutions.
 - b. Resolutions shall not be subject to amendment on the floor.
 - c. All Resolutions must be adopted by 66 2/3% of the votes of the Convention.
 - d. Any Resolution which receives more than 50% but less than 66 2/3% of the Convention vote shall be referred to District organizations.
 - e. Debate on each Resolution shall be limited to three (3) speakers for and three (3) against.
 - f. Each speaker shall be limited to a maximum of four (4) minutes.
3. Statement of Purpose must be adopted by 66 2/3% of the votes of the Convention, subject to all rules applicable to Resolutions, except that if rejected the Statement of Purpose shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.
4. Organizational Structure and Nomination of Officers.
 - a. The Committee on Structure and Nominations shall submit a plan for the formal structure of the Michigan Conference of Concerned Democrats to the Convention.
 - b. A majority vote of the Convention is required for the adoption of the report on structure.
 - c. All other rules applicable to the debate of Resolutions shall apply to the report on structure, except that if the majority of the Convention rejects the report on structure, the report will still be before the Convention, subject to amendment on the floor and subject to re-submission.
 - d. Once a structure is adopted, the Committee on Structure and Nomination will submit a nominee for each position in the structure.

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE CONVENTION OF THE MICHIGAN CONFERENCE OF
CONCERNED DEMOCRATS --- DECEMBER 2, 1967

Page #2

- e. Unlimited nominations for each position will then be accepted from the floor.
 - f. At the close of nominations, a vote will be taken by each District, two (2) designees to confirm the count in each district.
 - g. A majority of the votes cast is required to effect election.
5. Suspension of Rules requires a 66 2/3% vote of the Convention.

16 f

POSITION PAPER: MICHIGAN DEMOCRATS AND 1968
MCCD

One of the primary reasons why the Michigan Conference of Concerned Democrats and groups similar to it have been called into being during the past six months is the existence of a grave crisis which threatens the very existence of our two-party system. Briefly put, the crisis is simply that millions of Americans are turning away, not merely from the Democratic Party, but from the political process itself.

In the opinion of too many intelligent and thinking citizens, neither political party has shown the slightest inclination to respond to the proven needs of the times.

This disillusion with the political process takes many forms. A few now advocate open rebellion and insurrection. More are ready to take to the streets in various forms of violent and non-violent protest. Others are forming third parties or following the various manifestations of the "new left". Still others have withdrawn from political concern altogether. But all are in agreement that the two parties are controlled by near-identical social and economic interests incapable of real change, and that the average citizen has no role to play in partisan electoral politics.

Many of the above are young, sincere, sensitive, intelligent and humane. They are, in short, symbolic of what has made the Democratic Party great in the past two generations. Their problems are the Democratic Party's problems, and the Democratic Party's problems are our nation's problems.

Specifically, the crisis lies in the inability of reasonable, sensible, legitimate views to find sympathetic response in the political process. There are countless examples of this:

- 1) For some time now, opinion polls have shown Senator Robert Kennedy as being preferred for the Democratic presidential nomination by a majority of the Democratic rank and file, yet nearly all authorities agree that he will not be nominated in 1968.
2. In mid-November of 1967, before any candidate had declared himself for the Democratic nomination, the Democratic National Committee Chairman sent out a letter stating that "we all know who the nominee will be" and urging party officials to quiet dissent in the ranks.
- 3) Only 23% of the nation supports the Administration's handling of the war in Vietnam, and yet the President has made it quite clear that this information is of no concern at all to him.
- 4) In Michigan, though it was obvious to all that unpopularity of the Johnson administration had led to the electoral disaster of 1966, the entrenched leadership of the Party, almost without exception, refuses to follow any course other than blind subservience to the same Administration.
- 5) Also in Michigan, in at least one district, the Party membership is forbidden to pass issues resolutions of any sort, thus, among other things, calling into question the purpose of party membership in the first place.
- 6) Again in Michigan, the current electoral laws place the choice of national convention delegates in the hands of those precinct delegates elected two years earlier, rather than those chosen in the presidential election year itself when issues are more clear.

A recent opinion survey conducted for the Michigan Democratic State Central Committee revealed that only a tiny percentage of the voters believed that there was any real difference between the two parties. Personalities, not parties, determine votes. This is another example of the weakening of the party system. If parties are again to become meaningful, there must be greater emphasis on issues and platforms rather than images and personalities. The MCCD is committed to this point of view in its proposed Statement of Purpose, whose last paragraph reads in part "the Democratic Party is the property of its members, not of its officers and candidates."

The MCCD believes that certain specific actions can be taken which will help bring about a stronger and more united party in Michigan. What is involved is giving a greater role to the rank and file in both the determination of issues and of candidates. (In 1968, with no state-wide partisan official to be chosen, this means a greater choice in the determination of the presidential candidate.) It also means greater efforts on the behalf of party officials not only to encourage party activity, but to make that party activity worth something in terms of response by the leadership.

The MCCD repeats its loyalty to the two-party system and to the Democratic Party. It advocates the following proposals as a method of strengthening both. If these or similar proposals are ignored by those temporarily in power, it will be further evidence that the criticisms of the enemies of both the system and the Party are in fact true.

1. The MCCD endorses without reservation the concept of an "Open Convention", not only with regard to the party's national convention in 1968, but all party conventions, be they county, district, state, or national. By "open convention" the MCCD means a convention in which no candidate, regardless of incumbency, is given a preferred status by the party officials.

2. In accordance with the above, the MCCD endorses the resolutions recently passed by the membership of both the First and Thirteenth Districts, in which consideration was given to sending uncommitted delegations from each. The MCCD recommends that the other seventeen districts strengthen their position at Chicago by doing the same.

3. The MCCD considers the recent attempts by Democratic National Committee Chairman, John Bailey, to rig the 1968 national convention in favor of one candidate and one platform to be arrogant and dangerous to the democratic process. The MCCD believes that his disregard for the opinion of a majority of his party is justification for his resignation or removal.

4. The MCCD welcomes the decision of a great Democrat, Senator Eugene McCarthy, to become a candidate for the presidential nomination, thus opening the door to the free debate of issues which it feels is so vital to the life of the party. It further applauds Senator McCarthy's courage in placing the welfare of the nation and the party ahead of personal political safety.

5. The MCCD believes that the Michigan delegation to the 1968 national Democratic convention should work actively to seat delegation delegations from all states which are truly representative of the party membership in that state. Specifically, the delegation should have no part of any "compromise" such as was offered at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in seating the racist Mississippi delegation.

6. The MCCD supports a change in the Michigan election law so as to allow those who select the national delegates to be chosen in the year of the presidential campaign, rather than two years before, as is now the case.

7. The MCCD opposes the increase in party membership dues from \$4 to \$5 as tending to discourage participation by lower-income groups in the party's affairs.

PROPOSED MCCD POSITION PAPER: FOREIGN POLICY
 December 2, 1967 - Detroit, Michigan

Few Concerned Democrats would care to deny that the foreign policies of the present Administration, especially in Southeast Asia, have been a major factor in the decision to form the MCCD and similar groups around the nation. Since most of the intelligent criticism of these policies has come from life-long Democrats, many of them with long records of service and loyalty to the party and its traditions, the decision was also made to carry the battle on these and other issues within the framework of the party itself.

But it would be an error to see the MCCD as a "one-issue" organization. It is the belief of the MCCD that the American intervention in Viet Nam is but a symptom of a basic sickness in American society and its present-day values. It is, however, the most obvious symptom, one which has feasted to such proportions as to be easily confused with the disease itself.

Any foreign policy is judged ultimately by both its morality and its service to the interests of the nation. The MCCD believes that in Southeast Asia and in many other places our present policies fail both tests.

No man raised in the values of Western Civilization can argue that it is morally defensible to knowingly kill innocent women and children, and yet Americans are doing this every day. No one can contend that it is morally defensible to systematically destroy a faroff land because one cannot possess it militarily, and yet Americans do this also. No one can claim that allowing the torture of military prisoners conforms with any morality at all, and yet this too occurs under American auspices every day.

Nor can it be said that the interests of the nation are served by policies which have bled billions of dollars from our national treasury and paralyzed needed efforts to eradicate the growing despair and discontent at home. It cannot be said that our interests have been advanced by policies which have caused our international prestige to sink to its lowest point in history. Our power has been weakened, not strengthened, by fantastic commitments on six continents, many of them to the support of governments which are blatantly fascist and militarist.

To most of the world, the United States is no longer the leader of a "free" world, but an imperialist power, which respects neither the right of self-determination, nor international boundaries, nor cultural integrity. The United States has not stopped at the use of subversion, lies, gas, chemicals, napalm, torture, or terror, in order to impose its way upon foreign nations, from the Dominican Republic to Viet Nam. The MCCD is dedicated toward putting an end to these indefensible policies.

The MCCD believes that opposition to the war in Viet Nam is in accordance with the progressive tradition of the Democratic party. It seeks a return to the ideals associated with the names of Roosevelt, Stevenson, and Kennedy. In total contrast, the present policy has resulted from a series of irrational decisions made in the past four years, and now confronts Americans with the distinct possibility of an invasion of North Viet Nam and a land war with China.

Already, Americans have paid dearly for these decisions in the form of over 100,000 fathers, sons, and husbands either killed, maimed, or mentally scarred. The casualty rate continues to climb, as does the proportion of American casualties to those of the South Vietnamese "government". There is no end in sight, as the Administration admits.

It has often been remarked that no matter how many mistakes have been made in the past in bringing the nation into an Asian ground war, "we are there now and cannot get out". The MCCD disputes this contention most vigorously. It agrees with Senator Kennedy and others that opportunities have been presented in the recent past and have been either ignored or bungled by the Administration. There is no reason to believe that these opportunities will not be presented in the future if we have the will to create the conditions for them.

Let us be specific:

1. In July of 1964, U Thant, President De Gaulle, and the Soviet Union called for a meeting of the Geneva Conference to discuss Southeast Asian problems, to which the Hanoi government agreed. But soon after came the first of the American bombings of North Viet Nam, ostensibly in retaliation for the attack by North Vietnamese torpedo boats upon a destroyer not far from their coast. As a result of the American response to this "aggression" the chance for negotiations was lost, and the war escalated.

2. January of 1965 witnessed a wave of non-communist anti-American demonstrations in South Viet Nam, and the replacing of Chinese by more conciliatory Russian influence in Hanoi, but the next month saw renewed attacks upon the North at the precise time Premier Kosygin was visiting Hanoi! At the time there were an estimated 400 North Vietnamese regulars in the South. As a result of this escalation, there are now in excess of 50,000.

3. In December of 1965 Premier Fanfani of Italy attempted to create a basis for negotiations with the North, specifically noting that any U.S. attack upon Haiphong would close the door to that possibility - and on December 15 orders were given to bomb Haiphong. What other conclusion was possible except that the United States was not interested in negotiations?

4. A standard argument used against any sincere attempt to de-escalate the slaughter is the "failure" of the so-called "peace offensive" of December-January 1965-66. Not only did nothing come of this, it is said, but the Vietnamese used the bombing pause to build up their forces. Nothing came of it, of course, because the administration refused to deal directly with the major combatant - the National Liberation Front. As for the buildup, the number of North Vietnamese estimated to have "infiltrated" into the South was 4500, while the U.S. put 14,500 new men into the field. Then on January 27, "Operation Masher" was begun in Central Viet Nam; this included the "largest amphibious operation by the United States Marines since the 1950 Inchon landing in Korea". (New York Times, January 30, 1966). The Administration's definition of a "peace offensive" would appear to be somewhat unique.

There are numerous other instances of opportunities lost and destroyed by our increasing reliance on more violence and destruction as a solution to our problems. Those interested in pursuing this matter are invited to consult The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam, by Schurmann, Scott, and Zelnik (Fawcett Premier Books, 60¢).

At the present time many military advisors to the President are advocating an invasion of North Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos. The Administration denies that this will be its policy. But it also denied plans to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, and the President said in his 1964 campaign that he was not about to send American boys to do a job Asian boys should do for themselves. The Chinese have promised that any invasion of the North will be met by open intervention by their massive army. The consequences of a confrontation between China and the United States on Asian soil are too unfathomable to commit to paper.

The MCCD condemns the entire Vietnamese fiasco and much of American foreign policy in general, but it is not content with negative criticism. It believes the Administration can still extricate itself and the nation by November of 1968, and get back to the tasks it so wisely set for itself in 1960 and 1964. Specifically, the MCCD proposes:

1. An immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing of ~~North~~ Viet Nam, and an announcement by the United States that all American troops will be withdrawn within six months of a settlement of the conflict.

2. An avowal by the United States that the National National Liberation Front has a legitimate place at any conference table.

3. An avowal by the United States that it intends to return to the letter and spirit of the 1954 Geneva Accords.

4. A pledge by the U.S. that the end of the war will be followed by long-term aid in the rebuilding of all of Viet Nam; this to be administered through the United Nations.

5. The lesson of Viet Nam should lead to a determination by future Administrations to return to Congress the sole power of declaring war, and a determination in the future to refrain from military intervention in purely civil conflicts in other lands.

PROPOSED MCCD POSITION PAPER: HOUSING AND POVERTY
December 2, 1967 - Detroit, Michigan

The most striking failure of the American dream of equality of opportunity for all is the living conditions in which millions of Americans are compelled to grow up and live. It should be understood that while other nations have been blessed with less wealth, no "modern" nation today can equal the disease of the slums in Bedford-Stuyvesant, or the despair of Appalachia, or the starvation in the Mississippi delta. No amount of self-congratulation on our prosperity elsewhere can erase these facts. Daniel P. Moynihan has written with justice that "the fact that a large group of persons is reduced to such conditions declares that the system under which they live is unjust."

Future historians may look back upon the America of our day and ask why it was that the richest nation the world has ever seen found it so difficult to deal with the problem of poverty. They will note that only the United States, of all "modern" nations, found it necessary to appropriate huge sums of money to put down repeated uprisings of the poor and dispossessed. They will record that few nations have spent a smaller proportion of their wealth on social reform and human welfare. They will record that the United States was the only "modern" nation not to have a program of automatic family allowances for all. Whether they will also record that our society collapsed as a result of frustration, indecision, and lack of leadership, lies in the hands of this generation.

At times it seems as if our society is organized for the systematic punishment of the poor. The poor pay higher rents, but receive housing inferior to that of many who are better off but pay less. The poor pay higher interest for their credit, but usually receive lower-quality merchandise for their money. The poor pay higher prices for their bread and meat, though it is often aged and spoiled. The poor, who are most in need of the educational and cultural tools to escape their plight, usually receive the worst of the schools and the least experienced of the teachers. The poor, who are the most exploited legally and financially, receive the least legal and financial protection. The poor are bitten by rats, abused by police, and ostracized by society.

Thirty-four million Americans now live below what their own government considers an adequate standard of living. Three-and-a-half million children live in complete squalor. Let those who find it politically and financially impossible to deal with these problems pause to calculate the social cost of raising that many future citizens in intolerable surroundings.

This year the federal government will spend \$3.8 billion on new highways. It will spend less than that on the poverty war, public housing, rent supplements, and the Model Cities program combined. The MCCD is committed to the immediate and radical reversal of such an indefensible system of priorities.

The MCCD believes that the American fiasco in Southeast Asia is the major obstacle to the social reform which is imperative at home. In the time that it takes to read this position paper, over a quarter of a million dollars will have been spent on the endless war in Viet Nam. One out of every five tax dollars is spent on this alone.

Obviously, any political leader who claims to be in favor of both the present policies in Viet Nam and basic domestic reform is guilty of either hypocrisy or naivete.

It is no accident that the most vigorous support for the discredited foreign policies of the Administration comes from the long-time enemies of the poor and the non-white. They know that so long as the war in Viet Nam continues, the dream of equality is an impossible one. The results are all around us, in the form of rising despair, frustration, and spiritual torment.

To assume that an end to the war in Viet Nam would mean an automatic end to our domestic crisis would be most unrealistic. The MCCD believes that the leadership of the Democratic party, in the cities, in the states, and in the nation, must begin now to place the creation of a truly equalitarian and interracial society ahead of all other priorities. This must be done in order to create the atmosphere necessary to save the nation from increased domestic violence and spiritual division.

There is so much to be done in the way of ending the blight of poverty, that the MCCD offers the following proposals with the express understanding that such a list is by no means exclusive and does not necessarily imply a rejection of any program not listed.

1. A "negative income tax" to be applied to all American families whose income is below the "poverty line" established by the Federal government.

2. A system of family allowances to be provided for all children regardless of income status.

3. A national health insurance plan to extend medical care to all Americans regardless of income status.

4. Extension of the Social Security Act to cover all Americans over age 65.

5. Passage of Titles IV, V and VI of Congressman John Conyers' Equal Opportunity Bill (H.R. 13358) which among other things provide for one million Federally-assisted low- and middle-income housing units each year for the next ten years, a comprehensive rent-supplement program, and encouragement of home-ownership by low- and moderate-income groups.

6. Passage by the Michigan legislature of the strongest possible laws guaranteeing open occupancy and tenants' rights. *To begin with the passage of Mich.*

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PROPOSED MCCD POSITION PAPER: EMPLOYMENT

DECEMBER 2, 1967 - DETROIT, MICHIGAN

For most Americans, the years since World War II have meant an increasing amount of prosperity, security, and financial stability. In recent years the economy has soared to unprecedented heights. Wages and salaries, and the material comforts which they buy, have all increased for most people. But at the same time, a minority of Americans, mostly non-white Americans, have seen their standard of living actually decline in the past two generations. In many parts of our society, the unemployment rate today is greater than it was during the Great Depression.

There are many reasons for this, including the racist attitudes of many employers and trade unions, and the inability of a highly automated society to provide jobs for the millions of unskilled workers which it has displaced. The result has been a non-white unemployment rate of consistently twice that of whites. Though black people make up 11% of the labor force, they hold only 6% of the jobs in the skilled trades and only 3% of the managerial jobs. Moreover, the traditional liberal solution to all problems - a college education - is of no great help, since a black college graduate faces a prospect of a median income of less than \$6000 annually, compared to the white man's \$9000.

There exists in American society an "employment gap," - a gap between the aspirations and abilities of millions of American citizens, and the facilities which society offers for the fulfillment of those aspirations and abilities. Today, in 1967, America is reaping the costly harvest of this "employment gap." Most historians and sociologists agree that the main ingredient of a potentially revolutionary situation is exactly this situation, a gap between the hopes of the poor and the achievements of the rich. The fact that the majority of Americans happen to be materially well-off therefore makes no difference, as the civil disorders of the past few summers have dramatically shown.

In addition to the obvious losses from domestic violence, the employment gap has meant costly burdens in the form of unemployment compensation, welfare payments, and lost productivity. For those interested in price tags, it is simply false economy to continue to refuse to mount a massive attack on the problem of unemployment and unequal employment opportunity.

Not only is it false economy, but it is dangerous politics. The disappointed of our urban and rural slums, taunted by the growing prosperity of the majority, will not indefinitely endure conditions which all agree are intolerable. As so many people have pointed out, the choice facing the political leadership of America is between rapid peaceful change through legislation and appropriation, or more violence, more repression, more bloodshed, and change anyway. Needless to say, the MCCD is committed to bringing about this change immediately and through the proper political channels.

Lest there be any doubt about it, the MCCD believes that the Democratic Party is entitled to take credit for nearly all the gains made in employment legislation in the past two generations. Beginning with the Social Security and Wagner Acts of the 1930's, and the Full Employment Act and the various state and Federal minimum wage laws of the 1940's and 1950's, Democrats have usually taken the lead in bringing a greater measure of social justice to more Americans. But it must now be recognized that these measures excluded the majority of non-white citizens, as well as many whites, from the scope of their operations. The Social Security Act and the Wagner Act served the needs primarily of the middle class and organized labor, but all know that most non-whites have difficulty entering either group. Even today, millions of unskilled and agricultural workers, again, mostly non-white, are not covered by Social Security, collective bargaining, or minimum wage laws.

The MCCD ~~firmly~~ believes that the record of the Democratic Party in the past will become meaningless in the future unless it takes the lead in closing this employment gap.

The MCCD further believes that the present leadership of the Democratic Party is either unaware of the nature of our employment crisis or lacks the passion to do anything significant about it. Let it not be said that there has been no mandate from the voters for meaningful action. Public opinion surveys have shown a willingness on the part of a substantial majority to translate moral commitments into concrete action. (Newsweek, November 27, 1967.)

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(2 pages)

To this end, in the interests of the nation and the party, the MCCC supports and endorses the following principles and proposals:

- 1) A specific endorsement by the Federal government of the right of every man to employment at a wage rate adequate to the needs of his family, provided he is willing to work, and acceptance of the responsibility of the Federal government, as a last resort, to provide such employment.
- 2) Expansion of the Federal job-training programs to include all those in need of assistance in meeting the challenge of industrialization and automation.
- 3) Adoption of a \$2.00 per hour minimum wage to be applied to all American workers, thus providing them with the \$4,000 which the Social Security Administration regards as a minimal but adequate yearly family income.
- 4) Enactment of Titles I, II, and III of Congressman Conyers' Equal Opportunity Bill (HR R. 13358), which in addition to much of the above, provides for greater Federal enforcement of equal employment opportunity.

PROPOSED MCCD POSITION PAPER NUMBER 3: EDUCATION

Since its colonial origins, American society has placed a greater emphasis on public education than have most other nations. This commitment has been a justifiable source of pride to those who have recognized the close relationship between mass education and true democracy.

In spite of this, however, the undeniable evidence in recent years points the fact that a major crisis is upon us regarding our public educational system, from kindergarten to the universities. That evidence shows that our public schools are failing in their task of preparing youngsters for the complexities of modern life. Millions of children in both our inner cities and our rural slums are not receiving anything approaching a true education.

First of all, the nature of our educational crisis must be fully understood. It is not a case in which millions of pupils in the nation and thousands in Michigan are suddenly failing to measure up to certain "standards". Rather it is a case in which our society, in spite of its obvious affluence and technological advancement, is failing each day to meet the needs of those who are most in need of genuine quality education. Society (which really means the middle and upper-class groups who control it) has failed to recognize the educational demands placed upon it by increased automation and mechanization. Although society is perfectly willing to accept the benefits of technological progress, it is not willing to pay the price for this progress when it comes in the form of accelerated and usually more expensive forms of public education.

In the area of race relations, white society has yet to face up to the fact that a situation has been created in which most black children, from the moment they are born, find themselves contending against handicaps which exist solely because of racism in America. Because of racist social patterns, black children are usually compelled to attend overcrowded, dilapidated schools in which facilities are either obsolete or non-existent, and in which the quality of teaching is substantially below that offered to white society.

Thus our educational crisis has been produced by a combination of two factors: racism and technology.

Our public school system is failing at an alarming rate to prepare both black and white students for a mechanized and automated world in which the unskilled worker plays a dwindling role. At the present time, no less than 40,000 jobs per week are being automated out of existence. Recently, in one month there was a situation in which 3.3 million people were looking for work while at the same time 4 million technical jobs were unfilled. This is clear evidence of a tragic and costly waste of our most precious natural resource - human beings. If further figures are needed, let it be remembered that today the proportion of youth between the ages 16 and 25 who are out of school and unemployed is higher than in the Depression years. (Manpower Challenge of the 60's, U. S. Department of Labor).

The racist pattern in today's public education is borne out by the fact that schools are becoming more, not less, segregated each year. In the city of Cleveland, for example, 54% of the school population is black, whereas 91% of that population attend either all-white or all-black schools. The same figures can be found for most urban areas, including those in Michigan.

What is worse is the fact that inner-city schools are not educating black children. This is not merely the opinion of the MCCD, but of the President's Panel on Educational Research and Development, which concluded in 1964 that "by all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures." (Innovation and Experiment in Education, March, 1964, p.30) The very existence of such programs as Head Start, Upward Bound, the Job Corps, the Teacher Corps, etc., is brutal testimony to the failure of both urban and rural school systems. No other nation has had to attempt to remedy its

educational failings in such a stop-gap manner.

One of the basic obstacles of equal educational opportunity is the basic fact that the children (mostly black) who need the most assistance in meeting the challenge of today's world are the very ones who get the smallest share of the school tax dollar. The children (mostly white) who need the least assistance are the ones who receive the lion's share. A tour of any urban school system, like that of Detroit, will confirm this. Upper-income groups, overwhelmingly white, control the school boards in these communities, and thus it is their needs which are met first.

Often the fact that children with inner-city or lower-income backgrounds perform poorly on so-called "intelligence tests" is used to justify this inequality. But it should be realized that this performance is the product of the system and not the justification for it. Poor schools mean poor jobs, which in turn mean depressed educational conditions. Do lower-class children do poorly in school because they are not very bright? Or do they do poorly because their parents do not or cannot read to them, because they have no books at home, because their home environment does not fit them psychologically for school work?

Thus the situation perpetuates itself and even worsens. Dr. Kenneth Clark has written with truth that "our public school system. . . has been in fact an instrument of social and economic class distinctions in American Society." It is a harsh fact that our public schools are operated mainly for the benefit of the 20% of our population who finish college, and the other 80% are prepared to meet life largely by accident.

The MCCD believes that mass education, in order to be effective, must reverse these priorities and give primary attention to the underprivileged and culturally deprived. It is a comforting cliché among conservatives and many liberals that "money" alone can't solve the problem. This is true, as are most clichés. But increased funds are the first and most necessary step. Without that, there cannot be equality of opportunity, better facilities, or higher quality teachers for those who need them.

The MCCD thus supports the following measures:

- 1) Abolition of the present outdated millage system of support for public schools, which tends to perpetuate vast differences in the quality of education offered to Michigan children, and its replacement by a graduated income tax for all levels of education.
- 2) Higher-than-average per-pupil expenditures by state and local authorities in low-income, ghetto, and slum areas which are most in need of funds.
- 3) Establishment of pre-kindergarten programs in areas where they are needed to prepare children for public schools.
- 4) A Federally-sponsored six-week summer remedial reading program, nation-wide, to assist youngsters in need of this most basic skill.
- 5) Federal subsidies for the college education of promising young people from underprivileged backgrounds.
- 6) Passage of Titles VII and VIII of Congressman Conyers' Equal Opportunity (H.R. 13358) which provides for much of the above.

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RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY FIRST CONGRESSIONAL
DISTRICT (Detroit) DEMOCRATIC PARTY
ORGANIZATION ON NOVEMBER 21, 1967

WHEREAS, the first and most urgent
priority confronting America today and during the
next Presidential Administration is the abolition of
poverty and racism; and

WHEREAS, we can anticipate a major political
struggle within the Democratic Party concerning the
seating at the 1968 Democratic National Convention
of delegations which truly represent the Democratic
voters of their states; and

WHEREAS, in order to achieve maximum
political bargaining power in behalf of these goals,
the 1st District Democratic Party Organization, along
with the 13th District Organization has a special
responsibility,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the
membership of the First Congressional District Demo-
cratic Party Organization join with the 13th District
in adopting as its policy the sending of a delegation
from Michigan to the 1968 Democratic National Convention
pledged to a "favorite son" candidate, for President,
or uncommitted to any candidate so as to maximize
its political power and dramatize its commitment to
the above priorities.

A SIMILAR RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY
THE 13th DISTRICT DEMOCRATIC PARTY
A WEEK EARLIER.

stop the draft week - dec 4-8

Uncle Sam is taking 18,200 more men in December. More lives down the drain. More slaughter and waste in Vietnam.

The government can't get much support for its war. Few men are volunteering to fight for it. Hundreds of thousands are demonstrating against it. But Johnson needs soldiers, so we get drafted.

Hershey says Selective Service is going to "live up to the letter of the draft laws." He says that students who "interfere" with the war effort are not acting "in the national interest." So they should get drafted -- first.

We say no one should have to go. The guys who are in Vietnam now should be brought home now. Other inductees should be released now. We say stop the draft - stop the war.

mon, dec 4 Turn in draft cards, 3:00 p.m., Cadillac Towers.
(For more information call 831-6800)

tues, dec 5 Stop the draft-Stop the war rally, 3:30 p.m., Cass Tech High School

thurs, dec 7 Stop the draft-Stop the war rally, 12:30 p.m., W.S.U. Lower De Roy Aud.

fri, dec 8 Torch light march & demonstration, 4:00 p.m., starting at Clark Park (Clark & West Vernor) to Ft. Wayne



WALLACE STAY HOME

16 m

GEORGE WALLACE, ALABAMA'S INFAMOUS ANTI-LABOR RACIST IS GOING TO INVADE DETROIT WITH HIS POISONOUS BRAND OF HATRED ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 11 AT NOON IN THE COBO HALL MAIN BALLROOM.

Wallace, America's would be Hitler, is being brought here under the auspices of the Detroit Economics Club, the millionaire's luncheon club, whose membership reads like a who's who of big shots of G.M., Ford, Chrysler, Michigan Bell, Detroit Edison, Detroit Bank, Michigan Consolidated Gas, National Bank of Detroit, Manufacturer's Bank, etc. These giants of industry and finance are allegedly working to alleviate the problems of the black and white poor. But one wonders where their true sympathies lie when their representatives promote this vicious pro war hate peddler who poses as the champion of the little man, but whose home state industries pay working people one of the lowest average wages in the nation.

We call upon Ford, Cisler, Roche and the other big business moguls to repudiate this invitation to racist Wallace if they really believe in open housing as they say.

DETROIT DOESN'T WANT YOU HERE GEORGE WALLACE

Stay home and clean up your own back yard. Raise the wages of the working people in Alabama - black and white - end your union busting open shop "right to work" atmosphere.

DETROITERS

JOIN US IN A MASSIVE PICKET LINE AND
DEMONSTRATION TO PROTEST THIS PLANNED INVASION
OF OUR COMMUNITY BY HATE MONGER WALLACE
GATHER IN THE PARK BEHIND COBO HALL AT 11:15 A.M.
MONDAY, DECEMBER 11

REMEMBER! Alabama's brutal Ku Klux Klan assassination of Detroit's Viola Liuzzo, wife of a Teamster Business Agent.
REMEMBER! Wallace stood in the door to block school integration.
REMEMBER! Wallace is the Pro-War Candidate who supports the Vietnam War, so more of our sons and loved ones can die for his big business friends.

Sponsor: Detroit New Politics, P.O. Box 3417, Highland Park 48203

Exhibit #4

WHAT PRICE WAR IN VIETNAM?

THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS NOW COSTING:

\$30 billion a year
\$82 million a day
\$57,000 a minute

* Sen. Hartke (Indiana) estimates *
* that it costs us \$500,000 to *
* kill one Vietnamese. *

W H O P A Y S F O R T H I S ? Y O U D O

Taxes are going up -- income tax alone probably 6-10% this year. The cost of living is going up -- at a rate of 2.6% annually. Food, clothing, housing, medical care (up 6%)*, hospital care (up 21%)* -- everything you need to live!

* U.S. Dept. of Labor Cost of Living Index for May 1967.

THE SHAME OF AMERICA

* Does this make sense: the U.S. "defense" budget *
* \$70 billion a year *
* ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? anti-poverty program budget *
* less than \$1.5 billion *

It is estimated that a successful anti-poverty campaign to meet the long neglected needs of our citizens could be accomplished with \$10 billion a year for ten years. Slum clearance could absorb another \$10 billion. Schools, hospitals, roads, food for U.S. hunger areas need the rest of the \$30 billion being blown up in Vietnam.

BUT THE HEAVIEST COST OF ALL TO U.S. FAMILIES IS THE LOSS OF THEIR SONS....

11,086 KILLED TO DATE (N. Y. Times, July 19, 1967), OVER 60,000 WOUNDED.

The casualty lists grow with every escalation. The generals want more men. The White House is sending them.

HOW MUCH LONGER?

* "American military and civilian leaders now say *
* (subduing the Vietnamese) will require perhaps *
* a decade, it could require a generation." *
* N.Y. Times, Dec. 11, 1966 *
* "It might be 50 years before we can get out of *
* Vietnam. I don't see how to disentangle our- *
* selves from the war." *
* Sen. Hugh Scott, Pa., May, 1967 *

WRONG, DEAD WRONG

We say these dismal prophets are wrong, dead wrong. We can disentangle ourselves and the rest of the world from war in Southeast Asia, which Sen. Mansfield (Montana) sees as the "most urgent threat of World War III." War is more than economics, it is also politics and politicians will get the message if enough people get the message to them.

Tell your congressman, your Senators, and your President:

END THE BOMBING!
NEGOTIATIONS NOW!
ESCALATE THE PEACE!

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, 2006 Walnut St., Phila., Pa.



Dear Friend,

We delegates from Michigan who attended the New Politics Convention in Chicago have constituted ourselves into an Organizing Committee for New Politics in Michigan.

The committee has drafted a Proposed Call for a New Politics State Convention to be held during the Spring of 1968. Enclosed is a copy of the Draft Call. We ask that you study the Draft; then draw up your own Proposals or suggest changes to be presented at a State Planning Conference to be held on December 9, 1967 at 8926 Second Avenue (two blocks south of Clairmont) in Detroit. The Conference will begin at 10:00 A.M. and last to 5:00 P.M.

We urge organizations to send representatives to this Conference in order that the final Convention Call will reflect the views of those parts of the different communities that consider themselves left of center. We also urge interested individuals to attend as delegates.

This Conference will hammer out a Proposed Program to be included in the Convention Call. That is why it is important that you attend or be represented at this meeting.

Sincerely,



Arthur McPhaul
Co-Chairman New Politics
State Planning Committee

AM:bs

Enclosure

Up

PROPOSED DRAFT OF CALL FOR A MICHIGAN CONFERENCE ON
NEW POLITICS

An Assessment

With every passing day we see an intensification of this country's oppressive policies in our cities and throughout the world. As a consequence, we have seen military solutions being imposed upon the people of Vietnam and have seen the tanks roll down 12th Street in the City of Detroit. The longer it continues, the more the world suffers on our account, and the more probable it becomes that racism and economic suppression will continue to exist in this country.

Yet there is no voice that clearly speaks to our problems and does so loudly enough to be heard over those who talk about freedom and peace. We hear only the voices who sponsor thoughtless programs to pacify the rebellious cities while strengthening police powers.

We realize that there must be effective and continued opposition to racism and military intervention. Some of us believe that our cause is best served by neighborhood organizations that speak to immediately pressing local problems and issues. They have worked on rent strikes and on providing for control of welfare projects, urban renewal, etc. Others feel that only through electoral politics can we possibly alter the power relations that exist in this country. Local organizing and direct electoral politics are not in contradiction, rather they can compliment each other. To this end, CITIZENS FOR NEW POLITICS has begun a petition campaign to be on the Michigan Ballot (as the NEW POLITICS PARTY) in 1968.

Recently, over three thousand persons came to Chicago in response to a Call to a National Convention of NEW POLITICS. Some came with their own ideas and solutions to the important issues facing us. Others came with less well defined programs. What the Convention provided was the opportunity for persons working in many different areas and with many different approaches to come together and discuss alternatives. It is true that differences of opinion did exist on ideological as well as strategic matters, but it is important to recognize that from this Convention has come the realization that it is necessary to act with every means at our disposal in order to affect the changes that we desire.

This means facing the fact that we may differ on means, but we are unified in purpose. It means realizing that white and black cannot always work together to be most effective, but that parallel strategies and tactics may exist and where they do, must be evaluated. It means working constantly at local organization while always being prepared to use all levels of electoral politics to make use of the platforms that elections provide and to take power where possible. In addition, however, was the recognition that only through independent electoral activity could there be effective confrontation. We therefore intend to call a:

MICHIGAN CONFERENCE ON NEW POLITICS

At this Conference we shall meet to present our own analysis, positions and perspectives for the future. We shall meet with the intention of determining the course of NEW POLITICS in the cities of Michigan

and the State. We shall meet to decide where coordination is possible and where it is not, where black and white can work hand in hand, and where they must work apart to obtain a common goal. We shall meet together to reaffirm our opposition to economic and racial oppression and to force alternatives. We shall meet to organize our forces and to plan.

We invite you to participate in planning this Convention. We invite you to send representatives to a planning meeting at 10:00 A.M. on December 9 at 8926 Second Avenue (two blocks south of Clairmont) in Detroit. This meeting will be for the purpose of: (1) revising the convention call so that it clearly reflects the desires of all; (2) setting up the various groups necessary to carry on the planning function of the convention; (3) deciding on the agenda; (4) deciding formuli for representation.

It is important that your voice be heard. Please call TR 3-3114 for further information. If you will attend, please drop a note, or telephone, Arthur McPhaul, 143 Hazelwood, Detroit, at the above phone number.

We will look forward to seeing you there.

Signed:

MICHIGAN ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
FOR NEW POLITICS

banks under the control of democratically elected workers committees. Plan the economy democratically for the benefit of all instead of for the profit of the few.

A socialist America will be an America of peace and prosperity, without poverty or slums or unemployment, and without wars like that in Vietnam. It will put an end to racism and, for the first time after over 400 years of oppression, guarantee unconditionally, the right of self-determination for the black Americans. It will signal an unparalleled growth in culture, freedom and in the development of the individual.



VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS IN 68



Exhibit # 8

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003
Telephone (212) 982-5932

- ☐ I would like more information.
- ☐ I would like to arrange a meeting for an SWP candidate.
- ☐ I want to help the SWP campaign.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$ to help build the socialist campaign.

Name

Address

City Phone

State Zip

The bipartisan policies of the Democrats and Republicans are leading the people of the United States toward disaster.

The war in Vietnam continues to escalate—more bombing, more troops, more death and destruction for the Vietnamese and more American casualties. And each escalation toward China increases the danger of a nuclear war, a war which would leave the world's cities—our own included—heaps of radioactive rubble.

While U.S. troops are in Vietnam attempting to crush a popular revolution, police, national guard and army units are used to viciously smash the uprisings of black people in our own cities.

In spite of big promises and small concessions, black people remain subject to discrimination and oppression in housing, in jobs, in education and every other area of economic, political and social life. Police brutality, slumlord rent-hogs and price-gouging merchants are daily facts of life for Afro-Americans. Unemployment and low wages hit black people the hardest.

Tens of millions of Americans, black and white, live in poverty. One third of the nation lives below the "poverty line," by admission of the government itself. These Americans have not shared in the "prosperity" based on war production and exploitation of the colonial world.

The workers as a whole are feeling the squeeze of the war economy. Rising taxes and inflated prices have cut into paychecks, actually lowering real wages since the escalation of the war in Vietnam. And while they wallow in super profits, the corporations do everything they can to keep wages down and encroach upon union control over working conditions.

The bosses turn more and more to the government for aid in their crusade against the workers, and the Democrats and Republicans have proven more than willing servants of their class. The move by Congress forcing compulsory slave-labor arbitration on the railroad workers is only the



SOCIALIST CANDIDATES. Fred Holstead, SWP candidate for President (left) and Paul Boutelle, SWP Vice Presidential candidate.

latest in a long list of anti-labor laws and actions by the government.

Democratic rights, too, are being eroded. The response of the government—federal, state and local—to the black revolt has been the harassment and hounding of the most authoritative spokesmen of the movement for black power. This is creating the atmosphere in which all dissenting views will be liable to witchhunt attack.

Moral and cultural values are twisted and mangled in this war-breeding, racist system. The big lie has become standard operating procedure in everything from advertising swindles to White House ballyhoo on Vietnam.

The basic policies pursued by the Democratic and Republican politicians are not the accidental results of arbitrary decisions.

(over)

(continued)

They flow from the needs of the capitalist system and the outlook of the ruling capitalist class.

The Vietnam war is a prime example. It is now crystal clear that the U.S. ruling class is not fighting in Vietnam for "freedom" or "democracy." Their war aim is to prevent the workers and peasants of Vietnam from taking control of their own country. The Democrats and Republicans are sending our young men to die in Vietnam as part of a reckless global strategy of preserving and extending the capitalist system and capitalist profits.

Racism is also part and parcel of American capitalist society. Racism serves to keep white workers from realizing that their interests lie with the black masses, and not with the white capitalist rulers. Racism is a source of profit for the ruling class, providing a ready-made pool of cheap and available labor. Racism is utilized



in the U.S. imperialist drive to subjugate and enslave the colored peoples around the world, as in Vietnam.

War, racism, poverty, the attack on labor, the erosion of the Bill of Rights—all these are bitter fruits of the capitalist system or of the measures taken by the capitalist rulers to uphold their system and increase their profits.

To fight against these evils, it is necessary to expose their roots in the system which produced them. We have to uproot this vicious system and fight for a new and better one.

That's why the Socialist Workers Party stands for a complete break with every form of capitalist politics. When black people, and workers as a whole, cease supporting the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and organize parties of their own, a gigantic step forward will have been taken in the struggle against the system.

In 1968, a clear-cut opposition and radical alternative to the warmaking and racist Democrats and Republicans will be presented by the SWP candidates for President and Vice President, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle.

Halstead and Boutelle will be campaigning for the following program:

Stop the war in Vietnam—bring our men home now! Support the right of GIs to discuss the war and freely express their opposition to it. Abolish the draft—no draftees for Washington's imperialist war machine. Organize a national referendum to give the people the right to vote to withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Hands off Cuba and China. Support the struggles of the Asian, Latin American, African and Arab peoples for national independence and social liberation.

Support the black people's fight for freedom, justice, and equality through black power. Black people have the unconditional right to control their own communities. The black communities should have control over their schools, and city, state and federal funds should be made available to them



in whatever amounts needed to overcome years of deprivation in education.

Appropriate whatever funds are necessary to provide jobs for every unemployed Afro-American, with preferential hiring and upgrading to equalize opportunities in apprenticeship programs, skilled trades, and higher paying technical and supervisory occupations.

In place of price-gouging merchants and landlords preying on the black community, black non-profit cooperative shops and housing projects should be set up with federal financial aid. Price committees elected by the community should police prices.

It is the right of Afro-Americans to keep arms and organize themselves for self-defense from attacks from any quarter.

Keep the troops and racist cops out of the black community, and replace them with deputized, elected representatives of the community. As an immediate step, organize genuine review boards, elected by

the black community, to control the cops.

For an independent black political party to organize and lead the struggle for black power on all fronts and by any means necessary.

Support labor's fight against inflation and government control. No freeze on wages. For union escalator clauses to offset rises in the cost of living. The trade unions should take the lead in setting up general committees of consumers to regulate prices.

Repeal all anti-labor laws. Defense of the unconditional right to strike. Complete union independence from government control and interference. Rank and file control over all union affairs.

A reduced work week with no cut in pay, and unemployment compensation at the union wage scale for all jobless persons 18 and over, whether or not they have been previously employed.

Equal rights in the union and on the job for black workers and for members of other minorities, and full union support to the Afro-American struggle for equality.

For an independent labor party based on the trade unions, to defend the rights of all working people against the parties of the bosses, and to fight for a workers government.

For a crash program of public housing and other public works. Take the billions spent on war and use them to build decent, low-rent homes for the working millions who need them, and to build schools and hospitals instead of bombs.

Support the demands of America's youth. The right to vote at 18.

Free public education through the university level, with adequate pay for all students who need it. Student participation in all university decisions and functioning.

Support to young people's rejection of the sterile cultural values of our decaying capitalist order.

For a planned, democratic socialist America. Nationalize the major corporations and

(over)

GENERALS DENOUNCE VIET WAR!

Griffith hails peace meet of businessmen

The first national meeting of Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace was held in Washington, D.C. September 27, confronting the Johnson Administration with still another segment of American society fed up with the war. Restricted to business leaders, the group has rapidly gathered over 1,000 members. It includes many who were prominent financial backers of the 1964 Johnson campaign.

Nationally spotlighted at Washington's Statler Hilton Hotel was Sen. Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky, former Republican National Chairman. He took the occasion to admit he had been all wrong about Vietnam and was switching from hawk to dove.

Tran Van Dinh, former South Vietnamese Ambassador to the U.S., painted a bitter picture of the havoc American intervention was wreaking. He systematically surveyed the reasons that all elements of the population were being driven into the anti-U.S. camp.

Marriner Eccles, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, said "... the great majority of the people do not consider us their savior, but hate us and want us to get out of their country ... They are fighting for national liberation and unity ... the causes for which others, including Americans, have fought."

Rear Admiral Arnold E. True, U.S.N. (Ret.), was a featured speaker, while another prominent military figure took the occasion to make his first public denunciation of the war. He is Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Griffith, II, U.S.M.C. (Ret.), a leading expert on China (he holds a Ph. D. from Oxford in Chinese history, has translated Mao Tse-tung's treatise on guerrilla war and the Chinese classic on war, Sun Tzu; his own books are "The Battle for Guadalcanal" and "The Chinese People's Liberation Army.")

Holder of the Navy Cross, Army Distinguished Service Cross and Purple Heart (for wounds at Guadalcanal), Gen. Griffith. (Continued on page 4)

NORSTAD ASKS BOMBING HALT

Four more stars were lined up with the military doves Nov. 8 when General Lauris Norstad spoke out for peace in Vietnam at the annual Business Outlook Conference of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Norstad, a Republican and president of the Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corp., had been silent on Vietnam previously. The following editorial from the Nov. 12 New York Times sums up his views:

STRATEGY FOR VIETNAM PEACE
"Gen. Lauris Norstad's proposed strategy for Vietnam brings one of America's most prestigious military figures into the national debate on the side of an unconditional halt in the bombing of North Vietnam and an effort to end the war through negotiations with Hanoi."

"The former NATO Supreme Commander, placed by General Eisenhower as one of his successors in that extraordinary political-military role during six critical cold war years, was originally an airman. He commanded large strike forces in the Pacific and European wars and later became the United States and NATO air chief in Europe. His judgment that a unilateral cessation of bombing is worth the risk must also be read in terms of his reputation, abroad as well as at home, as one of the West's outstanding strategic thinkers with a profound grasp of political as well as military factors."

"What General Norstad now has proposed is in essence a political-military strategy for bringing the Vietnam war to a conclusion at a relatively early date. He states that he 'prefers the conference table to bombing as a means to that end.'"

"General Norstad evidently is prepared to go beyond a bombing suspension to bring Hanoi to negotiations. If necessary, he believes serious consideration should be given to Senator Symington's proposal for a unilateral cease-fire and a halt in reinforcements in South Vietnam to challenge Hanoi to come to the conference table. He favors an offer by the President to go to Geneva in an attempt to reconvene, at the summit level, the Geneva conference of 1954. If Hanoi refused to come and negotiate meaningfully, the United States, as Senator Symington has pointed out, undoubtedly 'would feel free to pursue this war in any manner of its own choosing.' But General Norstad has a more important point."

"He argues that no foreign war in more than a century has divided the nation so much as Vietnam. Abroad, he notes that 'the war has diminished our position among our closest friends in the free world,' eroding confidence in the principles and purposes of the United States. His proposed strategy, he believes, would restore that confidence and also unite the American people 'in a sense of national purpose.' Accomplishing these two objectives, he insists, is the way to convince Hanoi 'that it is more profitable to come to the conference table than to delay.'"

"General Norstad's views have been circulating privately for many months in this country and abroad. He has now felt impelled to speak out publicly; the strategy he proposes should command respectful attention both in the White House and in the Congress."



5¢ 360
Vol. 1, No. 3 Chicago, Ill., Nov.-Dec., 1967 dedicated to ending the war in Vietnam



Veterans marching on the Pentagon, Oct. 21, 1967

MARCHERS CONFRONT WAR MAKERS AT THE PENTAGON

About 175,000 people converged on Washington, D.C. October 21st in response to a call from the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Student Mobilization Committee.

They took part in the largest antiwar demonstration in the history of the nation's capital.

The protest action started with a massive rally at the Lincoln Memorial about noon. Thousands of tightly massed people, from all parts of the country, lined the Reflecting Pool. There were parents, children, doctors, nurses, teachers, veterans, women's groups, trade unionists, pacifists and just plain citizens, mostly young.

The rally was co-chaired by Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee, and John Wilson, NMC co-chairman and associate national director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, the prominent baby physician, was a main speaker.

"We consider the war Lyndon Johnson is waging as disastrous to this country in every way," Spock declared. "We don't consider the Vietnamese people — North or South — the enemy. They wish no harm to the United States. They are only defending their country from the unjust onslaught of arms and planes. . ."

"The enemy, we believe in all sincerity, is Lyndon Johnson, whom we elected as a peace candidate in 1964 and who betrayed us within three months."

At about 3:00 p.m., the first contingents started the 2½-mile march across Memorial Bridge to the North Parking Lot of the Pentagon.

A contingent of about 2,000 veterans of Vietnam, Korea, World Wars I and II, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the Spanish Civil War, and their families received waves of applause from demonstrators and onlookers as they swept on to the bridge. Spontaneously, marchers who preceded them in the line made way for the chanting, colorfully-clad vets. Many of them

handed out copies of **Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace** along the way. When they came to a line of MPs near the Pentagon grounds the vets responded by trying to get them to take the paper and discuss the war.

Much of the crowd surged past the rally site and moved to the Mall in front of the Pentagon, which had been selected as the confrontation symbol of the overall demonstration. At one point in the afternoon some 50,000 people were in the area, with some crammed on the ramps and entrance plaza of the Pentagon.

Starting at about 4:30 p.m., and continuing 'til midnight, many demonstrators were beaten by marshals and MPs wielding clubs and rifle butts; tear gas and the chemical, Mace, were used against the demonstrators, also.

Reports affidavits, photographs and motion pictures of the unwarranted attacks have been received by the National Mobilization Committee and attest to the assaults.

Dave Dellinger, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, head of Women Strike for Peace and NMC co-chairman, novelist Norman Mailer, were among those arrested for going into an off-limits area on the Pentagon grounds during the preplanned civil disobedience.

About 700 arrests occurred at the Pentagon ramps or Mall plaza Saturday, Sunday and early Monday morning, when the demonstration permit ran out and groups of protestors refused to move.

The demonstration gained world wide attention and support. At the same time the confrontation was taking place in Washington sympathy demonstrations were taking place in over a dozen different countries, throughout the world.

One bus load of demonstrators voted, during the long ride home, to stage the next confrontation during the Democratic national convention in August in Chicago.

LABOR LEADERS CALL FOR PEACE

Rear Admiral Arnold E. True, U.S.N. (Ret.), got rousing applause for his call to get out of Vietnam when he addressed a luncheon meeting as part of a 2-day National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace in Chicago, Nov. 11. Adm. True called on the 523 national and local trade union officials to put an end to the war rather than criticize the youth who rebel against fighting it.

The Assembly, first really large-scale revolt against the AFL-CIO pro-war stance directed by President George Meany, heard also from Prof. John K. Galbraith, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Sen. Eugene McCarthy, Victor Reuther (Director of International Affairs, United Auto Workers, and brother of President Walter Reuther), Frank Rosenblum (Secretary-Treas., Amalgamated Clothing Workers).

A unanimously adopted policy statement said of U.S. intervention in Vietnam: "... the war is no longer justifiable," "immoral," and "contrary to the best interests of our country." The representatives of over 50 international unions from 38 states called for an immediate unconditional halt in bombing of No. Vietnam and U.S. willingness to recognize the National Liberation Front, and pledged to develop peace activities in their home areas.

Sen. McCarthy's call for electoral action to end the war was warmly greeted.

Admiral True mentioned his article "Can We Win in Vietnam?" during his speech, and every delegate leaving the luncheon got a copy of the October VS&SP containing it. Several Chicago Vets for Peace had a brisk sale of caps and subscriptions, about half of the delegates being vets themselves.

This copy of **VETERANS STARS & STRIPES FOR PEACE** distributed by:
VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR
1101 W. WARREN AVENUE
DETROIT, MICH. 48201



Now Many T's Must Be Crossed?

Exhibit # 11

Vietnam Remembered: III

CONVERSATIONS

By Bob Wilkinson

Captain Wheeler, Communications Officer of the 1964th Communications Group, July 23, 1965: "All you have to do now is sign your Crypto Access Certificate and you can start working at the Air Operations Center."

"Sir, according to the wording of this oath, it is signed 'freely and without mental reservation.' Being opposed to the U.S. policy in Vietnam, I cannot work at the AOC or sign this document."

"Well, what would you like to do?"

Captain Oates, Hq. Squadron Section Commander, 1876 Comm. Sqdn, July 25, 1965: "Well, Airman Wilkinson, it seems you're not entirely happy with what your country is doing here."

"Yes, sir. That's correct."

"Well, I admire you for standing for what you believe in. When I was your age, Hitler was coming to power in Germany, and a lot of people here thought they could appease him. But I felt we should have gone in and crushed Germany long before we did. Here we are again. Instead of Hitler, it's the communists. Instead of Czechoslovakia, it's Vietnam. And I think we should have drawn the line a long time ago."

"Apparently you disagree. Well — and I want you to remember this — this is a free country. Be glad you're allowed to disagree. Do you think you'd be allowed to disagree in Russia?"

"Do you know what we're doing for the Vietnamese? We're giving them something they've never known before. We're giving them freedom. We're giving them the democratic heritage of the greatest country in the world."

"Sir, from what I've seen while walking around Saigon the last few days, the Vietnamese don't seem to understand or appreciate our heritage."

"Of course not. They've got to learn. And we're here to teach them. This is a very primitive people. All they understand is force. No, it won't be easy. Maybe it'll take twenty, fifty, a hundred years. But we'll teach 'em, and they'll learn. And in the end they'll be glad we were here."

"Sir, the French have been in this country for a hundred years, and they said they were here for the same reason you just said. But what the Vietnamese learned from them didn't seem to have much to do with democracy. I don't see what they'll learn about our culture through our rifles and airplanes and through our support of military dictators."

"Well, that's your right, as I said before. But you're also in the Air Force and you've got to observe discipline. Now, you seem adamant in your refusal to sign this oath. You know what that does? It makes you a liability to the service. We want people who are an asset to the service. It costs the Air Force a lot of money to train you and bring you out here. Now that money's gone to waste. So now I have to pull your security clearance and order an investigation. You'll get a physical and psychiatric exam, and we'll look into your records and a few other things."

What other things?

1st Lt. Gelman, 23rd Tac Gp Postal Officer, August 25, 1965: "No mail for three weeks, and you're sure people have been writing you? . . . Have you tried General Delivery? . . . Yeah, well, when you got your mailbox, the clerk might have forgotten to bring your locator card up to date, and your mail just might be piling up in G.D. Go check it out."

I did. It was. I asked the postal clerk to check out my locator card.

"Wilkinson, huh? Yea. . . uh. . . well it's up to date. . . I really don't know why, unless the other clerks just kept throwing it in."

Now, why should a postal clerk remember one name out of over 3,000?

MSgt Jenkins, NCO in charge of my duty section, January, 1966, in a Saigon bar: "You know I don't agree with you, but don't think I or Mr. O'Neill or anyone else is against you. I know you're not a commie or a pacifist, and you hold your liquor like anyone else, and you're doing OK with the women, so you're all right by me. I feel the same way you do about a lot of things, and you're OK."

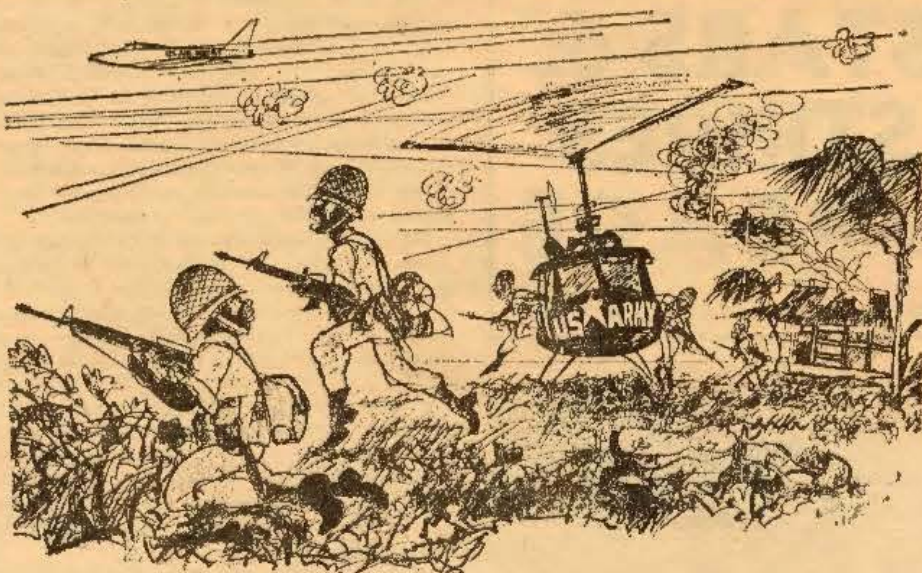
"Have another drink on me, Sarge."

A2C Bock, a fellow worker, April 14, 1966, the day after the mortar attack: "That does it! As far as I'm concerned, the Vietnamese can have this goddam country. Wilks, you've won a convert."

And I hadn't even tried.

EDITORIAL

Veterans Stars & Stripes for Peace wishes every American serviceman the happiest possible Holiday Season, and, above all, peace in the New Year. Vets working in organizations and individually to end the disgraceful U.S. involvement in Vietnam pledge redoubled efforts in the coming year. America's vets want you all home safe in a country at peace when next year's holidays roll around, and we'll break our backs to make damn sure that's how it will be. Meanwhile, good luck, men!



"This is proving to be excellent training for civilian life."

VIET VETS WRITE

Dear Editor:

I am a Viet-Nam veteran who took part in the October 21st march on the Pentagon. I am a strong believer in your cause, and I am very interested in becoming active in your growing organization.

I would like very much to do my share in helping influence and educate people to the realities and immoralities of this costly and shameful war. As a point of information, I was assigned to the 4th Engr. Battalion, 4th Infantry Division, at Pleiku, Viet-Nam, from June through December of 1966.

Any information you send, which will tell me how I can be of assistance, will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
Donald Weiss
New York City

Dear Editor:

I wish to express my thanks for your sending me the information concerning your organization. I appreciate very much the interest you have in keeping me informed of what is happening in the anti-war movement.

I wish to re-affirm that I am still in full sympathy with your cause as well as all other conscientious protest of the war in Viet-Nam.

I am stationed in Viet-Nam at the present time and, unfortunately, have been unable, until this time, to contact those people who have organized against the war. Again, let me reaffirm my interest in keeping in as close contact with you as possible.

Until I hear from you again let me wish you well in your campaign to inform the people of America of the facts concerning the war in Viet-Nam.

Sincerely,
a Sp/4 4th Inf. Div.

Local Vets In Action

Carlos Van Leer, Jr., reports from Washington, D.C. that he and other vets are getting plenty of invitations to radio and TV shows, college campuses, etc. Gary Rader, the green beret who burned his draft card in uniform April 15th and was arrested at the Pentagon and jailed for 30 days, was scheduled to go right from jail to a long series of interviews and speeches. Paul M. McCloskey, a multi-medal-Marine of Korean vintage and winner on a strong dove platform over Shirley Temple in the recent Republican primary in California, is among those placed on the airwaves in the nation's capital.

Minneapolis vets report many successful speaking engagements by Commander Daryl Nelson, a Viet vet, and others.

Miles Galvin of Madison, Wisc. Vets for Peace, reports VS&SP was given out at a Marine Band concert Oct. 17. The Wisconsin State Journal had a reporter at the group's formal organizing meeting Oct. 10 and gave a very favorable large story on it. A speakers bureau has been set up and literally a dozen letters and articles have been placed in the Univ. of Wisconsin Cardinal and two city newspapers, while the Papa Hambone radio show has had repeated vet guests. Outstanding is Al Ebi's article on the indiscriminate horror of napalm, which was given a large part of the front page of the Madison Capital Times on Nov. 2. Ebi is a Korean vet, well acquainted with napalm. This deserves a reprint with additional material on Dow Chemical Co., and could be used nationwide in anti-Dow and anti-napalm protests.

Boston turned out 15 vets for Draft Resistance Day, Oct. 16, 10 of whom burned their cards, writes Bill Bischoff. Chicago, New York, Atlanta and other groups lent support to resistance activities.

Make A Good Impression For Peace!

CAP, STREET DEMONSTRATION, OVERSEAS STYLE, M-1. Dark blue cloth, white lettering, red braid. Lettering "VETS FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM" on both sides for best visibility to onlookers, TV. Prices by mail are: \$3.00 each; 5 for \$12.50; 10 for \$20.00; 50 for \$75.00; and 100 for \$140.00. Payment must accompany order. Sizes must be listed for orders under 20 caps. Sizes are:

Rear Adm. Arnold E. True, U. S. N. (Ret.)	6%	6%	7	7 1/2	7 1/4	7 1/2	7 3/4	7 1/2	7 3/4
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You can mark the number of caps of each size you want directly on this page and send it with check or money order to: **VETERANS FOR PEACE, BOX 4598, CHICAGO, ILL. 60680**

☐ Please enter my subscription to VS&SP at \$5.00 for the duration of the war (free to servicemen at their military address)

☐ Herewith is my contribution of \$.... to help publish VS&SP. I will send \$.....monthly.

☐ Herewith \$.....for a bundle at \$15.00/1000, \$3.00/100 copies. Send.....copies monthly.

Make checks payable to **VETERANS STARS & STRIPES FOR PEACE**. Send to P.O. Box 4598, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

Name.....

Address.....

City, State, Zip (or APO or FPO).....

VIET VETS WRITE

The following is the last of three letters from Viet vets put in the Congressional Record by Sen. William Fulbright 16 June 1967.

Dear Senator Fulbright: I was a Phi Beta Kappa History Graduate of University in 1965. Later I served seven months in Vietnam with the U.S. Army. I was injured in a mine explosion March 28 and am now convalescing in Army Hospital.

I have always admired your courage in protesting President Johnson's Vietnam policies. Abraham Lincoln risked his political career by protesting the Mexican-American War. John F. Kennedy's greatest act of courage may have been his speech in the Senate defending Algeria during the Franco-Algerian War. Your speeches have been in the same great tradition.

Don't let Gen. Westmoreland and President Johnson erode your will to dissent with their argument that all the soldiers "over there" staunchly support the war. They don't. Most of them are apathetic and I am by no means the only one who is vehemently opposed to it.

Two years ago McNamara and most of our Generals predicted a quick victory in Vietnam. Now General Westmoreland admits there is "no end in sight" and wants 600,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. Every American troop escalation has been matched by similar escalations on the other side, and our bombing of North Vietnam has only increased Hanoi's grim determination to continue fighting.

General Ky's government has virtually no popular support; most of his top aides sport French decorations on their uniforms. The Vietnamese people identify us with the hated French Imperialists because we support the Ky regime. By occupying and devastating South Vietnam we have gained few friends.

We are already spending nearly 3 billion dollars a month on this War; our domestic programs are losing momentum. A tax increase would further reduce President Johnson's already shaky popularity among the American people.

The President insists that he wants peace more than any man on earth. Yet few Americans and almost no foreigners believe him. Why? Perhaps because his present policy seems to be: no risk unthinkable for war; any risk unthinkable for peace.

The President must know that it was the United States who cheated Ho Chi Minh out of ruling over all Vietnam by encouraging Diem to scuttle the 1956 elections; that the "Viet Cong" are a largely indigenous group who have had legitimate gripes against the many "miracle-working" governments of South Vietnam; and that in our bombings of North Vietnam we have committed outrages for which we once condemned the Nazis during World War II. Yet he continues to escalate the War, risking confrontations with either Russia or China, as well as further alienation of world opinion, and all the time he proclaims he wants peace more than any man on earth!

As a senior Senator, and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, perhaps you could persuade the President to take a significant risk for peace. Since he has already staked his personal prestige and our national honor on this war, I suppose it would be impossible to convince him to withdraw our troops from South Vietnam (even though France pulled out of Algeria when she was winning, and didn't "lose face"). But if he would at least announce an unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam, he might draw Hanoi to the conference table. The generals admit that ending the bombing wouldn't impair our war effort very much (if at all), and it might very well end this monstrous war.

He should also recognize the Viet Cong (National Liberation Front) as an independent party at any peace negotiations, and should do his utmost to involve the other nations of the world, particularly the Asian nations, in his peace efforts, so that our war efforts no longer appear to be unilateral and imperialistic. By doing these things President Johnson would probably gain U.N. support, world opinion would shift radically against Hanoi if it failed to negotiate, and the Democratic Party would be immeasurably stronger at election time in November, 1968.

I know you have many more ideas of your own, and that you've probably heard my arguments many times. But at least you now know that you have some strong supporters among the soldiers who have been "over there."

With admiration,

BONFIRES AT PENTAGON

by Ron Wolin

Nothing I ever experienced in my life could have prepared me for what I saw at the Pentagon in the cold early morning of Sunday, Oct. 22nd.

A few hours earlier we received a call at the vets' national conference saying that many demonstrators were still at the Pentagon and in need of food and water. We passed the hat, bought cartons of food and spent a long, frustrating time being turned away from entrance after entrance before rolling into the North Parking Lot, not far from where the action was.

The first thing our headlights picked out looked like a field hospital. We found a couple of youngsters on the ground under piles of blankets, hurt badly and being tended by volunteers. Some of them also showed the effects of the violence of U.S. Marshals, paratroopers and MP's. For the six of us who made the night run this was our first taste of what had happened in the previous few hours. The ambulance arrived to take the "wounded" to Arlington Hospital. We learned that many others were already there.

The kids at the medical center told us that there was enough food at the Pentagon and that the immediate problem was the cold. We quickly grabbed extra blankets and sleeping bags and headed across the fields towards the malevolent edifice, hearing tales of courage and violence along the way.

It was eerie walking up the ramp that had been so crammed with bodies late Saturday afternoon that I simply couldn't get to the top to see what was going on. Now a knot of young people was on the steps leading to the plaza, but most were sitting or lying around bonfires listening to speakers exhorting them and the GIs over portable bullhorns.

The soldiers were drawn into two ranks across the entire large plaza, standing at attention, rifles ominously by their sides. Huge lights shone down on five more ranks of paratroopers stretched across the Pentagon entrance steps, while searchlights played over other parts of the build-



ing from some distance away.

On the one side everything was crisp, silent and militarily efficient. On the other, kids were sprawled at the feet of GIs all along the line in sleeping bags or huddled under blankets. At least 20 bonfires were being nursed by cold, tired youngsters throughout the plaza area.

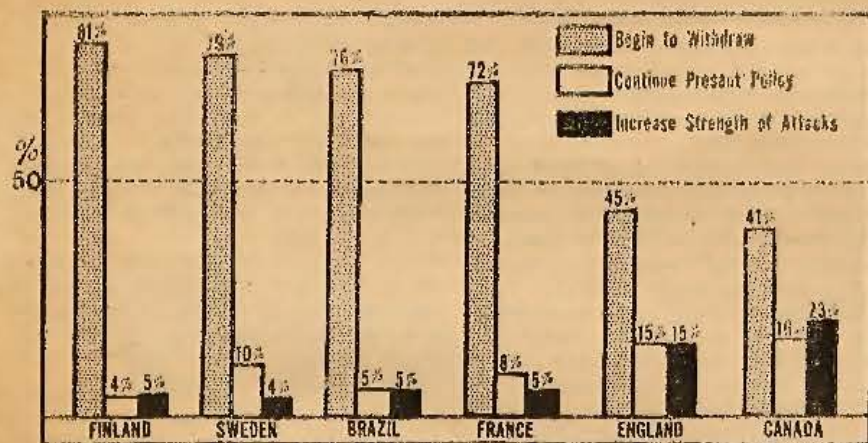
During the entire 3½ hours I was there, groups of demonstrators moved into and out of what were called "confrontation formations." These were no more nor less than people talking among themselves close enough to the GIs for them to overhear what was being said even though

they were under strict orders not to react in any way.

The embattled fortress appeared to be under siege. And most of the young people encamped on the plaza felt that they had won a significant victory. For they had withstood the forays of the military and had sustained fearful beatings and frequent harassment. Yet they remained. Their objective: a deeply shared desire to disrupt the center of America's war machine; to not be moved.

There were a lot of good feelings going on among the 500 or so mainly college kids who chose to stay through the night.

Americans, 6 nations agree; favor U.S. Viet withdrawal



by McDonald Moore

Louis Harris and George Gallup polls show a decisive American public opinion shift toward a majority for peace in Vietnam, and a complete collapse of U.S. public confidence in the Johnson administration. Above is a graphic picture of opinion in six friendly nations. In every one, an absolute majority favors U.S. withdrawal.

The Gallup Poll reported Oct. 25 that for the first time more Americans thought it was a mistake to send troops to Vietnam than approved the move, 46 per cent to 44 per cent, with 10 per cent "no opinion". As late as February only 32 per cent had opposed U.S. intervention, with 52 per cent in favor, 16 per cent "no opinion". This represents a 50 per cent growth in peace sentiment in 9 months. In August, 1965, when bombing of No. Vietnam started, 61 per cent approved troop use and only 24 per cent dissented, with 15 per cent "no opinion".

The Harris Survey reported Nov. 13 a rise from July to October in sentiment to get out of Vietnam "as quickly as possible" from 24 per cent to 44 per cent, while the

number wishing "total military victory" was stable at 21 per cent over the same period. Those supporting the Johnson course—"fight on until a negotiated peace is reached"—dropped from 51 per cent in July to 26 per cent in October, with 11 per cent of the drop in the last month alone.

Harris showed a June-to-October crash in the public's rating of President Johnson's handling of the war. 46 per cent had been positive toward him in June, and 54 per cent negative. In October it was 23 per cent positive, 77 per cent negative.

Johnson's response to loss of half of his already dubious support for the war in a 3-4 month span? "LBJ shrugs off polls, vows firm Viet stand," proclaimed an 8-column banner in the Chicago **Daily News** Nov. 14, reporting a previously secret Johnson speech of Oct. 25 to trade union leaders, published in the AFL-CIO's **Machinists Union** weekly, **The Machinist**.

If he keeps going down in October-February the way he did in June-October, it would be zero per cent. And how do you shrug off the poll in November, 1968?

San Francisco Vote 37 Per Cent 'Withdraw'

by LeRoy Wolins

Two cities, San Francisco and Cambridge, Massachusetts, had Vietnam referenda on the ballot Nov. 7. The Cambridge results will not be published until Nov. 28, but the San Francisco vote is in and deserves careful study. Losing with 76,632 "yes" votes (37%) against 132,406 "no" votes (63%) was the following proposition:

"Declaration of policy: Shall it be the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems?"

I asked Rear Admiral Arnold E. True, U.S.N. (Ret.), who lives in the Bay area and is a peace activist, what caused the defeat. He replied:

"The failure was due to the drastic wording, which called for precipitous withdrawal. Many people construed this as meaning defeat. Opponents of the measure accented this and gave the impression that it would be a Dunkirk, with our boys running for their ships while the VC were shooting."

The total vote, pro and con, on the referendum fell 46,558 short of the number of voters who went to the polls. The New York Times attributed this to "appeals from some anti-Vietnam war and pacifist spokesmen to boycott Proposition P." Adm. True put it this way:

"Even some so-called pacifist groups, such as 'World Without War', headed by Robert Pickus, opposed the measure and spent large sums of money to advertise their opposition. The source of their funds is not known. Even with these handicaps, it is remarkable that over one person in three advocated withdrawal from the war."

There were also varying opinions about what they were accomplishing and when they should leave. As the night wore on the cold bit deeper into them, it became obvious that the government tactic was simply to wait them out.

The guard was changed periodically, with a seemingly unending supply of fresh GIs coming out of that huge building. The Pentagon's power was not moved one iota and the military people knew it. Anytime they chose they could have cleared the straggling remains of the once powerful mass of people (at the height of the afternoon demonstration about 50,000 protesters were gathered on the Mall in front of this same entrance) off the grounds.

It's my strong opinion that the only reason the government allowed the "confrontation" to happen at all was because of the sheer weight of numbers at the Pentagon earlier and the 200,000 or more people who demonstrated against the war in various ways all day Saturday.

Never before had the nation's capital seen such an outpouring against any war. Somehow the government had to offset the power of this protest. By focusing all the press attention on the efforts of a small band of apparent die-hards they tried to undercut and cloud the real significance of the day's events.

That's why the government suffered bonfires at the Pentagon and slogans scrawled on the plaza walls. Moreover, they had the legal fiction to fall back on that there was a permit covering all the Pentagon action — up 'til midnight, Sunday. And when that time came they did just what they could have done all along. They asked everyone to leave and simply and quickly arrested all who refused.

Two things happened out of this part of the Oct. 21st demonstration that we vets can particularly connect with. First, the military was thrown off pace by the huge turnout and the growing militancy of the youth. Second, there was a realization of the importance of contact and discussion with GIs about the war—an allies, not enemies.

This latter lesson was learned under poor conditions with little possibility of bearing fruit. But it was learned by many and I hope it will be applied by antiwar activists — and veterans — throughout the country as one of the most effective means of building a mass movement truly capable of ending the war in Vietnam.

"During my recent tour sponsored by Vets for Peace in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia I was pleased to note an increasing understanding of the war and with it an increasing opposition."

"Franz Schurman, speaking in Chicago Nov. 11, said that unless the U.S. reverses its direction by January or February, 1968, he believes China will be involved. In this case, the land war in Asia will be fully under way and it will be disastrous to America. We are in the early stages of World War III now, but there is still time to reverse it if we act now," concluded Adm. True.

Robert Coate, Northern California chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, said that substitution of the word "systematic" for "immediate" in the proposition text would have brought an overwhelming "yes" vote. As it was, Proposition P carried an absolute majority in many less affluent parts of the city, especially the Negro areas.

San Francisco lacks a Vets for Peace organization. One wonders if a vets group there could have set a different tone to the withdrawal slogan. The Cambridge results may say something on this point, since the rapidly growing Boston Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, as reported by Bill Bischoff, were able to put 44 Vets for Peace, with caps, on duty distributing pro-referendum literature at Cambridge's 55 precincts, following up a newspaper ad they ran in favor of the referendum. We await the results as VS&SP goes to press.

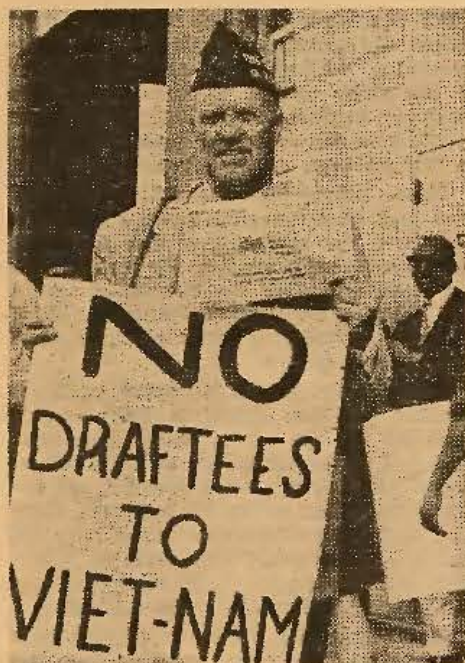
And how about you San Francisco area vets getting organized???

Veterans Stars & Stripes for Peace
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LOCAL VETS ACT

At the national conference of vets working for peace in Vietnam, held in Washington the night of the Pentagon march, Oct. 21, two decisions affecting VS&SP were made. The first was to establish a major column devoted entirely to activities of local vets groups. The second was to limit the directory of cooperating groups to those who purchase a monthly bundle of 1000 or more copies of VS&SP and in the case of cities over 1,000,000, a bundle of 2,000 or more.



Fred Batchelder, leader of Philadelphia Vets for Peace, distributes VS&SP during a demonstration at the induction center there Sept. 13 in support of Pvt. Ronald Lockman, a Negro GI who has refused orders to go to Vietnam. Lockman's two brothers demonstrated, as did his mother, who told a Philadelphia Tribune reporter:

"This is not our war. The United States should not have interfered in the first place. . . Our boys are needed right here, in Philadelphia, in Mississippi and all over this country where the Negro is being mistreated."

Lockman was court-martialed in early Nov. and sentenced to 2½ years. The case is being appealed.

Leo F. Koch reports for Rockland County Veterans for Peace that VS&SP is being circulated at meetings, on newsstands, to organizations in the area, etc. They donate a small quantity to newsstands, who keep the proceeds. Very effective! A top-of-page story over 5 columns of the Rockland News-Leader-Independent dealing with VS&SP, resulted from their taking copies of our paper to the local newspaper office. Another idea to try in your area.

Philadelphia's Lawrence H. Geller reports leafletting (see picture this issue), a big success, including radio and TV, with Admiral True's visit October 14. Philly vets also sent in a transcript of Taylor Grant's Sept. 27 broadcast on station WFLN—15 minutes devoted to praising the vets movement for peace in Vietnam—resulting from taking VS&SP to him.

Bill McKane of Atlanta's vets pours new names in, reports regular visits to Capt. Howard Levy, the anti-war medic imprisoned at Ft. Jackson, So. Car. He says Levy has his own phone, likes to be called, and can be direct-dialed at 803-765-6181. Why not ring him up? The Atlanta vets are involved in regular downtown vigils with leafletting. They ran a luncheon Oct. 24th at Atlanta Univ. with Viet vet Jim Skillman speaking and personal invitations to every vet on campus. Suggests McKane:

"An invitation should be extended to all servicemen in each edition to contact us when on leave. We can introduce them to young peacekeepers (female), show them a good time and load them with literature to take back to camp." Talk about combining business with pleasure! If any of the vets groups want to set up such a hospitality program, let us know and we'll note it for VS&SP readers in future issues.

Leon Shapiro reports Maryland Veterans for Peace getting off the ground. They sent a letter to all Maryland Congressmen and Senators denouncing Johnson's proposed tax increase, distributed it with a press release to all news media. They brought a good contingent to the Pentagon Oct. 21.

Commander Charles Fischer led a sizeable contingent to the Pentagon, where

Chicago vets sold over 200 caps to vets from throughout the country. Admiral True has been in from California 3 times since mid-September, with TV shows, 3 hours on local CBS radio, an Orchestra Hall rally, and a reception at Irving Ne-benzahl's home. At his press conference, TV crews waited in line an hour to film him! VS&SP leafletting is city-wide, and all Congressmen and Senators are being sent the paper starting with this issue (please, says Treasurer Sholem Lebovitz, send some dough for that extra postage).

Detroit's Veterans Against the War, says Nick Medvecky, turned out 500-600 people to hear Admiral True Oct. 11, one of the largest peace meetings ever held in Detroit. Radio and TV coverage were very heavy, including one taped TV interview show on which the host couldn't stand the rantings of a Birch Society guest (the only speaker he could get for a hawk) and sent him packing, starting over with just the Admiral. 5,000 VS&SP are being distributed monthly.

From East Lansing, Jim Thomas reports Michigan State Univ. Vets for Peace are concentrating on driving ROTC off campus. He reports gathering support and suggests other groups write to him for information and suggestions. We haven't room to publish the material they've developed, but it looks great and this could become a national campaign of real power.

Pittsburgh Vets for Peace, reports Paul Kleindorfer, had much success with Adm. True's Oct. 12 visit. Radio and TV interviews and a mass meeting got the message across. Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia are much indebted to Pittsburgh for setting up their visits from the Admiral, the first appearance for vets for peace groups by a flag officer. In Pittsburgh itself, Adm. True was joined by Gen. William Wallace Ford, his first speaking appearance against the war. We hope to publish the full text of his speech in our next issue.

New York Veterans for Peace, which brought a huge delegation to the Pentagon, held a rally in Union Square on Nov. 11, Veterans Day, with about 800 attending. 4 Viet vets were among the speakers—Dr. Arthur C. Blank of the Medical Corps; David Brown, a Marine helicopter crew chief; Navy Lt. Richard Howland, and Marine Carl Rogers.

Leon Kuhl reports that the New Yorkers made VS&SP "the unscheduled piece de resistance" at the 25th Anniversary Dinner of the World War II Stars & Stripes at the Americana Hotel Nov. 3. Two members got permission to put the Oct. issue of our paper on all the diners' chairs, over 200, along with the leaflet for the Union Square rally. Writes Kuhl: ". . . when the past staffers of Stars & Stripes took their seats they picked up—and avidly perused—VS&SP, with such headlines as "Admiral True Joins Protest" and "Our Boys Are Dying in Vain".

Col. Reynolds Moody sends up from Miami not only more of his own anti-war letters published there, but a truly beautifully written article by Bill Robertson, which appeared in the Miami Herald Oct. 20, eve of the Pentagon siege. The three full columns are headed "What Sort of Person Marches on Pentagon?" and highlight Miami Vets for Peace Commander Norman Warner and, for contrast, an ordinary low-income housewife. Warner, a 20-year Navy vet, did carrier duty off Korea. Writes Robertson:

"Warner, who has never marched in protest before, has read a lot, seen a lot of history and thought out his decision and how it may affect his life. He doesn't worry that ardent left-wingers and radicals are involved in the peace movement, he says. They are allies, at least this once . . . he admits 'of course it's strange' for a man whose life was war to be against one.

"It is a financial hardship to scrape up the money to go, but he has never felt so strongly before. He must go, he says. . . There is no clear case for Vietnam, he says. 'Usually we need legitimate reasons for killing people. We've not yet been given a good reason. You can see I'm not exactly a pacifist. If we are attacked, I'll fight'."

Philip Buell sends a half-page ad placed by 57 vets in the Contra Costa County Independent Oct. 23, quoting 4 general and an admiral against the war and offering VS&SP. Keep it up, Californians!

Esquire quotes anti-war brass

Esquire Magazine's December issue features James Deakin's article "Big Brass Lambs", outlining the anti-Vietnam war views of 6 generals and an admiral,

Directory of vets groups

The following anti-Vietnam war vets groups jointly sponsor VS&SP. Please send corrections immediately. If a group is listed in your area, join with them. If you don't see one, contact VS&SP, Box 4598, Chicago, Ill. 60680, and we'll put you in touch with other vets in your locality so you can start one. Go to it!

Atlanta Veterans for Peace
41 Exchange Place SE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. (404) 523-6628

Boston Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
1130 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Tel. (617) 547-2570

Veterans for Peace, c/o Phil Beck
547 Franklin St.
Buffalo, N.Y. 14202
Tel. (716) 884-3172

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
P.O. Box 4598
Chicago, Ill. 60680
Tel. (312) 421-2699
(Office: 1608 W. Madison St., Rm. 201)

Cincinnati Veterans for Peace
1936 Truitt Ave.
Cincinnati, Ohio 45212

Columbia Veterans for Peace
c/o Walter Power
6036 Sylvan Dr.
Columbia, S. Car.

Columbus & Ohio State University
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Marshall S. Adams
395 W. Dodridge St.
Columbus, Ohio 43202

Veterans Against the War
1101 W. Warren Avenue
Detroit, Michigan
Tel. (313) 852-5700

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Jim Thomas
622 M.A.C. Ave.
East Lansing, Mich.
Tel. (313) 351-8130

Veterans and Reservists for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Kalousek, 1st Floor
1140 Randolph St.
Gary, Indiana 46403
Tel. (219) 938-7129

Iowa Veterans for Peace c/o Steve Morris
324 N. Dubuque
Iowa City, Iowa 52240
Tel. (716) 884-3172

Long Island Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
151 Schenck Avenue
Great Neck, New York

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Allen Zak
542 North Alexandria
Los Angeles, California 90004

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Bob Wilkinson
202 Marion St.
Madison, Wisconsin 53703
Tel. (608) 256-0857

Maryland Veterans For Peace

In Vietnam, c/o Shapira
Velvet Valley Way
Owings Mills, Md. 21117

Miami Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
P.O. Box 352 (Kendall)
Miami, Florida 33156
Tel. (305) 235-4888

Milwaukee Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Irv Kurkl, Suite 211
1812 North 3rd St.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203
Tel. (414) 273-6316

Veterans for Peace of Morris County
Box 117
Convent Station, N.J. 07961

New Jersey Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
17-19 Jordan Road
Fair Lawn, New Jersey

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
Box 28, Old Chelsea Station
New York, New York 10011

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
Box 719, Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036
Tel. (212) 989-9376

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
P.O. Box 7553
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101
Tel. (215) LE 2-7109

(Also: c/o Batchelder, 701
Braxton Rd., Ridley Park, Pa.)

Pittsburgh Veterans for Peace
Box 186
Carnegie Mellon University
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
Tel. (412) 521-7441

Rockland County Veterans for Peace
P.O. Box 1
Sloatsburg, New York 10974

Veteranes Pro Paz en Vietnam, San Juan
c/o Dr. Raphael Navarro Cadiz
De Diego No. 1
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00925

San Gabriel Valley Veterans
for Peace in Vietnam
1112 S. Glenelder Ave.
Hacienda Heights, Calif. 91745

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
c/o Carlos C. Van Leer, Jr.
4712 Dover Rd.
Washington, DC 20016
Tel. (301) OL 2-1556

Westchester Co. (NY)
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
92 Dutch Street
Mantrose, New York

Francis P. Cassidy, Commander
Worcester County Chapter, Veterans for Peace
in Vietnam
195 Auburn St.
Auburn, Mass. 01501

Central Pennsylvania Veterans
Opposed to the Vietnam War
1830 Stanton St., c/o Ed Williams
York, Pa. 17404
Tel. (717) 848-7212

GRIFFITH . . .

(Continued from page 1)

fith, now a professor at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, sent the following message to the businessmen:

I regret that my scheduled trip to the Far East makes it impossible for me to attend the Washington Meeting of BUSINESS EXECUTIVES MOVE FOR VIETNAM PEACE.

I heartily endorse the objectives of your organization so clearly set forth in your Open Letter to the President printed in the New York Times on May 28, 1967.

Mr. Chairman, our country is indeed troubled. American casualties in the Vietnam War are increasing at an alarming rate. In one three-day period last week more than 400 U.S. Marines were killed or wounded at Con Thien, a position on the border of the so-called demilitarized zone in Vietnam. There the Viet Cong used artillery, heavy mortars, and rockets. This bombardment was no isolated incident but the scale of it is a grim portent of the future. It is high time for the American people to ask bluntly, "For what purpose are Americans still being killed and maimed in Vietnam?" We, of course, know the official answers to this question. We have heard them countless times but the situation today requires something more than the tired cliches of the Secretary of State.

What is imperatively demanded is a positive policy designed to end the fighting in Vietnam so that those unhappy people who have not known peace for two decades may once again enjoy it and so that we may stop expending lives, blood, energy, and resources in an area which is not of critical importance either to our national security or to our strategic position in the Far East.

Despite optimistic statements to the contrary, the end of the Vietnam War is not yet in sight. Indeed, the chances for a peaceful settlement grow daily more remote as the Administration stubbornly persists in its desperate determination to force Ho Chi Minh to negotiate. Let us

ask whether further Americanization of the war and its progressive escalation toward a confrontation with China is the way to persuade Hanoi to talk peace. This is, however, precisely the policy which the Administration pursues. It is, in my opinion, as I believe it is in yours, a disastrous policy.

If we really want negotiation, we must begin to deescalate the war rather than continue to escalate. The obvious action we can take, and I believe should take and at once, is to cease bombing Hanoi. Even were we to obliterate North Vietnam completely, the guerrilla war in the South would continue.

Our bombing of the North does not and cannot, as Mr. McNamara has testified, stop the flow of the relatively small tonnage required to sustain guerrilla war in South Vietnam.

Why is it not possible for America, the most powerful nation in the world, to take a first step toward what practically everybody in the world except Mao Tse Tung wants?

If a strategy proves unproductive, it is the first responsibility of a commander to change it. But how long are we going to have to wait?

How long would a business man wait to change a manifestly wrong policy? Not long, or he would soon be out of business. I am not suggesting that our country is going out of business, but it is now beginning to be hurt both in body and in spirit. And, who stands to reap the benefits of our misguided strategy? None other than Moscow and Peking.

Surely respect for our President both at home and abroad would not diminish should he take a first positive step which, hopefully, could lead us eventually out of this costly morass into which we daily sink deeper and deeper.

Finally, Sir, I want to congratulate you, Mr. Willens, and your Executive Committee for organizing "Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace" and again to express my regret that I cannot be with you.

new university thought

50¢

Winter/1962

16V

Black Muslims and sit-ins *by Lawrence Landry*

The ideology of the person *by Gabriel Breton*

Frankenstein for the sophisticated
by Stephen Vizinczey

Lectures to artists *by David Alfaro Siqueiros*

Automation and unemployment *by Richard Ward*

**Stock ownership and the control
of corporations: part III** *by Don Villarejo*

*new
feature*

Insight & outside

Exhibit # 12

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Type of Material: Book

Author(s): Lawrence Landry, Gabriel Breton, Stephen Vizinczey, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Richard Ward, Don Villarejo

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BOND ATTEMPTS TO HEAR VOICE OF PEOPLE



Julian Bond canvassed in his district. Door to Door canvassing and small block meetings were daily activities in campaign.

ATLANTA, GA. -- The successful campaign of a young SNCC worker for the Georgia House of Representatives has begun a new phase of political organizing for SNCC.

The worker, Julian Bond, defeated a Negro Republican 5 to 1 in the General Election called this spring to fill seats in Georgia's newly apportioned House.

"The campaign was a new one for Atlanta for several reasons," Bond said. "For one, we tried to run on issues and not labels, on people's concerns and not their prejudices. Atlanta has never had a house-to-house, block meeting campaign like this one, where people knew the candidate and got a chance to question him."

"The next step," a cam-

paign worker said, "is to put people inside Julian's District in touch with each other, so they can use each other to get things for themselves."

"People don't use politics because they don't know how. They know politicians take money, and some of them steal, and a few of them do things to help people, but people don't know how to use politics to help themselves."

Already, a group living in substandard housing have begun to talk about rent strikers here.

"But more important," Bond says, "they've begun to talk about including in the strike others across the city who live in the same kind of houses. They want to organize everyone who wants a better house

through their actions."

The campaign was unique because Bond and his campaign workers asked residents of the District - voters and non-voters alike - what it was that they expected from a State Representative and what they were prepared to do themselves.

"I'd like to see people organized across the District," SNCC worker Judy Richardson said. "I'd like to see a community advisory board that would tell their representative what to do in the Georgia House and would give them opportunity to plan what they can do for themselves in the community."

The campaign gave some workers doubts about partisan elections. "We'll never know how many people voted for or against Julian because of his party label," one said. Bond is a Democrat.

Bond is a college dropout, and rebelled against other candidates who stressed their education and formal training, jobs or civic organization memberships as "qualifications" for the Georgia House.

"The state of Georgia says anyone who is 21-years old and who has \$500 is 'qualified' and can run for this office," Bond said, "and I agree with them completely." The real qualification is interest and a willingness to work.

The campaign workers expressed disappointment at the response they received from the few whites in Bond's District. "It was impossible to get past race," one worker explained, "although only Negroes offered for that seat, most whites felt they could not be represented by any Negro."

The workers did discover, that whites were willing to discuss issues of jobs, housing and schooling, and were surprised to learn that Negro canvassers had more success in white areas than whites did.

FORMER GOV. OF MISS. RECEIVES APPOINTMENT

MFDP Statement By Mrs. Victoria Gray
JUNE 18, 1965

Today we learned with great shock of the appointment to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals of Former Governor J. P. Coleman, the Political and Legal Architect of much of Mississippi's white supremacy program. As known to everyone the Fifth Circuit Court is responsible for rendering final decisions and for reviewing and guiding the course and timing of most civil rights litigation in the deep south.

Throughout Mr. Coleman's long career he has held virtually every type of office in the state of Mississippi, all of which have been won only over the rights -- and often the bodies -- of the Negro Citizens of that state. It was Governor Coleman who signed into the Law the State Sovereignty Commission, that Government Agency designed specifically to maintain the racist system of the state. The MFDP, in the testimony taken in support of its challenge to the five congressmen from Mississippi, has sworn statements from officials of the Sovereignty Commission and the White Citizens Council that the Commission has given about \$193,000 to support the activities of the Citizens Council. This is the evidence which under pressure from Mr. Coleman as the lawyer for the Mississippi Congressmen, and of other Southern Congressmen, the clerk of the House of Representatives is now refusing to print.

How does a man so much a part of the State's Racist

establishment who stands totally for nothing more than trying to prevent the Federal Government from acting on behalf of the long denied constitutional rights of Southern Negroes gain the appointment as a Federal Judge who is responsible for protecting the civil and voting rights of every southerner?

The only claim Mr. Coleman has to the appointment is his position in the power structure of Mississippi and the blessing of the illegally elected Senators Eastland and Stennis.

Here again it becomes evident that only through the successful conclusion of the challenge to the Mississippi Congressmen will we achieve for the disenfranchised Negro the right to register, the right to vote, and the right to participate fully and freely in the political process which affects their lives. Only then will we have any say over who gets federal appointments.

We are now calling upon every senator, who has admitted the fact of the state enforced disenfranchisement of Negroes in Mississippi by voting in favor of the voter registration bill to make that action meaningful by refusing to confirm the appointment of Mr. Coleman. It is time for this Congress to say by the unseating of the Mississippi Congressmen and refusal of Coleman's appointment that it will no longer tolerate the mockery of the Democratic Process in Mississippi.



Notes From Mississippi

Over 800 people were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi while picketing for new elections and fair voting laws. Most of the people arrested were from Mississippi and Members of the Freedom Democratic Party. The following are statements from members of the FDP, and extracts from letters written from the jail cells by volunteers who will participate in the FDP's Summer Project.

Miss Weld, Maine, New York - "...Governor Johnson decided to call a special session of the State Legislature to take steps to make some sort of an arrangement so that no matter what kind of Civil Rights bill President Johnson passes, there will still be enough loopholes so that they can prevent registration. The march and the picketing was to protest the above fact... (At the jail) they took our pocketbooks and everything, even our glasses. I pleaded that I was nearly blind, but they took them all the same. Since then, I keep bumping into walls etc.... the food is awful but it doesn't really matter because we are on a hunger strike - because they segregated us."

Vivianne Green, Pleasant Hill, California -

"...Yesterday noon we started fasting in protest at the arrest (illegal - they said we needed a Jackson City permit to demonstrate and we already have the Constitution of the U. S., the only permit necessary). We also resent the fact that all us white girls are in a relatively comfortable jail, and the rest of the people in the Movement are struck in the unventilated barns at the local fairgrounds, where the brutality rate increases."

Mrs. Bessie L. Brown, Vicksburg, Miss. - "...I seen some of the boys being beaten; some of the girls were hit and they juked them with their billy clubs. They used all kinds of English - real bad. Monday we were put into a building at the fairgrounds and people were fainting at least every 10 to 15 minutes. The best we could do was fan them. Every time we would go to sit them down the police would make them stand up. People would have to hold them up... I got out today after dinner. I would go back anytime but I would leave money at home so my kids would be taken care of."

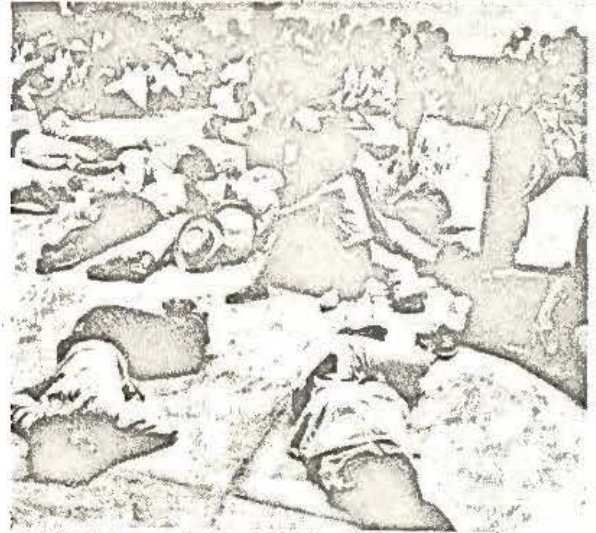
My little grandson has been in the hospital with pneumonia and my daughter is only 16. My 15 year old son was jailed Monday; he was hit in the stomach 2 or 3 times by the cops and he cried. One of my friend boys told me..."

Mrs. Annie Mae King, Sunflower County, Miss. -

"...It's a long story, but the saddest of all--it was a lady that weighed about 300 pounds, and we didn't have no kind of privacy because about 25 or 30 cops would be in there all through the night. And this lady had rinsed out her panties, and she was lying on a pallet. And they asked her to get up. And they snatched the tick (mattress) from under her. And as she lied on the floor two cops taken her feet, and they drug her about 25 feet across the hall, and they kicked her all in her privates and beat her terrible... And it was two young ladies there pregnant, and they beat one of them so she had a miscarriage."

Margie Quigles, California - "...Well, I have learned an amazing amount about Mississippi justice since we arrived in Miss. The police are annoyingly sadistic. After we were arrested they took us to a big barn like building on the fairgrounds and made us stand there (maybe 3 hours) and drove us into a more and more compact mass until people were fainting from the heat and crush. Periodically they charge at us with their billy clubs..."

Wayne Mercer, San Jose, California - "...I was in the chow line Wednesday. The officer told me that I was next, and before I realized what was happening he had hit me across the head with his billy club and knocked me down. And he said, 'Next time move faster. Get to the back of the line.' So I got up and moved to the back of the line... There was a fellow who refused to stop singing. They took him outside in the sun and from what I heard they beat him up; but I didn't see it..."



Inside Fairgrounds Stockade female demonstrators wait for hearing before judge.

Rob Wood, Canada --

"...Anybody who showed leadership was separated from the other prisoners and deposited in the Jackson city jail. The police hoped that without leaders morale would break and we would be easy to manage. This never happened as it was never a question of leadership. Immediately a spokesman was removed, somebody else took his place."

"In our building ages ranged from eleven to seventy-two. Many of the men were from the Delta region and members of the Mississippi Freedom

Labor Union. An entire family came to jail, the Steptoes of Pike County. At a mass meeting after our release, Mr. Steptoe said 'My whole family came to jail because the MFDP is the one hope my youngsters have, not to have to live like I had to for so long.'

The Freedom Democratic Party is working to bring about a change in the state of Mississippi and the Country. They need your support.

Send contributions to 507 1/2 N. Farrish St., Jackson, Mississippi.



U. S. Marshall Bob Thomas removes demonstrator from steps of Federal Building in Jackson, Miss.



Jackson Police Officer finishes what Thomas started, Thomas in Background.

MFDP - Congressional Challenge

LOBBY REVEALING

By Mike Thelwell

About 350 young Americans are getting a first hand look at the functioning of the Congress in Washington. Earlier this year SNCC sent out a call for young people to come to Washington to lobby for the unseating of the Mississippi Congressmen.

The first group of about 200 left Washington on June 20th. The youthful lobbyist attended workshops on the South, the MFDP, and orientation sessions on the legal background and the relevance of the Challenge, then went to see their own Congressmen and others.

The students lobbied for the passage of a strong voting rights bill and conducted a poll of 324 Northern and Western Congressmen to see how they stood on repeal of the Poll tax and unseating the Mississippians.

Indications from the results of this first lobby period are that the voting rights bill with the repeal of the poll tax will pass the House.

On the Challenge reactions were mixed, and some revealing and truthful answers were given. Reports showed issues raised by the Challenge were known to a significant number of Congressmen. About 2/3 of the Congressmen spoken to admitted to having received constituent mail on the Challenge. There were a large number (about 1/2 of those visited) willing to commit themselves to vote to unseat if the Challenges came to a vote. But there was a large number, seventy Congressmen, who refused to reveal how they would vote. Many said that they needed constituent pressure before they could vote to unseat. Others wanted legal arguments and "evidence."

The MFDP Washington office and Congressmen supporting the Challenge say that Congressional support and interest is higher than before January 4th when the Ryan resolution got 148 votes and a number of liberal Congressmen are reportedly thinking in terms of a winning strategy.

At present in the House, with the exception of about 10 very liberal Republicans, Republicans are taking no position on the Challenge on the basis that the Democrats and the Democratic Leadership will decide the fate of the Challenge.

The other much reported observation by students was that few Congressmen would predict the results of a floor vote on the Challenge but many were predicting that the Democratic Leadership would seek to keep it from reaching the floor. One New York Republican told one of his constituents that "The word from the White House is that these Challenges must never come from Committee."

The lobbyists also reported that a significant number of Congressmen were given the qualified commitment that "Certainly I shall vote for unseating if and when it comes to the floor."

It was clear to the lobbyists that although the unseating of Congressmen is not uncommon in the history of the House many Congressmen responded with great hesitations about having to take this step. One midwestern Congressman admitted to his con-

stituents that "once we start unseating Congressmen it could spread, there are so many Congressmen for example elected on Mafia money..." Another midwestern Congressman on the agriculture committee told the group, "I am on Mr. Whittens Committee. I would never vote against such a fine legislator as Mr. Whitten especially when my states agriculture appropriations must come from his Committee." He then proceeded to introduce Mr. Whitten who had been sitting in the office during the interview.

Another Congressman who was called off the floor by a group of his constituents brought with him Rep. Prentiss Walker (R-Miss.) and both Congressmen proceeded to lecture the students on their love and devotion to Negroes and to their Negro maids. The name of one of the Congressman's Negro maid was significantly enough "America". No kidding.

There is a need for an increased and stepped up program of letters and telegrams calling for immediate unseating to all Congressmen. Write your Congressman.

Clerk Delays Challenge

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- A month-long battle between Clerk of the U. S. House Ralph Roberts and the MFDP is continuing.

Clerk Roberts agreed on June 4 - after preliminary meetings between FDP lawyers and lawyers for the five Mississippi Congressmen - that he would print all of the 650 depositions gathered by the FDP in hearings in Mississippi last winter and spring.

At a June 7 meeting with MFDP worker Mrs. Rita Schwerner and Atty. William Higgs, Roberts indicated that depositions gathered by the FDP in hearings in Mississippi 4th Congressional District would be printed that day.

But nearly two weeks later, Congressman John Conyers of Detroit learned from the Clerk that no depositions had been printed

and that "technical" problems were halting the printing.

On June 18, 28 Negro Mississippians visited the Clerk's office and were told that Roberts would not return for the rest of the day, although newspapermen who arrived in the office shortly before the FDP delegation were told he would return in 30 minutes.

The Mississippians decided to wait for his return, and at 3:30 that day were given a written appointment for June 19 by Benjamin Guthrie, an assistant to the Clerk.

When they returned the next morning, they were told Roberts had to attend a funeral and could not see them. Six hours later, Roberts sent a message saying he had no knowledge of the appointment and



'I Wonder Who's Pulling From The Top.'

could not see them. The group decided to remain and nine were arrested, reportedly on orders from House Speaker John McCormack, and were held until June 21 when they were released on \$300 bond on charges of "illegal entry."

A jury trial was set for June 28, but postponed until July 12 when Clerk Roberts, his assistant and the arresting officers said the subpoenas were lost.

After their arraignment, the arrested Mississippians issued a statement saying:

"On Saturday we attempted to keep a written appointment with the Clerk

and were arrested. We have been deceived on three different occasions by the Clerk or his representatives and have completely lost faith in the integrity or good faith of the Clerk or his office. Consequently we can see no reason to attempt to see the Clerk now since we can believe very little of what he says. We did not come to Washington to demonstrate or to sit-in. We attempted to see the Clerk in business in which we are all involved very personally. We found that because we were Negroes and poor people we were treated with contempt and disrespect. We have no wish to be abused further by the Clerk or his assistants."

Will You Help?

The literacy test in Lowndes County, Alabama has been dropped for an indefinite period of time. Over 500 people have been to the courthouse to register.

The Residential Freedom Schools have started. Students from the south are now in Chicago. Cordele, Ga. will be the site of the next school in August.

I want to keep SNCC workers in the field. I enclose \$_____ towards SNCC's Program.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

Contributions of \$3.00 or more receive a 12-month subscription to the Voice.

STRIKER REPORTS FROM DELTA

Trebbett, Miss.

This is a report of the 12 strikers on C. L. Andrews' plantation. The problem arose because of the fact that these men who had families ranging from about 7 to 13 were not being paid enough to support them and pay off the bills they owed. They asked for a raise about four weeks ago and were refused. About two weeks after that they asked for another and was told that their wages would be lowered before they would be raised. The third time they asked for a raise on Monday morning and Mr. Andrews gave them two choices, go on working for the same wages or leave.

The men gave him his key and watch and walked away. Andrews then went to the wives of the 12 men and told them to get out of his houses. All of the gas and electric was cut off in the houses. The women and the children were taken to Mount Beulahs Christian Center near Jackson and men returned to Greenville where they were taken in by families for the night. Tuesday morning the men started picketing on the plantation where they remained the entire day. There were four tractor drivers working when they arrived and one bus load of cotton choppers. The

cotton choppers were asked to leave. The strikers paid the bus driver \$7.00 for hauling. But the four men on the tractors would not leave. One of them lived in the plantation and the other three men were brought in from Indianola. The man that lived on the plantation joined the strikers that afternoon but the others still worked. The next day the strikers were ordered to move all their things out of the house. Some of the men didn't have a key to get in their houses. While they were gone to get one the houses were broken into and all their things were thrown on the side of the road. A lot of this furniture was broken up and some was repossessed by the furniture companies.

Friday morning a truckload of choppers were turned around from Greenville but another truck from Indianola would not leave. Three of the strikers were given jobs and turned their wages over to the union so they could be used to help the rest of the strikers and to help these that will be going on strike in the future.

Mr. James Green, one of the strikers of A. L. Andrews' plantation, Trebbett, Miss.



STRIKERS REBUFFED BY U.S. JUDGE - Members of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Party (MFLU) leave the Oxford, Mississippi Federal Courthouse after United States District Judge Claude F. Clayton ruled he had no jurisdiction over litigation between the MFLU and plantation owner A. L. Andrews. Andrews had obtained an injunction limiting MFLU pickets to four.



THE MOVEMENT

TEXT BY

LORRAINE HANSBERRY

POEM

The "MEASURE OF LIFE IN FEET" is a poem that I wrote about my mother. My mother is probably no different from any other good mother who would do anything for her children. But to me there has been something very unique about my mother. I've never heard her complain about herself except ones, and this was done in the form of a joke. It happened the last time I was home.

I was resting and my mother came in to talk and spend some time with me, since I'm seldom at home any length of time. She came in and sat down heavily and said, "Lord my feet are tired. I don't know how far they've walked. I wonder if they have to walk to heaven." These statements struck me profoundly,

therefore, I have tried to relate, through this poem, my mother's life as she related it to me in the "MEASURE OF LIFE IN FEET."

Gwen Gillon

My Feet are tired,
Lord Knows that
They've walked a many
miles.

Beginning between the
cotton Roe they began
their trod behind the hoe.
Sometimes for pleasure
miles they would go,
but work often was the
force.

Even when horse and wagon
was the style by feet I
made my miles.

Now cars go swishing by,
but my feet are still pushing,
pushing maybe to the
sky.

The Movement is a book born out of the Negro's struggle for dignity, citizenship, a decent life—the various needs which have been wrapped up in one word, Freedom.

The Movement documents many aspects of social revolution, but it is above all a gallery of faces: the bitter weariness of a Mississippi field hand; the dauntless good humor of a twelve-year-old girl in a Georgia jail; the rage and hatred of a Ku Klux Klansman; the troubled expression of a white Southerner forced to reconsider his way of living and thinking.

This book was prepared with the assistance of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The text is by American playwright Lorraine Hansberry. Most of the pictures are by Denny Lyon.

Student Nonviolent 360 Nelson St., S.W.
Coordinating Committee Atlanta, Ga.

Please send me _____ Copies of
THE MOVEMENT @ \$1.95 each.

Total Amount

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Seven kids I raised on
my steady feet,
Four are able to withstand
the world's Clanking fleet,
Three at home I tend
steady on, with
tired feet and hands.
Sometimes I look
at my burden feet,
and wonder how much
longer will they keep.
Often now from the
load of the day
they burn with passion,
Maybe an upward way.
I've seen other feet
so neatly shaped
not flat, not tired,
but happy and almost gay.
But OH! How useful
mine have been,
God knows they were
another pair of hands.

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360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

*Please
see me
about this*

Snakes 17

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Jan. 2, 1968

FROM : N. C. Rayford *NR*

SUBJECT: Detroit--Conference in Nathaniel Conyers' Office

The undersigned kept an appointment with Attorney Myron Wahls who is in the law firm which includes Nathaniel Conyers, the Congressman's brother. Wahls was kept busy all afternoon because a rain storm pushed back all of his appointments. In the meantime, I was invited "to have a drink". Also present in Attorney Conyers' office were John Dotson of Newsweek and Marvin L. Brown, an underwriter for the New York Life Insurance Company. Neither of these individuals felt that there was organization or planning in connection with the starting of the riot. They were willing to concede that there were groups which were ready to take advantage and perhaps prolong the riot. Groups such as RAM, Forum 66, Malcolm X Society, and other adhoc groups were the only ones enumerated.

They discussed the Kerchaval incident of 1966 and how the police reaction at that time may have averted a riot. (The police moved in with force and number and moved out without tarrying.) They spoke of how the tension in the Black community "perked" for a couple of days and then diminished.

*also
p 2.*

John Dotson observed that there was a lapse of about four hours between the "Blind Pig" incident (at about 2 a.m.) and when the riot started in earnest. In this period of time secondary causes developed. There was the rumor about the man being bayoneted and left to bleed to death without medical attention. This undoubtedly spurred other Negroes to react. Finally, as far as looting was concerned, many Negroes were activated by the knowledge that the police were not stopping the looters. (The TV cameras spread this fact into every home; that looters were operating within view of the police.) It was estimated that less than 5% of Detroit's 600,000 Negroes were directly involved in riot activity. The number of Negroes who tacitly supported the rioters would be



considerably more. Certainly those who benefited (by purchasing items from looters) would be a great deal more than 5%.

Two names were mentioned as being the names of individuals who would probably have taken advantage of the riot to further Black nationalists ends were: Austin Cha~~x~~ois (phonetic) and Jackie Vaughn (phonetic).

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DR
✓ 18

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 2, 1968

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: Precipitating Incidents That Caused the 1967 Detroit Riot

Although the arrest of persons at the "blind pig" on Sunday July 23, 1967, was the "triggering event" that caused the riot, several precipitating incidents had stirred tension in the black community prior to July 23, 1967.

In an article written by Carolyn Schmidt of the Michigan Chronicle, dated July 23, 1966, is stated that Detroit was on the brink of a riot due to police brutality and unrest of the youths. The article made the community more aware of the critical problems. Reference is made to the article listed under "news file Detroit."

On June 24, 1967, an article titled "Cope with the Weather, Don't Lose your Cool" appeared in the Michigan Chronicle, a Negro-owned newspaper advising the community that summer is the time for fast spreading rumors and that the news media are making the community aware of the mounting tensions which many people are looking in every corner for indications of the "hot summer."

Mr. Albert J. Dunmore, Managing Editor of the Michigan Chronicle, advised that the most serious incident that led to the riot in Detroit was the incident in Rouge Park where a young Negro woman had been stoned and her husband shot to death by a band of white youths in a picnic area. Reference is made to the article dated July 1, 1967, written by Carol Schmidt of the Michigan Chronicle.

Mr. Dunmore advised approximately eight youths were arrested and held in connection with the murder, however, they were freed on a technicality. The black community felt that if the situation had been reversed, as history has shown, then



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

all eight suspects would have been tried and found guilty. This incident created furor in the community which mounted until the actual day of the riot.

The last major incident which led to the actual "triggering incident" was the shooting of a known Detroit call-girl. The witness, whom police declined to identify, at first insisted that the slayer of Vivian Williams, 24, of 327⁴ Boston Street, was a Detroit police plainclothes detective known to her.

Rumors of the shooting which occurred three blocks from the "blind pig," spread like wild fire through the neighborhood that the assailant was a policeman. Tempers grew ugly and several aroused residents called the Chronicle demanding to know what was being done about the case. Tension decreased after the witness changed her story and admitted that she did not recognize the killer. Reference is made to the article dated July 15, 1967, titled "Panderer Sought as Murderer," Michigan Chronicle.

Perry has found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the triggering event.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

19

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Jan. 2, 1968

FROM : N. C. Rayford *NR*

SUBJECT: Detroit - Joyce Garrett

Mrs. Joyce Garrett is a former State Department employee who is now employed as an Administrative Assistant to the Director of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission. Mrs. Garrett is a divorcee who resides in a one-family dwelling with her 12-year old daughter and a very large dog. One of her functions with the Commission involves liaison with the Michigan legislature. In this connection, she admits that she was very disappointed with the way in which the state open housing bill was being handled or mishandled. She indicated that resistance to the bill in Lansing was hardening and that it already had been amended about 16 times. She observed that this sort of thing drives people into Reverend Cleage's company.

Regarding Dr. Edward Lurie of Wayne State University, Mrs. Garrett said that he knows less about what is going on than he would have someone believe. She stated that his personality centers around himself and therefore he regards himself as being very knowledgeable about the racial situation in Detroit.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

20

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Jan. 1, 1968

FROM : N. C. Rayford **NR**

SUBJECT: Detroit - Ed Davis

Mr. Ed Davis is an auto dealer (Chrysler-Plymouth) at 11825 Dexter in Detroit. A statement attributed to Mr. Davis in the team report to the effect that "there was substantial organization in the riot," caused the undersigned to seek out Mr. Davis for further elucidation.

Mr. Davis had much to say about solutions and could not be easily switched to the main subject. The gist of his solution was as follows:

1. Pay no attention to new committees. They are self-motivating (for individuals).
 - a. These people are after a good job or personal gain.
2. What is needed is reestablishment of religious principles.
 - a. Concern for people
 - b. Salesmanship
3. Form teams to locate and support grass roots people. People who, for years, have been working in this field.
 - a. Block Clubs
 - b. Quietly and unobtrusively aid them.
4. Create a "power base" out of the approximately 500 Negro owned and operated businesses which are established (presumably, his business would be one of



them), in order that they could employ and train other Negroes to be successful businessmen, thereby making an even broader financial base.

- a. This would make the Negro financially strong.
- b. It would create jobs for the young people.

In a sort of a summary, Mr. Davis added that the President already knew the situation which exists and the causes for the riot. He will not do what must be done. Therefore, they want to find easy answers--blame it on the Communist. If the conditions did not exist, they would have no followers.

Mr. Davis said further that he could not prove anything but he believes that there were groups of people working to promote the riot and also working to continue the riot. He did not know or would not identify specific groups other than as follows (two instances were related):

1. Mr. Davis was missing tires and batteries last month. Late one night he received a call from a person who knew who the thieves were, but was scared to discuss the matter over the phone or to visit Mr. Davis in his home or business. They agreed to meet at a suitable spot and Mr. Davis was given the names of two youths--one white and one Negro. The stolen goods were turned over to fences who are part of organized crime. Mr. Davis said that he heard that the white youth also set several fires during the riot. On the basis of this information, Mr. Davis believes that there was definitely a tie between the looters in the riot and the syndicate. He has a private detective firm working on the recovery of his property.
2. Mr. Davis observed that there are a lot of oil companies opening up on corner lots which were destroyed by fire during the riot. One Negro woman in particular had her apparel shop destroyed. There was no reason for it other than "big business" had wanted that property and that the woman had received several threatening phone calls about the

sale of her property. Mr. Davis said he would arrange for the undersigned to see the woman referred to. (Mr. Davis was not able to contact the lady, but I talked with her on the phone.)

The people referred to in the above two instances are, according to Mr. Davis, well protected by people in high places. He reiterated that his informant was scared to death of being seen with Mr. Davis and Mr. Davis himself admitted to having qualms about the situation.

Mr. Davis' secretary called Mrs. Hawkins for the undersigned. Mrs. Hawkins said that she only had a minute because she was going Christmas shopping. She would not divulge the source of any threatening phone calls, however, she did say that she had decided to sell out her property to the Shell Oil Company for \$150,000, if they want to pay that kind of money. Mrs. Hawkins said that she was tired of talking; that there has been nothing but talk for five months. She says that she has told her story many, many times but that talking does not help restore her apparel shop and other properties which were adjacent.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

OR

21

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Dec. 18, 1967

FROM : S. A. Romero, N. C. Rayford, *

SUBJECT: Final Report - Detroit Riot, July 23-31, 1967

INTRODUCTION

Sunday morning, July 23, 1967, at approximately 3:35 a.m., four members of the Detroit Police Department proceeded to raid a "blind pig," (an illegally operated after hours bar), patronized largely by Negroes, located at 9125 12th Street. The police were refused admission by the proprietor whereupon they proceeded to break down a front door to gain entry. Once inside, the police were surprised to discover a far larger crowd of people than what they had anticipated and planned for. The problem of transporting the arrestees became a problem. The Sergeant in charge summoned more personnel and equipment for assistance. In the meantime, spectators started to congregate to observe what was taking place. As the police continued to load and transport the arrestees, the spectators became more belligerent. The fact that the police did not immediately clear the area exposed them to the abuses of the crowd as they became more unruly. By the time the last patrons had been loaded into a vehicle, the crowd had swelled to approximately 200 persons. At this point, a rock or bottle was thrown, by an unknown person, at the police vehicle. Other missiles followed. This was the starting point of the conflagration that resulted in nine days of bloody rioting in a wide sector of the City of Detroit.

It required the pressing into service of all available law enforcement agencies, including state troopers in the area and the activation of the Michigan National Guard, in order to suppress the riot. Elements of the 82nd Airborne Division were also called in.

*Investigators John Scales and Haywood Perry assisted in the investigation.



Between July 23 and July 31, 1967, over 7,000 citizens were arrested, the majority of which were charged with looting. The Executive Fire Chief approximated the damage at \$144 million. He also stated that a total of 31 people were killed and 519 injured.

The raid of the bar is regarded as the incident that sparked the riot, which included looting, burning, sniping, and alleged cases of brutality and even murder by members of the police and National Guard. Law and order was reestablished on July 31, 1967.

Long before the inception of the riot, tension within the Negro community began to ascend to dangerous proportions over the lack of adequate housing, substandard schools, job discrimination and instances of police harassment perpetuated against Negroes for no other reason but that they were Negroes. This resulted in a breakdown of communications between the "establishment", meaning the white power structure, and the Negro community. These preexisting conditions plus the national hysteria resulting from riots in Newark and other cities, cannot be disregarded in any assessment of the causative factors contributing to the Detroit riot. They were like explosives awaiting detonation.

FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

The investigators met on Saturday, December 9, 1967, at the headquarters of the Detroit Police Department with Inspector Bernard G. Winchoski, Research and Development Bureau (who manned the Department's center during the disorders); Inspector Roy Chloplan (Special Investigations Unit); and Lt. William McCoy (Special Investigations Unit). They were helpful in answering our general questions, but were evasive whenever attempts were made to ascertain specifics.

On the general conspiracy issue, Lt. McCoy stated (with the approval of the others) that: "If there were a conspiracy, we would have initiated prosecution. Because we haven't, then it cannot be said that there was a conspiracy." They did not say that there was not a conspiracy, but this general statement and their answers to specific questions supports (in our opinion) a conclusion that there is no evidence of a

conspiracy in connection with the Detroit disorder. Information supplied by these representatives of the Detroit Police Department in answer to specific questions is reported below in narrative form. Wherever possible, corroborating exhibits were obtained.

There was no evidence to show that any individual or organization planned the triggering event which resulted in the riot, however, there was some indication that one or more individuals were instrumental in changing the mood of the gathering crowd at the "blind pig" from one of joviality directed at the persons arrested to harassment directed toward the police. Only one such person was identified and arrested for inciting the riot. This person was Michael Lewis, a male Negro, age ²¹~~22~~, who had previous arrest records but which do not, in any way, relate to the incitem^{ent} of riots which he is now charged. There are no known ties between Lewis and any activist or militant organizations. It should be stated here that the time factor prevented a deeper questioning of this fact. Lewis' release on bond was arranged by Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr. However, there has been no disposition of the charges as of the present time.

Inspector Chloplan said that it took an hour to arrest everyone at the "blind pig" because of the unusually large number of people patronizing the place. Making such arrests at the particular "blind pig" was a frequent occurrence, according to the Inspector and that they did so because of their responsibility to complaining persons who live in the neighborhood. This place has been in existence for over two years, according to the Inspector. Other information suggests a much longer period of existence. But even two years raised the question of how the place reopens after each raid. Furthermore, if the place was penetrated by plain clothes police before the raid (in order to ascertain that an illegal operation was in progress), how could they say that they were surprised at the number of people there.

The Detroit Police Department compiled a number of statistics into a document entitled, "Statistical Report on the Civil Disorders Occurring in the City of Detroit, July 1967", hereinafter referred to as the statistical report. This report reflects that there were sniping incidents and that 26 arrests were made for sniper activity. This is in direct conflict

with statements by the officers that no arrests were made on the basis of catching someone in the act of sniping (only for possessing weapons). At any rate, there were 20 persons shot by snipers, of which 4 were fatalities. Thirty (30) other persons were wounded by gun fire from persons unknown and an additional 6 fatalities. The police had no evidence that two or more snipers agreed with each other or with other individuals participating in the disorder upon a definite pattern or plan of action. A contemplated list of sniping incidents tending to show a "congestion" of sniper activity was inconclusive and was never formalized because they realized that one shot was being reported by many different sources. Furthermore, it was concluded that some cherry bomb explosions were reported as gunshots. The police officers were of the opinion that "a very loose organization" (ad hoc), not preplanned, existed in 2 or 3 incidents of sniper activity, "to really know, the investigators would have to talk with the snipers."

A thorough review of the material furnished by Detroit's Executive Chief of the Fire Department, and other reports, reveals no evidence of concerted action by individuals or organizations to agree to loot or burn certain buildings, nor does the reports show a pattern or incidents upon which a conclusion could be drawn that a master plan for the riot existed.

According to a speech given by Charles J. Quinlan, the Executive Chief of the Fire Department, on August 7, 1967, false alarm and other harassments were not solely spawned by the riot. In the last 4 years, there were over 150 incidents of trouble ranging from physical assaults, thrown missiles, rifle fire, and in some cases where companies returned to their quarters after responding to a false alarm, they found their quarters had been sacked, windows broken, and their private cars damaged. Chief Quinlan added that there were three false alarms during the riot which were reported to lure firefighters and equipment into sniper ambushes. Unfortunately, these incidents were not further described. However, since the Chief concluded that they were unable to state with accuracy that the riot was instigated by professional agitators, it could be assumed that the three instances referred to were no more sinister or conspiratorial

than the other neighborhood abuses previously described. This assumption, though valid, is nevertheless a poor substitute for further investigation which time does not permit.

The Police Department did not furnish any information concerning false reports, except to mention the Cunningham Drug Store which will be described in the following paragraph. They apparently made no study of the numerous reports received by the various precincts. It was noted (by the investigators) that Lt. McCoy, particularly, appeared reluctant to be specific about certain areas of the inquiry. It may be that he was unwilling to furnish this information, if, in truth, there was any information. Lt. McCoy appeared to resent the intrusion by the Government into local police files.

Lt. McCoy allowed that the only incident which could be interpreted as a diversionary tactic was the manner in which the 5th precinct responded to several threats by a mob which continued to return to a Cunningham Drug Store, one of a chain of drug stores in that city. Although the incident was not further explained, it could not be concluded that this was a diversion in view of the possibility that the mob may have retreated upon being confronted by police from the 5th precinct, but was persistent enough to return hoping that the police would not be present.

The police could furnish no evidence of any individuals or organizations distributing inflammatory material before the riot. Mayor Cavanaugh testified before the Civil Disorders Commission and also the Police Commissioner, Girardin. They stated, in substance, that they had no evidence that the riot was planned or organized.

The Special Investigations Unit, which is concerned with such matters because the Intelligence Division concerns itself with organized crime, advised that they heard a rumor that a riot would take place in Detroit in August 1967. This rumor could not be traced to any individual or organization.

A list was made of foreign license plates seen in the riot area during the disturbance, however, because some of the occupants were tourists; others were curiosity seekers, and

still others were attracted by the looting; no conclusions could be drawn which tended to show non-resident participation in the instigation of, or the furtherance of the riot. Some figures were furnished by telephone from a Mr. Kneschaw, believed to be on the Mayor's Commission on Community Renewal, revealed that of the whites arrested, 87% resided in Detroit, another 10% resided in the three-county area around Detroit, and 3% from other places. Of the non-whites arrested, 97% were residents of Detroit; 2% from the surrounding three-county area, and 1% were outsiders.

Two hundred and sixty-two (262) handguns were confiscated during the riot according to the statistical report. Only a small part of these weapons were registered. This is true notwithstanding the fact that Michigan has firearms laws which require the registration of handguns. No evidence was adduced as to the existence of large quantities of weapons under private control during and immediately prior to the riot.

It was brought out that some Negro leaders, such as Congressman John Conyers, were active in trying to reduce or confine the disorder. However, no one listened to him and he was shouted down by his constituents. This was the extent of the discussion of Negro leaders by the interviewees. The impression persists that these three officers felt that Negro "leaders" were conspicuous by their absence except as indicated above and they seemed to deprecate the efforts of the Congressman. These officers noted that there were Negroes who at first tried to dissuade the looters, but that many of these same people succumbed to looting when they saw that the police were not arresting the looters. The police were trying to confine the riot by cordoning the area. They did not have the manpower (on the first day) to arrest the looters.

Files on organizations in the community are maintained by the Special Investigations Unit. This Unit had copies of membership lists for the Citywide Citizens Action Committee (CCAC), SNCC and CORE. The Citywide Citizens Action Committee is headed by Rev. Albert Cleage. These files are kept, not because of the involvement on the part of these organizations in the riot, but because of their activist or militant stance, the groups are considered potentially dangerous to the community.

Lt. McCoy indicated that the Special Investigations Unit does try to develop informers and from time to time, they do get leads from informants. These informers are usually civically-minded persons who call in, but some are persons who are charged with the crime and are trying to bargain their information for consideration. He added that paid informers, insofar as their Unit was concerned, represented compensating the individual for out-of-pocket expenses.

According to the interviewees, more people have been trying to purchase and register weapons, however, the rise in the general crime rate may be a factor discounting the conclusion that people are arming as a result of the riot.

PRESENT RACE RELATIONS IN DETROIT

The Detroit riot could happen again notwithstanding the passage of a Fair Housing Bill by its Common Council, and Detroit, in a sense, is every city, U.S.A. This is true because the silent majority--both white and black--have abdicated, for the most part, in favor of the vocal minority from the right and the left. The demi-gods are having a field day--each in his own little sphere, trying to spread his influence and succeeding to some extent. Each plotting the elimination of the leader of its opposite wing in the event of a confrontation. Others are planning to continue the revolution along economic lines--build up a Black Nation within the nation. Still others are just bent upon destruction without any consideration of the consequences. Nevertheless, the situation is not all black literally or figuratively. Cooperative groups composed of whites and blacks are emerging from the middle and upper middle class Stratum to combat racism. Such an organization is PAR, People Against Racism. "Homes for Christmas" is another such organization; also the New Detroit Committee.

Other organizations are also active in Detroit; organizations which, though not characterized in this report, should be noted:

New Black Establishment Committee

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Malcolm X Society

Malcomites (could be another name for the above
Organization)

The Group of Advance Leadership (GOAL)

Freedom Now Party (FNP) - *Police fire office
under inspection PNP*

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

Breakthrough (This is a white armist organization
headed by Donald Lobsinger.)

This report is called "final" in that it is the last one by this team of investigators. It is by no stretch of the imagination final in terms of being complete. To begin with, the investigation, like a tornado, only came down in spots, leaving whole areas untouched. Secondly, time factors prevented a thorough search and analysis of the areas which were visited. This report mentions certain things which require further investigation. Such further investigations are vital to the answering of the question as to whether or not there existed a conspiracy. The police say that a loose organization existed in two or three instances of sniper activity. It is suspected that this conclusion was a surmise rather than a statement of fact; certainly, no supporting facts were given. The Executive Fire Chief alluded to instances where firemen and equipment were lured into ambushes. More information is required as to when, where and how, not to mention who and why. Regarding the "triggering incident", it seems inconceivable that the police would be "surprised" by the number of people in the after-hours joint after one of their officers had gone into the place to see if they were operating illegally. Leon Atchison, Congressman Conyers' administrative assistant, said that the police were "asking for it" by taking such a long time to complete their arrests under such conditions as existed at the time. Further investigation should assess the

involvement of white people in the looting, burning and sniping during the riot.

Would the riot have occurred without the actions of the inciters such as Michael Lewis? Who is Michael Lewis? What does he stand for? What are his beliefs? Why did Rev. Cleage arrange for his bail? Of course, the answers to these questions cannot be found in this report. More time and more thorough investigations could possibly result in some answers. The police were reluctant to give information about Lewis because his trial is still pending. The police also said that there were others inciting the crowd. Who were they? Why weren't they identified?

In a speech dated August 17, 1967, before the Joint Committee of the International Association of Fire Chiefs and Fire Fighters, Mr. Charles Quinlan, Executive Chief of the Detroit Fire Department, said, "We have been unable to state with any accuracy that the riot and disorder itself was instigated by professional agitators. It seemed more spontaneous in nature, but once started became contagious." The key word here is "professional". Conspirators do not have to be professional to be effective.

Others who have investigated Detroit admit the existence of a loose type of ad hoc organization. Louis Lomax, in a newspaper article, said: "A Black Power Revolutionary Organization or thinly veiled group of organizations took over and directed the riots." Betty DeRamus wrote an article for the November Negro Digest in which she said, "Some nationalists . . . had begun to seize control of the riot when it was forming in the streets. Some . . . encouraged looting and arson, while a few internationalists are believed to have aided the mystery snipers." In the same issue of the Negro Digest, Dr. Broadus N. Butler said, "Something happened to Detroit. It happened suddenly--though not without prior warning. It happened with thorough tactical professionalism--though apparently without leadership. It happened by invisible people whom even Negroes generally did not know or recognize."

Finally, the Detroit riot could not be called spontaneous. There had to be a force sustaining the momentum of the riot for nine days. Perhaps the lack of legal proof of the existence of persons or organizations which provided this force is an indication of their "professionalism".

DETECTIVE DIVISION
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION BUREAU

August 14, 1967

Commanding Officer, Special Investigation Bureau

Report of Information on Michael Lewis 22/N, 2234 Sturtevant
DPD #265758 - Held for Inciting to Riot.

At 4:35 P.M. August 13, 1967, Scout 10-7 manned by Patrolmen Edward Zimmerman, Charles Carlson and John Chaperon, observed the above subject as the person who incited the crowd that gathered to watch the after hours raid at 9125 12th Street on July 23, 1967 at 4:15 A.M.

Lewis was placed under arrest and conveyed to the 10th Pct. where the officer in charge, Lt. Ray Good, immediately recognized Lewis as the person who incited the crowd at 12th and Clairmount at 5:15 A.M. July 23, 1967. At this time, Lt. Good sustained a head injury when he was struck by a piece of thrown concrete.

Patr. Zimmerman also recognized Lewis as the person he observed at 12th and Hazelwood at 10:00 A.M. July 23, 1967 directing the mob to which stores to be looted. Lewis would point to a store and say to the mob, "GET THAT ONE". The mob appeared to follow his instructions.

At 7:15 P.M. August 13, 1967, Lewis was interrogated at the 10th Pct. by Det. Sergt. Paul Kemp and Det. Merle Harrington of the Special Investigation Bureau. Lewis at first refused to answer any questions until he consulted his attorney. Lewis then stated that he was no where near the riot area. Did not know about the riot until Sunday afternoon (August 23, 1967). States he was home in bed until 4:00 P.M. and supplied the following alibi; Witnesses: Josephine King 20/N, 220 W. Davison; James Phillip 21/N/M, number unknown on Cortland and; Gaylord Jones 21/N/M, number unknown on Cortland. Because of Lewis' reluctance to answer questions, he was not asked about his affiliation with groups.

On August 15, 1967 the following warrants were obtained:

A 139845-for #1 Inciting a Riot

#2 Rioting

Incident that occurred in the vicinity of
9125 12th at 4:15 A.M., July 23, 1967 -
Complainant Patr. Edward Zimmerman.

A 139846-for #1 Inciting a Riot

#2 Rioting

Incident that occurred at 12th and Clairmount

August 14, 1967

at 5:15 A.M., July 23, 1967, Complainant-
Lieut. Ray Good.

A 139846-for #1 Inciting to Riot
#2 Rioting

Incident that occurred at 12th and Hazelwood
at 10:00 A.M., July 23, 1967, Complainant-
Patr. Edward Zimmerman.

At 2:00 P.M. August 14, 1967, Lewis was arraigned before Judge
Leonard on above three warrants. He pled not guilty to all
three. Exam set for August 18, 1967. Bond on each warrant
\$50,000 - 2 Sureties.

Sgt. Fred T. Wright of the Traffic Safety Bureau was at the 10th
Pct. when Lewis was registered. He recognized Smith as the man
he chased from the fire bombing at the George V. Drugs, 12200
Dexter on July 25, 1967 between 2:00 P.M. and 4:00 P.M. This
incident is still being investigated by this bureau.

William R. McCoy

Detective Lieutenant William R. McCoy

FIRST ENDORCEMENT

To: Deputy Superintendent John Nichols Through Original Channels

The above information is supplied in response to your request
to Deputy Chief of Detectives, George Bloomfield.

John Ware
Inspector John Ware

DON'T BUY WHERE YOU CAN'T WORK



SEARS

3 INNER CITY STORES

GRAND RIVER GRATIOT HIGHLAND PARK

HAVE

75% NEGRO PATRONAGE

AND LESS THAN

10% NEGRO EMPLOYEES IN LOWER PAYING JOBS

**NEGRO RETAIL STORE EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION
SELECTIVE PATRONAGE CAMPAIGN**

*Organizing Consumer Dollars
To Make Jobs*

THE INNER CITY ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

#716725 110001

24
✓ JAMES BOHANN
LBY BUTIRA

CITYWIDE CITIZENS

Action Committee

Reports

TO THE
COMMUNITY

wed. sep. 13
7:30 pm at

INTERN. MASON'S HALL
ST. AUBIN AT GRATIOT

HEAR REPORTS ON
CCAC
ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE

1 Peoples Tribunal to try
officer defendants in
Algiers murder case

2 Posted bond for Michael Lewis
accused of starting July
Rebellion

3 Conferences with Hudson
Committee

4 Investigations of police
criminality

5 Motorcade

6 Demand for quality education

July 1, 1964

25

WAYNE STATE U. DUBOIS CLUB

Claire Carsman
869 Pallister
Student
Wayne State U. Phone 875-2250

Maryanne Conheim
18969 Ohio
Wayne State U.
Student

Linda Darga
9529 Beechwood
Student
Wayne State U. Phone WE3-0245

Claudia Efimchik
8228 Faust
Student
Wayne State U. Phone LJ 4-7866

Peggy Goldman
80 Delaware
Student
Wayne State U. Phone 871-7326

Howard Handelman
11537 Hamilton
AFL-CIO Rep., Ed. Dept.
Wayne State U. Phone 883-4442

David Herreshoff
75 McLean, Highland Park, Mich.
Teacher
Wayne State U.

Fred Hudson
18111 Greenlawn
Student
Wayne State U. Phone UN 2-0833

Sherry Lewin
18218 Gilchrist
Student
Mumford Phone VE 8-3710

Marc Nowakowski
4325 Sturtevant
Student
Wayne State U. Phone TE 4-4685

I E Card
made

WAYNE STATE U. DUBOIS CLUB CONT'D.

Michael Pearl ✓
14564 Roselawn
Student
Wayne State U. Phone WE 3-3693

Leslie Reiland ✓
655 W. Kirby, Detroit 2
Student
Wayne State U.

Roger Ricketts ✓
8441 Colgate, Detroit
Student
Wayne State U. Phone LI 2-2685

Loretta Rosenfeld ✓
18088 Mansfield
Student
Wayne State U. Phone VE 7-0619

Richard Strachan ✓
9238 Littlefield
Student
Wayne State U. Phone WE 5-3262

Tom Suber ✓
30152 Wagner
Student
Wayne State U. Phone 755-7666

James E. Winegar
665 W. Warren, Apt. 21ⁿ
Student
Wayne State U.

*J.E. Lewis
made*

July, 1966

DETROIT DUBOIS CLUB

- John P. Van Eyck
31 W. Alexandrine
Theatre Designer Phone 833-0387
- Ron Adkins
43 Forest
Photographer Phone VI 3-5376
- Jeanne Allan ✓
13960 Tuller
Student
Cass Tech. High School Phone 932-9500
- Martha Allan ✓
13960 Tuller
Student
Cass Tech. High School 934-9500
- Zeynoire Anderson
6124 Scotten
Student
Cass Tech. High School Phone 898-4804
- Norman R. Brittenman
31 W. Alexandrene
Student
Highland Park C.C. Phone 833-0387
- Charlotte Brody
24812 N. Washington
Student
University of Michigan Phone EL 7-2267
- Stuart Dowty
581 Lexington Ave.
Student
Mich. State U.
- Teresa Davidson
12927 La Salle, Huntington Woods
Student
Wayne State U. Phone LI 1-6474
- Dave Finkelstein
31 W. Alexandrine
Student
Wayne State U. Phone 833-0387

I E Cards
made

DETROIT DUBOIS CLUB CONT'D.

- Farrell Hamann
446 Fisher Rd.
Unemployed
- John (Last name unknown,
1101 W. Warren
Continuous Agent
Det. Comm. To End The War Phone 832-5700
- Joseph Bransdorf ✓
9556 Burnette (as of June 1966: 31 W. Alexandrine, Detroit)
Auto Worker
Chrysler Corp.
- John Line
6246 Linwood
Student
Northwestern High School
- Arthur W. Myatt
31 W. Alexandrine
Draftsman-Student - Lab. Tech.
Phone 833-0387

*IE cards
mailed*

26

CORE MEETINGSACTIVE MEMBERS ONLY

Monday,

Comm.

Initial

1.	BARAT, Irvine	19435 Hartwell (35)	DI 2-2106		
2.	BAZMORE, Raymond	2441 Fullerton (38)	TO 7-1713		
3.	BERGMAN, Frances & Walter	25551 Inkster (Farmington)	474-8666		
4.	BOGGS, William	8025 American (04)	931-5109		
5.	BROWN, Ellis	3036 Northwestern (06)	896-3910		
6.	BROWN, Gloria	3036 Northwestern (06)	896-3910		
7.	BURKE, Liam	816 Lexington Rd. (R.O.)	588-9469		
8.	CHAPMAN, Donald	1729 Hazelwood (06)	873-7281		
9.	CHRISTENSEN, James	8240 Grand River (04)	TY 8-0224		
10.	CLEVELAND, Clyde	6585 Hartford (10)	TY 8-6459		
11.	COLON, Catharine	700 Prentiss, Apt. 407 (01)	831-5185		
12.	COOK, Alvin	505 Frazier (River Rouge)	WA 8-1287		
13.	COOK, Robert	2477 Pasadena (38)	TO 5-1791		
14.	DANIELS, Nadine	2014 W. Euclid, Apt. 301 (06)			
15.	DANNER, Patricia	2994 Pingree (06)	899-2438		
16.	DOUGLAS, Dorothy	3711 Webb, Apt. 418 (06)	933-1614		
17.	DOUGLAS, Harry	3711 Webb, Apt. 418 (06)	933-1614		
18.	DUNN, Carol	15832 Stoepel (38)	862-3032		
19.	ELLISON, Harry	203 California (H.P.)	867-1990		

20. ✓ FEINBERG, David	641 Brainard, Apt. 304 (26)	833-6486		
21. FRANKLIN, Hulet	2488 Virginia Park (06)	TY 7-4138		
22. GANNON, Terry	633 Prentis, Apt. 28 (01)			
23. GENTRY, Helen	715 Kitchener (15)	VA 2-6606		
24. GIBSON, Dorothy	16585 Princeton (21)	861-6675		
25. GOODE, Selma	8846 Robindale (39)	KE 4-6857		
26. GREENWOOD, Thomas	1707 Ford (38)	TO 8-2805		
27. HALL, Alma	16894 Lawton (21)	863-5188		
28. HARRIS, Grace	615 Field, Apt. 101 (14)	567-0634		
29. HERRING, William	2484 W. Philadelphia (06)	TY 5-2640		
30. HOOD, Maria	2650 Marquette (08)	897-0374		
31. ✓ JACKSON, Juanita	1191 W. Philadelphia (02)	933-5508 (mess.)		
32. JONES, Lavata	5362 Ivanhoe (04)	TY 8-3776		
33. ✓ JONES, Patrick	15500 Ohio (38)	342-3923		
34. KOENIG, Ronald	14861 Grandville (23)	BR 3-0384		
35. LOWNDES, Russell	16595 Princeton (21)	DI 1-1181		
36. MATTHEWS, Mildred	(01) 1220 Selden Bldg. 802, Apt. 8	TE 3-7565		
37. MC FARLIN, Cornele	3352 Burlingame (06)	869-6635		
38. MC GHEE, Christine P.	8730 Epworth (04)	TY 7-3859		

MITCHELL, Norman (Dr.)	2233 Inkster Road, Inkster	CR 8-3150		
MCORE, Tomale	1844 S. Liddesdale (17)	DU 2-6230		
MOSS, Josivet	11630 Holmur (04)	WE 3-5658		
MONGAR, Alice	450 Dumfries S. (17)	842-7849		
NIEDERHAUSER, Janice	1326 Temple (01)	831-4917		
NISHIURA, Eizo	11531 Hamilton (03)	866-9766		
NTE, Patricia	164 W. Adams (26)	WO 1-1528		
PAISLEY, Grace	12067 Santa Rosa Dr. (04)	931-4610		
POWELL, Celestine	960 Robinwood (03)	366-5825		
RAN, Annetto	19206 Berkeley Road (21)	862-0764		
ROBERTS, Alice Faye	4913 Bangor (10)	TY 6-6499		
ROBERTS, Alvin	274 E. Euclid (02)	875-6539		
ROBERTS, Daniel E.	9649 Petoskey (04)	899-2449		
ROBERTS, Donald	11651 Fourteenth Apt. 204 (06)	866-4529		
ROBERTS, Shirley	274 E. Euclid (02)	875-6539		
ROBINSON, R. Cecil	2059 Glynn Court (06)	TO 7-1145		
ROSENFELD, Janice	16244 Birwood (21)	341-7373		
ROSENFELD, Ralph	16244 Birwood (21)	341-7373		
SADLER, Rosetta H.	243 Owen (02)	TR 5-8671		

58.	SANDERS, Thelma	18503 Monte Vista (21)	864-7257		
59.	SCHOLZ, Max	18229 Littlefield (35)	342-3352		
60.	SCHOLZ, Ruth	18229 Littlefield (35)	342-3352		
61.	SHANKS, Dewey	10219 Brush (02)	866-5138		
62.	SUFRITZ, Olga	4480 Twenty-eighth (10)	TY 4-3958		
63.	WADE, Willie	1360 Seward, Apt. 207 (02)	871-3108		
64.	WAMER, Robert	11640 Belleterre Apt. 104 (04)	834-2535		
65.	WILSON, Hayward	2310 Webb (06)	866-4233		
66.	WITHERSPOON, Julian	1978 LaSalle Gardens (06)	896-4964		
67.	AMATO, Bobbi	8109 E. Lafayette (14)	822-4679		
68.	BARRY, Kathy	8109 E. Lafayette (14)	822-4679		



Detroit Area Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

SPONSORS:

Dr. Ralph Cash
 Cong. John Conyers, Jr.
 Atty. G. Crockett
 Rev. Norman Dewire
 Mr. Herman Glass
 Rev. Charles Hill
 Rev. Nicholas Hood
 Mrs. Leonard Kasle
 Mr. Hubert G. Locke
 Mrs. MaeDella Murphy
 Mrs. Rosa Parks
 Mr. and Mrs. A. Reese
 Mr. Horace Sheffield
 Atty. Claudia Shropshire
 Atty. Myzell Sowell
 Mr. Jackie Vaughn III

August 9, 1965

1118 WEBB AVENUE
 DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202
 883-7282

World Medical Relief, Inc.
 11 45 12th Street
 Detroit, Michigan 482-06

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing to you on behalf of two southern projects of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. They have requested first-aid materials that are badly needed to give immediate relief to workers who are hurt during civil rights demonstrations.

They have requested twenty kits consisting of bandages, alcohol, merthiolate, mercurochrome, dressings, etc. They will be sent to:

SNCC
 c/o Robert Mants
 526 E. Jefferson
 Americus, Georgia

SNCC
 c/o Shirley Walker
 31 Franklin St.
 Selma, Alabama

Any amount that you can supply will be very helpful. Thanks in advance for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Dewberry
 Dorothy Dewberry, Coordinator

encl.

*Turned down as we are backing the
 Detroit Medical Society in their relief work
 throughout the south.*

8-9-65

DMA

28
 ... telephone calls made to ...
 ... all reports in this by SNCC headquarters
 number 480331, Atlanta ... from approx 12/1/66 to
 7/1/67

MICHIGAN

*SNICK
FILE*

NUMBER

NAME

ADDRESS

Detroit

383-7320--(1-30)(1-26)(1-27)

Not a working number

341-9542--(5-12)

Michael Wichorek

13814 Vassar
 Detroit 21, Michigan

334-6674--(2-13)

Fred, Duncan

14235 Cloverlawn
 Detroit 38, Michigan

868-7133--(2-11)

Arthur L. Reese

1492 Atkinson
 Detroit 6, Michigan

883-7282--(2-10)(2-17)(2-19)(2-10)(1-30)(1-9)(1-11)(1-12)(1-20)(1-28)(1-29)
 (1-27)(1-26)(12-22)(1-19)(1-30)(2-2) *Disc. 3/1/67*

Not a working number

*Detroit Friend of SNCC
 12228 Hamilton*

896-6044--(2-13)

Not a working number

899-3281--(2-5)

James L. Saunders

9975 Quincy
 Detroit, Michigan 48204

921-1236--(2-20)(1-5)(3-22)

James Boggs

3061 Field
 Detroit, 14, Michigan

868-4802--(2-5)

Wylene Rease

1515 Pasadena
 Detroit, 38, Michigan

962-4341--(2-27)(2-10)(3-20)

Number changed to:
 962-3855

People Against Racism Movement

2631 Woodward
 Detroit 1, Michigan

MICHIGAN

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
<u>Detroit</u>		
331-6121--(3-71)	M. M. Moffitt	700 Piper Detroit, Michigan 48215
921-8138 --(1-30)	Non-Pub. St. Elizabeth Rectory	3138 E. Canfield Detroit, Michigan 48207
832-2777--(4-5)	Neighborhood Legal Service Centers- Administration Office	3546 Trumbull Detroit, Michigan 48208
964-9295--(1-17)(1-17)	Central Methodist Church	23 E. Adams Detroit, Michigan 48226
862-1662--(5-10)	Non-Pub. Johnny Belser	17174 Indiana Detroit 21, Michigan
833-2162--(1-27)	Alice M. Kozel	239 Puritan Highland Park 3, Michigan
392-2958--(1-23)	Lee James	18522 Dequindre Detroit, Michigan
871-3333--(1-26)	Motown Record Corp.	2648 Grank Boulevard W. Detroit, Michigan 48208
869-5978--(3-17)	Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr.	2042 Calvert Detroit 6, Michigan
383-5715--(1-2)	Rufus Dewberry	1863 Ethel S. Detroit 17, Michigan

MICHIGAN

NUMBER

NAME

ADDRESS

Detroit

895-2959--(1-10)

James Miles

3312 Merrick
Detroit, Michigan 48208

825-1300--(1-26)(1-27)(6-)

Wayne State University

903 W. Grand Boulevard
Detroit 8, Michigan

826-7360--(1-10)

City of Detroit
Mayor's Committee for Total
Action Against Poverty

903 W. Grand Boulevard
Detroit 8, Michigan

Pontiac

(313) 334-8721--(3-5)

Milton R. Henry

192 Bassett
Pontiac, Michigan

Ypsilanti

(313) 483-3842--(2-23)(1-31)(1-23)(1-23)(1-13)

Stella Williams

411 Second Avenue
Ypsilanti, Michigan

Ann Arbor

662-3428 --(2-13)

Arnold Kaufman

4051 Thornoak Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan

MICHIGAN

NUMBER

NAME

ADDRESS

Grand Rapids

454-6812--(4-23)

W. Wilberforce Plummer DDS

654 Wealthy S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

245-3086--(5-17)(5-17)

Cora's Apartments - OFC.

1034 Ionia S.W.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Lansing

351-5905--(5-5)

Not a working number.

Michigan

NUMBER

NAME

ADDRESS

Detroit

965-0050--(6-22)

825-1301--(6-29)

(313) 868-4802 --(6-5)

341-9542--(5-12)

353-5715--(5-12)(5-12)(6-12)(6-29)(6-23)(6-23)

868-7138--(5-11)

832-2777 --(4-5)

931-6121--(3-31)

826-7360 --(5-7)(4-14)

862-1662 --(5-10)

5
Int. St.
Detroit

Michigan

6

*Latest
Listings*

NUMBER

NAME

ADDRESS

Detroit

399-3281--(6-5)(6-6)

883-1112--(6-20)

Lansing

351-5905--(5-5)

Grand Rapids

245-3036--(5-17)

OCT 12 1967

McCoy et al 29
1023

DETECTIVE DIVISION
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION BUREAU October 11, 1967

Commanding Officer, Special Investigation Bureau

COVERAGE OF MEETING AT SOUTHEASTERN HIGH SCHOOL, SPONSORED BY THE
EAST SIDE VOICE OF INDEPENDENT DETROIT. (ESVID)

On October 10, 1967, at about 7:30 P.M., Patrolman Reginald Marvel and Patrolman William Patterson, assigned to the Special Investigation Bureau, went to the Southeastern High School located at 3030 Fairview and attended a meeting sponsored by the EAST SIDE VOICE OF INDEPENDENT DETROIT (ESVID).

The meeting, scheduled to begin at 7:30 P.M., was called to order at about 8:00 P.M. by Benjamin Van Clarke, project coordinator for ESVID, with about 50 persons in attendance.

The first speaker introduced by Mr. Clarke was Frank Hairson, Director of the Youth Development Project.

Mr. Hairson spoke regarding some of the goals of the organization concerning the young people in the community. Mr. Hairson states that the organization intends to sponsor four to five baseball, basketball, football, bowling, and roller skate teams to compete with other youth leagues in the city. Mr. Hairson states that the organization intends to take the potential juvenile delinquent and make good citizens of them, etc.

The next speaker introduced by Mr. Clarke was Leroy Stephens, who is connected with a group called the United Associates Economical Corporation. This group is supposedly chartered by the State of Michigan and its purpose is to seek out and give financial aid to deserving educational programs in the state. Mr. Stephens' speech was short and consisted mostly of urging the people in attendance to cooperate with ESVID.

The next speaker introduced by Mr. Clarke was Mozell Jones, a member of ESVID, representing the "brothers" who said nothing.

The next speaker introduced by Mr. Clarke was Frank Ditto, Director of ESVID, who spoke regarding some of the goals of ESVID. Mr. Ditto attacked the absentee landlord and city officials for the conditions of homes, alleys, and city-owned property in the area.

The next speaker introduced as Slick Campbell rendered several racist poems supposedly written by himself and urged the white people in attendance to advise Mr. Lobsinger that he was not Communist.

After a short intermission, Mr. Clarke stated that Hosea L. Williams, a top aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, had encountered trouble with

October 11, 1967

his flight from Atlanta, Georgia and would be unable to attend the meeting. Mr. Clarke also stated that Rev. Albert B. Cleage was tied up with previous commitments and would be unable to attend the meeting. The meeting was closed at about 9:45 P.M.

Reginald Harvel
PATROLMAN REGINALD HARVEL
Special Investigation Bureau

PATROLMAN WILLIAM PATTERSON
Special Investigation Bureau

/pm

FIRST ENDORSEMENT

TO: Deputy Chief of Detectives, George Bloomfield
(through channels)

The above report is submitted for your information.

John Ware
DETECTIVE INSPECTOR JOHN WARE
Special Investigation Bureau

Also see File E.S.V.I.D.
East side voice of Independent Detroit.

#5 Crimin got this from a bearded
guy who was distributing it 11 AM
4/24/47 Parkview - Kercheval.
Fits case of Little

Pos. identified as Rogman
Frank Little. Photo taken at
9100 Kerch -

Mr. Williams,

We are both Black Men, but I am not addressing you as "Brother," but as "Uncle Tom." Your public statement yesterday was a direct insult to those Afro-Americans who are welfare or ADC recipients, not by choice but by force of a system which traps them into a state of life ill-suited for anything else but emasculating dependence.

Your statement concerning welfare and non-employed Afro-Americans shows an almost criminal ignorance for one who proposes to be a spiritual leader of our Black community. You are certainly no "Soul Brother" of ours.

I do agree that the disorder is not a race riot in the strict sense of the word, that is, a conflict between races. However, it is a racial riot in the sense that it is a revolt of frustration and antagonism against a system which imposes a roll of second-class citizenship through second-class housing, second-class education, and second-class opportunity. It is a racial riot of frustration against a system which says you shall receive whatever the white community thinks you need or deserve. As if the white community had the right to give what should be, by constitutional legislation and human birth, the natural possession of all men. As if the White community had the right and the power to give us our manhood.

The revolt now is not against the white man, who is just as much a victim of the system as is the Black Man, but it is against the system itself. It is a revolt of self-determination: I decide, I need, I want, I take. This is wrong. We all know and admit this; but so too is the system which says we shall decide what you want and need and what we shall give you.

Two wrongs do not make a right. The evil of the riot will not cancel out the evil of the system, but maybe the one will point out the other.

What is necessary is that we try to understand the people and then maybe we can understand the rebellion. It is said that the burning and looting was indiscriminate. This was not true. We are here in the Mom and Tots Center. It

was not touched during the rebellion though the buildings on both sides were burned and gutted. Why? Because Black folks said these are good people. We know them and they know us. They work with us -- not on us like one works on a machine or a piece of wood. They care for us. We know we can stop in and they'll help us when we tell them things. They ask us to make decisions how to run the place. They treat us like first-class humans because we are first-class humans. They have respect for us and we respect them. They were not burned.

This is the way the thinking went, even among those who used the rebellion to plunder. The merchants who gouged, cheated, or mis-treated them were looted and burned. Of course, when so many people were running from place to place, some mistakes were made -- but for the most part, people of the neighborhoods protected those who lived and worked with them on the grass roots level.

We need not make excuses for the rebellion or hold our heads in shame, but instead hold our heads high and accept the challenge that has to be done.

I feel that it is unfortunate that the older Black American has conditioned and resigned himself to second-class citizenship, housing, education, and opportunity, by thinking that he will be rewarded in the hereafter while continuing to resist the racial pride and dignity of the younger Soul Brother. I feel that it is unfortunate that so many of our so-called leaders can see fit to condemn the violence but do not have the heart to condemn the cause.

Mr. Frank Ditto
East Side Community Organizer
822-0155 or 331-5525

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

INTELLIGENCE

Date July 27, 1967To: **Commanding Officer, Intelligence Bureau**Subject: **SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION RE: FRANK M. DITTO, W/H/ of
11031 Mack Avenue, Detroit, Michigan**

At 12:10 P.M. on Wednesday, July 26, 1967, Lieutenant Charles Maynard received a call from Inspector Anthony Roman of the Fifth Precinct indicating that a man answering the description of FRANK M. DITTO was passing out literature at the corner of Parkview and Kercheval. Inspector Roman was familiar with DITTO's background as a result of a previous conversation with Lt. Maynard.

Members of the Intelligence Bureau were immediately sent to this location, supplied with a Louisville, Ky., Police Department mug of DITTO. Positive identity was obtained. Photos of the subject were taken as well as obtaining a copy of the literature being distributed. (See attached copy of literature and photo.)

FRANK M. DITTO has been in the Detroit area since approximately July 1, 1967, at which time he became Executive Director of an organization referred to as CESSA (CHURCHES ON EAST SIDE FOR SOCIAL ACTION), with offices located in the basement of the rectory of St. Bernard's Catholic Church, 11031 Mack Ave., Detroit, telephone 331-5525.

DITTO came to this area from Chicago, Illinois, where he was employed as Director of the Oaklawn Committee for Community Improvement. In correspondence received from the Chicago Police Intelligence Unit DITTO was described as an aggressive and troublesome agitator during the civil rights demonstrations in their city for the past several years. Subject was also active during the recent civil rights demonstrations in Louisville, Ky., just prior to the running of the Kentucky Derby.

Subject was arrested in Louisville on June 6, 1967, for Disorderly Conduct and Parading Without a Permit. He was scheduled to appear in court June 7, 1967, but failed to appear. Subject is not wanted by their department.

Background information on FRANK DITTO was submitted by this bureau on July 11, 1967. It is not known at this time how long Mr. Ditto intends to stay in the Detroit area.

Continued

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION: FRANK BORTO

See attached photo of subject taken on July 26, 1967, at Kercheval and Parkview, Detroit, the area in which he was distributing the literature. This was in the area of the riot. Also attached is a copy of subject's criminal record which was obtained from the Detroit office of the F.B.I., on our request.

Charles Maynard
~~DISCLOSED UNTIL 12/1/82~~

READ AND APPROVED

JAMES EMMON
Detective Inspector
Intelligence Bureau

mb

JULY 27, 1967

PAGE TWO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON-25, D. C.

302

J. Edgar Hoover
Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER 481 570 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CSC	Frank Edward Ditto #12,55 28139	5-17-55		terminated n record
Army	Frank Edward Ditto #RA 18 267 460	4-25-56		disch 12-5-5
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #460	Inquiry 6-9-59		
PD Chgo Ill	Frank C Ditto #14300	12-23-62	CCW	
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #14300	6-8-65	disturbance	\$25 F; non-suit on chg resist
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #14300	6-11-65	obstructing people; disorderly	\$25 & no co non-suit
PD Chgo Ill	Malcolm II #IR 14300	6-28-65	dis ;	nolle, \$25 chg of obstructing non-suit 2
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #14300	7-10-65	dis	NO
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #14300	8-2-65	disorderly	
PD Chgo Ill	Frank E. Ditto #14300	2-11-66	trespassing	
H of C Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #66-18253	4-11-66	193-1 DC	2 c/s \$25 ; \$25 fines \$50 in all

100 - 34590 - 2

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN
formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or a
ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

are based on
and ARE LIST

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

2

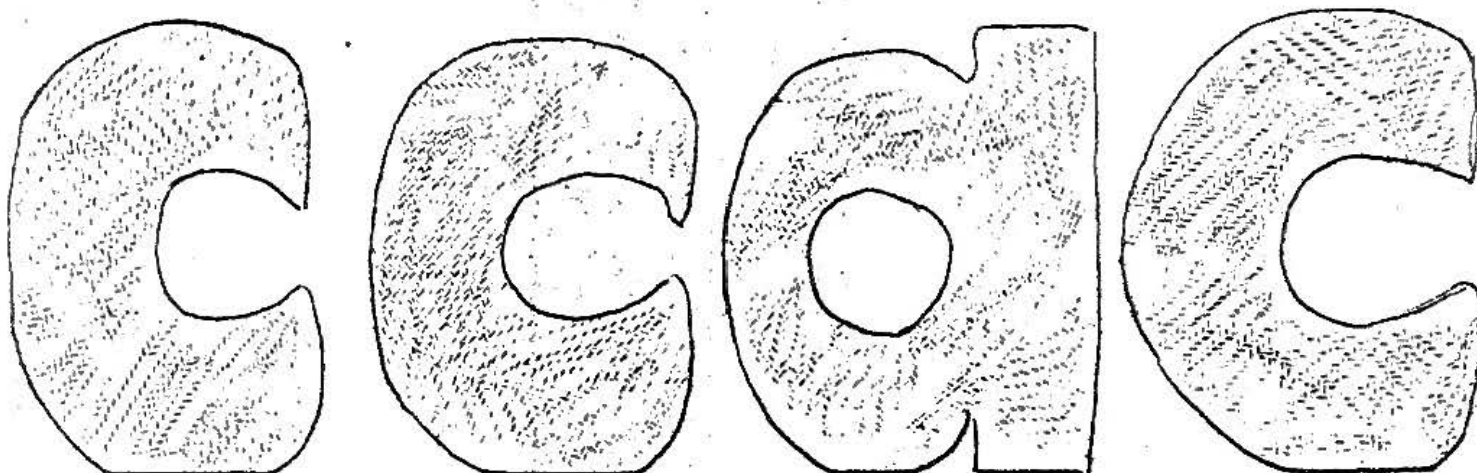
J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 481 570 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #14300	6-23-66	193-1 disorderly	
PD Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #14300	8-4-66	racial disorder	25 & no 25 & on chg of dis breach/pace
Cook Co Jail Chgo Ill	Frank Ditto #390204	9-6-66	contempt	sent'd to CCJ 6 mos
H of C Chgo Ill	Frank Detto #66-27455	12-5-66	criminal tress to land.	\$100 F
PD Louisville KY	Frank Ditto #138032	4-19-67	DC	

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.



CITYWIDE CITIZENS ACTION COMMITTEE : 7625 Linwood Avenue
 Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., Chairman
 Glanton Dowdell, Co-Chairman

Detroit, Michigan 48206
 Nadine Brown, Secretary
 Clyde Cleveland, Treasurer

SIGN UP ON A COMMITTEE

FIGHT TO WIN SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE DETROIT BLACK COMMUNITY

(Please check)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> LEGAL
Milton R. Henry, Chairman
Andrew W. Perdue, Co-Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> CONSUMERS CONTROL
William Flowers, Chairman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> REDEVELOPMENT
Edward Vaughn, Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> POVERTY PROGRAM
Mrs. Marion O. Burton, Chairman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS
Glanton Dowdell, Chairman
Jackie Wilson, Street Rallies | <input type="checkbox"/> LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT
Nadine Brown, Chairman
Loretta Smith, Co-Chairman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> FINANCE
Russell S. Brown Jr., Chairman
William M. Bell, Co-Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
& VOTER REGISTRATION |
| <input type="checkbox"/> MINISTERIAL RELATIONS
Rev. James E. Wadsworth Jr., Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> CIVIL SERVICE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION
Dr. Horace F. Bradfield, Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> CULTURAL
Ronald Milner, Chairman |

Name _____
 Address _____ ZIP _____
 PHONE _____ OCCUPATION _____

City of Detroit

JEROME P. CAVANAGH, *Mayor*

FIRE DEPARTMENT

FIRE MARSHAL DIVISION

250 W. LARNED STREET

DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

BERNARD F. DECOSTER

Fire Marshal

PHONE: 963-2100

ARSON SECTION

JOHN Q. ADAMS

Chief Fire Investigator

December 13, 1967

Mr. Heywood L. Perry, Investigator
President's Commission - Civil Disorder
1016 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.


Subject: Civil Disturbance Pictures
Detroit, Michigan
July 23-28, inclusive, 1967

Sir:

Enclosed find a copy of each of the seven pictures taken during the captioned period, which you requested on your recent visit.

I trust the material submitted will be of some assistance in these critical matters.

Very truly yours,


Bernard F. DeCoster
Fire Marshal

BFD/k
Encl. (7)









D. F. D. PHOTO

BY INSP. BARNEY WASOWICZ



D. F. D. PHOTO
BY CAPT. J. A. MANCINELLI



D. F. D. PHOTO
BY CAPT. J. A. MANCINELLI



D. F. D. PHOTO

BY INSP. BARNEY WASOWICZ

Out of State Cars Observed in riot area
in Detroit, July 23-31, 1967.

STATE	LICENSE #
OHIO	LL 1064
"	J-1076
"	YW 1235
"	165 070
"	1762 A
"	CF 1528
"	FD 0670
"	MR 7359
"	CF 5861
"	CV 3348
"	DX 8879
"	BK 3826
"	CF 1345
	1878 PF
	MU 291
	DE 300
	32 117
	EK 5209
	5512 AL
	59065
	F 15687
	AB 9357
WASH. D.C.	189 263
NEW YORK (Suspected of throwing - molotov Cocktail)	SRA 796

<u>1101</u>		PERMITS TO PURCH.	DENIED.	³⁴ STOL. REG. GUNS.	REG. GUNS.
JAN. -	GUNS. REG. 624	607	2	86	12
FEB. -	662	652	2	89	18
MAR. -	669	807	3	103	26
APRIL	953	960	4	78	11
MAY	906	757	2	101	26
JUNE	616	773	2	69	15
JULY	647	581	1	121	16
AUGUST	882	1,156	1	121	10
SEPT.	971	1,094	4	248	21
OCT.	1,108	1,220	6	97	26
NOV	1,048	1,166	3	149	26
	9086	9773	30	1262	200

1969
GUNS REG.

PERMITS TO PURCHASE

DENIED

STOLEN KE
GUNS 60

JAN	560	518	1	62	9
FEB.	494	425	-	55	14
MAR.	462	543	7	58	10
APR.	444	392	-	52	12
MAY	473	515	3	44	20
JUNE	460	524	5	57	11
JULY	340	322	3	48	9
AUG.	489	592	1	79	16
SEPT.	564	629	3	84	10
OCT.	607	656	1	78	25
NOV.	511	581	2	93	13
DEC.	625	719	-	102	23
	6,029	6,416	26	812	174

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT
RECORD BUREAU

Annual
Monthly Report for 1966 19

CONCEALED WEAPON PERMITS	Approved by Gun Board	Disapproved by Gun Board	Applications Returned as Im- properly Submitted	FIREARMS	APPROVED	DISAPPROVED	PRIVATE PATROL WATCHMEN	APPROVED	DISAPPROVED
New Applications	878	147	18	License to Purchase	6417	26	Original Service	25	1
Renewal Applications	731	52	3	Others			Renewal Service	77	
TOTAL	1609	199	21	TOTAL	6417	26	TOTAL	102	1
Gas Ejecting Devices	9			Registered	6029		Original Watchmen	285	150
Armored Cars	1			Others			Renewal Watchmen	433	19
TOTAL	10			TOTAL	6029		TOTAL	718	169
GRAND TOTAL	1839			Stolen	812		GRAND TOTAL	820	170
				Recovered	174				

CCW applications sent to the Wayne County Gun Board in the year 1967 (1879) incl. Dec.